

# THE MILITANT

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

## Reagan rushes arms to Mideast rulers Steps up threats against Libya

By Larry Seigle

Washington is escalating its anti-Arab and anti-Islamic propaganda and its military blackmail aimed at the peoples of the Middle East.

The Reagan administration announced this week that it is speeding the shipment of weapons to pro-U.S. regimes in the area. Following the assassination of Egyptian ruler Anwar el-Sadat, 72,000 U.S. troops were put on alert, along with warships from the Sixth Fleet and Air Force fighter squadrons.

At the same time, Washington deepened its public pledges to protect "friendly" Arab regimes from popular rebellions like the one that brought the shah of Iran crashing down from his throne in 1979.

- The United States emphasized its determination to keep the new Egyptian ruler, Hosni Mubarak, in power. The message was delivered by a bipartisan delegation to Sadat's funeral. The group was headed by three men who themselves had been removed from office as a result of popular opposition: Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and James Carter.

Referring to "our relationship with Egypt," Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared that "we consider that relationship absolutely vital to our interests in the region and [we will] treat it accordingly."

Haig accused Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi of involvement in the assassination of Sadat, although he was forced to admit he had no evidence "yet." On his



U.S. aircraft carrier in Mediterranean. White House has ordered Sixth Fleet warships to Libyan coast.

flight home from Cairo, ex-President Carter denounced Qaddafi as "subhuman."

- Washington is rushing arms to the regime of Gaafar el-Nimeiry in the Sudan, which borders on Egypt and Libya. U.S. soldiers will reportedly accompany the weapons as "advisers."

- Reagan took advantage of the assassination of Sadat to step up the campaign for approval of the sale of AWAC surveillance planes to the reactionary monarchy of Saudi Arabia. The AWACs deal is intended to bolster the Saudi government,

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## Two ERA rallies

Two recent pro-ERA actions that took place in Washington, D.C., symbolize the two counterposed roads for those who want to fight for the rights of women today.

One was the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration called by the AFL-CIO.

We marched half a million strong—unionists, women and men, Blacks, Latinos, and whites, anti-war activists, senior citizens, the handicapped, and other victims of the accelerating bipartisan attacks on our rights and living standards.

We marched to say no to the budget cuts, no to union busting, no to stepped up preparations for war, no to racism and the attacks on women's rights, and no to attacks on the environment and on-the-job health and safety.

Solidarity Day was the largest pro-women's rights march in U.S. history, with tens of thousands of participants carrying "ERA YES" signs.

The size of our forces, our unity, our potential power, gave us confidence that we can and must rely on *ourselves* to defend *ourselves*.

Even though the national leadership of the AFL-CIO, which called the march, is committed to support for the two parties of the bosses, the absence of any Democratic or Republican party politicians on the stage emphasized who is politically responsible for enacting into law this assault on our lives and livelihoods.

The antigovernment character of the march pointed to the need for a new party, a labor party that would represent us, the majority.

This picture contrasts sharply with the October 12 "Call to the Nation's Conscience to Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment." The leadership of the National Organization for Women (NOW) organized this as a media event to wrap up the October 9-12 NOW conference. (See news stories page 4 and 5.)

This was projected as an ERA-only action. All the other burning issues facing women were deliberately excluded under the guise that they would detract from the fight for the ERA.

The speakers list gives you an idea of whose conscience was being appealed to and on what basis.

Betty Ford, the honorary chair of NOW's ERA Countdown Campaign, proclaimed "the American spirit and the pursuit of freedom has gained us worldwide respect."

When she said *we*, she meant the ruling rich that she represents.

And the "American spirit" she talked about was what brought us Vietnam, and the hatred for the U.S. government that burns among the oppressed the world over.

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."

Various rally speakers blamed everyone imaginable—women, men, young people—for the fact that the ERA has not been ratified.

Everyone, that is, except the real culprit, whose representatives filled the speakers list.

But it's no accident that the ERA hasn't been ratified.

And no "appeal to conscience" is going to reverse it.

Those who own this country and control the wealth of this country know that their system is in a deep crisis.

And they must press ahead on all fronts to weaken the organizations and resistance of those who produce the wealth.

So they have killed the ERA in state after state as part of their general assault against working people, along with attacks on abortion rights, affirmative action, and childcare, union-busting, give-back contracts, cutbacks, and bigger military budgets.

The Democratic and Republican parties are *their* representatives, bought and paid for.

They can never become ours.

But the rally gave the opposite message, and thereby *weakened* rather than strengthened the fight for women's rights.

It's precisely because of the strength and ruthlessness of the forces determined to prevent ratification of the ERA that women must chart a course toward our powerful allies who marched with us on September 19.

It's that power, and not "spirits" and "miracles" that can effectively fight for the ERA and all of women's rights.

The women's liberation movement has the potential to be one of the key obstacles to the ruling class' attempts to ram their austerity drive and war preparations, including the draft, down our throats.

All it has to do is to fight uncompromisingly for women's rights.

To subordinate *no* issues of concern to women to the needs of anyone. To fight no matter who doesn't like it, and no matter where it takes us.

In her opening remarks at the NOW conference, NOW's president Eleanor Smeal said that we are at a crossroads.

We agree.

The NOW leadership, however, is charting a course away from the road of an uncompromising fight.

But there was deep resistance at the conference

to following the path they want to travel, particularly from many younger NOW members, and Black and Latina members.

They opposed the leadership's position of support to the military and the draft; their hailing of Sadat as a "symbol for peace."

They opposed the sanitizing of the women's liberation movement, by downplaying "controversial" issues like abortion, in order to make it more palatable to the legislators and the employers they represent.

They felt that Solidarity Day, not October 12, showed the way forward.

These are the issues that will continue to be discussed in the months to come in NOW. The issues at stake are vital to the future of the fight for women's rights.

## Meeting on Nicaragua attacked

On October 13 a mob of 400 right-wing Cuban gusanos and Nicaraguan exiles attacked and disrupted a meeting on the campus of Florida International University.

The meeting was to have featured Lawrence Pezzullo, former U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua and Arturo Cruz, current Nicaraguan ambassador to Washington.

From the moment the speakers appeared on the stage the jeering mob began shouting and waving placards preventing the speakers from making their presentations. This harassment culminated in a physical attack on the stage.

Both speakers had to be escorted out of the meeting by a contingent of police.

Twenty members of the Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association (LACSA), a Miami-based solidarity group, who had attended the meeting asked the police for a safe escort from the meeting.

The police refused, and as a result several activists were attacked and injured by a stick-wielding and rock-throwing mob who had gathered outside.

The police intervened to make an arrest only when one goon attacked a cop with a club.

LACSA, together with other groups, held a news conference the next day to denounce the attacks and demand that the police arrest the individuals responsible.

In addition LACSA and other groups are discussing further activities and the possibility of launching a broad free speech campaign to pressure state and local authorities to put an end to these right-wing attacks.

## About this newspaper . . .

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

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

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

On September 19 we were at the Solidarity Day march on Washington, marching against the Reagan administration's austerity drive.

In recent weeks, we've been helping to build solidarity for the air controllers' strike.

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

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

We support the idea of a labor party based on our

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

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

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# Why Egypt's masses don't mourn Sadat

By David Frankel

American journalists in Cairo for Anwar Sadat's funeral were struck by the public silence with which the Egyptian people recorded the death of the ruler who had bragged of being loved like a father by the masses of his country.

The *Washington Post* called it "uncharacteristic indifference," and "surprising apathy." The *Post* quoted one Egyptian as explaining that Sadat was given a "silent death," a term used in Egyptian villages to describe the convenient elimination of one who has been irrevocably dishonored.

All observers noted the contrast between the deserted streets that greeted Sadat's death, and the more than five million Egyptians who turned out in Cairo for the funeral of Gamal Abdul Nasser in 1970.

