

THE MILITANT

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

Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada on alert

As evidence grows of U.S. military plans



Militia Reserve Battalion 95-32 from Managua's San Judas neighborhood leaves to take up positions on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast, November 10.

By Fred Murphy

Evidence continues to mount that the Reagan administration and its regional allies are preparing to take military action in Central America and the Caribbean. Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada are on military alert in expectation of imminent counterrevolutionary attacks.

The most ominous U.S. statements thus far came November 12, when Secretary of State Alexander Haig testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

"Can you provide this committee and this Congress with an assurance that the United States is not and will not participate or encourage in any way, direct or indirect, efforts to overthrow or destabilize the current government of Nicaragua?" Haig was asked.

"No, I would not give you such an assurance," Haig replied.

On November 15, Lt. Gen. Wallace Nutting, chief of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, declared that the situation in El Salvador is "fragile" and that Washington had to make it clear to the rebel forces there — with military force if necessary —

that "you're not going to get El Salvador" and make them believe it."

"Something must be done to bring these bandits under control," Nutting said.

These and similar declarations serve to confirm warnings by the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments that imperialist military actions against their countries or in El Salvador are now being prepared.

Armies on alert

The Cuban armed forces have been on full alert since October 31. In Nicaragua, the Sandinista People's Army and the popular militias have been in a similar state of readiness since November 8. The island of Grenada in the eastern Caribbean — whose revolutionary government has also been the target of U.S. threats and pressures — is on military alert as well.

Appeals have come from all three countries for solidarity actions to get out the truth about Washington's moves.

The Soviet Union has warned Washington of the grave results an attack on Cuba could have. "Recently, the campaign of malicious attacks against the republic of Cuba has in-

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Report from Havana: 'We are without fear'

By Larry Seigle

HAVANA — With calm determination, Cuba remains mobilized in the face of continuing threats from Washington.

The army reserves and portions of the territorial troop militia are on alert. Workers in public health and other sectors that would be involved in case of an attack or other military emergency remain on twenty-four-hour call.

Billboards across the island carry the slogan, "We are absolutely without fear!"

On October 24, Fidel Castro set the tone of the Cuban response to reports that the United States is planning military action against Central America or the Caribbean.

Speaking at the second congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs), he said, "If we are not capable of defending ourselves, we can't expect solidarity from anyone. If we are capable of defending ourselves, then we will see what happens. That will be decided by history and the way in which everyone fulfills their duty of solidarity to the Cu-

ban revolution." Washington, he said, is "also threatening to intervene in Nicaragua, in El Salvador, in Central America."

The response of the Cuban people to this speech was immediate and dramatic. Beginning the day after the speech, people throughout the island took to the streets in marches and rallies with handmade signs and banners to register their support. Demonstrations were organized by unions, student organizations in the high schools and universities, the CDRs, the Federation of Cuban Women and the National Association of Small Farmers.

In Havana on November 1 — a Sunday — demonstrators assembled outside the People's Power assembly for the central section of Havana, which was in session. The streets were jammed with people. Contingents were organized by student organizations from area schools, and workers were mobilized by their CDR chapters.

Signs and banners said, "Cuba will never surrender," and "Fidel, tell us what more we have to do." One quote

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Scurrilous resolution

The AFL-CIO convention that met in New York City this week adopted, with no discussion, a scurrilous resolution attacking the Nicaraguan revolution.

This adds the voice of the labor officialdom to the shameless chorus of lies and slanders by the big-business media. And this at a time when the Reagan administration is looking for any pretext to move militarily against the government established by Nicaragua's working people.

The AFL-CIO resolution claims that "the revolution which deposed the tyrannical Somoza regime now threatens to be more oppressive than its predecessor." It accuses the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)-led government of trying to "silence all democratic opposition."

What "facts" are mustered to support these outrageous assertions?

The resolution says leaders of the "democratic trade union movement" — the Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS) and the Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN) — are being unjustly persecuted by the FSLN.

But far from being democratic, the CUS collaborated for years with the Somoza dictatorship against opposition forces in the trade unions.

Since the revolution, both of these organizations have consistently sided with the bosses against the workers.

Consequently, the CUS and CTN have been sharply criticized by both the Sandinista government and other unionists.

And that's also why these unions are tiny compared to the pro-revolution Sandinista Workers Federation, which organizes 85 percent of the workforce.

The resolution complains that "elections have been postponed until 1985."

But Nicaraguans do vote — in the mass organizations and the unions. Through these organizations, they directly participate in making economic, social, and political decisions.

Iranian soldier in danger

As we go to press, we have learned that Ardeshtir Farzan, a soldier in the Iranian army and an anti-imperialist militant, will go on trial November 20 in Kerman. He is charged with belonging to the Fedayeen Minority. Farzan does not belong to the group.

Supporters of Farzan fear his life is in extreme danger. They ask that supporters of the Iranian revolution immediately send telegrams to Mr. Fallahi, Prosecutor, Revolutionary Courts, Kerman, Iran.

The fact is that Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction *does* represent the workers and farmers — the majority — *against* the bosses.

In the past two years, despite the extreme poverty of the country, Nicaragua has made tremendous strides forward in health, education, land reform, workers' rights and wages, and democratic rights.

The Council of State, which is the national legislative body, includes official representatives of the trade unions (including the CUS and the CNT), the Indian minorities, the mass organizations of women, youth, and neighborhood defense committees, the Catholic clergy, and the universities.

Even a CUS leader was forced to admit in a recent interview, "We believe that the Council of State is an institution where we can freely discuss and dissent. We are taking advantage of its openness . . . to explain our point of view about the national situation."

The AFL-CIO also charges that "various Christian denominations . . . have been the subject of religious persecutions."

This is an out-and-out lie.

Last year, the FSLN issued a statement on "The Role of Religion in the new Nicaragua." It included the following: "The FSLN sees freedom to profess a religious faith as an inalienable right which is fully guaranteed by the revolutionary government."

This statement continues to guide the government's actions.

The AFL-CIO's miserable resolution ends with a call to the "international labor movement . . . to take appropriate action . . . to reverse this disturbing trend" of the Nicaraguan revolution.

But U.S. workers have every reason to *applaud* the gains made by the workers and farmers of Nicaragua as they use their government to advance their interests.

And we should respond with *solidarity*, not condemnation.

The "Eyeglasses for Nicaragua" campaign launched by the United Steelworkers last year was a step in that direction.

If we're going to condemn anyone, top on our list should be Washington, Wall Street, and the Pentagon, who are conspiring to follow up their economic and political destabilization attempts with military intervention against the Nicaraguan people.

Attacking fellow workers in other countries, and lining up our unions with the labor-haters in the White House, *weakens* workers in this country.

Working people need a foreign policy of *our own*. One that stretches out the hand of collabora-

tion and friendship to our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua, and opposes the war moves of the bosses' government.

Chance to discuss

On November 20-22, the second National Labor Safe Energy and Full Employment Conference will be held in Gary, Indiana. This meeting offers an excellent opportunity for unionists to discuss some important matters facing working people that were taken up badly, or not at all, by the AFL-CIO convention.

First is the threat of imminent military moves by Washington against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the struggle of the oppressed people of El Salvador. Getting out the facts about these developments and organizing protests against them are especially important responsibilities for labor activists.

Second, these moves are occurring in the context of the Reagan administration's military build-up, including the expansion of its nuclear arsenal. Washington's plans to station nuclear-tipped missiles in Europe, along with fiendish neutron bombs, have spurred massive mobilizations in most European countries. In this country thousands have participated in public meetings against nuclear weapons during the past week.

The struggle against nuclear weapons and their continued production is not only part of the fight against the employers' war drive; it's also linked to their decision to press ahead with the use of nuclear power plants.

The Reagan administration is pushing ahead with measures that can speed-up the licensing of nuclear power plants, including the country's first breeder reactor in Clinch River, Tennessee.

They are doing this in the face of many new revelations about the hazards of nuclear power. For example, the pressure around reactor cores has caused steel to turn brittle after only four years. Other reactors have rusting and denting in the generator system.

The bureaucrats at the AFL-CIO convention concentrated their attention on how to get more Democrats elected in 1982.

But the Democrats, no more than the Republicans, are not taking the side of working people in the fight against the employers' drive to defend their profits at home and abroad and their plans to keep building nuclear weapons and power plants.

That is why those gathered at the Gary conference should discuss how the labor movement can develop an independent course. It's a good occasion to discuss the merits of the unions fielding labor candidates in 1982 as a step toward establishing a labor party.

Reader sends \$500 to get out the truth

"Please use the enclosed to help in the campaign to get out the truth about U.S. threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador," said the letter from a reader. It was accompanied by a check for \$500.

This week we bring you first-hand coverage from Havana by former *Militant* editor Larry Seigle. He provides an exclusive look at the Cuban mass mobilizations in response to the new dangers.

In addition to eyewitness coverage like this, we have expanded our press run to get extra copies into the hands of supporters.

The letter quoted above continued: "It was one year ago this month that I was fortunate enough to go to Cuba on a tour sponsored by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Like everyone else on the tour I was inspired by the Cuban Revolution and the international consciousness of the Cuban people.

"Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and [the rebels in El Salvador] are not backing down in the face of imperialist threats

and must be defended."

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Nicaraguans brace for attack

'We want to build our country . . . and defend it'



Nicaraguan people are proud of support to their sisters and brothers in El Salvador. Together they will stand up to U.S. aggression. Above is a demonstration in January 1981, in Managua.

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA — "We are more than just worried," a representative of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) told *Intercontinental Press* November 12. The same day, U.S. Congressman Michael Barnes said in Washington that if he were in Nicaragua he would be building a bomb shelter.

The general feeling here in Nicaragua is that the danger of some type of foreign attack is now real and immediate, and that the U.S. government has made a firm decision to take whatever measures it can to overturn the Sandinista revolution.

The Sandinista People's Army has been placed on a state of alert, and all leaves and vacations have been suspended. On November 8, military preparedness exercises were carried out in installations around the country.

Recruitment to the People's Militias and to the militia reserve battalions has also been stepped up. The neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees have had special meetings in some places to explain the seriousness of the situation. At one such meeting in a neighborhood in the town of León, for example, twenty new people, most of them women, signed up for the militia.

'Revolutionary vigilance'

There has also been increased participation in what is known here as "revolutionary vigilance." This consists of volunteer civilian guard duty and night-time patrols of factories, workplaces, and communities, and is organized by the Sandinista Defense Committees.

The evening of November 11 there was a protest demonstration by armed members of the militia from the central neighborhoods of Managua, and in a number of places there have been bonfires and other traditional Nicaraguan street protests.

A direct intervention or blockade involving U.S. troops is not the only type of military action the Nicaraguans fear. Encouraged by war threats from Reagan and Haig, former members of the overthrown dictator Somoza's National Guard are stepping up their activity in Honduras and Costa Rica.

In mid-October, a group of Somozaists hijacked a plane in Costa Rica, obtained the release of other ex-National Guardsmen who were in prison for bombing a progressive radio station, and took off for El Salvador.

Nicaraguan Commander Luis Carrion charged November 4 that groups of ex-National Guardsmen in Honduras were planning to disguise themselves as members of the Sandinista army and

carry out attacks on Honduran peasants. He warned both the Nicaraguan and Honduran people to be on guard against such a provocation.

A few days later, a coalition of thirty labor, political, and religious groups in Honduras charged that ex-National Guardsmen were actively preparing incidents designed to provoke a war between Honduras and Nicaragua. The coalition listed the estates of wealthy ranchers where these preparations were under way. These groups also warned that the terrorists had obtained Sandinista army uniforms.

U.S. propaganda campaign

Secretary of State Haig has threatened to strangle the Nicaraguan revolution, and the U.S. destabilization plan has been moving ahead on a number of fronts. Nicaraguan Agrarian Reform Minister Jaime Wheelock charged November 5, on his way to attend a United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization meeting in Rome, that the U.S. government was threatening to cut off meat imports from Nicaragua.

U.S. pressure has already led to the suspension of a \$30 million Inter-American Development Bank Loan that was to be used to rebuild Nicaragua's devastated fishing fleet. According to junta member Sergio Ramirez, suspension of this loan will seriously aggravate an already critical economic situation.

The increasingly menacing propaganda campaign against Nicaragua in the U.S. press can only be designed to prepare the American people to accept some new military intervention in Central America.

An important part of this propaganda campaign is the charge that Nicaragua is "totalitarian," that democratic rights are being violated. To fuel this campaign, a delegation from the Inter-American Press Association, an organization of newspaper owners, arrived in Nicaragua November 11 to investigate allegations that the right-wing daily *La Prensa* is being persecuted. The association's concept of freedom of the press is that whoever owns the presses gets the freedom.

The head of the delegation is Charles Scripps, president of the giant Scripps-Howard newspaper chain in the United States. One member of the delegation is a publisher from Argentina, where journalists have been tortured and murdered. So there would be something laughable about this gang's concern for freedom of the press here if their visit was not part of the concerted and powerful campaign to discredit and destabilize Nicaragua.

The U.S. government has also lashed out at Nicaragua because of the publication here of a German reporter's charge that thirteen members of the U.S. embassy in Managua work for the CIA. This news was reported in the November 6 issue of the independent daily *El Nuevo Diario*.

Father Miguel D'Escoto, the foreign minister of Nicaragua, answered these complaints at a November 9 news conference.

"There is freedom of the press in Nicaragua. The government of the United States has no business protesting to the Nicaraguan government about the publication of this information. Did they by any chance bother to consult with us before firing the air controllers in the United States, and then outlawing the trade union these workers belong to?"

"The whole world knows who is provoking this crisis and who is responsible for expanding the Salvadoran conflict to the rest of the region. They have not learned, and they do not seem capable of understanding, that we are the ones who are going to have to solve our own problems. And I'll give them a piece of advice, which is that they solve their

own problems. They certainly have plenty. They should put their own house in order, and maybe in that way they could set an example for others."

Presidents can lie

Nicaraguans have not let down their guard as a result of Reagan's November 10 assurances that he had no plans to send U.S. troops into combat in the Caribbean or anywhere else in the world.

"We should remember what President Kennedy did," said *Barricada's* lead story November 11. "He assured the world that he not intend to send his soldiers against Cuba, and in fact he didn't. But mercenaries that had been armed, trained, and financed by Washington were landed at the Bay of Pigs."

That same day, *Barricada* ran a photo of U.S. combat troops landing in Egypt for anti-Libyan maneuvers.

In spite of the state of preparedness required by the mounting international crisis, life in Nicaragua goes on very much as normal. There are more soldiers around town, but by and large the atmosphere is calm, as people go to work, organize to bring in the coffee harvest, and carry out ongoing health and education campaigns.

Ironically, just when Haig started talking about "military options" against Nicaragua, the whole country was on a mobilization footing, not for defense but for a massive antimalaria campaign.

On November 4, 5, and 6, some 85,000 young brigade members and almost 200,000 helpers were mobilized to administer three days of medication to every person over twelve months of age in the entire country. No other country in the world has ever attempted to eradicate malaria through this type of simultaneous treatment of the whole population.

'A book and a rifle'

Two days later the country wound up a special month-long campaign to build new libraries. "We have to transform Nicaragua into one giant library," said Commander Tomás Borge at the opening of a new children's library November 8. "But at the same time we have to transform Nicaragua into one big battle trench."

"Every Nicaraguan," Borge said, *Continued on page 15*

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Latin American military chiefs met in Washington November 3-5 for Conference of American Armies. According to November 6 'Washington Post,' gathering 'focused specifically on El Salvador and U.S. charges of Nicaraguan and Cuban involvement there.'

... evidence grows of U.S. plans

Continued from page 1

tensified notably in the United States," Soviet Defense Minister Dimitri Ustinov said in a November 7 speech in Moscow. "The government of the United States should ponder the consequences that could derive from such actions."

Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins told the press during a visit to Washington November 17 that his government opposed any military intervention in Nicaragua. On November 12, Venezuelan Foreign Minister José Zambano said his country "opposes any form of military intervention in Cuba." Likewise, Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde said November 8 in Lima that "we will not support any intervention" in Central America.

But there has been no indication that the U.S. rulers are backing off from their military preparations. Haig's congressional testimony came less than a week after he personally confirmed that such plans were being made.

The day before Haig refused to preclude U.S. action against Nicaragua, Salvadoran Defense Minister José Guillermo García was quoted in an exclusive interview with the *Washington Post* as calling for a blockade of Nicaragua.

García was asked, the *Post* said, "whether his military problems would be solved by a blockade that would prevent Cuba and other possible suppliers from shipping arms into Nicaragua so they can be smuggled to the guerrillas in El Salvador. He answered: 'yes.'"

On November 17, the *Washington Post* reported that "Informed U.S. government sources said that among options being studied by the administration is a Latin and South American naval force that would blockade or interdict suspicious shipping headed for the Nicaraguan coast. . . ."

U.S. ducks challenge

The main weapon in the propaganda arsenal against Nicaragua and Cuba is the claim that they are providing arms to the popular forces fighting the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador. That charge remains unsubstantiated, despite repeated challenges to Washington by both governments to come up with even a shred of hard evidence.

Fidel Castro even took the unusual step for a head of state of dispatching letters to the editors of the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*. The letter published in the *Post* November 11 reiterated earlier calls from Havana for proof of "Cuba's alleged participation in recent arms shipments to the Salvadoran revolutionary forces and the sending of Cuban military advisers to cooperate with them."

A State Department representative asserted the next day that "the charges to which [Castro] refers were made in the press, not by the State Department. Thus we see no reason to respond to his

letter. . . ." This conveniently left out the fact that the original source of the charges "in the press" was none other than the U.S. government.

U.S. policy not working

Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega has offered a concise explanation for the U.S. slanders. "Washington has recognized that its policy [in El Salvador] of elections with repression is not working," Ortega told correspondent Alan Riding of the *New York Times* "So it is left with an intervention. But it needs a pretext and that has to be Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Soviet Union. So it invents arms shipments, 500 Cubans and 1,000 planes from Vietnam to create a whole climate to justify an intervention in the region" (*Times*, November 10).

At a November 10 news conference, President Reagan reaffirmed what he called "our interest in preserving the Americas from this kind of exported revolution, the — this expansionist policy that is coming by way of, I think, the Soviet[s] and the Cubans."

The U.S. press seized on Reagan's assertion that "we have no plans for putting Americans in combat any place in the world," but took scant notice of his refusal to disavow the reports that other kinds of U.S. military moves are in preparation.

As Daniel Ortega pointed out, Washington faces a deteriorating situation in El Salvador. Reagan acknowledged that "there may be something of a stalemate in the inability to bring about a quick military solution" in El Salvador. Reports from the scene indicate that things are far worse than that for the imperialists and their junta.

Desperate straits

"The Salvadoran Army has lost control of approximately one-fourth of El Salvador's territory to guerrilla forces," *Washington Post* correspondent Alma Guillermoprieto reported in a dispatch printed November 10.

Although the State Department has voiced increasing concern over the development of a military "stalemate" between the guerrillas and the government, tours outside the capital into the countryside indicate that the stalemate was broken some time ago and that the guerrilla Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) is now gaining ground faster than government troops can hold it.

Aware that the Salvadoran armed forces alone cannot defeat the FMLN militarily, Washington has been readying plans for intervention by foreign troops. Argentine military leaders have publicly offered to send forces to El Salvador, and on November 8 a top-level U.S. military delegation headed by Vice-admiral Thomas Bigley arrived in Argentina. The visit coincided with a report in the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* that "the idea that has begun to appeal to the U.S. leaders is that of forming a battalion of

Latin American troops which, after attaining a consensus to the different armies, could be given legitimacy through the Organization of American States."

Such an OAS "peacekeeping force" provided the cover for the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. But a 1979 attempt by the Carter administration to carry out such an intervention against the Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua failed to gain the support of Latin American regimes in the OAS.

'Nicaragua is a lost cause'

One aim of the current verbal escalation against Nicaragua may be to lay the basis for a fresh counterrevolutionary initiative through the OAS.

Speaking to a convention of realtors in Miami on November 16, Vice-president George Bush said he wanted to "send this message to the Sandinista leadership: the time has come for you to decide." He demanded the Nicaraguan leaders reject their current course toward what he called "madness and ruin."

Similar attacks were launched by Haig in his November 12 testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. The secretary of state accused Nicaragua of "moving toward totalitarian government" and building up an army that "can only be a force for aggression and the expansion of Marxist-Leninist policy in the hemisphere."

"The situation in Nicaragua is very, very disturbing," Haig said. "I think we can't delude ourselves as Americans about that and then wonder perhaps six months or a year from now what happened that we have another Cuba on this hemisphere and perhaps the expansion of this disease throughout Central America."

When the U.S. rulers say "another Cuba," what they mean is extension of the socialist revolution. They cannot tolerate other countries following Cuba's example of abolishing capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination and putting the nation's affairs into the hands of working people.

The imperialists have now concluded that working-class power in Nicaragua has been consolidated. "Barring a miracle, Nicaragua is a lost cause," a U.S. official in Latin America told *Newsweek* magazine, "and Ronald Reagan is going to make sure it doesn't take anybody else in the region with it."

This means punishing Nicaragua and crushing the revolution in El Salvador. "We've taken off the kid gloves" in dealing with Nicaragua, a U.S. official in Managua told *Newsweek*.

The big-business news media in the United States have fallen into line with the open anti-Nicaragua stance now proclaimed by Washington. An editorial in the November 9 *Washington Post* asserted that by arresting several leading capitalists, the Sandinistas had taken

"yet another long step . . . toward Cuban-style totalitarianism in Nicaragua."

But what really upsets the U.S. imperialists and their media mouthpieces is the fact that Nicaragua is the freest country in all Central America, and that the Sandinistas are taking the steps necessary to insure that it stays that way.

The Nicaraguan toilers and their allies in Cuba, El Salvador, and Grenada need to know that they are not alone in their fight. "We must alert world opinion and American opinion," Cuban Minister of Culture Armando Hart told the Paris daily *Le Monde* during a visit to that capital that began November 6. According to *Le Monde*, Hart "says he is persuaded that a new U.S. action of the Vietnam type would call forth a new rise of public protest in the United States itself. In any case, he is counting on U.S. public opinion and on the action of North American intellectuals who are opposed to any intervention."

Such opinion certainly exists. It is one of the factors the warmakers must take into account as they lay their plans. But to be effective in halting intervention, such opinion must be mobilized. Supporters of the Cuban revolution and other solidarity and peace organizations are organizing picket lines and demonstrations in a number of U.S. cities for November 21.

Eight U.S. Representatives, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, sent a letter to Secretary Haig on November 10 demanding evidence of the U.S. charges against Cuba. "The implication of any military action is extremely dangerous and a direct threat to world peace," the Black members of Congress warned.

Elsewhere, some actions have already taken place. Thousands have marched in Peru and Ecuador. On November 14, hundreds picketed the U.S. embassy in London, chanting "Cuba sí, Yankee no!"

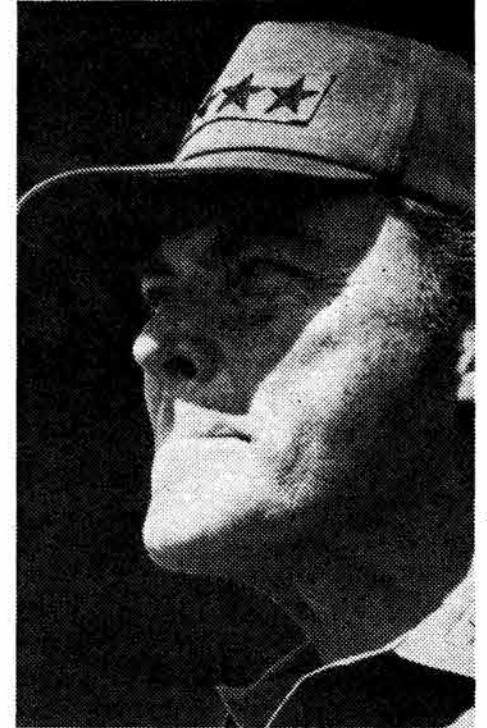
The Chamber of Deputies of the Mexican Congress sent a message of solidarity to the National Assembly of People's Power in Cuba on November 13. "We reiterate once again the Mexican position in defense of the self-determination of peoples and especially the right of the Cuban people to freely forge their own future without foreign interference," the message said.

José Francisco Peña Gómez, president for Latin America of the Socialist International, said November 8 that "we oppose a U.S. invasion of any Latin American country." Peña Gómez is a leader of the ruling party in the Dominican Republic, and in 1965 fought the U.S. marines that invaded his country.

In Panama, forty Catholic priests have issued an urgent appeal to Pope John Paul II "to intervene with the United States to avoid an imminent catastrophe" of intervention in Central America.



Cuba challenges Haig: 'Present your evidence'



The following editorial appeared in the November 9 issue of the Cuban daily 'Granma.' The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press.'

With total disregard for the truth and without the slightest respect for U.S. and international public opinion, the Yankee imperialists continue their frenetic, irresponsible and provocative campaign of lies and threats against Cuba and the peoples of Central America. We have completely exposed their lies and we have repeatedly called on them to present the supposed evidence they claim to have substantiating their false accusations.

As was to be expected, the imperialists have been unable to answer the Cuban challenge. They were unable to do so because no one is capable of proving lies. They have not been able to present a single piece of evidence. They have been incapable of proving a single one of their accusations. They have not responded to even one of the concrete, simple, direct questions we have been putting to them for more than two months.

'Unscrupulous liars'

It has been totally proven — beyond the shadow of a doubt — that the Yankee imperialists are obstinate and unscrupulous liars, that they totally lack the slightest sense of honor, honesty, or even self-respect.

Any normal liar would, upon being exposed, at least have the sensitivity to keep quiet. But not the imperialists, because they do not even have respect for themselves.

In recent days the Yankee officials have continued to repeat their lies, and their irresponsible and provocative language has reached absolutely intolerable limits.

On November 5, the *New York Times* published a front-page article written by a journalist who is a former Washington government official. In it he reveals that the State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA are currently studying measures that are being proposed to step up the imperialist intervention in El Salvador as well as aggressive actions that would be carried out against Nicaragua and against Cuba.

The article leads one to believe that the Yankee administration has come to the conclusion that the genocidal clique that kills dozens of Salvadorans every day is on the verge of collapse, and that there is nothing left for its imperialist masters to do but openly intervene in that country to try to keep it going.

While their own criminal and absurd policy is now coming down on their heads, the imperialists are at the same time considering aggressive actions including "to blockade Nicaragua" and various measures against Cuba up to "a general blockade as part of an act of war, and an invasion by American and possibly Latin American forces."

The gravity of the report in the *New*

York Times is obvious. But even more serious was a report published in the same newspaper the following day, November 6. On that occasion that *New York* daily interviewed U.S. Secretary of State Haig, the same Mr. Haig who has never stopped lying since he assumed his present position, the very same Mr. Haig who has not been able to answer Cuba's challenges. What did Mr. Haig say now?

Confirmation by Haig

According to the *New York Times*, Mr. Haig "confirmed" what had been published the day before in that same newspaper. When he was asked if the article published the previous day overdramatized the situation, Mr. Haig responded, "hesitantly" according to the reporter: "Well, I think, you know, no." And after a pause he added that "I wouldn't want to characterize it except to say that it's not very reassuring when leaks occur of any kind."

It would be difficult to find a cruder or more shameless expression of cynicism. Mr. Haig acknowledged that what was published on November 5 was correct, that at that point the State Department, the CIA, and the Pentagon were preparing new misdeeds against El Salvador, against Nicaragua, and against Cuba. He did not take the trouble to deny it.

The only thing that seemed to bother him was that someone had said it, that the information had been leaked to the press.

3,000 troops?

At the same time, according to the EFE newswire from Washington, on the night of November 5 the ABC television network reported that according to Yankee military sources "the Cuban troops in Nicaragua total 3,000 men and not 500 or 600 as had been indicated up to now."

And as if that lie was not enough, the same sources asserted "that Vietnam is sending to Nicaragua 1,000 planes and helicopters, by boat and in parts." One has to be utterly crazy to assert such a thing.

It does not surprise us that the Yankee officers have the effrontery to repeat the bald-faced lie about "the Cuban troops in Nicaragua" and even to multiply their number six times. But it would be worth asking the empire's sagacious warmakers: Have you calculated what 1,000 combat planes and helicopters mean? How many pilots, specialists, and technicians are required to operate them?

To get an approximate idea of how absurd and baseless these reports are, we would like to highlight the following facts, based on international norms for military aviation:

For 1,000 planes and helicopters you would need a minimum of 1,500 pilots and approximately 7,000 to 10,000 support personnel.

To prepare such a mass of pilots, specialists, and technicians would require an enormous effort and colossal investments. The best academy for training pilots, navigators, and technicians in the capitalist countries (located in the United States) graduates 800 men in the three categories each year, after a four-year-long course.

An aviation academy that was well endowed with the necessary installa-

tions and facilities would be able to simultaneously train, in approximate numbers, about 100 pilots.

To train 1,500 pilots you would need about fifteen academies with a capacity for 100 students each, working simultaneously with hundreds of professors and instructors for four years at a minimum.

You would need gigantic installations, with a total area ten times larger than the Homestead Air Force Base in Florida in the U.S., in which 100 planes are based in an area of 14.2 square kilometers.

If you add to this the construction of runways and other technical elements, you would get an idea of the scope.

A new superpower?

According to well-known data, 1,000 planes and helicopters would mean that Nicaragua would have an air force totalling half the planes of all the Arab countries combined (excepting Egypt). It would be larger than the air forces of France and Canada combined, double that of West Germany, and much larger than the British air force.

To transport 1,000 planes and helicopters from Vietnam to Nicaragua would require fifty-five trips by ships of 15,000 tons each.

It would be worth noting that to service an air force that is about half that size, France needs more than 100,000 men, as does West Germany, and the figure is nearly as high for Great Britain.

To attain this degree of prowess, a country as small and poor as Nicaragua would require no less than forty years and tens of billions of dollars.

Do they really imagine that anyone is going to believe such a cock-and-bull story? Do they really suppose anyone is so naive as to believe that the Yankees have "discovered" such a monumental volume of maritime traffic moving from one corner of the planet to the other?

The Nicaraguans testify that this report is a complete and total lie. They state that not a single one of those supposed planes and helicopters is in that country, not a single vessel is in transit with any of them.

According to a report from the AFP [Agence France-Presse] wire, the dignified and prestigious member of the Gov-

ernment Junta of Nicaragua, Sergio Ramirez, called the charge "absurd" and said its "aim is to prepare the ground for a future military intervention in Nicaragua."

'Goebbels a small-fry'

The Yankee Big Lie, which is an expression of an aggressive, warlike, and interventionist policy condemned by history and rejected by the peoples, is lurching toward delirium and hallucination.

Reading the recent statements by the representatives of Yankee imperialism one gets a sense of, among other things, the deep transformation that has taken place in U.S. society. U.S. children are traditionally taught in school that George Washington never told a lie. Future generations in that country will have to recall that the present Yankee leaders, although they probably made their appearance in a classroom at one time, never stopped lying. With each lie that is exposed, they respond with ever greater lies. Goebbels has become a small-fry.

Regarding Cuba, we tell them once more, clearly so there won't be any mistakes, so that no one will be confused: We are not afraid of you, you do not scare us. Our people do not tremble before the threats, arrogance and power of the imperialists. Our people, up to the last man and up to the last woman, will know how to defend their revolution, their independence, and their dignity. Our people are not made of the feeble and rotten material of those who make lies, exploitation, and crime their mode of existence.

Our fighting and working people were forged with the steel of a more than century-long struggle and they will know how to resist and fight with determination and courage.

Make no mistake. Any new imperialist blow will be shattered when it comes up against this steel.

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Grenada prepares to defend revolution

By Nelson Blackstock

There is ominous new evidence of military activity in the immediate vicinity of the small Caribbean island of Grenada, according to Don Rojas, editor of the *Free West Indian*.

"We consider the situation to be extremely dangerous," Rojas told the *Militant* in a telephone interview November 13.

We are taking all necessary steps to insure that our country and our revolution is adequately defended," Rojas added. Grenadian armed forces have been on a state of alert, he said.

"We have information that within the last forty-eight hours there have been a lot of troop movements in the vicinity of Barbados — a lot of naval activity and a number of military aircraft have landed in Barbados," Rojas said. "Barbados is only a hundred and twenty miles from Grenada."

Asked about reaction to Reagan's menacing new threats against Cuba, Rojas said: "There has been discussion and condemnation across the board, throughout all sectors of our society, of what people see to be a system of lies and slander directed at the Cuban revolution. Inventions and pretexts are being cooked up by Haig and Reagan and the other cowboys in Washington."

"We don't accept any of that. We

think they are simply smokescreens for a planned military intervention by Washington."

Grenadians have good reason to know about such threats. In August, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop warned of invasion preparations by Washington aimed at Grenada.

On August 11, the Associated Press reported that U.S. military units on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques were practicing an invasion of "a mythical small island nation called 'Amber,' which in certain ways bears a striking resemblance to Cuba's close Caribbean ally Grenada."

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

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

U.S. Rear Admiral Robert P. McKenzie was quoted as describing Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada as "practically one country" presenting a "political-military problem" to Washington.

Grenada is viewed as a threat because it "is the first in the English-speaking Caribbean to have had a revolution," Prime Minister Bishop said. "Grenada is primarily a Black



Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at March 1981 ceremony marking second anniversary of revolution.

country, a country with people of African descent. And this of course has tremendous appeal to Blacks and other national minorities and ethnic minorities in the United States."

Rojas told the *Militant*, "We certainly appreciate any manifestation of support and solidarity with our revo-

lution — and with the revolutions of Cuba and Nicaragua as well. We consider ourselves to be three prongs of the same fork in a sense. We would welcome anything — large, small, medium-size — that is a protest or condemnation of imperialist aggression against our region."

Fourth International: 'Time to act is now'

The following statement was adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on November 12.

The U.S. ruling class, together with its allies in Central and Latin America, is preparing a qualitative new level of military action against the deepening revolutionary struggles of the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean.

Spokesmen for American imperialism, such as U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, state that the moves being actively considered include:

- use of troops from Argentina and other Latin American dictatorships in El Salvador, together with a qualitatively expanded force of U.S. "advisers" and massive new shipments of military materiel to the Salvadoran junta.
- attempts to blockade Nicaragua by sea and land, including an escalation of military action by the Honduran armed forces and Somocista units that operate out of Honduras.
- a "show of air power" directed against Cuba, and a "quarantine" of Cuban shipping to stop the alleged arms flow to El Salvador.

The military chiefs of staff of Latin American governments that have "common defense interests" with U.S. imperialism met in Washington the first days of November to discuss these various alternatives. The Nicaraguan government was excluded from the meeting.

A four-week U.S. naval maneuver in the Caribbean, involving dozens of warships and hundreds of planes began on October 30. The announced site of final exercises for "Operation Readex" is the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

The exact moves being planned are of course unknown, but the targets are crystal clear:

- the workers and peasants of El Salvador, who have in recent months made major advances toward bringing down the hated military junta;
- the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, who continue to put their interests and needs ahead of the profits of imperialism and the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie;
- the workers and farmers of Grenada, who are organizing and mobilizing their forces to establish a new social order aimed at meeting the pressing needs of the Grenadian people;
- and, the workers and peasants of Cuba, who despite twenty-two years of unrelenting pressure from imperialism — including economic blockade, sabotage, invasion, and biological warfare — refuse to be

bought off or intimidated. They continue to courageously reaffirm their right and their internationalist duty to aid their brothers and sisters throughout the Caribbean and Central America who are defying imperialism and struggling to take their destiny into their own hands.

In recent weeks the U.S. rulers have been carefully preparing the political grounds for their escalated aggression by a campaign of slanderous lies and charges directed against the governments of Cuba and Nicaragua as the alleged sources of the arms and aid being utilized by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in El Salvador.

This campaign has reached a new crescendo following the spectacular military and political blow struck by the FMLN on October 15, when they destroyed the strategically important Puente del Oro Bridge over the Lempa River. It was alleged that such a professional action could only have been executed by a special strike force of Cuban troops secretly flown into Nicaragua and infiltrated from there into El Salvador.

Despite repeated challenges by the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments that Washington substantiate such accusations, they have only been reiterated without proof. And new accusations appear daily. On November 8, for example, military spokesmen in El Salvador alleged that planes painted red and black, the Sandinista colors of Nicaragua, had been sighted airlifting supplies to FMLN units.

Behind the dangerous new moves by Washington is one simple fact: all else has failed to halt the revolutionary upsurge in Central America.

Despite massive military aid to the brutal dictatorship in El Salvador, despite the murder of more than 11,000 people in the first nine months of 1981 alone, the Salvadoran military has been unable to stop the advance of the FMLN.

Washington has become convinced that the disintegration of the Salvadoran regime cannot be halted, nor the popular insurrection crushed, without far greater outside military intervention.

Despite two years of unrelenting economic and political pressures on Nicaragua to abandon its course of defending the interests of working people against those of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, the Sandinista leadership has resolutely reaffirmed this line of march and repeatedly mobilized the workers and peasants of Nicaragua to assure victory.

Central to Washington's concern is the fact that the Nicaraguan people are rapidly building not only a strong professional army, but a powerful popular militia that every day grows more capable of defending

the revolution.

The U.S. rulers are now convinced there is no way to stop the creation of a workers state in Nicaragua short of outside military intervention.

Despite the powerful pressures U.S. imperialism has brought to bear against Cuba, the Cuban government has refused to renounce its right to stand shoulder to shoulder with those who are struggling to break the chains of imperialist domination in Central America and the Caribbean. Knowing that the Cuban workers state is the ultimate target in Yankee imperialism's drive to reverse the revolutionary upsurge in the region, the Cuban people have responded by the millions to Washington's threats. They have organized and mobilized repeatedly to reaffirm their willingness to help extend the socialist revolution in the region.