Why the difference? It is simply that Nasser was seen as an anti-imperialist fighter, while Sadat was seen as a collaborator with an oppressive and hated system of domination.

When Nasser and his Free Officers movement came to power in Egypt in 1952 the country was still a British semicolony. British troops were stationed on Egyptian soil, Britain owned and operated the Suez Canal, and British influence propped up the monarchy of King Farouk.

Under Nasser and the Free Officers the monarchy was abolished, British bases were removed from Egypt, a radical land reform was carried out, and the Suez Canal was nationalized. The joint British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in October 1956, following the nationalization of the Suez Canal, sparked massive protests throughout the Arab world. Nasser became a symbol of resistance to imperialism.

Although Nasser was opposed to the independent organization and mobilization of the workers and peasants, and to the workers and peasants establishing their own government, he was forced to lean on the masses for support against imperialism. He set up subsidies on basic foods and necessities, he brought schools and health centers to Egypt's peasant villages for the first time, and he nationalized some 90 percent of Egyptian industry.

These gains were an inspiration to people throughout the Arab world. A whole generation of militant fighters looked to Egypt and Nasser for guidance in their struggles.

But Nasser was never able to win genuine national independence from imperialism for Egypt. Nasserism—like the similar petty bourgeois nationalist movements led by Nkrumah in Ghana, Sukharno in Indonesia, and Nehru in India—sought to find a middle way between subordination to imperialism and socialist revolution. In this it failed.

Even before Nasser's death in 1970, the pressure of world imperialism on the Egyptian economy had produced a deep crisis there. This pressure was redoubled as inflation skyrocketed in the early 1970s and with the world capitalist economic crisis that began in 1974.

Sadat's response to the military and economic pressure from imperialism was to retreat. Imperialist corporations were invited to invest once again in Egypt, controls on native capital were relaxed, military ties with Moscow were broken, and Sadat finally went to Jerusalem and concluded a separate deal with the Zionist regime.

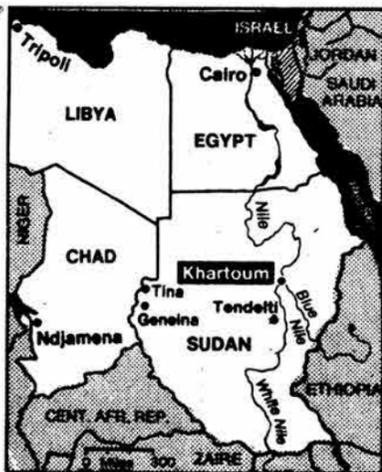


Scene at 1970 funeral of Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser. No such grief for Sadat.

Having regained its grip in the most populous Arab country, Washington tried to use the Camp David deal as a framework for expanding its diplomatic and military network in

the Middle East. But the opposition among the Arab masses, particularly in the wake of the Iranian revolution, proved too powerful to overcome. Sadat remained isolated.

## ... U.S. arms to Mideast



Continued from front page

forging tighter military and diplomatic ties between the Saudi royal house and the United States.

### Another Iran?

On October 1, Reagan declared, "Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran." This was a warning to the people of Saudi Arabia that the U.S. will intervene, directly if necessary, to block any attempt to bring to power a government that represents the interests of the workers and peasants in that country.

Washington's actions of the past week are meant to extend that threat to the peoples of Egypt, the Sudan, and the entire region.

The Iranian revolution has been an inspiration to the Arab masses, in their fight against domination by the United States and other imperialist powers. But from Washington's standpoint, the events in Iran have cast a dark shadow over the entire Mideast.

The Iranian revolution has weakened imperialist power and reactionary forces throughout the region and encour-

aged anti-imperialist fighters.

In response, the United States has to move toward more direct use of American military power to preserve the status quo.

These aggressive moves are accompanied by increasingly shrill propaganda, aimed especially at Iran and Libya, against "Islamic fanatics."

### War 'games'

As a warning to those "fanatics," the Pentagon has expanded plans for its Mideast "war games" to take place next month. The U.S. military exercises will involve coordinated operations with Egypt, Somalia, the Sudan, and Oman.

American officials said it will be "the most dramatic demonstration to date of America's ability to aid its friends in the region." The operation will reach from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. U.S. Marines will stage landings in Somalia and Oman. Paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne Division will be dropped into Egypt, near the Libyan border. B-52 bombers will leave bases in North Dakota, drop bombs on "test ranges" in Egypt, and return non-stop to the United States.

Israel will watch these displays from the sidelines. U.S. officials explained that Arab "sensitivities" to joint military operations with the power that is occupying Arab lands and bombing Lebanese cities precluded the possibility. Nonetheless, Reagan's expanded "strategic alliance" with Israel is at the heart of U.S. military plans for the Mideast.

### A friend in need

The "friend" of Washington who may be in the most immediate need is the Sudanese dictator, Nimeiry. Behind the smokescreen of accusations of a planned Libyan invasion, the United States will send Nimeiry antitank weapons and other arms "within a few days." Secre-

tary of State Haig has called for "emergency action" to back Nimeiry.

Nimeiry drew headlines by accusing Libya, with Soviet backing, of plotting to invade the Sudan. The only evidence was what Nimeiry called an increase in "subversive activities" by pro-Libyan forces in the Sudan.

Nimeiry said that Libyan "agents" were even responsible for high food prices and shortages, which have caused widespread protests. The Sudanese dictator claimed that Libyan "subversives" had bought up all the food and dumped it in the river.

Recently, Nimeiry ordered the roundup of 7,600 people he claimed were plotting with Qaddafi against him.

Arrest of "suspected terrorists" are continuing, and there is a "heavy deployment of soldiers at street corners, on bridges and around Government buildings," reported the *New York Times* October 14.

But even Sudanese officials conceded

that the Libyan "invasion" is a phantom. The government information minister admitted October 13 that "we are not worried that Libya can militarily invade the Sudan. . . . [W]e are more worried about the internal security situation. . . ."

U.S. threats against Libya have also been increased. Libya has become a special target for Washington because of the anti-imperialist stance of its government.

On October 9, the Pentagon announced that an American AWAC plane, used to coordinate air attacks, is now stationed on the Egyptian-Libyan border. The U.S. aircraft carrier *Nimitz* has also moved into the area.

Deepening U.S. military involvement in the Middle East, arming unpopular dictatorships against their own population, and "destabilizing" governments that dare to act independently of U.S. dictates—such is Reagan's program for "stability" in that part of the world.

## W. Germans protest missiles

Three hundred thousand people turned out on October 10 to march against Washington's plans to station 572 new nuclear missiles in Europe. It was the largest demonstration in West Germany since World War II.

Held in Bonn, the demonstration had been denounced in advance by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt as a "declaration of war" on his government. Nevertheless, more than a quarter of the parliamentary deputies in Schmidt's Social Democratic Party (SPD) endorsed the protest, as did more than one-third of the deputies in the Free Democratic Party, Schmidt's partner in the government.

The October 10 demonstration was part of a massive movement that has been gathering force throughout Western Europe against the missiles and increasingly against NATO itself.

Mass demonstrations against the missiles are scheduled in London and Rome on October 24. A building demonstration in Italy drew 50,000 on September 27.

Demonstrations are also scheduled in Paris and Brussels on October 25, and in Amsterdam on November 21. Protests are scheduled in Spain as well, where 50,000 turned out July 5 on an anti-NATO action.

# National Organization for Women debates political strategy

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—A major debate has opened up in the National Organization for Women (NOW) over the program, strategy, and future of the women's liberation movement. The main lines of the debate emerged here at NOW's national conference, where top NOW leaders, over the angry objections of many delegates, projected deeper involvement in the Democratic and Republican parties and increased support for the imperialist foreign policy of the United States.