But imperialism cannot permit the creation of a new workers state in Nicaragua, or anywhere else, without using the various means at its disposal, including direct military intervention, to prevent it.

Given the scope of the revolutionary upsurge in Central America today — the impact of the Nicaraguan revolution not only on El Salvador, but Guatemala and other countries as well — Washington cannot permit the overthrow of the military junta in El Salvador without exhausting its options for preventing it.

When all other means fail, imperialism will not hesitate to escalate their military aggression. That point has now been reached.

The circumstances are reminiscent of other moments in history such as the eve of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April 1961, and the events leading up to the Gulf of Tonkin provocation that preceded the escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam in 1964.

That is why the new campaign of lies, slanders, and threats emanating from Washington must be taken with the greatest seriousness. The decision of the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments to go on a full military alert is not crying wolf. The danger is real.

The imperialist warmakers cannot ultimately be stopped until the workers of their own countries succeed in taking power out of their hands. But they can be deterred. That is why a massive response to their threats is important now, before they move.

The workers movement, solidarity organizations, the antimilitarist movement, all have a responsibility to help get out the truth about Washington's new moves and work to mobilize the broadest possible response.

The time to act is now!

Emergency actions set for Nov. 21

By Nelson González

The Central America and Caribbean solidarity movements here in the United States are preparing a response to the Reagan administration's military threats.

Nearly thirty cities are heeding the call made by the Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean for nationwide emergency protests on November 21.

In New York, where over forty organizations combined to make the emergency call, solidarity activists are working overtime to organize a noon time march and rally at United Nations Plaza.

In Boston, the Antonio Maceo Brigade initiated an emergency meeting attended by groups active in the Latin American solidarity movement, including the Central America Solidarity Association, an affiliate of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) as well as other peace groups.

This meeting called an emergency demonstration and vigil for November 21 which will culminate in a solidarity rally at the Arlington Street Church.

In Chicago, both a subregional meeting of CISPES and an emergency coalition meeting of solidarity groups and other organizations have agreed to build November 21 protests, and in Chicago a mass picket has been scheduled at the Federal building.

In Philadelphia, Delaware Valley CISPES; the Coalition for a Free Nicaragua, an affiliate of the National Nicaraguan Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People; and others have handed out 6,000 leaflets for their emergency demonstration.



On the West Coast, solidarity activists are also busy making preparations.

In San Francisco, an emergency coalition has formed to organize a Bay area demonstration on November 21.

San Diego, Phoenix, and Oakland are also planning pickets on that date.

In addition to the rapid response to the emergency call, on short notice some very important trade union resolutions condemning the imminent military moves and endorsing November 21 have been obtained.

In Los Angeles, Local 535 of the Social Employees International Union (SEIU), representing 10,000 unionists endorsed a resolution supporting November 21.

On November 12, representatives of

twenty-five different locals attended a meeting of the CAP Council Womens Committee United Auto Workers Region 9 and voted to endorse the November 21, New York march and rally. In addition, the meeting resolved to take reports on the U.S. war threat back to their locals and organize car pools to attend the demonstration.

In Boston, after meeting with a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador and a Salvadoran labor leader, four Massachusetts labor leaders issued a statement condemning the U.S. role in El Salvador.

Kevin Mahar, president of Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers; Jack Clement, business agent of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2321; Stenas Klinetberg, president of SEIU Local 285; and Tess Ewing, president of Local 8754 United Steelworkers warned in their statement of the current war threat to Central America. They condemned these new threats and emphasized the importance of upcoming meetings and tours to tell American unionists the truth about the situation in Central America.

On November 7 seventy-five people attended a meeting in Indianapolis protesting U.S. government aid to the El Salvadoran and Guatemalan dictatorships. Held at UAW Local 933's hall, the meeting was sponsored by the Indianapolis Committee for Democracy in Latin America.

... Cuba

Continued from front page

in particular, from Fidel's October 24 speech, was repeated on banner after banner: "We serve notice on the imperialists that the Cuban people will live with their revolution, or every last man and woman will die along with it."

The demonstration was so noisy that the assembly recessed and delegates came outside to join the demonstration and address the crowd. "We will defend this land and these skies regardless of the price," delegate Isabel Pérez told the crowd.

Speakers also denounced the Jamaican government for breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba and spoke about the murder of two Cuban teachers in Nicaragua.

Demonstrations occurred throughout Havana during the first week of November. Workers at the country's biggest steel mill, outside Havana, staged a huge demonstration outside the mill during a shift change. They stressed that they will fill all production quotas, including the production of equipment for the all-important sugar harvest. The 1982 harvest officially began on November 15.

Similar actions took place around the country. In Santa Clara, an industrial city in the middle of the island, crowds filled the city's Sandino Stadium and overflowed into the surrounding streets. "Cuba will be respected!" was the slogan of the day.

In the nickel mining center of Nicaro, thousands of workers rallied in the yard of the nickel processing plant. After addresses by union leaders, the workers marched through the streets. Banners and chants carried the slogan, "If necessary, we will change our miners' helmets for combat helmets and our tools for rifles."

At a number of rallies there were Nicaraguan speakers, from the FSLN and students who are studying here. Salvadoran exiles were also present. Also joining the demonstrations have been the large number of Palestinian, African, and Vietnamese students here. In one Havana demonstration, Angolan stu-

French Trotskyists urge massive response

A call to action against the threat of military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean was printed in the November 13-19 *Rouge*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International.

Rouge urged everyone to turn out for a national demonstration in Paris November 28, the first anniversary of the murder of six leaders of the Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). The action is sponsored by a broad coalition of organizations.

The article, signed by Jean-Pierre Beauvais, explained that imperialism's diplomatic, political, and military offensive, aimed at defeating the Salvadoran and Guatemalan freedom fighters and snuffing out the Nicaraguan revolution, has failed.

"The Salvadoran junta is on the verge of collapse," he wrote, despite

its attempts to drown the revolutionary movement there in blood. "The revolutionary forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) are on the offensive in every arena."

In response, Beauvais wrote, the U.S. imperialists are preparing military operations in the region. U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig has openly stated the targets are Cuba and Nicaragua.

"They are putting together a gigantic armada of almost 100 warships," Beauvais wrote. "Coming from bases in the southern United States, Puerto Rico, and Panama, the ships are heading toward the coasts of Cuba and Nicaragua."

"We should not have a short memory," Beauvais warned. "Yes, they [the imperialists] could dare to do it. . . ."

"Just as they dared in Guatemala

in 1954, in Cuba in 1961, in Santo Domingo in 1965.

"Just as they dared in Vietnam. . . ."

"Yes, Managua and Havana are threatened," he concluded.

"Yes, the Nicaraguan revolution and the Cuban workers state could be attacked, tomorrow."

"In the face of such obvious, such serious, and perhaps such imminent danger, any doubt, skepticism, or inaction would be tantamount to complicity."

"We must mobilize!"

"We must again remember Vietnam and the considerable role played by demonstrations in the United States and around the world against the waging of that war. Today an international mobilization could again be an obstacle to carrying out imperialism's plans for aggression."

"Let's prepare it!"

dents carried a sign in English: "Paws off Angola!"

The demonstrations continued for about two weeks following Fidel's speech to the CDRs. Although they have now ended, the entire island remains politically and militarily on alert.

In an interview with the news media on Sunday, November 15, Fidel said:

"I think that, to be sure, they [the United States] are finding a lot of resistance, with the exception of some governments that also apparently feel rather honored that the United States wants to use them as mercenary troops in Central America. But really, how far are they going to get with that?"

"What they are going to do is to set the prairie ablaze. If they really carry out those plans, the only thing they are going to do is to set the grass on fire. They are going to create an insoluble problem if they get the idea to hunt up South American troops to intervene in Central America. They are going to create a very serious problem."

Speaking of the accusation that Cuba had sent troops to fight in El Salvador, Fidel said: "This is a big lie, a huge lie from head to foot. A total and utter lie."

Not a single special troops member has ever been sent there; nor was that ever considered. . . .

"They hatched that kind of lie in an apparent effort to implement their plan [of aggression], seeking a justification in the eyes of U.S. and international public opinion for their aggressive plans in Central America and against Cuba."

"I denounced that on the 24th. I said that was unquestionably a ruse; that, in this case, they didn't dare to make official declarations, but instead used a couple of journalists. However, just seventy-two hours later, we found out that although that was not an official government declaration, but was supposedly made by journalists, the secretary of state had begun to contact certain governments — important governments of important countries — to notify them about that. That is, that Cuba had sent 500-600 special troops, and that they — that is, the U.S. — would have to adopt measures, etcetera."

"I didn't know that on the 24th. On the 24th, you could say that I guessed what their plan was. But just seventy-two hours later we received confirmation that Mr. Haig had been in touch

with certain important governments to inform them of what the journalists were saying. That is, the journalists didn't invent anything. It was the State Department that provided that information to the journalists, and the State Department was already handling that. . . .

"We challenged them, because in the communication to those governments Haig said they had proof. And then we said, present the proof. . . ."

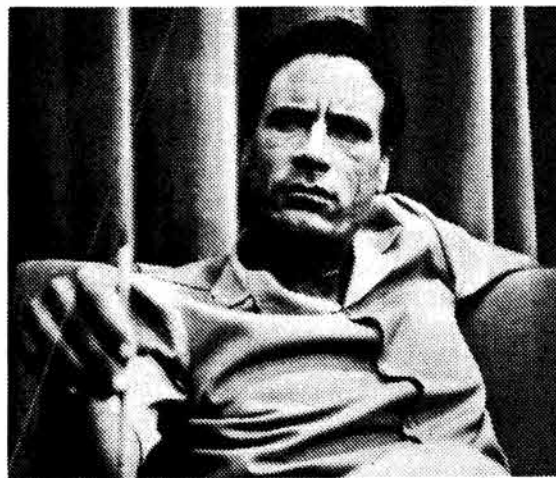
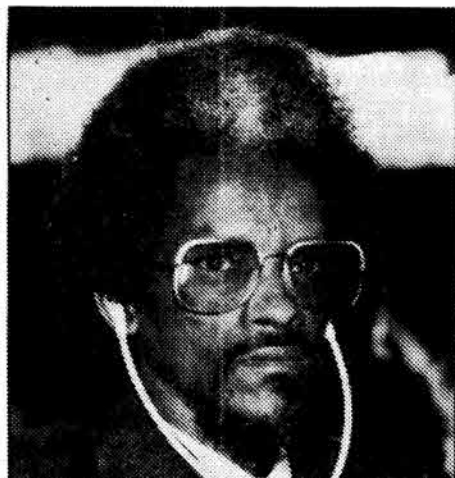
"Well, they just can't answer. . . . I can say right now that we have torpedoed their maneuver. . . . And we have placed them in an embarrassing situation, and they still haven't answered our challenge."

"Now we have to be alert to what new ruse they will come up with, what new lies they are working on. . . ."

"There are some people who think that they are also trying to intimidate Nicaragua and Cuba. That would be the greatest foolishness in the world. After twenty-three years of threats, we can say that they still haven't managed to intimidate anybody here. So they are wasting their time if they really think they're going to intimidate anybody."

U.S. campaign moves forward in Chad

Libya: the circle tightens



At request of Chadian President Goukouni Oueddei (left), Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi (center) sent troops to that country in late 1980 to help quell French-backed revolt. Those troops will now be replaced by U.S.- and French-supported 'peacekeeping force.'

By Ernest Harsch

The threatening ring that the Reagan administration has been throwing up around Libya is being drawn ever tighter.

In one of the more provocative moves so far, the White House has openly announced its support for an Egyptian invasion of Libya. Citing administration sources, the November 8 *Washington Post* reported that the White House "has given Egypt assurances of a U.S. military umbrella against the Soviet Union in case of an Egyptian attack on Libya."

To emphasize the seriousness of this threat, thousands of American troops began arriving in Egypt the following day, at the start of the largest overseas military exercise ever carried out by Washington's Rapid Deployment Force.

The White House sources cited by the *Post* claimed that there were no immediate plans for an invasion of Libya. But according to the Egyptian minister of defense, Gen. Abu Ghazala, "We will not rest until the day we have a friendly regime on our western borders."

U.S. moves in Chad

While the U.S. military maneuvers were still underway in Egypt, the Reagan administration announced November 11 that it would provide U.S. planes and military personnel to help transport a 5,000-member inter-African military force into Chad in the wake of the Libyan troop withdrawal from that Central African country, which lies directly south of Libya. The imperialist government of France (Chad's former colonial ruler) will also provide major logistical support for the "peace-keeping" force.

The very next day, the Exxon Corporation, the largest American oil firm, announced that it was withdrawing

from all of its oil and gas production operations in Libya.

Exxon's move comes in response to efforts by the White House to initiate economic sanctions against Libya. Foreign oil companies, many of them American, have already been drastically reducing their orders for Libyan oil, forcing the Libyans to cut production from 2 million barrels a day to 700,000 barrels a day within the last six months. This has meant a sharp drop in that country's oil revenues, upon which many of its social and economic programs depend.

Destabilization

All of these moves are part of a concerted drive against the government of Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi that has been building up over the past half year.

Several months after Reagan came into office, the White House adopted a secret plan to overthrow the Libyan regime, details of which were later leaked to the press. It included a propaganda campaign in the mass media to portray Qaddafi as a supporter of "international terrorism," the revival of a Libyan "government in exile" based in Egypt, and the escalation of sabotage and other terrorist actions within Libya by opponents of the government.

In August, U.S. Navy jet fighters shot down two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sidra, during naval maneuvers in the gulf that were intended as a direct provocation against Libya.

U.S. military aid to the Sudanese regime — which is bitterly hostile to Qaddafi — has been tripled.

Following the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat in early October (which Washington briefly tried to blame on the Libyans), two American AWACS radar planes were

sent to patrol the Egyptian-Libyan border.

Former U.S. President Richard Nixon, who had gone to Cairo for Sadat's funeral, subsequently visited Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Morocco for discussions with Saudi Prince Fahd, Tunisia President Habib Bourguiba, and Moroccan King Hassan II. According to a report in the November 9 issue of the Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie*, Nixon was seeking to enlist greater support from them in the anti-Libya crusade.

This intense U.S. opposition to Qaddafi has been aroused by his regime's policy of giving political — and in some cases material — support to numerous anti-imperialist struggles.

One move that particularly irked the imperialists was the Libyan decision to send several thousand troops into Chad in late 1980, at the request of Chadian President Goukouni Oueddei, to help put down rebel forces backed by the French, Egyptian, and Sudanese governments.

U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig termed that French setback a "grave turn of events."

Mitterrand lends a hand

It was in Chad that the new French government of François Mitterrand was able to give some assistance to Reagan's anti-Libya campaign.

In a shift from the policy of the previous government of Giscard d'Estaing, Mitterrand sought to safeguard French imperialist interests in Chad not by overthrowing the Goukouni regime, but by winning it over to a policy of closer collaboration. He did this by offering Goukouni inducements of large-scale economic and military aid. At the same time, Mitterrand made clear that if Goukouni failed to cooperate, Paris

would continue support for the rebel forces of Hissène Habré, who were based in the Sudan and who launched periodic attacks into eastern Chad.

This carrot-and-stick approach paid off. In September, Goukouni flew to Paris for direct talks with Mitterrand. An "unconditional" French economic aid package was announced (reported to total some \$500 million). In October, this was followed up by the dispatch of tons of ammunition and arms to Goukouni from the French military base in the neighboring Central African Republic, with the promise of more to come.

Goukouni, who in the past had been a sharp critic of French imperialism, now began directing his criticisms against the Libyan troops in Chad — whom he himself had invited in. On October 29, he demanded a complete Libyan military withdrawal by the end of the year.

At the same time, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), at the insistence of Paris and Washington, began to hammer together a "peacekeeping" force for Chad (to be composed of troops from Nigeria, Senegal, Togo, Benin, Zaïre, Guinea, and Gabon).

Qaddafi moves fast

The French imperialists were clearly hoping to provoke a confrontation with the Libyan troops in Chad. French government sources circulated rumors that Qaddafi was fomenting a coup against Goukouni. French Mirage jets were flown to the base in the Central African Republic, and the 1,700 French troops stationed there were put on alert. The October 31 London *Economist* reported that the French government had pledged that "if the Libyans oppose the OAU force in Chad, the French Foreign Legion will intervene."

Under these circumstances, Qaddafi, on November 3, ordered the withdrawal of Libyan troops from Chad — not by the end of the year, as Goukouni had requested, but immediately. The speed of the withdrawal took Paris and Washington off guard, and confounded their attempts to provoke a direct confrontation.

The developments in Chad have nevertheless marked a setback for the Libyan regime and have strengthened Washington's drive to overthrow it.

While the weak Chadian government may itself pose no real threat to Libya, the dispatching to Chad of an OAU force — with American and French logistical support — means that the hostile encirclement of Libya has been tightened even further.

The danger to Libya is clear. An editorial in the October 24 *Economist* proposed two possible courses of action: either a direct Egyptian-Sudanese attack or the ouster of Qaddafi by pro-imperialist Libyan groups.

Whatever the case, the British business journal emphasized, "Colonel Qaddafi has to be stopped."

From Intercontinental Press

UN: 'Bring back Khmer Rouge'

By Steve Bride

The United Nations has made its annual proposal that the Khmer Rouge be given a second chance to rule Kampuchea.

The UN did this by way of successive votes:

- On September 18, to recognize the deposed Khmer Rouge as Kampuchea's representative in that body; and
- On October 21, to demand the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

It was the third time around in as many years for the two resolutions; both were supported by Washington.

The Khmer Rouge ruled Kampuchea for four years, during which time they plunged the country into famine and slaughtered 3 million of its inhabitants. The carnage was ended only when Vietnamese troops intervened on the side of Kampuchean rebels in January 1979, and sent the Khmer Rouge into exile.

Today, Vietnamese remain in Kampuchea to help defend the new regime from imperialist-backed attacks by the Khmer Rouge who are camped — 30,000 strong — along the Thailand-Kampuchea border.

Progress has been made in the Kampuchean's ability to defend themselves. But it is generally recognized that if the Vietnamese were to leave, the Khmer Rouge — who are backed by the U.S. and Chinese governments — would be able to launch a more effective military offensive.

The UN resolution on withdrawal was sponsored by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a grouping of the most servile pro-U.S. regimes in the area. It contained several last-minute changes to ensure the widest possible majority.

The most significant of these was to

back away from endorsing unity talks between the Khmer Rouge and two other exile factions now going on in Thailand. The Khmer Rouge's UN delegate had claimed the possibility of a united opposition was "intensifying" the pressure on Hanoi to negotiate the Kampuchea matter. But it is well known that the talks are getting nowhere, and few delegates wanted to stake the resolution on their outcome.

The resolution also calls for the continuation of food relief to Kampuchea, especially to the Thailand border area. There, such aid finds its way into the hands of the Khmer Rouge's well-fed guerillas, and then onto the black market.

The status of any more substantive relief effort remains unclear. All UN aid to Kampuchea was to end in December of this year; but a poor rice harvest due to flooding and drought has forced the UN to reconsider.



Khmer Rouge control much of food aid — and black market — along Thailand-Kampuchea border. This youth tried to obtain food without permission.