The October 9-12 conference drew some 2,000 women, including hundreds of new NOW members who have joined since the Reagan administration began escalating attacks on women's rights. A little over 1,000 of the participants were delegates elected by their NOW chapters.

The conference was titled "Countdown to Equality," referring to the nine months left to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in three more states before the June 30, 1982 deadline.

Convinced that as things now stand the ERA will be defeated, many delegates came looking for a major discussion on what is happening to the ERA and other women's rights issues, what is happening in this country as a whole, and what can be done to reverse the reactionary attacks by the government.

## Nuclear bombs & ERA

The opening plenary session was a shock. A new and still incomplete film produced by NOW, "The Equal Rights Amendment: 58 Years," was shown. Beginning with footage of the movement to win women's right to vote, the film quickly moved to World War II. It depicted bombs being dropped and the infamous mushroom cloud of an atomic bomb explosion, which everyone assumed was the bombing of Hiroshima or Nagasaki. A poster was shown of women workers, with a slogan declaring the war couldn't be won without them.

Gasps and hisses were audible as the nuclear bombing scene came on. What does this genocidal act have to do with women's liberation, delegates asked each other.

At the close of the film, NOW President Eleanor Smeal gave a keynote speech. Her central argument for why the ERA should be ratified was that women are needed to "serve" the nation.

The Supreme Court decision last June legalizing draft registration for men was a defeat for women, Smeal said, because the court ruled "they could dis-

criminate and exclude women from service to our country."

"We are involved in national and international crises most of us could not even have dreamed of just a few years ago," she said, "and this nation needs all the talents and resources it can muster. It cannot ignore the talented resources of its female citizens any longer.

"American women cannot be forced at this crucial time in American history to be placed on the sidelines fighting for their birthright and when we are needed to avert what could be a holocaust."

Nothing in the speech indicated the women's movement should work to avert a holocaust by joining in anti-cut-back, anti-war, and anti-draft protests against U.S. domestic and foreign policy. Rather, Smeal followed up her speech by presenting a statement mourning the death of Egyptian dictator Anwar Sadat.

Explaining that NOW leaders would have attended his funeral had it not been for the NOW conference, Smeal declared that, "Both the causes of peace and the pursuit of women's advancement have suffered a great loss with the silencing of Anwar Sadat's voice."

## ERA campaign

Strongly discouraging discussion on all other issues as divisive and out of order, the leadership put forward a package of proposals for activity around the ERA. These included:

- A \$10 million media campaign, including the film shown the first day and a series of ads for the ERA.

- A "missionary" project where NOW volunteers who could afford to leave their jobs and children would travel to unratified states to go door-to-door talking to people about the ERA and which legislators to support in upcoming elections.

- A "message brigade" to organize people to send telegrams and letters to legislators if the ERA came up for a vote in their state.

Urging women to join these projects, NOW leaders appealed to the membership to "change your life for the ERA."

A fund pitch at the convention raised some \$35,000 to help finance the projected media campaign and missionary project.

## Questioning grows

The women, many of whom traveled long distances to get to the conference, were certainly willing to sacrifice to win the ERA. They agreed that a major effort was essential, even if the ERA ultimately was defeated.

But as the first day went on, and the ERA campaign was clarified, many became disillusioned with what the NOW leadership was proposing. And increasingly, women resented the implication that those who couldn't become a "missionary" or "change their life" were making no real contribution and would actually be responsible if the ERA failed.

A series of workshops and issues hearings emphasized that supporting "pro-ERA" Democratic and Republican politicians in the November 1982 elections was the main purpose of the campaign and the raising of money. Involving allies like labor, Blacks, and Latinos in the ERA battle, mobilizing working people and explaining their stake in the fight for equality, was not.

Over and over the argument was made that pro-ERA women are now a powerful, distinct voting bloc that politicians cannot afford to ignore.

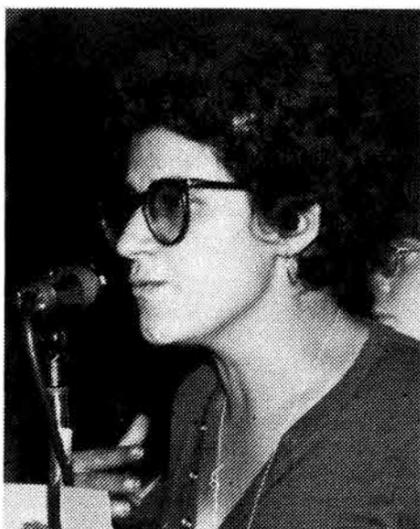
In a workshop on NOW's Political Action Committees Olga Rodriguez of New York NOW asked if NOW would support and give money to "pro-ERA" candidates even if they opposed other women's rights, such as abortion. She was told that it's virtually impossible to find



Atomic bombing of Nagasaki. NOW film's portrayal of World War II attack on Japan provoked big discussion at conference.



DEBORAH HIGGINS: NOW position on draft 'has lost support for ERA.'



ANDREA LUBRANO: 'fighting in U.S. Army won't get us equality.'

pressed.

Glova Scott, a NOW member who also belongs to the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), explained why the NBIPP had decided to break with the Democrats and Republicans. One of the NOW leaders at the workshop replied that "third party candidates take away votes from liberals."

In another workshop, a motion was placed on the floor for NOW to support the idea of a labor party based on the unions. Opponents of this responded that NOW was making big progress in the Democratic Party. One speaker explained how NOW could take over local Democratic Party units.

## Political machine

After attending several workshops, a growing number of women were becoming convinced that the real axis of the "ERA Countdown" was to build up a vote-getting, fundraising political machine to influence the election of Democratic and Republican party candidates.

The resolution on the 1982 elections, which never came to the plenary floor for discussion, made this explicit. It explained that "our involvement in the 1982 elections cannot begin on July 1, 1982, [right after the ERA deadline] but must start now . . . and must also include identifying candidates in the spring, 1982 primaries."

## Civil disobedience

Frustration with this perspective, and with the fact that all substantive discussion on its merits was being stifled, grew. Hundreds of women, including many who agreed with supporting Democrats, felt the organization was letting the ERA go down the drain without a real discussion and without a real fight. Many were concerned about NOW's position on the draft and abortion, too. They wanted to express their outrage—as individuals if nothing else—against the government's attacks on women.

That evening, a workshop had been scheduled on civil disobedience. Led by a group called the Congressional Union, the workshop had a room that seated fifty people. Some 300 poured in.

The Congressional Union leaders said they were going to organize a civil disobedience action at the White House fence the next night to demand the ERA.

Among the leaders was Sonia Johnson, who was expelled from the Mormon Church for supporting the ERA. She explained that the Congressional Union didn't disagree with the NOW leadership's overall strategy, but felt some demonstrative action was needed in addition.

Eventually NOW leaders joined the discussion, and a sharp debate ensued. Women supporting individual civil disobedience were told it would hurt NOW in the eyes of legislators. NOW leaders charged those favoring the White House action with "taking over our movement" and "having a different agenda." These attempts to inhibit a free discussion of real political differences prompted Sonia Johnson to say at one point, "I feel like I'm back in the Mormon Church."

The next day, Smeal announced the Congressional Union had been convinced to cancel the White House action for the time being. There were some boos. Several hundred women gathered at the end of the conference to discuss preparation for future civil disobedience actions.

## Abortion rights downplayed

Meanwhile, in the workshops on abortion, a related debate was taking place. There was deep concern among many participants that NOW has refused to make the fight for abortion rights a priority.

For several years the NOW leader-

## Interest in the 'Militant'

By Lee Martindale

WASHINGTON—The *Militant* proved to be a good way to talk at the National Organization for Women conference about where the fight for women's rights stands today, and about the need to break politically with the Democrats and Republicans.