PATCO fights decertification

Controllers convicted for striking

By Stu Singer

NEW YORK CITY — While the AFL-CIO convention is meeting in New York, air controllers are in their sixteenth week on strike. Support to the strike is not a major theme of the labor convention. But the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) strike and the government attack against it are among the most important issues facing the labor movement.

The union lost certification October 22 by order of the Federal Labor Relations Authority. The vote was two to one, but was changed to three to zero on November 3 when Ronald Haughton, chairman of the agency,

switched his vote for decertification. In his original minority opinion, he had said that he would prefer to send the issue back to a judge, but only if PATCO agreed within five days to call off the strike. The union said it would call off the strike if the government ends its lockout. The union has taken the decertification decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Over seventy federal indictments have come down against controllers throughout the country for the "crime" of violating the government no-strike law.

On October 28 a federal court jury found the president and vice president of PATCO Local 572 in Tucson, Ariz-

ona, guilty of "willfully striking against the U.S. government while in its employ." Bill Taylor and Billy Florence will be sentenced November 30 to a maximum of a year and a day in jail and a \$1,000 fine.

Militant correspondent Dan Fein interviewed PATCO local President Bill Taylor in Tucson a week before Taylor was convicted in federal court.

Taylor, like other strikers, has been doing a lot of thinking about the strike and the unions. "I think the labor movement has to broaden its power base in the way of more coalitions of workers. One of the problems I see is that many labor leaders are not communicating well with their membership. It seems that we in the labor movement are very good at understanding our history, reliving it rhetorically. But not applying it in this day and age."

Taylor told Fein he thought the Solidarity Day demonstration was "great. A step in the right direction. I think it indicated that with the right kind of leadership, labor could grow much stronger. . . . I think Solidarity Day should not be a thing we do once and then talk about for years. We should organize more actions like that and organize them around specifics aimed at the Davis Bacon Act, PATCO, and other issues important to labor."

The controllers' strike has had some effect on airline profits. Third quarter profits for most airlines were way down even though they laid off over 18,000 workers and forced paycuts and work rule concessions down the throats of the others.

The airline bosses are solidly behind the Reagan attack on PATCO. Pan American Chairman C. Edward Acker told *Barron's* magazine that: "I sup-

port the administration. The industry has had a problem with this group for ten years, and it has cost us untold hundreds of millions of dollars in inefficient management of the system. These people are militants.

"The airways system is operating better today as a whole than it has operated in the last ten or fifteen years." But even the government officials acknowledge that this is not the case. Many flights are being delayed and on December 1 scheduled commercial flights will be reduced another 5 percent, to about 78 percent of the pre-strike level.

Furthermore, flying is getting more dangerous as winter weather sets in. But the government and the employers are determined to ignore air safety in order to break this strike. Even their plans on rebuilding the air control system are falling through.

Fifty percent of the first class of controllers who started training after the strike have flunked out. This is twice the average rate.

"Sure, my job would be a lot easier if we took back, say 3,000 controllers," Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis stated according to the November 10 *New York Times*. "But we have concluded that it would not be worth it. It would not be worth it as a matter of principle. And it would not be fair to the people on the job who don't want to be associated with the people who walked out."

To cover up their refusal to do anything to support the PATCO strike, the AFL-CIO and a number of major unions announced that officers and staff would not fly during the strike. Some of them have now resumed flying. As far as the labor officials are concerned, the PATCO strike is over and best forgotten.

Unions protest gag ruling



Militant/Tony Dutrow

ST. LOUIS — About seventy-five PATCO strikers and supporters picketed the Federal Court House here October 29 demanding free speech. They were protesting a federal judge's gag rule that prohibited picketing at the airport and outlawed any information conveying support to PATCO to be within the view or hearing of the passenger terminal and the control tower.

St. Louis rally slams new victimization

By Harris Freeman

ST. LOUIS — "I never believed the lengths our government would go to to repress a group it disagrees with," said Vincent Micciche, vice president of Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 352.

Micciche was a featured speaker at a November 14 emergency rally against government and corporate witch-hunting. The rally, attended by seventy-five people, was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

"Worst of all," said Micciche, "I've seen PATCO members chained and handcuffed because they wouldn't work for an unfair employer. And that's why I'm here tonight."

Micciche praised PRDF for "being in the vanguard of the fight against Reagan's moves toward totalitarian government."

He said, "PATCO is proud to join the impressive and distinguished ranks dedicated to the goals of PRDF. Even in our time of turmoil, PATCO will stand with you in solidarity."

Micciche gave his support to four St. Louis unionists and members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), who face a modern day witch-hunt by the Pentagon and the giant war contractor, McDonnell Douglas.

Jody Curran, one of the four, spoke at the rally. She, Barry David, and Harris Freeman have received letters from the Defense Investigative Service, a spy agency for the Pentagon, informing them that a special security check is being conducted that can result in the loss of their security clearances and their jobs.

Their union, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 837B, has filed grievances against the com-

pany charging political harassment.

Curran told the audience that Jim Garrison, a fourth member of the SWP, had just been fired by McDonnell Douglas, the day before his probationary period ended.

It was, Curran said, "a clear case of political victimization."

Garrison is demanding a reason for his dismissal, and has joined Curran, David, and Freeman in a fight to win back his job.

The rally showed the broad support

the four workers have won. Six other IAM members from McDonnell Douglas, including the president of Lodge 837B and another machinist who is on the executive board of the St. Louis NAACP, attended the rally.

Over \$2,700 was raised to support their fight, and the SWP's and YSA's other legal battles with the government.

André Kahlmorgen, a leader of the YSA who was fired by Lockheed in Atlanta, Georgia, in a similar political victimization, blasted Reagan's moves

toward war in Central America. The attacks on workers in the war industry, she said, are closely tied to the government's threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and El Salvador.

Other speakers at the rally included Walle Amusa, a leader of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; and Mel Mason, a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party and the Socialist Workers Party, and a city council member in Seaside, California.

Detroit gains labor support for socialist suit

By Matthew Herreshoff

The Political Rights Defense Fund's (PRDF) fall campaign in defense of civil liberties is winning broad backing in the labor movement.

In Detroit, Bob King, Financial Secretary of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600 will headline a November 30 rally in support of political rights. UAW Local 600 is the largest union local in the country.

Robert Tyner, vice-president of the Allied Services Division, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; Rick Martin, unit chairman, Coke Oven and Blast Furnace Unit, UAW Local 600; and Harry Philo, past president of the American Trial Lawyers Association, will also speak at the rally.

The Detroit rally will be held at the International Association of Machinists Lodge, 2441 West Grand Blvd., at 7:30 p.m. on Monday, November 30.

André Kahlmorgen, one of fifteen socialist workers fired at Lockheed in Atlanta, Georgia, will be a featured

speaker at the rally.

Kahlmorgen is one of seventeen socialist leaders touring the country this fall to build support for the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance's (YSA) legal battles with the government.

The tours got off to a big start at a November 14 rally in St. Louis, reported on this page, and at rallies in Kansas City, Albany and Seattle.

Rallies are slated in fifty cities around the country.

They will help build support for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government's political police.

They will win backing for socialist workers facing victimization in the war industry, like the Lockheed workers and the four SWP and YSA members at McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis.

They will answer the Immigration and Naturalization Service's threat to outlaw the two groups.

And they will help boost the SWP's

\$106 million libel suit against the New York cops and Associated Press.

The rallies will help gain the massive financial backing needed to win these battles.

Pledges at the rallies will help make PRDF's \$125,000 fall fund drive. So far, \$43,000 has been received towards that goal. The first four rallies raised over \$6,000 more.

Pledges toward the \$125,000 fund are due by January 31 of next year.

If you can help, please send in the coupon below.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

Return to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

By Stu Singer

Armco Steel Corporation head Harry Holiday told the American Iron and Steel Institute last May that "we are at the beginning of a new dawn for American steel."

His optimism was based on the policies of the Reagan administration and Congress.

These include, he told the other steel bosses, changes in government tax policies that would encourage more investment, and lifting of environmental and safety restrictions that would be a big help to company profits.

Profits have shot up. For the third quarter of 1981, they were way ahead of last year for most major steel companies. But Holiday's optimistic projections have brought no cheer to steelworkers.

Just when the profit figures for July, August, and September were announced, the steel industry was in a new round of layoffs and temporary plant shutdowns.

The steel industry has been trying to juggle the same fundamental economic problems as other industries.

Too much steel is produced for this economy to purchase. At the same time, not enough steel is produced to meet the real needs of society here and throughout the world. Steel is the most important metal for modern society.

The closed steel mills in Youngstown, Ohio, are adjacent to old bridges that are closed to traffic. The steel bridges are not replaced because of public funding cutbacks. The steel mills remain closed.

Competition from steel companies in the U.S. and in other countries is pressing on the giants of the steel industry to modernize their production facilities. But the enormous capital investments required to do this cut into their profits.

The industry is in a continual battle to modernize to meet competition while trying to get higher barriers against imports in order to keep steel prices high and avoid competition.

In 1980 the American Iron and Steel Institute published a report called "Steel at the Crossroads," demanding exactly the programs Reagan is carrying out. If they got them, they promised \$7 billion a year investment to radically modernize the steel industry.

They got Reagan, but new investment in steel is estimated at about \$3.3 billion this year, less than half their projection. And the investment will go down if the present layoffs and shutdowns continue.

The steel barons are shifting the focus of their "reindustrialization" plans. Instead of more modern facilities, they are, at this time, emphasizing cutting labor costs.

They are building on the antilabor offensive of industry and the government.

The steelworkers who are the victims of the most recent layoffs are already feeling the weight of this attack.

No more cushions

The layoffs and shutdowns have hit every part of the industry. The modern iron ore mines built over the last twenty to thirty years in northern Minnesota are suffering the biggest layoffs ever.

Mills around Pittsburgh have been shut; layoffs have increased in Chicago-Gary, Cleveland, Buffalo, Birmingham, and Baltimore.

The funds that temporarily cushioned the effects of layoffs have disappeared.

The Steelworkers union won Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) from the companies after a four-week strike in 1956. The shutdowns and layoffs have used up the SUB funds at most companies.

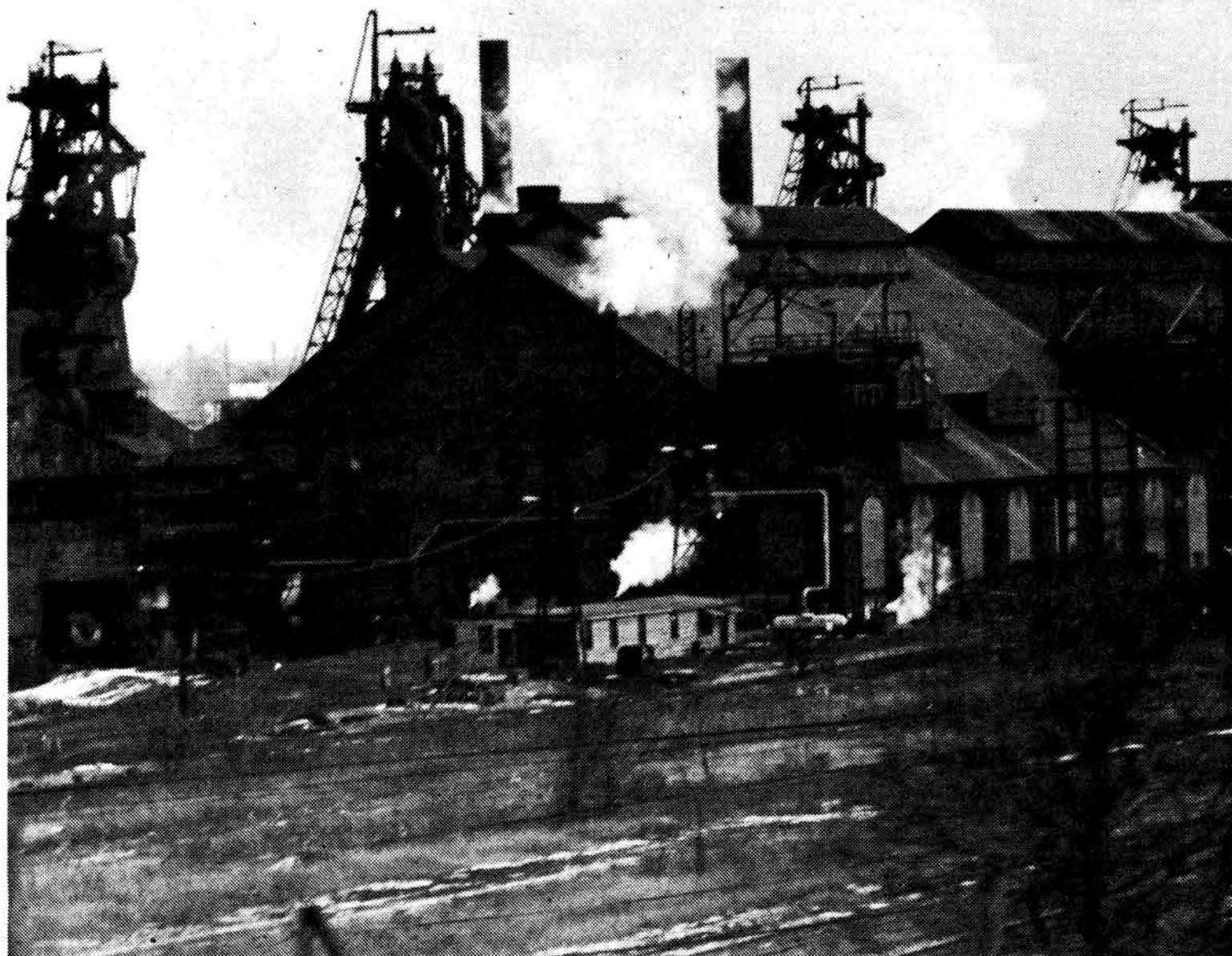
The 1,500 miners laid off by U.S. Steel on the Iron Range got a grand total of two \$50 checks from the SUB fund. They were told the rest went to victims of the two U.S. Steel mills closed in Youngstown, Ohio.

The 1,500 laid off from Bethlehem's Sparrows Point mill near Baltimore will get no SUB pay. Maryland unemploy-

Militant staff writer Stu Singer was an iron ore miner on the Mesabi Iron Range and a member of USWA Local 6115 in Virginia, Minnesota.

Steel: the industry a

What's good for companies is n



A Youngstown steel mill just before it was closed, 1979. Local union and community protests were opposed by companies and top union

ment compensation will come through with \$140 a week maximum.

The Trade Readjustment Assistance program was wiped out by Reagan's budget cuts. That extra unemployment compensation program was for workers who were certified to have lost their jobs because of foreign competition.

A few years ago, some laid-off steelworkers took home as much from SUB, TRA, and unemployment compensation as when they were working. Those days are gone.

Union history

Forty-five years ago, the Steelworkers Organizing Committee was started with the backing of the United Mine Workers. Today, the 1.2 million members of the United Steelworkers of America are suffering the biggest blows in the history of the union.

The leadership of this powerful union is not fighting back against the company and government offensive.

Instead, it is working hand-in-glove with steel industry management. It puts the profit needs of the companies ahead of the interests of the union members.

When times were good for the capitalist economy and the steel industry, the union officials, prodded by the membership, were able to grab some crumbs off the bosses' table. Each contract was expected to be an improvement over the last one. Today, basic steelworkers are among the highest-paid industrial workers.

But now there are fewer crumbs. The economy is in deep trouble. And decades of a union leadership approach that what's good for the companies is good for the workers has paralyzed the United Steelworkers.

How bad is it?

Secret negotiations began in Pittsburgh, October 6, between the top union leadership and the top industry negotia-

tors.

The purpose is to work out a new Experimental Negotiating Agreement. In reality, they are reopening the basic steel contract almost two years ahead of schedule.

No news has come out yet from these meetings. But one thing is for sure. The quarter-of-a-million workers covered under the contract, and the hundreds of thousands of others whose contracts are tied to the basic steel settlement, will come out losers.

ENA, 'a better way'?

The Experimental Negotiating Agreement, ENA, was signed in the spring of 1973 by union President I.W. Abel after secret meetings with the ten basic steel companies.

The ENA won Abel praise for his "statesmanship" from government and big business. The Pittsburgh Junior Chamber of Commerce awarded him the "Man of the Year." In the midst of the Watergate scandals, Abel made speeches about ENA restoring faith in the institutions of American society.

"The typical Steelworker today," he said, "is a concerned Steelworker—just as the typical or average American is concerned. The 'concern'—some call it despair—is over what has been happening in this country."

According to the February 1974 *Steel Labor*, Abel told the Pittsburgh Jaycees "that efforts are underway to restore our faith in our institutions. . . . As an example, he cited the ENA. . . ."

In a piece of literature, "ENA, a Better Way," designed to sell the ENA in the union, Abel explained that it grew out of discussions with the industry starting in 1967. He said the basic idea was suggested by Philip Murray in a book printed in the 1940s.

Murray had been appointed by Mine Workers President John L. Lewis to

head up the Steelworkers.

Abel explained that Murray was ahead of his time. "Phil Murray was writing primarily about the development of more mature labor-management relations."

Those mature relations apparently were achieved by 1973.

Abel and the bosses agreed that confrontations every three years when the contract came up were bad for the steel industry.

By labor agreeing on basic contract provisions in advance and promising not to strike, the industry would supposedly be in better shape to fight imports and avoid the "boom or bust" cycles.

They claimed this would end long overtime to build up inventories followed by layoffs and shutdowns to use up overproduction.

How has ENA worked out?

A weaker union

When Abel signed the ENA in 1973 the basic steel contract covered about 400,000 workers. It now covers 286,000. ENA did not save jobs.

Timken defea

Steelworkers District 27 Director Harry Mayfield is basking in the glow of a new step in labor-management relations.

Mayfield told the *Wall Street Journal* that he doesn't believe the union gave up too much. He helped the Timken Steel Company push 4,000 workers at three plants to vote ten to one in favor of some contract concessions. The company wanted them in exchange for building a new plant in Ohio that would employ 800 workers.

The Timken contract could become a model for the new basic steel con-

nd the union

ot good for workers



officials.

Militant/Stu Singer

Get rid of boom or bust?

Right now, with all the layoffs and shutdowns, there is still overtime for those working.

Steady, guaranteed wage increases? Wages have more than doubled since 1973. Prices have more than doubled also. Steelworkers enjoying the benefits of the contract are no better off than before.

Local issue bargaining under ENA was supposedly strengthened. "For the first time in the Union's history we have established a separate right to strike over such issues," Abel said.

(Once upon a time, steelworkers established the right to strike by going on strike. But those were the days before mature labor-management relations.)

Union control over local issues is weaker today than in 1973, not stronger. The companies get away with murder and the local unions feel powerless. Outside contractors do jobs supposedly protected by the local contract. Safety violations are rampant. Foremen work; workers get disciplined and it goes unanswered. That's life on the shop

: new model?

tract.

Strikes and picketing at the new plant are prohibited for eleven years.

There will be an eleven year moratorium on grievances covering job assignments.

The company will choose workers it wants for the new mill. Seniority and bidding procedures will be dropped.