Thirty-four NOW members bought *Militant* subscriptions at the gathering, and another seventy-five bought a single copy. Twenty-five *Young Socialists* were sold.

The *Militant* booth at the conference sold \$137 in literature and was a center for discussion about the draft and militarism, the bipartisan attacks on women's rights, and the way to fight back.

At the *Militant's* hospitality suite on Saturday night, more than fifty women stopped in to talk more about these issues.

# ERA rally points wrong road forward

By Vivian Sahner

WASHINGTON—The final session of the National Organization for Women (NOW) national conference took place October 12 on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. The event, which was billed as a "Call to the Nation's Conscience to Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment," drew about 1,000 people.

No attempt was made by the NOW leadership to include the dozens of organizations whose members marched, 500,000 strong, for the ERA on Solidarity Day, September 19. No representative of the Black rights movement was invited. No representative of the AFL-CIO, nor the Coalition of Labor Union Women. And Terry Herndon, executive director of the National Education Association, was presented only as an official of an organization with many women members. The word "union" never came up.

Star attractions were Betty Ford, wife of former Republican President Gerald Ford, and Lady Bird Johnson, wife of former Democratic President Lyndon Johnson.

NOW President Eleanor Smeal assured the crowd that political leaders "from both sides of the political aisle" support the ERA. She gave a gushing introduction to Betty Ford, calling her "one of the most admired women in the country." Ford is presiding over NOW's ERA Countdown Campaign.

"Throughout the history of this nation," Ford said into the rolling television cameras, "the American people have very proudly defended the principles of personal freedom, human rights, and the integrity of the individual in pursuing his or her own life, liberty, and happiness. And we defend these principles for ourselves."

Ford made it plain, however, that in her view, the American people and



October 12 rally for ERA. Left to right: NOW President Eleanor Smeal, Betty Ford, Lady Bird Johnson.

the American government and its policies were one and the same.

"We try our best to defend these principles on a universal basis," she said with a straight face. "And the American spirit and the pursuit of freedom has gained us worldwide respect, although occasional divisions."

Lady Bird Johnson tried to generate enthusiasm for the Democrats. Her husband—who was commander-in-chief of U.S. military forces for five years of the Vietnam War—was alluded to as the president who "assured civil rights for Black Americans."

Republican Congresswoman Margaret Heckler, from Massachusetts, did everything but invoke the glories of the B-1 bomber in her flag-waving speech.

"The women of America remain a

great American resource that has yet to be tapped to fulfill the great American dream," she said. "America will reach its greatest dimensions in the world when these strengths are totally realized. . . ."

There will be no sacrifice too great, Heckler added, "to deny us the right to stand before God and thank him for the greatness of the country in which we live and thank him for restoring women to their equal place in this constitution."

These women—and the political opinions they expressed—were presented as representative of the forces to whose conscience we must appeal to win ratification of the ERA. No mention of the attacks on abortion rights, affirmative action, increased military spending, the budget cuts, or union-busting were heard at the

meeting.

Elizabeth Carpenter, former White House press secretary for Lady Bird Johnson, said the rally showed "We've grown from a disorderly group to a really potent political force."

NOW's political orientation toward greater reliance on the two government parties was spelled out most clearly at the rally by Betty Friedan, who was one of the founding leaders of NOW.

Friedan said women who support the ERA have more political clout than "Blacks, Jews, and Chicanos, more than Labor. . . ."

And referring to the women voters who are pro-ERA, Friedan said, "That margin is the only hope of Democrats to return to power before the turn of the century."

Instead of blasting the Democrats and Republicans for refusing to pass the ERA, Friedan implied that the failure to ratify lay with "our sons and our daughters who take equality for granted, who think the world is their oyster . . . they must pay their dues."

Both Smeal and Friedan acknowledged that chances are slim that the ERA will be passed in 1982. Friedan told the crowd, "It will take a miracle to get ratification by then."

And both appealed to the sentiments of all women—regardless of the chances—to do the utmost to win the ERA. But neither one pointed toward the allies of women in the labor movement and Black movement who could be powerfully mobilized as part of such an effort.

Smeal could only tell the crowd that she could not imagine the government voting down the ERA next year. "That's why I know somehow, some way, despite all the political predictions," she said, "that somehow, some way, this spirit will rise up and that we will win."

ship has separated the abortion issue from the ERA with the argument that vigorously campaigning for abortion rights hurts passage of the ERA. Given the sharp increase in attacks on legal abortion, many delegates correctly considered the abortion issue an urgent one for NOW to champion.

But NOW Vice-President for Action Jane Well-Schooley explained that there was "less pressure" on the abortion issue right now, because the ERA had a deadline and abortion rights did not.

Ginny Hildebrand, a miner from Pittsburgh, took the floor to protest NOW's vigorous support for Sandra O'Connor, Reagan's appointee to the Supreme Court. Hildebrand pointed out that O'Connor is anti-abortion as well as anti-busing, anti-union, and pro-death penalty, and asked how her appointment could be considered a victory for women's rights.

Well-Schooley replied that while O'Connor was admittedly "conservative" on many issues, the NOW leadership was convinced she "understood" women's problems because she was a woman.

The workshop leaders were unwilling to support a resolution initiated by San Francisco NOW that called for nationwide abortion actions. They counterposed a resolution that focused on electing "pro-choice" politicians in 1982.

More than 300 women signed a petition to have the demonstration resolution brought before the plenary anyway, but it was never heard because time to discuss resolutions was so short.

Similarly, in the Special Interests hearing, where women attempted to pass a resolution putting NOW on record against drafting women, it was narrowly defeated by a vote of 111 to 104.

But some 547 women signed petitions to get the anti-draft resolution on the agenda the next day, a quarter of those

in attendance at the conference.

## Three currents

By the time of the final plenary session, three political currents within NOW had emerged.

One, led by the NOW leadership, projected deeper participation in ruling-class political parties and support for their reactionary, proimperialist policies as the way to convince those in power to give women more rights.

A second current, frustrated and disoriented by the harshness of Reagan's attacks and seeing no effective response from the labor or women's liberation movements or anyone else, was being drawn toward individual acts of resistance. It was heading toward substituting its own commitment for the difficult task of organizing and mobilizing the weighty social forces necessary.

A third current crystallized around opposition to NOW's position favoring the drafting of women. It included women who wanted to carry out an aggressive defense of abortion rights and other issues and NOW members concerned that fewer Black and Latina women had come to this year's conference. And it brought together those women who looked to the labor and civil rights movements as the real forces NOW should ally with, and to actions like Solidarity Day as the road forward.

## Discussion on draft

While many different issues were touched upon, the final plenary discussion centered on NOW's position on the draft and militarization. Although a quarter of the participants had endorsed the resolution against NOW's current stand, only twenty minutes was finally allotted for discussion of it.

Those opposed to NOW's current stand argued that the brief NOW filed in the Supreme Court last March justified the imperialist draft and the U.S.

militarization drive, which has nothing to do with equality for women.

Their resolution explained, "registration and the draft are essential steps in preparing for new Vietnams, U.S. military intervention into the affairs of other countries."

It called on NOW to oppose "the current military draft registration and a subsequent draft, regardless of whether it is for males only or for both males and females." And it called on NOW to participate in anti-draft activities.

When the resolution hit the floor, Smeal announced she wished to make a statement and that she would then turn over the chair so she could organize a floor fight against the anti-draft resolution.

Identifying herself as one of the authors of the brief, Smeal called it "one of the best briefs ever written by this organization." After speaking, Smeal recognized Judy Knee, who presented a substitute motion upholding NOW's current position on the draft. Knee denied the brief has a prodraft, promilitarist position.