New employees will start at 20 percent less pay.

Mayfield pointed out, "whatever limitations we have here are very small in comparison to the benefits derived from the new mill."

Steel profits up for 1981 3rd quarter

While the steel industry is cracking down on labor, they are enjoying some improved profits. At least they did for the third quarter (July, August, September) of this year.

U.S. Steel made \$536.9 million for the three months, four times higher than last year.

The *Wall Street Journal* quoted a Merrill Lynch analyst that, "To operate at 67% of capacity and have earnings over \$2 a share is amazing. It shows a real turnaround. You can only do that when you're operating much more efficiently."

The other steel companies did well also:

Third quarter, 1981 profits (in millions):	
Wheeling-Pittsburgh	\$4.1
Republic	92.7
National	34.6
Inland	8.0
Bethlehem	76.3
Armco	63.8

floor.

It's a standing joke that you can "file a grievance." It means the same as the expression, "You can't fight city hall."

There has been one local-issues strike on taking advantage of this "right" under the ENA. When the iron ore miners went out for 137 days in 1977, the companies and the union brass vigorously attempted to smash the strike. They immediately rewrote the ENA to make it harder to go on strike.

But the fact remains that the only advance over the basic steel contract won since the ENA went into effect was won by the iron ore miners through that strike.

Productivity

The steel industry has achieved big productivity gains under the ENA. But steelworkers have not shared the prosperity. Today, 286,000 workers can produce as much steel as 400,000 workers did ten years ago.

Each steelworker contract calls for joint union-company productivity committees. The 1980 contract called them "participation teams." Their only effect is to weaken the union.

A local leadership pushing production is in no position to defend members against the company. They end up defending the company against the members.

The real strength of the basic steel contract was that the overwhelming majority of the workers who were directly involved in producing steel were covered by the contract.

Chrysler ENA

The September issue of *Steeltalk* ran an article headlined: "McBride talks to UAW Chrysler Council, tells of ENA talks."

The article does not mention that the UAW leadership forced Chrysler workers to make wage concessions to help the company.

But it does point out, "McBride paid tribute to the bargaining history and strength of the Auto Workers and declared that the 'eyes of industrial management' are upon the UAW as it 'comes to bat' in bargaining next year."

"The USWA president noted the similarities between the two unions. . . ."

From mining the ore to running the furnaces, coke ovens, and rolling mills, the workers were in the same union under the same industry contract.

This basic strength is dwindling.

Small steel mills—"mini-mills"—are being built using relatively inexpensive electric furnaces that melt scrap. They compete with the large mills of the major companies by keeping the union out.

And there are still some large mills owned by companies that have union contracts where the union is kept out, such as the Armco mill in Middletown, Ohio.

Union organizing drives have not made much of a dent in steel mills in recent years.

Imports and shutdowns

ENA was supposed to stop imports of steel, which would supposedly save American jobs.

The union has thrown enormous energy into fighting imports. Union and company publications are indistinguishable in their attacks on Japan.

The only political victories steelworker lobbying efforts have won in the last few years have been helping the steel companies win tariff barriers so they can raise the price of steel (see box on imports).

The whole import hysteria is a hoax. It has nothing to do with keeping out imports or saving American jobs. The purpose is to keep prices high and set up a scapegoat to blame for the problems facing steelworkers.

The union defeat in Youngstown was an example of what ENA represents. When the steel companies announced they were closing the mills there, they ran into a storm of opposition from the victims.

The union bureaucracy came down on the side of the companies. At the 1980 Steelworkers convention, the Youngstown district was dissolved. It was a warning to anybody in the union with a thought of fighting the companies.

The companies blamed increasing imports for the Youngstown mill closings. Steel pipe was made in some of the Youngstown mills. U.S. Steel is filling demand for that pipe with imports from a company they own in Italy.

The union leadership is not complaining about these imports. They are good for U.S. Steel profits.

Concessions

The ENA "guarantees" have been undercut time and again. The quarterly cost-of-living (COLA) raises and 3 percent-a-year pay hikes have not been maintained. The only guarantee that

has been enforced is that the union won't strike.

Every time the companies have asked the union for a break on the pay hikes, the union officials have given in.

In negotiating the 1980 contract, in spite of the ENA guarantee, the union leadership generously gave away one scheduled cost-of-living raise.

When first Inland Steel and then U.S. Steel complained that their fabricating and structural steel divisions were not making enough money and should be removed from coverage of the basic steel contract, the union leadership helped push the workers to give up their contract rights.

When the union local at the U.S. Steel American Bridge plant in Gary refused to accept the cutbacks, the top union officials raised no objection to U.S. Steel shutting the plant.

The union leadership went along when the management of Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel demanded reductions in incentive pay rates and deferring a COLA raise at all its plants.

When the other companies threw Wheeling-Pittsburgh out of the industry bargaining group for making this deal behind their backs, the union leadership negotiated a new ENA agreement with Wheeling-Pittsburgh.

The union boasts this new ENA is a victory. It has one guarantee. The union will not go on strike against Wheeling-Pittsburgh, even if there is a strike against the rest of the steel industry. The company agrees only to meet the terms of the next basic steel contract, except for whatever concessions it can get from the union on its own. In other words, the company promises nothing.

All basic steelworkers are going to be forced to make concessions to the basic steel industry.

Experience shows if you give the bosses an inch, they take a mile.

Ford and General Motors are telling the autoworkers their next contracts will follow the Chrysler model of wage and benefit cuts and work-rule concessions.

The next basic steel contract will be worse than the concessions already forced out of the union at American Bridge and Wheeling-Pittsburgh.

The new model contract may resemble the disaster shoved down the union's throat by Timken Steel in Ohio (see box).

The next article will go into some of the gains steelworkers have won over the last two decades and how they were won. Also, the opposition forces within the union and the recent ENA referendum in District 31.

Some imports better than others

The steel industry is in its annual religious observance of the "threat of foreign steel." Along with the loyal choir of Steelworkers union officials, the industry is complaining they are hurt by rising imports. All the new layoffs are blamed on imports. The industry wants the Reagan administration to raise the trigger prices on steel.

The trigger prices prohibit imported steel to be sold in the U.S. below a price supposedly set at the production and shipping costs of steel from Japan, which is said to be the most efficient producer.

But the higher the trigger price, the higher the American steel companies raise their prices.

In fact, four steel companies just announced 5-10 percent price hikes to take place January 1.

While the leadership of the Steelworkers union prides itself on screaming as loud as the industry against imports, the union gets caught in some awkward situations.

One country that exports steel to the United States is Canada.

The problem with the United Steelworkers of America campaigning against Canadian imports is that Canadian steelworkers are members of the same union. In fact, the steelworkers are the largest industrial

union in Canada.

Canadian union members don't like to see their dues spent to lobby for restrictions against Canadian steel.

The steel companies other loyal supporters, the politicians, sometimes get out of line on the issue of imports.

When the layoffs were announced from the iron ore mines in northern Minnesota, the local congressman promised to fight against iron ore imports from Canada.

This suggestion raised problems with both the union and the companies.

The Canadian steel industry is almost entirely owned by Canadian capitalists. But the American steel companies, especially U.S. Steel, own a big part of iron ore production from Canada. And the Canadian miners, who are mainly in Québec, are members of the United Steelworkers. Their wages are similar, although a little less than in the U.S. But the wage difference plus the lower value of the Canadian dollar against the U.S. dollar, gives U.S. Steel an advantage in using Canadian instead of U.S. ore.

So the congressman's proposal had to be shelved. In the bible of the steel industry imports are only bad if they don't profit American steel companies.

By Margaret Jayko

The *Militant's* recent coverage of the fight for women's rights has been controversial among our readers.

We've received a number of responses to articles we've carried, questioning our emphasis and analysis.

The main questions raised can be grouped together as follows:

- Is the *Militant's* perspective on the fight for women's rights "pessimistic?"

- Isn't it "sectarian" to concentrate so much of our coverage on criticizing the strategy of the leadership of the National Organization for Women (NOW) instead of simply suggesting what we think should be done?

- Shouldn't we concentrate on arguing for demonstrations and other actions in support of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as the best way to advance the fight for women's rights?

These are important questions. They result from attempts to figure out how to respond to the stepped-up assault on our rights and living standards under the Reagan administration.

Reality, not 'pessimism'

Is our perspective "pessimistic?"

It's wrong to pose the question as "pessimism" versus "optimism."

What we've tried to do is to soberly assess what's happening in this country in order to figure out what to do next.

This means recognizing that the employing class, aided by the government, is waging a concerted drive to lower the standard of living of working people and to weaken our capacity to fight back. Driven by the world-wide economic crisis, they are forced to deepen the offensive, and we can expect no let-up. It is in this framework that the intensifying attacks on women are occurring, including the decision to let the ERA die. Facing up to this reality is not a self-fulfilling prophecy; and far from *demobilizing* the women's rights movement and hurting the fight for the ERA, is a necessary prerequisite for figuring out what to do.

This is the opposite approach of the NOW leadership.

Here's what they say in an editorial in the October *National NOW Times*, the official NOW newspaper, describing NOW's recent national conference: "The focus was all future-oriented on the remaining months of the ERA Countdown Campaign and the struggle to hold our ground on all the issues key to attaining equality for women. . . ."

"No one evaded the reality that we are engaged in an uphill struggle and yet there was a recognition of a gathering momentum, a volatile shift in the political climate, of small breakthroughs that might become significant realignments that could make the difference between defeat and victory — if we gave it our all."

There are several problems with this approach.

It narrows the fight for women's rights to whether we can win the ERA by the June 30, 1982, deadline.

The cynicism of this approach is shown by the fact that the NOW leadership uses this deadline to stampede NOW members into going along with their focus on the November 1982 elections. The only "realistic" thing to do, they argue, is lobbying, electing Democratic and Republican "friends" of women, and defeating our "enemies" in the elections.

They use the deadline to try to squelch serious discussion on why the ERA fight is losing, and why we are suffering serious attacks on the right to abortion, affirmative action, and childcare.

The fight for the ERA is very important. And how this fight is conducted will make a great deal of difference on how we can move forward after July 1. Along which political lines and in alliance with which class forces this fight is carried out will determine whether the fight for women's rights is advanced or set back.

It is only by developing a perspective for an independent women's movement that looks to the working class, that we can advance the struggle for women's rights, even though our chances of winning the

'Militant' answers readers' questions

How to advance the fight for women's rights

ERA are very slim.

What would be demoralizing would be to lose the ERA, without such a fight having been organized. Or worse, to spend the next seven months organizing the ERA fight on the basis that it can be won if enough capitalist politicians can be convinced to support it. The NOW leadership also proposes that we leave other issues, such as abortion rights, unattended with the excuse that we are going to "take care of the ERA first."

And it will be especially demoralizing to lose the ERA without understanding *why* it all happened.

'Friends' and 'enemies'

At the ERA rally that wrapped-up the NOW conference, author Betty Friedan implied that the failure to ratify lay with the apathetic "me-generation" who ". . . take equality for granted, who think the world is their oyster. . . ."

Smeal's speech to the conference focused on asking every individual to "sacrifice" and "to change our lives" for the ERA. She said nothing about the Democratic and Republican legislators who have voted ERA down in state after state, year after year.

In fact, the latest mailing by NOW's Political Action Committee expresses continued confidence in Democratic and Republican legislators. It says: ". . . the outcome of the 1982 election will determine whether the New Right gains control of *both* houses of Congress. If they succeed they will then not only control Congress, but an Administration friendly to their anti-woman, anti-reproductive rights, anti-equal rights mentality."

In their pollyanna world, we can prevent this from happening by voting in "progressive" Democrats — like Edward Kennedy, despite the fact that he's anti-abortion and was a key supporter of the recently-enacted "Teenage Chastity Act" which would punish teenage sexuality by restricting access to contraception and abortion.

Demoralization

Trying to manufacture victories where they don't exist, the NOW leadership hailed the appointment of the antilabor, antiwoman, and racist Sandra O'Connor to the U.S. Supreme Court.

They downplay the deadly seriousness and scope of the attacks on abortion rights, which have already been effectively limited for millions of women through the cut off of medicaid funds.

It's this perspective, that calls nothing by its right name, that misorients the women's rights struggle and demoralizes women's rights activists and supporters.

This was clear at the NOW conference, where hundreds of young, militant women left frustrated and angry because of the class collaborationist strategy put forward by the NOW national leadership.

This leadership effectively prevented any alternative strategy from even getting a hearing.

These women know from their own lives the tremendous blows we are suffering and they sensed in the patriotic, prodraft, pro-imperialist propaganda of the NOW leadership, and in its electoralist orientation, no solutions, only retreat.

Capitalism in crisis

The number one priority for the NOW conference was to explain what's happening today. And on that, the leadership defaulted miserably.

They didn't explain that "Reaganism" is the name for the actions of a government that is trying to extricate the capitalist system from the extreme crisis it is in.

Moreover, the NOW leadership refuses to point out the bipartisan nature of this offensive. The reason that both Democrats and Republicans must lead this is because it's the necessary moves of their *class* — the capitalist class.

Sign of weakness

It is a sign of the capitalists' *weakness* that they have been forced to embark upon this sharply confrontationist course with American working people. Because they know that there is a limit to how much the victims will take before a powerful fightback begins to develop.

The acceleration of the bosses' and their government's antiwoman propaganda is an essential part of trying to drive their offensive through. It is a measure of the deep support that the idea of women's equality has in this country.

They want to divide workers by arguing that women who work in "non-traditional" jobs are stealing them from men. And they try to convince us that women who have abortions are "murderers."

But the bipartisan offensive is being carried out *despite* the sentiment against it.

Where do we go?

In this context, what forces can we look to for building a powerful, fighting women's rights movement that can advance the struggle of all working people?

Two months ago, a half million working people marched through the streets of Washington, D.C. in opposition to Reagan's cutbacks and moves toward war.

Thousands of demonstrators — Black, Latino, and white; young and old; male and female; unionists and the unorganized — carried "ERA, YES!" signs.

September 19, Solidarity Day called by the AFL-CIO, was the biggest, pro-women's rights action in U.S. history.

It gave a glimpse of the fact that it's working people — united, politically led and organized — that have the *power* to beat back this offensive, including the



Keynote speakers at October 12 ERA media event that closed NOW conference. From left to right: Eleanor Smeal, Betty Ford, Lady Bird Johnson. 'Guardian' newspaper termed the rally 'combative,' ignoring the political content of it. This patriotic rally blamed defeat of ERA on everyone but the ruling class, whose representatives filled the speakers list. Actions like these and the rest of NOW's 'ERA Countdown Campaign' tie women's movement closer to ruling class and its parties and divorce it from working-class allies.

attacks on women's rights.

And it's working people — male and female — who will take up this fight as part of their struggle for survival.

Broaden our audience

Once you see the whole picture, it becomes clear that today we can't sit back and wait until things get better. We can't "abstain" from the struggle.

The most important and effective thing we can do today to advance the fight for women's rights is to explain the stakes in the battle for women's equality; how it relates to the overall struggle of the working class against the rulers; and what strategy can move it forward.

We must broaden the audience we talk to directly, with a top priority on working people, who are the main targets of the rulers' offensive, and whose thinking is being shaken up by the blows they are taking.

We must reach out to the Black and Latino communities, to involve these staunch supporters in the fight for women's equality.

Class polarization

American politics are becoming more and more polarized as the ruling class pushes through its program, which conflicts with the demands and needs of the working class and its allies.

The NOW leadership has chosen closer collaboration with the capitalist class. They are tailoring the demands of our movement to fit the needs of the rulers' military and austerity drive. They openly seek to mobilize our movement behind the draft and imperialist foreign policy.

This is hardly the road to liberation. Such abject capitulation will only bring deeper oppression, and will make the women's movement an obstacle to the struggle of workers and the vast majority of women.

More militant tactics?

We have to look at every tactical proposal in a political framework. We have to ask:

Does it advance or detract from explaining this working class outlook and building a movement on it?

Does it tie the women's movement closer to the ruling class or to the working class?

Does it give us more confidence in ourselves, or does it make us rely more heavily on the parties of the oppressors?

Tactics, by themselves, cannot be more or less militant. It depends on what strategy they advance.

This is where the article in the October 21 *Guardian*, a radical weekly, goes wrong.

They discuss on the level of tactics, not strategy. And it takes them politically far afield.

It leads them to take the NOW leadership's "ERA Countdown Campaign" for good coin. For example, they describe the ERA rally at the conclusion of the NOW conference as "combative."

And they imply that the disagreements at the conference centered on the leadership's rejection of more militant tactics.

In the October 23 *Militant*, we editorialized, "The rally was an appeal to legislators to pass the ERA so women can participate equally with men — not in changing this country into a force that fights for the interests of the oppressed — but in helping America reach its 'greatest dimension in the world.'"

We pointed out that when speakers like Betty Ford and Lady Bird Johnson talk about "America" and "we," they mean the ruling rich that they represent, not the majority of the American people.

We said the rally "weakened rather than strengthened the fight for women's rights."

'ERA Countdown Campaign'

The entire ERA campaign laid out at the NOW conference cuts across the fight for the ERA.

Two examples.

The "ERA Message Brigade Campaign" whose goal is, according to the *National NOW Times*, "The recruitment of one million people who will respond to action alerts from NOW by sending messages to key leaders in unratified states."

In other words, it's a computerized, massive lobbying effort.

The *Guardian* called the "ERA Missionary Project" a "grassroots educational drive. . . ."

But an article in the November 8 *New York Times* makes clear the political nature of this campaign.

They interviewed one of these "missionaries," Deborah DeBare, about how she explains the link between the ERA and the draft.

"NOW has an antiwar stand. We're against the draft for both men and women, but if there were a draft registration, then women should have a right to protect their country just as men do."

DeBare went on to explain that she's against war "but if there were a war, it would probably be a technological war and women would probably be used. Women can push buttons as well as men."

This unconscionable position comes straight out of the NOW board's position paper on women and the draft.

Politics, not tactics

The problem is not the NOW leadership's tactics; their emphasis on lobbying, letter writing, and giving money to politicians flows from their strategic reliance on capitalist politicians.

That is why their wrong perspective cannot be effectively explained simply by criticizing this or that tactic. You must go to the source, where an entirely different perspective is posed.

Speaking tours, petitions, films, fund-raising, and even giving money to candidates (but not capitalist ones) can be very useful if they advance the fight.

We need other actions also for the ERA and to defend other rights of women. Demonstrations, rallies, picket lines, etc. These can be important propaganda

tools to reach out to our allies, inspire our supporters, give women confidence in our ability to struggle, and teach us to rely on ourselves.

They also can let the ruling class know that women's rights sentiment can be mobilized and so put pressure on them.

Far from abstaining from these important activities, supporters of women's rights should *advocate* such actions.

But they are effective if their political line contributes to building a movement that takes on our enemies, not cozies up to them.

The women's movement today is suffering from a tremendous crisis of perspective, as is the union movement and the Black struggle.

But this is a crisis for which there is a solution.

Never before in history have so many people, especially working people, seen the struggle for women's rights as part of their own fight.