Most people in the room had never read the brief. But as opponents of the document tried to explain, it *does* advocate registration, the draft, and the government's campaign for a strong imperialist army.

It states, for example, that "exclusion of women from registration disservices the goal of an effective military. . . ."

The advantage of drafting women, it explains, is that "selection from a pool including men and women will yield a better quality force."

And it states that "the exclusion of women from registration is counterproductive to the goal of military flexibility and readiness."

In the discussion, Deborah Higgins of D.C. NOW said, "We have lost a lot of support for the ERA because of confusion over NOW's draft position. Parents have said to me, 'How can I support this

when it means drafting my daughter?'"

## Equal right to kill?

Andrea Lubrano, also from D.C. NOW, explained that the draft and military preparations hurt women, not help them. "They are building up the military budget, which we pay for with attacks on our standard of living," she pointed out.

"If we believe that fighting in the U.S. Army will get us any rights we should just go out in the street and ask any Black Vietnam vet: 'are you better off today because you went to Vietnam?' He will say no.

"This is not a question of whether women can fight," she added. "Look at Nicaragua. The women there took up arms but they did it for their own freedom, not to go out and oppress someone else.

"This draft could require us to go to Nicaragua—where women have the Equal Rights Amendment—and take it from them."

The anti-draft resolution won about 100 votes from delegates, as well as the support of hundreds more who were not delegates. While it failed to pass, its supporters felt important headway had been made in clarifying the issues involved.

## COMING NEXT WEEK

The *Militant* will reprint major excerpts next week from the National Organization for Women's court brief on the draft. The brief was a major subject of debate at NOW's recent conference and will be of interest to both NOW members and others active in the fight for women's rights and against war.

# National Picket Line



## Brown lung benefits under the gun—again

On October 6, the North Carolina Supreme Court ruled that a textile worker was only entitled to 55 percent of her disability payments for brown lung because she was a regular smoker.

Elsie Morrison, fifty-four years old, became totally disabled from the lung disease after years of exposure to cotton dust in a Burlington Industries mill. The ruling reduces her benefits to \$69.20 a week for six years.

The court claimed that her condition was "in no way caused, aggravated or accelerated by the occupational disease."

The opinion flies in the face of medical opinion. On August 27, for example, the American Lung Association of North Carolina acknowledged that brown lung can occur after five years of working in a mill, and "can be incapacitating."

How did the court arrive at the 55 percent figure? They got it from Dr. Herbert Sieker of the Duke University Medical Center. Sieker told the *New York Times* that he came up with the figure "in a somewhat arbitrary way."

"At the present time," he admitted, "there is no laboratory type of test that would do this."

## Another of those Reagan appointments

In theory, the National Labor Relations Board is supposed to settle disputes between management and labor in an even-handed manner. In real life, of course, the NLRB bends over backwards to help out business whenever possible.

That's the way Ronald Reagan likes it, too. And he has nominated John Van de Water to be chairman of the body just to make sure it stays that way.

Van de Water has headed his own management consultant firm since 1949. The company specializes in helping business firms keep out unions. As AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Thomas Donahue pointed out to the Senate, Van de Water "has devoted a substantial part of his professional career to putting together anti-union campaigns and anti-union materials."

AFL-CIO records from Los Angeles and Orange counties show that from 1963 to 1972, Van de Water's firm served as management consultant to numerous employers who actively opposed their employees' attempts to organize.

Van de Water has also served as a management representative for Ford Motor Company and North American Aviation.

What more could we ask for?



"So long, partner!"

## Don't count your chickens . . .

Remember the big hoopla when Chrysler offered its auto workers a profit-sharing plan in return for the \$1.1 billion cut from wages and benefits? Most media accounts glossed over the details—like the fact that workers couldn't collect one red cent until profits went over 10 percent.

This is unlikely to happen soon, if ever; but just in case, the Chrysler Board has now demanded that the agreement be ended two years early, in December 1983. The United Auto Workers leadership has agreed.

So what else is new?

—Vivian Sahner

Let us know what's happening in your area—strike news, union resolutions, local press clippings, whatever—drop us a line at the 'Militant', 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

# Two die in air crash: victims of scabs

By Andy Rose

TETERBORO, N.J.—Responsibility for two deaths in a mid-air collision here "rests squarely on the Reagan administration," said James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, after discussing the fatal crash with picketing air traffic controllers at Teterboro Airport.

The September 23 collision involved a light twin-engine plane and a helicopter, both approaching Teterboro Airport to land.

The helicopter fell to the ground and exploded, killing both crew members.

The airplane, with much of its left wing sheared off, crash landed in a nearby marsh. The pilot was hospitalized with a broken back and a concussion; his passenger escaped with bruises.

The scab controller guiding aircraft for landing and takeoff was Richard Kellenberger, top administrator at Teterboro tower before the strike.

"He's supposed to provide separation—keep them apart. But he failed to issue a traffic advisory," striker Felix Ruiz told Harris.

Jack Walters is president of Professional Air Traffic Controllers (PATCO) Local 252, which represents Teterboro controllers. Nine of the eleven PATCO members here are on strike. He explained that the press has helped cover up for the Federal Aviation Administra-

tion's use of unqualified scabs.

For example, the *New York Times* reported that Kellenberger was experienced at working local control at Teterboro—that he had worked that position for two hours a week before the strike. (The person on local control in the tower is responsible for all traffic within a five-mile radius and below 1,800 feet altitude.)

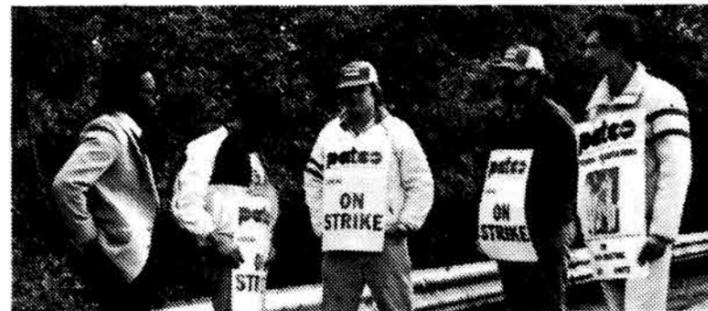
But, Walters said, "I never saw him work that position, and I have affidavits from seven other controllers who say they have never seen him work it either."

The papers have also asserted that a full crew of five controllers was on duty when the crash occurred.

The truth, the strikers explained, is that the five people in the tower included Kellenberger and another supervisor; an FAA trainee who had been at Teterboro only a few weeks; and two military controllers sent in as strikebreakers, who also lack experience at Teterboro.

"It takes a minimum of one year to really get familiar with this facility," said Ruiz, "and this is a small airport."

The tower crew the day of the crash was so inexperienced, pickets told Harris, that the tower emergency phone—which alerts a specially trained rescue team in the event of a crash—was evidently never even picked up.



James Harris, left, SWP candidate for governor of New Jersey, talks with PATCO pickets at Teterboro Airport.

Militant/Andy Rose

# What solidarity isn't

By Stu Singer

An article in last week's *Militant*, "The air controllers' strike—can it be won?" pointed to the lack of support the strikers are receiving from the leadership of the labor movement.

A recent incident in Miami gives another example of how bad the problem is.

The South Florida AFL-CIO organized a Solidarity Day rally September 26. The idea was not bad, since the distance from Miami to Washington discouraged many workers from going there for the national labor demonstration a week earlier.

The September 26 rally in Miami brought out 3,500 union members and supporters, a decent turnout in a right-to-work state.

Bill Rayson, a Miami postal worker who was there, told the *Militant* that there were delegations from many unions and other organizations. Senior citizens, Black, women's, and antiwar groups were there along with members of the building trades, dockworkers, transit workers, postal, machinists, communications workers.

According to Rayson, PATCO (Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization) had the largest contingent there. "Hundreds of controllers and their families filled an entire section of the auditorium. They were chanting, distributing signs, buttons, and literature, and getting a good response from other people there."

But the rally itself was no good.

In addition to top union officials, a parade of Democratic and Republican politicians filled the speakers list. Rayson described what happened: "Eventually, the PATCO members got tired of listening to the windbags. They asked for a PATCO speaker. But the chairman of the meeting, South Florida AFL-CIO

Council President E.T. Stephenson, would not budge. 'We've done all we can for you people,' he told the strikers."

The local news media did not miss the stab in the back. According to the next day's *Miami Herald*, "Rally organizer Andrew Banks said PATCO was excluded to preserve the solidarity theme. 'I felt the electronic media would make this appear to be a PATCO rally. It was much more than that,' he said."

He was wrong. By excluding PATCO, the AFL-CIO leaders made the rally into much less than a solidarity rally.

The *Herald* article had some more dirt to report on. "Spontaneous activity by PATCO members at the end of the rally raised the ire of [AFL-CIO head] Stephenson. After they marched through the auditorium with a huge 'PATCO' sign, chanting and clapping, Stephenson growled, 'That was no time for a demonstration.'"

Wrong again. That demonstration was the best solidarity demonstration that day in Miami, not Stephenson's parade of labor-hating politicians.

## Rally shuts airport

SAN FRANCISCO—PATCO organized a picket line of 500 people at San Francisco International Airport Friday, September 25. Many local unions participated in the action and California AFL-CIO head John Henning was one of the demonstrators.

The demonstrators blocked the roadway into the airport for about two hours, backing up traffic for miles onto the freeway.

No one was arrested and the action was front page news here.

## 'Security clearance' harassment

# Unionists fight McDonnell-Douglas

By John Studer

ST. LOUIS—Harassment by the federal government and the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation of three socialist employees has received widespread coverage in the news media here. The threat to their jobs has aroused considerable discussion in the company's huge aircraft plant just outside St. Louis.

Harris Freeman, Jody Curran, and Barry David, all machine parts inspectors and members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), have been told that they have to fill out special five-page secret clearance applications. These forms require a complete description of every job they have had, what they did in every period of unemployment, and every political organization or social club they have been involved with since they were eighteen years old.

Like everyone else in their department, Curran, Freeman, and David already possess "confidential" clearances. The company has not initiated any new projects that would require new clearances. Nobody else in the department has been given these forms.

The company claims the federal government is demanding that the three workers fill out these forms.

The IAM has initiated a grievance against the giant aircraft company demanding that it stop its harassment of the three. An attorney has been retained by the three, and if the company moves to fire them they plan to go to court.

At a news conference here October 9 the three workers explained that they have been singled out for harassment because of their political views and activities, both in their union and in the city. All three are active members of the Socialist Workers Party, and Curran and Freeman are members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Curran recently participated in a trip to Cuba sponsored by the YSA. She is a member of the National Organization of Women and a fighter for women's rights.

David was a long-time activist in the fight against the Vietnam war. Both he and Freeman have been active in the movement against nuclear power. Freeman and Curran have participated in protests against draft registration.

All three are active in IAM Local 837-B. They promoted the September 19 Solidarity Day march. They helped arrange for a PATCO striker to address their local, which led to the Machinists donating \$100.

All three have campaigned for socialist candidates.



IAM members want production for peace not war

Militant/Osborne Hart

Speaking for the three workers at the news conference Freeman explained that the aim of the government and the company is to find a way to fire them. They hope to intimidate all workers in the war industry from speaking out.

Freeman stated that, "On September 19, Solidarity Day, one-half million working people marched in Washington to say 'No!' to Reagan's budget cuts and anti-labor policies. We were proud to march with 50,000 other members of our union, the International Association of Machinists, behind a giant banner saying "Jobs Not Bombs." Many picket signs urged transferring money from the giant defense budget to build schools, fund mass transit, provide adequate social security and other vital human needs.

Do workers in the war industry have the right to discuss these issues on and off the job?"

The threat to the jobs of Freeman, Curran, and David, and to all war industry workers, led a number of prominent

activists in St. Louis to join the three workers at their news conference.

Statements were read by Daniel Helinger, assistant professor of political science at Webster College, and Director of the Greater St. Louis Latin America Solidarity Committee; and Eldora Spiegelberg, representing both the St. Louis Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the American Friends Service Committee. Dan Bolef of the Coalition for the Environment joined the speakers to express his solidarity.

Freeman reported that this case is not the only example of government harassment in the war industry. "Recently fourteen Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members were fired illegally by another so-called 'defense' contractor, Lockheed, in Marietta, Georgia," he said.

McDonnell-Douglas has a history of victimizing its workers who become politically active. During the civil rights movement they harassed and fired Per-

cy Green, a Black employee, because of his active involvement in that movement.

The company and the government have been forced to postpone their request for any new clearance forms. Now the government's Defense Industrial Security Clearance Office has agreed to justify their request in writing.

In the two days following the news conference the potential for support was indicated when forty-five people, including four of their co-workers, came to a hastily organized fund raising party at Freeman's home. Over \$100 was raised to help finance legal and publicity costs.

Curran, David, and Freeman are urging every one concerned with civil liberties to write a letter or send a telegram to McDonnell-Douglas protesting this harassment.

The company campaign, and the workers' response, is the talk of the plant. Xeroxed copies of the coverage in the *Post-Dispatch* and the *Globe-Democrat* are everywhere.

# Rallies back Grenada against U.S. threats

By David Zilly

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—Leaders of revolutionary Grenada took the offensive against imperialist-inspired propaganda and actions directed against the revolution at a meeting here October 11. The meeting of more than 700 people was sponsored by the Grenada Mission to the United Nations.

Grenada's ambassador to the U.N., Caldwell Taylor, called on the predominantly Grenadian audience to see to it that "not a single rumor can be spread without being answered."

"Grenadians outside Grenada," Taylor said, "have a very critical task." Washington's well-orchestrated campaign of lies about the revolution "must be exposed as they surface."

New Jewel Movement leader Liam James answered the charge that the Grenadian government is suppressing freedom of the press. He explained the facts involved in the closing down of the openly counterrevolutionary *Grenadian Voice* earlier this year.

"Thousands of people demonstrated to

demand that this publication be closed," James said. "We know what a 'free press' is. A free press gives the broadest views and reflects the interests of the broad masses, of the working people."

"Free expression," James said, "is tolerated in Grenada, but counterrevolution will be ruthlessly crushed."

James pointed to the rapid build-up of Grenada's popular militia to underline the seriousness of the government and the population's determination to defend the revolution.

Guyanese leader Cheddi Jagan, who was also on the platform, further explained how the capitalist "free press" in Chile and Jamaica, as well as his native Guyana, was used to undermine popularly elected governments. The efforts to confuse popular opinion, Jagan said, stem from the fact that "Grenada is now the beacon in the Caribbean."

Grenada's foreign minister Unison Whiteman pointed to the role of the mass organizations as evidence of popular involvement in the governmental process against claims that there are no

free elections in Grenada.

He described the island-wide discussions around the drafting of the women's maternity leave and land reform laws and the formation of a commission to explore the need for a new constitution for Free Grenada.

Whiteman, like the other speakers, called on the audience to visit Grenada, to inform themselves and help explain the truth about the revolution. He asked doctors and other professionals to donate their services when they visited the island.

The National Black United Front was prominent in building and attending the meeting. NBUF recently sent twenty-five of its members and friends to Grenada to help with construction projects on the island. NBUF leader Adeyemi Bandele showed slides of the trip to the meeting.