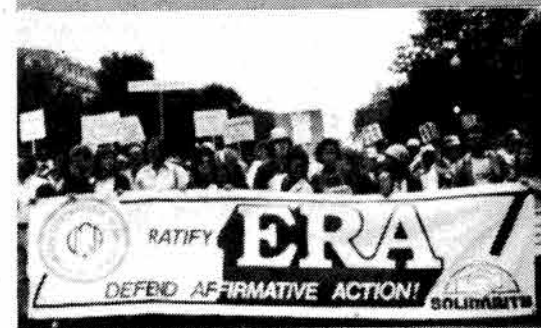
And more and more people are beginning to see that we have to look for collective solutions to our collective problems.

It is these facts that should make us optimistic about the potential for building a fighting movement for women's equality.

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Black party sued in affirmative-action fight

By Malik Miah

"White Owner Sues NBIPP" reads a banner headline of the October 23 *Buckeye Review*, a newspaper serving the Youngstown, Ohio, Black community.

The Ralph's Sparkle Market is seeking \$300,000 in damages and a court order barring the Youngstown chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) from urging community shoppers to not spend their money at Ralph's Sparkle in order to influence that business to hire more Blacks.

This racist suit against NBIPP is a culmination of an eight-month campaign by the Youngstown chapter to convince Ralph Sparkle and other businesses in the Black community to hire more Blacks. Back in March, according to Ron Miller, a co-convenor of the Youngstown NBIPP and coordinator of the chapter's Jobs Campaign, the party organized a survey to learn where the community shopped and the number of Blacks working in the stores.

Miller told the *Militant* that the main aim of this campaign was to get "more job opportunities for Blacks. This particular market was one of several we surveyed. We found 85 percent of the shoppers were Black, but only one of the eighteen employees was Black."

Based on this information, "we decided to focus on Ralph's Sparkle."

"Last spring when we first met with the owner," Miller explained, "he said he supported our demands for more

Black employees but said he could not find any 'qualified' for the job."

Over the summer no action was taken by Ralph's Sparkle. The local chapter decided to send the owner a letter requesting more information on his hiring practices. He agreed to meet. At that meeting, Miller explained, "We proposed he put on three positions — two part-time students and a full-time person — and make a commitment to reach a goal of 40 percent Black employees over a two-year period."

Miller reported that "the owner said he was sympathetic but was in no position to implement such an action."

This inaction by the management led the party to stand outside the store and pass out leaflets urging shoppers to shop elsewhere. This was in mid-October. Miller said that only six party members passed out the leaflets on a public sidewalk.

In response to this leafleting, Miller explained, "the management was ready to talk. They said they were agreeable to our demands."

After meeting with the owner, a written agreement was to be drafted along the lines of the party's proposals. However, the store owner responded with legal action.

Miller told the *Militant* that the store management gave them no warning at all. They charged the party with "con-

spiring to interrupt and destroy" Ralph's Sparkle's profits.

This attempt to turn the victim into the criminal is similar to what occurred during the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. One of the tactics used by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the NAACP, and other Black rights organizations then was to call on Blacks to participate in selective consumer boycotts against racist businesses. In many cases victories were won. In others, suits were filed by the racist store owners against the Black rights' organizations.

Most recently, for example, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH, got the giant Coca-Cola company to hire a few more Blacks in top management after threatening to organize a consumer boycott.

That's an exception today in a period of escalating attacks by the Reagan administration and the employing class on Black gains won over the last two decades.

A more typical example concerns a suit filed against the NAACP in Mississippi, which the U.S. Supreme Court recently decided to hear.

The NAACP and ninety-one individuals were sued by white-owned businesses in Port Gibson, Mississippi, for organizing a consumer boycott. The Mississippi Supreme Court ruled that the NAACP and others named were financially liable for losses incurred by

these businesses during a civil rights boycott in Port Gibson in the late 1960s. A lower Mississippi court awarded damages of \$1.25 million, an amount which would seriously harm the functioning of the NAACP if they are forced to pay it.

Like the NBIPP's boycott, the purpose of the Port Gibson action was to force these racist outfits to hire more Black employees and increase municipal services in the Black community.

In response to Ralph's Sparkle's attack, the Youngstown chapter is stepping up its campaign against the store. The party chapter is canvassing the community to explain its demands and is continuing to leaflet the store.

A lawyer has been retained. A first hearing date was postponed, and a new one hasn't been set.

Miller told the *Militant* that those opposed to this attempt to destroy the party should place immediate pressure on Ralph's Sparkle to drop their suit and meet the just demands raised by the chapter. "The owner," Miller explained, "has already hired two Blacks since we began our campaign in September, in fact, since the filing of their suit."

"We plan to continue our fight until our longterm goals are won—to get 40 percent Black employees."

Telegrams of protest can be sent to: Ralph's Sparkle Market, 2126 Market St., Youngstown, Oh. 44507 (with copies to Ron Miller, 918 Granite St., Youngstown, Oh. 44502).

U.S. gov't and Moscow: both warmongers?

Where social democrats' Polish support campaign goes wrong

By Suzanne Haig

NEW YORK — Five hundred people attended a November 8 meeting here in support of the struggle of the Polish workers.

Speakers included Tadeusz Kowalik, Polish economist and advisor for the independent union, Solidarity; Pete Camarata, cochair, Teamsters for a Democratic Union; Sam Meyers, president, United Auto Workers Local 259; Michael Harrington, national chair of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Barbara Garson, author of *MacBird*; and others.

Sponsored by an ad hoc group called the Solidarity Support Campaign, the meeting featured prominent social democrats. The leaflet distributed by the meeting's organizers explained, "It is only right that we, not those who create or are accomplices in America's reactionary domestic and foreign policies, defend Solidarity's survival and independence."

The meeting was seen as a way of presenting a radical alternative to the AFL-CIO's pro-imperialist, anticommunist campaign conducted in the name of Polish support work.

Within this framework, speakers presented various viewpoints on the meaning of the Polish revolution and how it can be supported in the United States.

Guest speaker Tadeusz Kowalik effectively refuted charges by Moscow and Warsaw that Solidarity is antisocialist — an accusation not contradicted, but reinforced, by the capitalist media, he added.

Refute media lies

Explaining what kind of aid Poland needs, Kowalik said, "The help from the left should be mainly intellectual. Western public opinion should be better informed about what is going on in present-day Poland, and especially better informed about changes not only on the top — in the central authorities — but also in the factories, schools, and universities."

Cheers and hearty applause went to Bruce Campbell, a striking member of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). Campbell told the audience about the hardships faced by the PATCO strikers. After Reagan fired them on August 5, many were denied food stamps and unemployment benefits.

"People who paid FHA [Federal Housing Authority] mortgages regularly on their houses, and then missed a payment, were foreclosed upon," Campbell said. Local businesses have refused to hire many.

"But like the people in Poland," he added, "we will persevere. And with support like we see today at this meeting, we know that they cannot lose — and neither can the controllers."

Twenty-five percent of the collection, taken for Solidarity, went to the striking controllers.

As part of their attempt to differentiate themselves from the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, speakers emphasized the need to follow the example of the Polish workers in labor's fight here against the Reagan administration's attacks. A few speakers addressed the importance of support to the antimissile movement in Western Europe as an aid to the Polish struggle.

The meeting, however, failed to present a clear and effective alternative to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's fake Polish solidarity campaign.

In fact, many of the most prominent speakers expressed a position on Poland and the Soviet Union that made concessions to the basic premises of imperialist foreign policy.

Moscow, for example, was described not only as a threat to the Polish workers, but as a danger to world peace — on a par with Washington.

Speakers failed to deal with the role



Polish workers are not fighting to return factories, mines, and railroads to capitalists. They recognize that nationalization of means of production is responsible for Poland's rapid development after World War II. They want to make the decisions on how the economy is run.

that U.S. and other imperialist banks are playing in starving the Polish economy. Nor was the fact stressed that the problem with the NATO missile bases in Europe is that they are aimed directly at the masses in Poland, the rest of Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union.

C.L.R. James, West Indian author of *The Black Jacobins* and retired professor, said that "the Russian army was supposed to march through Poland and go to the Atlantic," but the Polish workers are keeping them occupied at home.

Superpower hegemony?

Paul Sweezy, editor of *Monthly Review*, said regarding the United States and Soviet Union: "What the world needs more than anything is the end of dual hegemony by the two superpowers. What it needs is to break up both of the superpowers' blocs."

Such positions, especially when presented in the name of socialism, serve to confuse and disarm activists who support the Polish revolution and oppose Washington's war drive, by giving backhanded support to Washington's foreign policy.

Anti-Sovietism is the cornerstone of Washington's campaign to convince working people of the need to reinstate the draft, increase military spending, and intervene militarily around the world.

Once Washington's premise of Soviet aggression is accepted, then it's logical to accept its conclusion — despite statements to the contrary.

C.L.R. James's unsubstantiated charge that the Kremlin wants to drive to the Atlantic, for example, justifies stationing U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe.

Confusing the source of aggression in the world, not putting responsibility for war squarely where it belongs — on U.S. imperialism — takes Washington off the hook, leads to serious political errors, and lays the groundwork for legitimizing some form of U.S. military action.

This is especially true considering that the meeting occurred right at the time when serious military moves in

the Caribbean and Central America are being considered by Washington.

Putting equal blame for the cause of war on imperialism and the Soviet Union is often referred to as a "third camp" position. It comes from a rejection of anything progressive in the property relations in the Soviet Union that resulted from the workers' and peasants' revolution of 1917.

According to James, the Soviet Union is capitalist. Sweezy stated at the meeting that "the Soviet Union is not socialist. It is not capitalist, but is a new kind of exploitative class society. It is not ruled by a bureaucracy, not by an elite, but by a ruling class, which has its rule in the control of the state apparatus."

Giant step forward

There is a great distinction between the totalitarian Moscow and Warsaw bureaucracies and the economic system over which they hold power.

Failure to recognize this makes it impossible to understand what the Polish workers are fighting for, and is an obstacle to defending them. Overturning the capitalists and landlords in the Soviet Union and Poland represented a gigantic step forward for the working class and all humanity. The state now owns the means of industrial production and distribution and controls finances. The state holds a monopoly over foreign trade. Production is not for profits: there is a planned economy.

The Soviet Union and Poland are neither capitalist nor imperialist, and they don't have a new ruling class. They are states in transition from capitalism to socialism, deformed by ruling, privileged, self-seeking bureaucracies.

Those like Sweezy, James, et al, who don't think that the nationalized property relations in Poland are worth defending put themselves at odds with what the Polish workers are really fighting for.

The Polish workers and farmers recognize the progressive character of their economy. They are not fighting to return the nationalized property to profit-hungry industrialists, bankers,

and landlords. They want to democratize the current system in order to truly make it work in their interests.

We should stand with them and fight for what they are fighting for.

Co-equal warmongers?

Whatever can be said about the oppressive nature of the Soviet political system, the fact remains that the economic system of the Soviet Union — unlike U.S. imperialism — does not drive it to expand and dominate the world.

In a system where goods are not produced for profit, there is no economic drive to expand investments to other countries, to find new markets for goods, to seek out cheap sources of labor and raw materials.

Nor is war production a source of profits. In fact, peace is a prerequisite for the full development of the planned economy. Weapons expenditures — which flow from defense against imperialism — weaken the Soviet economy.

It is the imperialist nations, especially the United States, that are the main source of war and aggression today.

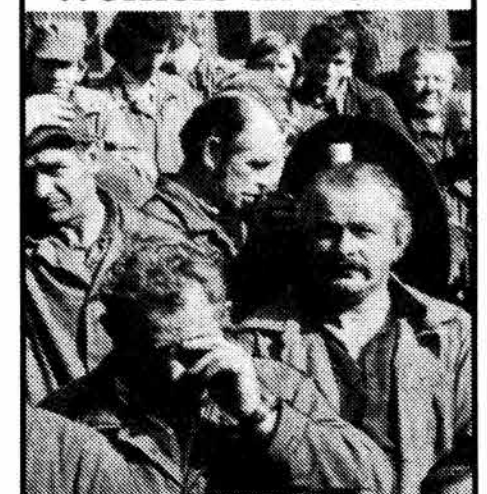
Since the Russian revolution, the imperialist nations have attempted to crush any revolution that threatened to overturn capitalism. This was the basis for the Korean and Vietnam wars, and explains the current threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. After 1917, the United States and thirteen other capitalist countries invaded the Soviet Union trying to overturn the revolution.

Today, it is U.S. missile bases that circle the Soviet Union, Poland, and Eastern Europe. And Washington's strategy is based on attempting to achieve a first-strike capability against the Soviet Union — not, as NATO pretends, to respond to previous Soviet missile deployments.

In their attempt to present a radical alternative to Kirkland's Polish "support" campaign, these social democrats fail, for they end up giving credence to the cold war rhetoric and foreign policy positions that they want to take their distance from.

The best way to aid the Polish workers is not to give one ounce of credibility to Washington's deceptions about the causes of war. Our job is as Tadeusz Kowalik said: to get out the truth to the American people about what the Polish workers are really fighting for and the dangers posed to their revolution — not only by the Soviet bureaucracy, but by the U.S. warmakers.

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Morris Chertov: working-class fighter

By Nelson Blackstock

Morris Chertov died in Los Angeles November 2. He was seventy-three years old.

Morris Chertov was a member of that generation of workers who were swept into political activity by the Great Depression of the 1930s. A founder of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and a member until his death, he devoted his life to the cause of the working class.

Chertov was born on December 30, 1907 in New York City of Russian Jewish immigrant parents. His father was a scenic artist and a unionist. His mother had been a garment worker in Russia and worked for a time in that industry here.

As a child he heard tales of union organizing in Czarist Russia and of repression by Cossacks and anti-Semites.

The oldest of three children, his younger brother, Robert Chester, was also a founder of the SWP and a member until his death in 1975.

In 1928 Chertov signed on as a messman on a ship to Latin America. Conditions on board were so bad that he decided to get off in Buenos Aires, Argentina. There he happened to land a job on an English language newspaper as a cub reporter. His eight months in Argentina proved to be an eye-opener.

"I was profoundly disquieted by the role of American capital in Argentina. It raised fundamental questions which I thought I would find answers to back in the U.S.A."

Chertov wrote those words in a brief biographical sketch he prepared in 1977 at the SWP's request.

He got back just as the depression hit. Having never finished high school, he enrolled in night classes in New York City. There he joined a student group led by Communist Party members.

"Their conduct and thinking made a bad impression on me," Chertov wrote. "The leaders were semi-berserk individuals, who literally frothed at the mouth exhorting us to undertake various wild projects."

The Communist Party in those days was in an ultra-left phase, the so-called third period, that lasted until 1935. Chertov rejected it.

"Shortly after this I got a job on a Ford final assembly line in New Jersey," Chertov wrote. The demanding hours forced him to drop his night classes, and he never finished high school. But his education was really just beginning.

"To that time it was the greatest educational experience I had gone through," he wrote. "What I saw of how an individualistic body of 300 workers were finally disciplined into a smoothly functioning cooperative organism recalled some little reading of Marx I had done, particularly of how industrial capital taught workers how to organize themselves."

"I wanted to see the plant unionized but it was an armed camp — armed guards everywhere. I concluded it would take a revolutionary organization to do it. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party were out. I kept my eyes open for some other organization."

Joins American Workers Party

In April, 1934, Chertov ran across an announcement for a meeting of a new organization. He decided to attend, and joined on the spot.

The American Workers Party (AWP), which Chertov had joined, was headed by A.J. Muste, known to a later generation as a leader of the antiwar movement of the 1960s.

At this time a movement was underway to organize basic industry. Socialist-minded workers were among those fighting hardest for this goal.

In Toledo, Ohio, AWP members played leading



Morris Chertov (left) with Farrell Dobbs, SWP candidate for president, during Chertov's campaign in 1948 for governor of Connecticut on SWP ticket.

roles in strikes at Autolite that helped pave the way for the founding of the United Auto Workers and the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations).

Meanwhile, in Minneapolis members of the Communist League of America (CLA) were leading strikes that brought unionism to that city and eventually led to the transformation of the Teamsters from a small craft outfit to a powerful industrial union.

The central leaders of the CLA had been expelled from the Communist Party for supporting Leon Trotsky's defense of Leninism against the Stalinization of the international Communist movement.

In December of 1934 the AWP and the CLA fused to form the Workers Party. Prior to the fusion Chertov had been among the AWP members pushing hardest for it. He was a delegate from New York City to the AWP convention that voted to fuse and to the founding convention of the new party that followed.

In 1936 the Workers Party's members joined the Socialist Party to win over a growing left wing. In late 1937 the left wing was expelled and in January, 1938 it formed the Socialist Workers Party.

Socialist unionist

In the late 1930s when socialists decided to send members into the maritime industry, Chertov was one of the first to go because of his earlier experience in the industry. As a member of the Seafarers International Union he participated in many strikes and picket lines.

In 1940 while shipping out of New York he met Pearl Spector. They were married and remained companions until his death.

During the war he sailed the Atlantic. At one point his ship was blown out from under him. For a time he also sailed on the Great Lakes while based in Detroit.

At the close of the war he was among the seamen who re-established contact with co-thinkers of the SWP in Europe. The war had broken old links, and now Morris sought them out anew, carrying documents and addresses back and forth to the states.

After the war Morris and Pearl moved to Connecticut. They succeeded in setting up two branches of the

SWP there. During a big General Motors strike they recruited to the SWP the entire strike committee at one plant.

When the Cold War came and the anticommunist witch-hunt set in, Morris had his seaman's papers revoked by the Coast Guard.

Now barred from working in maritime, Morris turned to painting, finding jobs as both an industrial and a house painter.

In 1952 Morris and Pearl moved to Philadelphia. He worked for twenty years at Westinghouse, where he was a precision machine-tool operator. As a member of the United Electrical Workers he estimated he took part in twenty strikes.

Morris and Pearl brought up two daughters, Eva and Judy, both members of the SWP today.

When the victorious Cuban revolution came on the scene in 1960, Morris became active in its defense as a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Later he joined in the movement against the war in Vietnam, often working with his union on that issue. From his plant he brought one of the first bus loads of unionists to march against the war in Washington.

Party builder

Over the years Morris served as an SWP branch organizer, field organizer, and was a delegate to almost every party convention for three decades.

In 1960-61 he attended a session of the party's national leadership school.

Morris ran for office under the SWP banner on at least three occasions, including for governor of Connecticut in 1948 and for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania in 1964.

When asked once on a questionnaire if he had ever been arrested for party or union work, his reply was: "Never arrested — plain lucky."

After retiring in 1974 Morris moved to Chicago, where he and Pearl lived for two years before moving to New Orleans.

In New Orleans they helped found a new branch of the SWP. When they opened their new headquarters and book store for the first time, a contingent of Ku Klux Klanners showed up to picket. A television newscaster interviewed Morris and asked if this meant the new headquarters would be shut down. With KKKers yelling in the background, Morris's answer still came through loud and clear to viewers that evening: "Hell no!"

In the late 1970s Morris and Pearl moved to Los Angeles, where Pearl took on the assignment of branch organizer.

Although after he retired Morris was not able to be as active as he once was, he kept a lively interest in party affairs and politics in general.

In Los Angeles a memorial meeting was held for Morris Chertov on November 7. SWP leader Fred Halstead and Cathy Gutekanst, Young Socialist Alliance organizer, spoke.

Gutekanst told how Morris was always ready to listen to young people, always encouraging them, talking socialism to them.

Fred Halstead was a close neighbor and friend of Morris in his last years.

"Morris was a worker, a person who had never finished high school, but he had been a student all his life," Halstead said. "He had a great respect for ideas and for literature."

"Just days before he died he called me late one night and asked me to watch a television program with him. It was on public TV, a program about philosophy, the views of Sartre. Morris loved the program and we sat and talked about it when it was over," Halstead recalled.

"He was one of the great rank and file of the SWP."

From Intercontinental Press

... Nicaraguans brace for attack

Continued from page 3

"should have a book in his or her hand. A book and a rifle. This is going to be a revolution of books, rifles, and guitars."

Commander Dora María Téllez sounded the same theme the next day in a speech to a group of workers who will be trained to operate and maintain 600 new tractors from the Soviet Union.

"Our business is construction," she said. "What we want to do is build our country. But we have to be soldiers too, if we don't want our enemies to come and tear down what we build up."

One thing is certain: any attempt by U.S. or other forces to intervene in Nicaragua will be met by a fighting people. The FSLN takes its name from Augusto

César Sandino, who led a guerrilla war against an invasion of Nicaragua by the U.S. Marines in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

International solidarity

All demonstrations of international solidarity and every repudiation of Reagan's war drive are reported and welcomed here in Nicaragua. Several thousand people demonstrated in Lima, Peru, November 8, and 15,000 marched through the streets of Quito, Ecuador, just before U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders arrived November 10.

Foreign Minister D'Escoto recently returned from a trip to South America,

where he received assurances from the presidents of Brazil, Ecuador, and Panama, and from the foreign minister of Peru, that their countries would not take part in any invasion of Nicaragua.

But Nicaraguans give special weight to expressions of solidarity and antiwar sentiment on the part of the people of the United States. Every picket line, demonstration, or challenge to Reagan's saber-rattling is reported in the revolutionary press here.

On November 10, *Barricada* published a photograph of an antiwar picket in New Orleans. An accompanying editorial column explained that the Nicaraguans' opposition to recent U.S. government moves was in no way directed

against the American people.

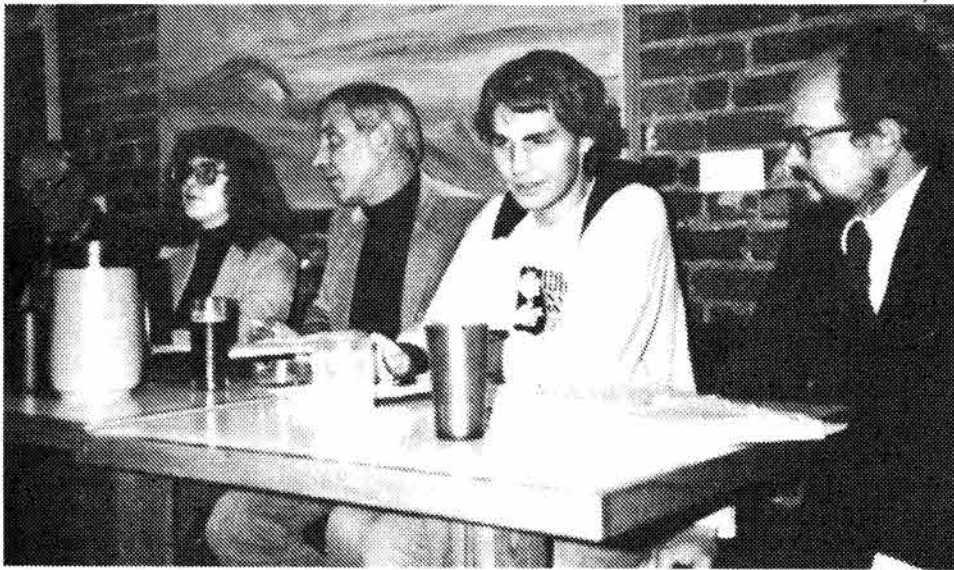
"Last week," the column said, "we pointed out that the actions of the North American people themselves form one of the crucial pillars for holding back the hands of the imperialists who want to strangle us. And here we should repeat once again that our anti-imperialist position is precisely that, anti-imperialist."

"Our position has much in common with the democratic ideals and the desire for peace and friendship on the part of working people and intellectuals in the United States and with those political figures who do not want to see their country plunged into a new quagmire like Vietnam."

From Intercontinental Press

Rail workers panel discusses

Danger from transporting nuclear waste



United Transportation Union and Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks participated in panel on nuclear dangers. From left to right: Merle Hansen, Cheryl Porch, John Bohlman, Mike Lux, and Terry Ford.

By Mary Nell Bockman

LINCOLN, Nebraska — A broad panel on the Dangers of Nuclear Power held here November 2 brought rail workers, farmers, and community organizations together to discuss the unchecked growth of the nuclear industry. About forty people, mostly rail workers, attended the meeting which was co-sponsored by United Transportation Union

(UTU) Local 305 and Nebraskans for Peace.

John Bohlman, chairman of the UTU Local 305 Safe Energy and Full Employment Committee, took up the issue of transportation of nuclear waste. He explained that often special trains are used to carry radioactive waste. These trains move through highly populated areas that rarely have effective evacua-

tion plans in case of an accident. Sometimes rail workers are not even told that trains they are working on carry nuclear waste.

"The main purpose of the Safe Energy and Full Employment Committee is to educate union members and their families so they know how dangerous this stuff is," Bohlman said. "We want to see a moratorium on the transportation of nuclear waste. It can't be moved safely."

The vice-president of the United States Farmers Association, Merle Hansen, talked about his travels with a veterinarian through farm communities around Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The radiation released by the Three Mile Island plant is having a devastating effect on farm animals and wildlife in the area.

Serious problems at the Ft. Calhoun nuclear plant outside of Omaha were discussed by Terry Ford, an aide to State Senator Steve Witala. Ft. Calhoun has been targeted by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission because of the developing "embrittlement" of the containment vessel. An accident such as the one that occurred at Three Mile Island could easily crack the vessel, causing a meltdown.

Another rail worker on the panel, Cheryl Porch, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 471, talked about the alternatives to nuclear power. "From the point

of view of people who work for the railroads, coal makes much more sense," she said. "Full cars mean more jobs and no one was ever radiated by coal."

Rail workers in Lincoln first got involved in antinuclear activities after several members of the UTU attended the first Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Pittsburgh last year. They also organized a delegation to go to the national protest march on March 28, the second anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident in Harrisburg.

After many discussions with other rail workers, the UTU Local 305 voted to take their message to the Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington D.C. on September 19. There, union members carried a banner demanding "No Nuclear Power and No Nuclear Weapons." They reported many favorable comments from other marchers.

Plans have also been made by the Safe Energy and Full Employment Committee to send people to the second Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment in Gary, Indiana, November 20-23. Two union locals, the UTU and the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, and the Lincoln Coalition of Rail Crafts will be sending official delegates. The railroad workers hope to get out more information by printing a brochure on the nuclear power issue after the Gary conference.

Protests hit killing of union member by rent-a-cop

By Paul Montauk

BERKELEY — It would appear that almost every store you walk into these days has a private cop or two, armed, patrolling the aisles.

This can lead to tragic consequences.

A few weeks ago, at a large Pay 'N Save store here, Robert Labuzan, a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10, was shot and killed by armed private cop Robert McKinzy.

Labuzan was accused by McKinzy of shoplifting a \$4.50 package of cold tablets and then detained for booking. When Labuzan attempted to leave, McKinzy shot him in the back. He died twenty minutes later.

McKinzy was employed by Delcon Security, a rent-a-cop firm. Among the growing number of firms like this, Delcon is known as being particularly irresponsible.

Last year, it was fined \$1,000 for twenty-two violations of the laws regarding security companies. Delcon guards did not possess permits to carry a firearm, or were not registered with the state as required by law.

At least five of Delcon's guards had never been trained in the powers of arrest granted security guards.

McKinzy only received six hours of training before going to work as an armed guard. When asked why he shot Labuzan, he replied that he thought he

was doing what he was supposed to do.

The ILWU issued an angry statement to the press protesting the killing. It demanded that Pay 'N Save accept full responsibility for the killing, that it disarm all its security personnel, and that it take the initiative in getting all Berkeley businesses to disarm their security guards.

Local citizens and ILWU members began picketing the store and urging everyone to boycott it.

After ten days of a successful boycott, Pay 'N Save agreed to talk to the boycott organizers.

McKinzy was arrested for killing Labuzan.

Pay 'N Save agreed to close its store

Saturday, October 3, in memory of Labuzan. All the store employees were paid for that day and a sign was posted in the window explaining why the store was closed.

Sales receipts for an average Saturday are to be donated to the Labuzan family. Pay 'N Save agreed to terminate its contract with Delcon and to not use armed guards in its 200 stores. Pay 'N Save said it would take out ads stating its opposition to armed guards and urge other businesses to do the same.

Some leaders of the boycott committee have indicated that they are now going to visit merchants throughout the East Bay area and demand the disarming of private cops patrolling the stores.

A military coup 'the best we could hope for'?

John Schmitz, an ultrarightist and foul-mouthed racist, has been getting quite a bit of media in California recently. According to the October 30 *Los Angeles Times*, he "has been working the talk shows, the panel interviews and the celebrity circuit for the last two weeks."

Also, the *Times* featured a half page interview with Schmitz by staff political writer Richard Bergholz.

Schmitz is definitely a hard-core right-winger. A member of the national council of the John Birch Society, he says he agrees with Birch society

But why, an easterner might enquire. He sounds like just another right-wing nut.

No. Besides the Birch Society and McCarthy foundation, Schmitz has added credentials. For one thing, he teaches political science at Santa Ana College in Southern California.

For another, he's a colonel in the Marine Corps reserve and is currently preparing classified "war games" material.

Also, Schmitz is an elected member of the California state senate.

Previously, he served in the U.S. Congress. His current aim is to take the Republican senatorial nomination in California.

His present spate of publicity began when he publicly advised that if Reagan was unable to carry through his program, a military coup "might be the best we could hope for."

The *Times* assures that Schmitz "is dead serious about the prospects of a military coup. It's no joke."

The interview outlines his scenario: "Reagan's programs fail, the economy disintegrates, people are rioting in the streets, the Russians plan an invasion to take advantage of the domestic strife, the military recognizes the threat and the coup occurs."

Schmitz nails it down a bit further. "You can't fight an external enemy while your home front is seething," he explains. "And so the combination of the external threat and the breakdown at home calls for martial law... if Reagan were still in office, he'd probably invoke martial law."

In laying all this out, the *Times* observes, "Schmitz treads carefully over the minefield of advocacy. As a legislator, he has taken an oath to defend the Constitution and government against overthrow by force or violence."

Schmitz candidly adds, "I'm just predicting. I'm stuck with an oath of office."

Quite a few Californians were properly disturbed by this poisonous business. An issue of the *Times* devoted half its letters column to it.

One reader ironically enquired why the Senate committee on terrorism wasn't there to grill Schmitz.

Others wanted to know why there was no move for impeachment, no official suggestion that perhaps he had violated his oath of office.

One thing seemed obvious to a lot of people. If Schmitz were a left-winger of some kind, it would have really hit the fan.

They certainly have a point. The government spends a lot of time trying to frame Marxists as advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. But when a right-winger talks about a military dictatorship he simply gets extra media.

A few years back, a paper like the *L.A. Times* would have ignored Schmitz or simply poked fun at him. But the *Times* is a sober-minded capitalist paper. It recognizes the depth of the crisis that grips the social system and the fierce struggle this will inevitably spark. Right-wingers talking about military coups are no longer treated as oddballs.

—Harry Ring

As I see it

founder Robert Welch that former president Eisenhower was a "conscious, dedicated agent of the Communist conspiracy."

Schmitz is also a board member of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy Foundation, assertedly dedicated to providing the "truth" about the late would-be fuhrer.

Schmitz believes this country may have a military coup in the next few years. "Definitely by 1986," he says.

His coup statement won him his present media fling, *L.A. Times* and all.

Drive to get out truth meets with big success

By Nancy Rosenstock

From Boston to San Diego, from Miami to Seattle, socialists hit the streets on November 14 armed with piles of the *Militant* headlined "U.S. readies attack on Central America."

Socialists are on an emergency effort to get out the truth about Reagan's military threats in Central America and the Caribbean. They are helping to build protest activities and informing as many people as possible about the danger of these threats through sales of the *Militant*.

The response highlights the antiwar attitudes of many people in this country. On November 14, in the New York/Northern New Jersey area, socialists sold close to 700 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, our Spanish-language bi-weekly. They found an eagerness to discuss the military moves being prepared by Washington and fear that Reagan may take the U.S. people into a war.

Top salesperson, with fifty papers, was Phil Bustin, an auto worker at Ford's Metuchen, N.J. plant.

Wells Todd, who ran in the recent election on the SWP ticket for mayor of New York City, works at the giant General Motors plant in Tarrytown, N.Y. While discussing the recent war moves at work, one worker commented, "I'd thought they would take us to war, either in the Caribbean or in the Middle East." Todd also found many young people who said just simply, "I'm not going."

Interest was also high among Black workers in the current wave of FBI rampages against Black activists and in the article on the release of Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston) featured on the back page of the last issue of the *Militant*.

In San Antonio, sixty *Militant*'s were sold. Steve Marshall, who sold eleven papers to soldiers, described his experiences: "I aimed my pitch at the hundreds of close-cropped young men and women, in and out of uniform, who

cruise up and down Houston Street every Saturday — mostly airmen from Lackland Air Force Base and GI's from Fort Sam Houston. I'd hold up the *Militant* and ask a group, 'Want to buy a paper, before Reagan starts a war?' That would turn three of four heads. Then I would continue, 'You don't want a war, do you?'

"There were different responses, but the overwhelming one was a long drawn out, 'No.' One GI asked me for directions to the local *Militant* Bookstore after I told him it had a stock of Malcolm X's books."

In St. Paul, Minnesota, where forty-nine copies of the *Militant* were sold, Jay Ressler found a similar response. While selling at the Unidale Shopping Center, he met a disabled Vietnam vet who stopped his truck when he saw the headline of the *Militant*. "I'm very much afraid that there is going to be another Vietnam and we must do everything we can to stop it," he told Ressler as he bought a copy of the paper.

A Black steelworker in East Chicago, Indiana, described it this way to Manuel Barrera, "This has been going on for awhile. It's about time someone is reporting it. We should not fight a war. The U.S. has no right interfering in the affairs of other countries." A total of sixty *Militant*'s and twenty-five copies of the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, were sold in the northern Indiana area, mainly to steelworkers.

Our efforts to get out the truth and sound the alarm about the war preparations must continue. Protest activities are mounting. More and more people are becoming aware of the real intentions of the Reagan administration in Central America and the Caribbean.

The momentum established with sales of the last issue of the *Militant* needs to be maintained as long as there is an imminent danger of new military moves.

This issue marks the end of our ten-week drive to win 8,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. The accompanying scoreboard reflects results at the end of the seventh week of the drive. For the first time since the beginning of the drive, the scoreboard shows that we are behind schedule. A final scoreboard and an article assessing the drive will appear in an upcoming issue of the *Militant*.

As part of our emergency effort to get out the truth and defend the Cuban, Grenadian, and Nicaraguan revolutions and the revolutionary fighters in El Salvador, there will be many opportunities to sell subscriptions, in particular to activists in the solidarity movement. The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will be especially attractive and useful as we continue to carry first-hand reports from Cuba and Nicaragua, and to print speeches by Fidel Castro and other revolutionary leaders as well as articles and editorials from Cuba's *Granma*, Nicaragua's *Barricada*, and the *Free West Indian* from Grenada.

Election returns

We have just begun to receive information on votes cast for Socialist Workers Party candidates in various parts of the country.

In Phoenix, Ellie García, candidate for mayor, received 5,083 votes, 6.3 percent of the total cast, with a low voter turnout.

In Cincinnati, Robert Connolly, candidate for city council, polled 7,520 votes, 1.1 percent of the total. Connolly placed eighteenth in a field of twenty, ahead of the right-wing Libertarian Party and the candidate of an anti-abortion party.

Betsy Soares, candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, was credited with 252 votes, 1.3 percent of the total.

As returns become available in other cities, they should be promptly forwarded to the *Militant* so that we can report them.

Young Socialist Alliance Convention



A Young Socialist Alliance convention building team sold 'Militants' and talked to people about the upcoming YSA national convention at the Ford plant in Sheffield, Alabama. For more information about the convention to be held in Philadelphia, December 31 to January 3, write YSA P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003; or see page 19 for the YSA chapter near you.

Subscription scoreboard

As of November 14, 1981

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
**Cleveland	55	67	5	6	60	73	122
*Lincoln	40	41	0	2	40	43	108
Denver	95	93	5	6	100	99	99
*Portland	75	73	0	1	75	74	99
New Orleans	110	103	0	2	110	105	95
Atlanta	165	164	10	0	175	164	94
Detroit	200	186	15	9	215	195	91
*Piedmont	180	162	0	1	180	163	91
Louisville	125	111	0	0	125	111	89
Salt Lake City	140	132	20	10	160	142	89
*San Antonio	130	115	35	28	165	143	87
*Washington D.C.	235	213	40	23	275	236	86
San Diego	90	87	30	15	120	102	85
*Philadelphia	130	119	40	21	170	140	82
St. Louis	115	96	5	1	120	97	81
*Boston	200	174	25	6	225	180	80
Twin Cities	180	143	0	0	180	143	79
*Harrisburg	130	99	0	0	130	99	76
Capital District	90	70	5	1	95	71	75
Newark	275	244	75	18	350	262	75
*Birmingham	200	141	0	3	200	144	72
*Iron Range	110	79	0	0	110	79	72
*Brooklyn	475	355	75	32	550	387	70
Kansas City	125	94	25	11	150	105	70
*Pittsburgh	290	202	10	3	300	205	68
Tucson	20	20	15	3	35	23	66
Los Angeles	325	228	75	30	400	258	65
Phoenix	75	51	25	14	100	65	65
Oakland	170	124	30	2	200	126	63
Milwaukee	150	102	25	5	175	107	61
Morgantown	120	71	0	0	120	71	59
Seattle	140	81	10	7	150	88	59
Chicago	215	134	35	11	250	145	58
Baltimore	130	71	5	1	135	72	53
Gary	115	64	10	0	125	64	51
Indianapolis	125	62	0	0	125	62	50
San Francisco	150	88	50	6	200	94	47
*Cincinnati	70	32	0	0	70	32	46
*Toledo	50	23	0	0	50	23	46
Albuquerque	60	30	25	6	85	36	42
Dallas	110	47	50	17	160	64	40
*Manhattan	705	327	245	56	950	383	40
Miami	90	35	10	3	100	38	38
San Jose	90	32	40	9	130	41	32
Tidewater	120	37	0	0	120	37	31
Charleston	125	22	0	0	125	22	18
Houston	135	15	40	0	175	15	9
Miscellaneous		226		37		263	
TOTAL	7250	5285	1110	406	8360	5691	68
SHOULD BE		5075		777		5852	70

*indicates area that has raised goal

**indicates area petitioning to put SWP on ballot



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Onward Christian soldier — After nearly a decade, the army has reinstated training in bayonet fighting. At Ft. Benning, Maj. Finney D. Stafford, Jr. philosophized, "I think the spirit of killing that you develop with the bayonet is going to pay off."