Outside the meeting, fifteen right-wing Grenadians picketed and chanted, "Down with Bishop, Free Grenada." They carried placards condemning Grenada's ties to revolutionary Cuba.

By Jeff Mackler

SAN FRANCISCO—A rally protesting recent U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean was held at the federal building here September 26. Called by the Bay Area U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society, the action focused on the threats to the revolutionary government of Grenada.

Speakers included Connie Alfaro, Casa Nicaragua; Peggy Handler, Guatemala News and Information Bureau; Kwami Somburu, Socialist Workers Party; Dick Becker, People's Antiwar Mobilization; a representative of the Iranian Students Association; Wendy Porter, National Black Independent Political Party; Tyman Ung, San Francisco State University Students in Solidarity with El Salvador; David Loeb, New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rico; Claude Wynn, Solidarity (a gay and lesbian activist group); and Gretchen Mackler, coordinator of the Bay Area U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. Lionel Cuffie, Friendship Society leader, chaired the rally.

# Should radicals support Barbaro?

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Frank Barbaro, a Democrat running for mayor on the Unity Party ticket, has the support of a number of radical groupings.

A five-term member of the state assembly, Barbaro ran against incumbent Mayor Ed Koch in the Democratic primary and won 36 percent of the vote.

A substantial portion of those votes came from Blacks and Latinos who wanted to register their opposition to the blatant racism of Mayor Koch.

Koch's virulent hostility to organized labor also won Barbaro the endorsement of the New York AFL-CIO Central Labor Council and a number of unions in the city.

But various radical forces are among Barbaro's most enthusiastic and uncritical supporters.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) declared on the eve of the primary election that it had a heavy stake in working for Barbaro and other Democrats it was supporting in the primary election.

The September-October issue of their paper, the *New York Democratic Socialist*, declared that the organization's "political future will be on the line" if it failed to help win a respectable vote for Barbaro.

The Communist Workers Party (CWP) sees Barbaro as, "The people's alternative to Koch." This was expressed in the September 23-29 issue of the CWP voice, *Workers Viewpoint*. It asserted, "Frank Barbaro's chances of unseating Mayor Koch are slim. Nonetheless his campaign has provided a vehicle for revolutionary and progressive forces to carry out political education and exposures among a broader audience than normally possible. It has given millions of New Yorkers a fighting chance against the attacks of the Koch administration and its big business backers."

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party in New York is also supporting Barbaro. This was reported in the August 14-20 issue of *Claridad*, which expresses the view of the party.

## Break with Dems?

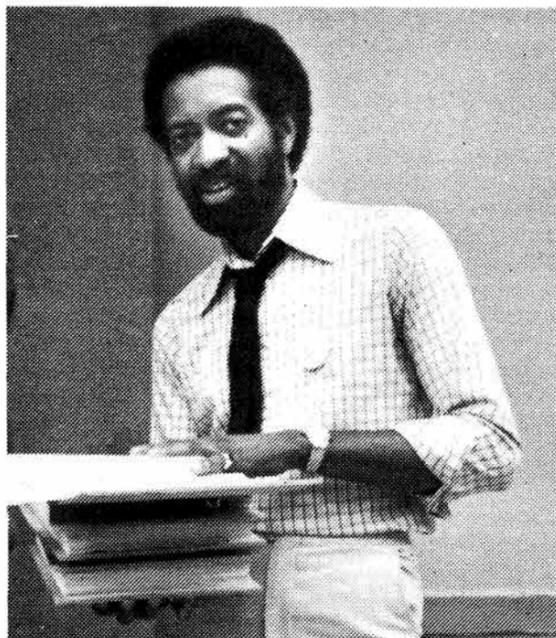
The Communist Party (CP), which has a long record of supporting capitalist politicians, is enthusiastic about Barbaro.

Henry Winston, the national chairperson of the Communist Party, outlined the party's stand at a September 16 New York gathering of the organization.

Winston said that with Barbaro's post-primary decision to run with the Unity Party designation, "I began to think of a different day, of the LaGuardia inspiration, the role the American Labor Party played."

(In 1936, the American Labor Party, dominated by the Communist Party and right-wing members of the Socialist Party, endorsed LaGuardia, a liberal Republican, for mayor of New York and Roosevelt, a Democrat, for president. This was the first major breach in the long established policy of the radical movement not to support capitalist politicians under any circumstance.)

Winston's support for Barbaro as a latter-day La-



Militant/Harry Ring

SWP mayoral nominee Wells Todd files nominating petitions.

Guardia was buttressed by a column in the October 6 issue of the *Daily World*, which voices the views of the Communist Party.

The paper declared: "Frank Barbaro's campaign . . . marks a break with the big-business politics of the Republicans and Democrats. . . ."

Barbaro's Unity Party campaign, the paper declared, "gives the voters a real difference. . . . They will be able to vote for Barbaro's policies which would shift the reins of power from the bankers and real estate developers to the working people."

The Socialist Workers Party flatly disagrees with this. It is convinced that supporting Barbaro is the wrong way to fight Kochism and is a disservice to the workers movement. The SWP is on the ballot with its own ticket in the election, headed by Wells Todd, a Black auto worker, for mayor. The central plank in his platform is for the building of a labor party.

The SWP position—and that of this paper—is based on the firm conviction that there can be no meaningful solution to the problems confronting New York's working people without the development of independent political action. What's so wrong about supporting Barbaro is that his campaign does *not* represent genuine independent political action, or even motion in that direction. In fact it represents one more obstacle in the way of achieving independent working class political action.

Barbaro's policies will not shift the "reins of power" from the rich to the working people, as the Communist Party demagogically asserts.

Certainly there will be no real improvement in the lives of New York's working people until they do take the reins of power out of the hands of the ruling rich. But in order to do that, it will be necessary to drive both the Republicans and Democrats from political power.

To accomplish that requires that the working people be organized into their own political organization—an organization which they control and which fights for a program that they have determined represents their needs and interests.

Anyone who thinks that social progress can be achieved through either major party should simply consider the record in New York.

New York has always been a stronghold of the Democratic party. In the past half century there have only been two Republican mayors—Fiorello LaGuardia and John Lindsay.

## Bonanza for rich

Under the mainly Democratic stewardship of the city, bankers, rent-gouging landlords, and sweatshop employers have had a field day at the expense of working people.

Housing, education, medical care, unemployment, racism, police brutality—you name it—all of these problems have grown incredibly acute.

This has been the heavy price that New York workers have paid for the decades-old policy of workers organizations supporting the big-business candidates of the major parties.

This is true of the labor officialdom, DSOC, and other "socialist" Democrats, and the Communist Party.

In this respect, the only thing that has distinguished the Communist Party leadership from DSOC and the union bureaucrats is that the CP sometimes employs a bit more radical demagoguery to justify its membership in the bandaid school of reform politics.

In some recent mayoral campaigns, the CP fielded its own nominal ticket while actually pushing for some favored "lesser evil" or "friend of labor" capitalist politician.

In this election, however, the CP has not even gone through the motion of nominating its own mayoral ticket.

## Facts of life

And the justification for this, that Barbaro represents a break with big-business politics, is simply bunk.

We live in a society dominated by deep-going conflicts of interest. Society's most profound conflict is between big business and the working people.

Most politicians love to boast about their "independence." But in real life you represent one or the other of these conflicting interests. Politicians, or political parties, can become independent of one of these interests only by aligning themselves with the other.



Militant/Lou Howort

Solidarity Day demonstrator makes solid point about key U.S. problem. Labor needs own party to take ownership of country from big business.

There's no middle ground, no way you can represent both.

Politicians cannot represent the interests of working people and of the employers who profit from the labor of working people. No more than they can represent the interest of both tenant and landlord. A rent increase comes out of the pocket of the tenant and a rent rollback out of the purse of the landlord.