Tell it to the judge — "Honest, fellows, I have no idea how the money got there. Someone must have stuffed it in my pocket." — A New Jersey judge arrested in front of the courthouse and charged with taking a \$12,000 bribe from a defendant he was scheduled to sentence the next day.

Un-Brazilian — Operators of the numbers game in Rio de Janeiro threatened a strike to protest a crackdown by military police. This was unsettling to the local cops, who enjoy a substantial cut of the numbers take. The city chief of police was sure there'd be no strike. He said, "I don't think their lack of patriotism will reach that point."

Cabin by the sea — Jaqueline Onassis is completing a vacation retreat at Martha's Vineyard. The main house has three bedrooms and five bathrooms. The guest house has two bedrooms and four bathrooms. All the bathrooms have

electrically heated towel bars. Total estimated cost, \$3.1 million.

No bloopin' good — The White House said no to a TV feature including bloopers by Reagan during his film career. Instead, they did the one of Ford stumbling down the steps of Air Force 1, and Carter at the Democratic convention referring to the late Hubert H. Humphrey as Hubert Horatio Hornblower.

Shopping tip — The tab for a full-length Russian sable coat will run \$60,000 this year. But an equivalent Canadian sable is only \$15,900. And,

we're assured, it takes a keen eye to spot the difference.

Almost reasonable — With the county jail filled to overflow, the Des Moines area sheriff urged county cops to keep arrests to a minimum. He said drunk drivers would probably be driven home instead of booked, and that other offenses which normally brought a night in the pokey would rate a citation.

She's going to buy more? — Nancy Reagan's press secretary said White House mail was running three to one in favor of the new \$209,000 set of dishware.

What's Going On

Protest U.S. military threat

MICHIGAN DETROIT

THE NEW THREAT OF WAR IN THE CARIBBEAN. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Nov. 22, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

U.S. HANDS OFF CENTRAL AMERICA! Speakers: Jim McNamara, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m., 6 p.m. dinner. 215 E. 6th St. Donation: \$3, \$1.50 forum only. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

UTAH SALT LAKE CITY

HANDS OFF CENTRAL AMERICA! Speakers:

Ed Berger, Socialist Workers Party; Bonnie Macri, president, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Michael Moody, Utah State Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; others. Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. 677 S. 7th St. E., 2nd Fl. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON SEATTLE

WAR CLOUDS OVER CENTRAL AMERICA: WHY WASHINGTON IS THREATENING CUBA, NICARAGUA, AND EL SALVADOR. Film: *Revolution or Death*. Panel presentation, including Martin Gonzalez, Seattle Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Sun., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

WHERE THE AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS STAND TODAY. Speaker: Dave Evans, president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 502. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway (2 blocks north of Broadway off Golden State ramp). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

OAKLAND

CLASS SERIES ON 'COMMUNIST MANIFESTO': THE RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF THIS HISTORIC DOCUMENT TODAY. Speaker: Young Socialist Alliance member. Mon. Nov. 23, 30, 7 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

SAN DIEGO

GUATEMALA: U.S.-BACKED DICTATORSHIP STEPS UP REPRESSION. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN JOSE

REAGAN'S ATTACKS ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS: HOW WOMEN ARE FIGHTING BACK. Speakers: Maxine Jenkins, negotiated Hay Study for American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) 101 city workers; Ann Menasche, Socialist Workers Party; Julie Moore, chair, Reproductive Rights Task Force San Jose South Bay National Organization for Women; representative, AFSCME 101.

Sun., Nov. 22, 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.

COLORADO DENVER

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE: DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION. Two days of classes. Fri., Nov. 27: Nicaragua — workers and farmers in power (11 a.m.); People's power in Cuba (2 p.m.). Sat., Nov. 28: Poland — an unfinished revolution (11 a.m.); The future of democracy in the U.S. (2 p.m.). Washington Park Community Center, 809 S. Washington. Donation: \$5 for weekend. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

RALLY TO DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES. Speakers: Andree Kahlmorgen, Political Rights Defense Fund; Walter Carmen, American Friends Service Committee; Trish Gallegos, Denver National Organization for Women; Jim Reynolds, American Civil Liberties Union; representative of Kiko Martinez Defense Committee; representative of El Salvador Legal Defense Committee. Fri., Nov. 27, 7 p.m. Executive Tower Inn, 1405 Curtis St. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

'THE WAR GAME.' Film on madness of nuclear war. Speaker: Jeff Rogers, Socialist Workers Party, Teamsters Local 528. Sun., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

INDIANA GARY

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN OPEN HOUSE. Meet Indiana's socialist candidates: Jesse Smith for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.; Dave Ellis for U.S. Congress, 10th C.D. Sun., Nov. 22, 12-4 p.m. 3883 Broadway. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

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.

NEBRASKA LINCOLN

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE IDEAS OF MARXISM. A class series. Sat., Nov. 14-Dec. 12, 1 p.m. UNL East Campus Union. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

NEW YORK MANHATTAN

STOP U.S. WAR THREATS AGAINST THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA! Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Militant correspondent in Managua, others to be announced. Fri., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th Street. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OHIO CINCINNATI

SOLIDARITY RALLY TO PROTEST REAGAN VISIT TO CINCINNATI. Mon., Nov. 30, 5-7 p.m. Fountain Square (downtown). Ausp: November 30 Solidarity Coalition. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON PORTLAND

AFTER SADAT: THE FUTURE FOR PALESTINIAN LIBERATION. Speaker: Joel Aber, former staff writer for the *Militant*. Sun., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS DALLAS

STOP REAGAN'S ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Rally for Political Rights Defense Fund. Sat., Dec. 5, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King Center, 2922 M.L.K. Blvd., Library Conf. Room. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (214) 823-6279.

HOUSTON

HOW SLAVERY WAS ABOLISHED. Film: *Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad*. Speaker: Laura Moorehead, 1981 Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston. Fri., Dec. 4, 7:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Friday Night Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

CUBALIBRO HOLIDAY FAIR

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Letters



FBI's nature

The *Militant* inexplicably failed to mention the most important facts about Larry Grathwohl, who is now being put forward by the press as a former member of the Weather Underground with the "evidence" to prove that Cuban intelligence was behind the operations of the Weatherpeople. (See *Militant*, November 6).

Grathwohl was more than an FBI stool-pigeon. He was a classical agent-provocateur. The story was revealed by Seymour Hersh in the May 20, 1973, *New York Times*.

Grathwohl provided the Weatherpeople with technical knowhow for their bombings. He had had demolition and munitions training in the Army. According to Hersh, "Sources said Mr. Grathwohl immediately began giving lessons in bomb-making and the use of delayed fuses to his Weathermen associates, and — utilizing a special munition he manufactured — participated in the bombing of a public school in a suburb of Cincinnati in the fall of 1969."

One former Weatherperson recalled, according to Hersh, "I can remember one meeting in Cincinnati where there was a discussion going on about the question of armed political resistance and the various

bombings that had occurred. Grathwohl took the initiative as was his wont and began castigating people for talking about the destruction of bombings. 'True revolutionaries,' he said, 'had to be ready and anxious to kill people.'"

Your readers might like to know this side of the FBI's nature.

Ira Wachter
East Orange, New Jersey

Request for help

For biographical, critical, and political monographs about deceased Socialist Workers Party members Duncan Ferguson, Laura Gray, and Joseph Vanzler (who used the pseudonym John G. Wright), I would like to hear from anyone with papers, letters, reminiscences, works of art, copies of publications, information about living family members, or any other material that would assist in making these studies as complete and accurate as possible.

Alan Wald
English Department, 7607
Haven Hall,
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

Swapping land

Interior Secretary James Watt and his good buddy Democratic Governor Scott Matheson are trying to pull a fast one in Utah. Project BOLD is a proposal to swap state land for federal land with the aim of "blocking up scattered state lands into more logical and manageable units."

Sounds reasonable. The Wilderness Society supported the concept, but became alarmed when the real purpose became apparent.

Lands the state wants to give up are mostly in bombing ranges, Indian reservations, and National parks. A list of lands the state wants to acquire includes areas with coal, gas, oil, potash, tar sand, mineral, energy, livestock, and commercial potential. Furthermore, the project is

designed to protect all existing rights of use in land swapped.

As for improving noncommercial management, the state is considering letting local governments manage what are now state parks "during the next few austerity years."

This bipartisan attack on the land shows the futility of looking to Democrats to shield us from Reaganism.

Shawn Gillard
Salt Lake City, Utah

La Clínica

We are appealing to your readers for support to La Clínica del Pueblo, an important project we maintain here in the mountains of northern New Mexico where the land grant movement was born.

La Clínica was founded in 1969 for the purpose of providing quality medical and dental care for the residents of the Chama Valley.

Before La Clínica was established, the nearest medical facility was seventy-five miles away. Since we started, we have drastically reduced the infant mortality rate and improved availability of medical care for our elderly population.

This part of New Mexico is an extremely high unemployment area, forcing the migration of the young people in search of jobs, leaving a predominantly elderly population.

The only help we get is from the National Health Service Corporation and Medicare. The rest of our income is generated from direct patient fees. The government has never been helpful and now we are being attacked by Ronnie's budget plans.

La Clínica has always been a very political organization, community-based and governed. We have consistently organized our communities to fight against repression and the other problems of police brutality.

As a result of these efforts, in 1975 La Clínica was raided by the sheriff's department and all our activists framed. We filed a number of civil suits and won

all of them, including a \$10,000 out-of-court settlement in La Clínica's suit. These are very similar to the one the Socialist Workers Party has against the government, except on a smaller scale.

In addition to patient fees, we rely for survival on general fund appeals. This allows us to remain politically without any strings attached.

The communities here are 95 percent Spanish-speaking, some of them over 300 years old. Our main organizing efforts have been in stopping the uranium companies from coming into our mountains and extracting uranium from them.

We have been very successful. In 1979, we were able to keep Anaconda from obtaining a patent to the land for the purpose of mining and we were also able to keep ARCO out of here the same year. In 1980, we fought and won against Phillips Uranium, and this year we were effective in keeping SOHIO out.

Any contribution you are able to send will help greatly.

Contributions should be sent to La Clínica del Pueblo de Rio Arriba, Post Office Box 104, Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico 87575.

Antonio DeVargas
Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico



Sadat

It must seem strange that an avowed socialist and communist would mourn for Anwar Sadat. I mourn. Sadat was a man of many perplexities and contradictions, as are all men. I would never defend his allowing Shah Pahlavi into Egypt. I could never defend the militarism

and terrorism that is Begin's Israel. But I shall defend to the utmost his striving for peace, when most Arab leaders can think of nothing but shedding blood.

You can't defend Khomeini, who slaughters scores of leftists daily, or Khadafy murdering all who don't bow down to his tyrannical regime.

I feel that true socialism has to go hand in hand with pacifism, and to demand social reform at the tip of a bayonet (as Khomeini, Khadafy, and other "revolutionary" leaders do) is to lower oneself to the level of the capitalists that control our lives.

Sadat lived only for peace. He sought to compromise with both ends of a radical spectrum.

Ralph Welton
Westland, Michigan

Succinct analysis

Bill Gottlieb in the October 2 issue of the *Militant* has written an admirably succinct analysis of "Why Higher Wages Won't Cause Inflation." But I would hasten to add the observation that inasmuch as employers enjoy an edge of monopoly over the sale of their product, they may choose to pass on to the consumer even more than their increase in wages, which opportunity may insure to their benefit as well as to labor's. This kind of market power is inflationary — at the expense of the consumer.

Again, why if the employer had monopoly power in the first place, wouldn't he arbitrarily raise prices at his discretion? Because at any one time he is bent on maximizing profit on the basis of his costs. Besides, the price level is also keyed to targeted income brackets, as you imply.

J.A. Billings
Landover, Maryland

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

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THE MILITANT

U.S. teach-ins hit nuclear weapons danger

By Margaret Jayko

The movement against U.S. threats of nuclear war is spreading from Europe to this side of the Atlantic.

On Veterans Day, November 11, over 160 college and university campuses across the United States were the scene of day-long discussions — teach-ins — against nuclear war initiated by the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS).

Thousands of students, faculty members, and community people participated, in forty-one states, in this national "Convocation Against the Threat of Nuclear War." There were also a couple of teach-ins in Canada.

UCS chairman Henry Kendall announced the protests at a November 5

news conference the day after Secretary of State Haig explained that a nuclear weapon could be exploded in Europe "as a warning" to the Soviet Union. Reagan echoed Haig's advocacy of "limited" nuclear war the next week.

The call for the teach-ins also occurred amidst the recent U.S. military threats against the revolutions in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Cuba.

According to Kendal, what began as a modest effort three months ago on several campuses quickly mushroomed throughout the nation in response to Reagan's war threats.

Speakers included politicians, prominent scientists, and former government officials.

It's clear that the movement in Europe against the deployment of NATO missiles was on many people's minds.

Carl Sagan, well-known astronomer and author, addressed the nearly 2,000 people gathered at Cornell University in New York State. Referring to the recent massive European antimissile demonstrations, he said November 10 that he sensed "the same kind of change is about to happen in this country."

At Harvard University more than 1,000 people gave loud applause to Yuri Kapralov, an official of the Soviet Union's embassy in Washington.

He explained that "there is no system of weapons we are not prepared to eliminate, provided it is done on the basis of equity and equal security."

In Groton, Connecticut, more than 150 demonstrators protested the launching of the first Trident nuclear submarine. Five demonstrators were arrested when they tried to block passage of a bus carrying dignitaries.

Bishop Leroy Mathiesen spoke to more than 300 students in San Antonio, Texas, a city that has a concentration of major military installations.

He advocated a nationwide movement to educate people against nuclear war and the illusion of a limited nuclear war "as promoted by President Reagan."

The Bishop caused an uproar among pro-war and business people when he called on his parishioners at the Pantex nuclear weapons plant to stop making bombs.

At the University of California in Los Angeles, more than 3,000 people packed the student union auditorium.

Governor Brown, the keynote speaker, was greeted at the entrance by a mass picket line which protested cuts in education and social programs. Participants carried signs reading "Funds for Brains — Not Bombs."

More than 500 people heard Herbert Scoville, chairman of the Arms Control Association, and former deputy director of the CIA.

He said that there is a "growing public protest in Europe against the deployment of nuclear weapons" and called for similar protests in the United States to counter Reagan's decision on the B-1

bomber and the MX missiles.

Sponsors of the teach-ins included: National Council of Churches, Federation of American Scientists, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Physicians for Social Responsibility, National Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy, and William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists.

Initiators of the teach-ins see them as the beginning of a mass movement in this country against nuclear war, and are planning follow-up activities.

In Europe . . .

Meanwhile, huge protests continue in Europe against the nuclear threat posed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

In Spain, on November 15, nearly half-a-million people rallied at Madrid University to protest the Spanish government's plans to join NATO.

It was one of the biggest demonstrations in Spain in several years.

A subtheme was condemnation of impending coup attempts by the military, which are rumored to be in the offing.

On the same day in Greece, 200,000 people marched past the U.S. embassy in Athens protesting nuclear weapons and NATO. It was also a commemoration of the eighth anniversary of the 1973 student uprising against the then-ruling military junta.

On November 14, 100,000 environmentalists and opponents of nuclear weapons marched in Germany to oppose construction of a third runway at the Frankfurt International Airport.

The runway would increase the military potential of the airport, which is used by U.S. Air Force units assigned to NATO, as well as destroy extensive forests.

The next day, thousands more disrupted automobile traffic near the runway, and were attacked by police.

—M.J.



Antimissile march in Britain. U.S. teach-ins signal depth of opposition in U.S. to nuclear weapons.

Socialists file suit against AP, cops

By Matthew Herreshoff

On November 16, the Socialist Workers Party filed a \$106 million lawsuit against the Associated Press and New York City Police Commissioner Robert McGuire. The suit charges that the socialists were libeled by a false AP story linking the SWP with the hold-up of a Brinks armored car in New York.

The complaint charges that the New York police aimed to "disrupt the lawful political activities of the SWP and its members and for the purpose . . . of interfering with plaintiffs' ability to fully participate in the electoral process, attract members and supporters, and freely exercise their rights of freedom of speech and association without fear of governmental reprisals."

The October 22 AP story claimed that "FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette . . . said the bureau had determined" that Judith Clark, one of those arrested in the Brinks hold-up, "is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party." A "corrective," issued by the AP the next day, at-

tributed the information to Police Commissioner McGuire. Both the cops and the FBI now deny having made the statement.

Who's lying? The cops? The FBI? Associated Press? Or all three?

The SWP's suit will help uncover the answers to these questions.

In the discovery process opened by the suit, AP, the cops, and the FBI will be forced to reveal the sordid details.

This malicious slander has all the earmarks of an FBI "Cointelpro" disruption operation. Planting false stories in the media is standard operating procedure for the secret police.

This is a conscious attempt to smear the SWP. It aims to misrepresent the party's political views. And its goal is to justify further disruption operations against the party.

The SWP is not the only target of this disruption plot. Activists in the Black movement have been singled out in a wave of police round-ups and massive media publicity.

The government has tried to frame Black groups like the Republic of New Africa, as part of a gigantic terrorist "conspiracy" around the Brinks hold-up.

Both the government and the press are also attempting to establish that alleged "terrorists" in the U.S. have foreign connections, especially with revolutionary Cuba. The November 15 Sunday newspaper magazine *Parade* asserts in a major article headlined "How safe are we from terrorism?" that "the trigger for a sustained terror campaign in the United States could be an international crisis such as a new Middle East war, or a sharper confrontation with Fidel Castro. Terrorism might be used to publicize a foreign cause, or to deepen social frictions."

The SWP suit against the New York cops and AP is an important response to this government attack on democratic rights. It is an example for all those who want to fight back.

Other organizations have begun to respond to this attack. Notably, the Na-

tional Black Independent Political Party, which issued a statement blasting the wave of terror against Black activists following the Brinks hold-up.

The SWP's libel suit is closely tied to the SWP's and Young Socialist Alliance's lawsuit against government spying, harassment, and disruption. That case is now awaiting a decision in Federal District Court in New York.

In the lawsuit, the socialists proved that the FBI, CIA, and other government spy agencies have waged a forty-year-long campaign to disrupt the two organizations.

"The slander attack on the SWP aims to affect the outcome of this lawsuit," said John Studer, Executive Director of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

"It is exactly the kind of crime against democratic rights that this lawsuit is challenging. The Political Rights Defense Fund, which has been building support for the socialists' suit, will throw its resources into combatting this new government slander."