One of the biggest reasons working people are in their present fix is because they don't have their own party, a labor party that they own and control like the ruling rich owns and controls the Republicans and Democrats.

Certainly Frank Barbaro's Unity Party is not a labor party, or even a vague facsimile of one. And there is scant likelihood of the Unity Party evolving toward independent working-class political action for the added reason that Barbaro, its key figure, is firmly tied to the Democratic Party and has never said word one about leaving it.

It was not just a primary campaign argument when Barbaro insisted vehemently that he was the "real" Democrat.

This is attested to by one of his key mentors, city councilmember Ruth Messinger. During the primaries, the Koch camp portrayed Messinger as "the political brains behind Barbaro."

The August 18 *Daily News* reported that both Messinger and Barbaro denied this. But, the paper reported, Messinger did say she had helped prepare position papers for Barbaro on a wide range of issues.

## Frank talk

In addition to being a Democrat, Messinger is a member of DSOC. In the September-October issue of the *New York Democratic Socialist*, Messinger wrote an article entitled, "Five frank reasons to back Barbaro."

Her fifth, weightiest reason was: "Finally, Frank Barbaro will help to rebuild a strong, progressive Democratic Party."

Putting aside the campaign talk about a "progressive" Democratic Party, this can indeed be accepted as a "frank" explanation of what the Frank Barbaro campaign is about. Nothing the mayoral hopeful has said or done contradicts it.

A September 8 *Daily News* profile of Barbaro stated that while he supported organized labor, he assured, "I'm not in anyone's pocket."

That's worth thinking about. An authentic labor candidate would indeed be in labor's "pocket."

Not in the corrupt, venal sense that the major party politicians are in the pocket of the wealthy. But in the justified, progressive sense that a real labor candidate would be fully responsible to labor and mandated to carry out its program.

No, Frank Barbaro is definitely not in labor's "pocket." That becomes quite clear when you examine his record in Albany and when you look at his program, with some of the campaign verbiage stripped away.

That will be subject of our next article.

# Subscription push set for election week



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

At Solidarity Day, September 19

By Nancy Rosenstock

When you get right down to it, the *Militant* is in business for one reason: to reach people with our ideas.

Important ideas that can't be found anywhere else. Socialist ideas about what working people can and must do to solve the problems they face.

So, if the *Militant* doesn't reach out and talk to new readers, we're not doing our job.

That's what our subscription drive is all about—reaching new readers.

Our goal is to sign up 8,000 new readers—including some 1,000 to our Spanish-language, bi-weekly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*—by November 21.

That's why we are setting the week of October 31 to November 6—the week when elections are being held in many cities and gubernatorial elections in New Jersey and Virginia—to go on a special effort.

In areas where the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is fielding candidates, supporters will be out canvassing neighborhoods distributing campaign material and introducing people to the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*.

During this special week, we'll be reaching out to many cities, industrial areas or to nearby campuses where we don't yet have many readers.

These regional teams will also be getting out the word about the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), to take place December 31-January 3 in Philadelphia.

Socialists in Pennsylvania jumped at the opportunity they have with this important gathering of youth taking place in their state. They have pooled their resources and have just launched a six-week convention building team. This team will sell hundreds of subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* as well as single copies of the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the YSA.

They will be visiting such cities as Erie, a steel and electronics center, and Altoona, a rail center. Lincoln College and Cheyney State, two Black campuses, will also be visited by the team.

We'll be adjusting all our other work to be sure that during this special campaign week we can meet as many new people as possible.

Our experience so far in the drive shows that this week can be a tremendous success.

We gained 2,412 new readers at Solidarity Day.

We have received an excellent response to our reports on Solidarity Day, its meaning, and what should be done now, as well as to our coverage of the air traffic controllers' strike.

We have attracted interest and stimulated discussion with our campaign urging that the labor movement break from the Democrats and Republicans and establish a labor party.

Milwaukee socialists report that people often look to the *Militant* as the paper to find out about the developing fightback against government cutbacks and the employers' "takebacks."

Socialist workers in the mines, mills, yards, and plants across the country will be a big part of this extra effort to win new readers.

They will be following the example set by Kaethejean Bleicher, a socialist electrical worker who has already gathered twenty-one subscriptions in her workplace.

In a telephone interview she explained to the *Militant*, "I constantly talk politics on the job; from shop floor issues, to Poland, El Salvador, Reagan, the meaning of Solidarity Day."

She explained, "Everyone watches events in Poland very closely because it is a fighting union and they are winning."

"But the most talked-about subject," Bleicher explained, "is Reagan."

Why not join us in this effort? Help us get the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* around. Just write to us at the Militant Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014 and we'll rush off a bundle to you. (Cost to you is \$.55 per copy.) Or contact the local chapter of the SWP or YSA in your city (see page 19).

east will be reported on and discussed. Slide show presentations of trips to many of these places will be made.

The convention will be held at the Sheraton Hotel, 1725 Kennedy Boulevard in Philadelphia.

Registration will begin at 6:00 p.m. on Wednesday, December 31. The registration fee is \$20 or \$8 for high school students and unemployed. Rooms at the hotel range from \$10.00 to \$27.00 per night for each person. Inexpensive housing will also be available.

For information on transportation or other convention arrangements, or for materials to publicize the convention in your area, write or call:

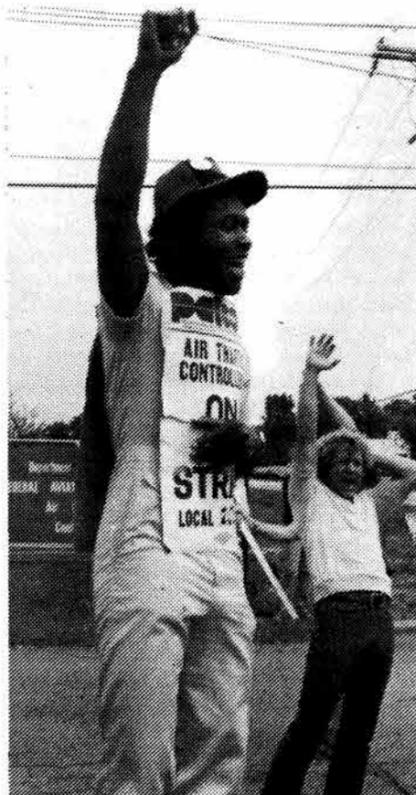
YSA P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station,  
New York, New York 10003  
Telephone (212) 989-7570 or  
YSA 5811 N. Broad Street,  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19141  
Telephone (215) 927-4747.

# Subscription scoreboard

As of October 10, 1981

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
Cleveland	55	52	5	2	60	54	90
Portland	60	45	0	0	60	45	75
Boston	175	142	25	3	200	145	73
San Diego	90	77	30	9	120	86	72
Detroit	200	139	15	2	215	141	66
*Washington, D.C.	235	171	40	10	275	181	66
Atlanta	165	112	10	0	175	112	64
New Orleans	110	68	0	1	110	69	63
Pittsburgh	215	135	10	3	225	138	61
Newark	275	194	75	8	350	202	58
San Antonio	100	59	30	17	130	76	58
*Piedmont	180	101	0	1	180	102	57
*Brooklyn	475	291	75	9	550	300	55
Louisville	125	68	0	0	125	68	54
St. Louis	115	63	5	0	120	63	53
Denver	95	48	5	0	100	48	48
Lincoln	25	12	5	2	30	14	47
Oakland	170	91	30	1	200	92	46
*Birmingham	200	83	0	3	200	86	43
*Harrisburg	130	55	0	0	130	55	42
Capital District	90	39	5	0	95	39	41
Philadelphia	110	58	40	4	150	62	41
Salt Lake City	140	65	20	1	160	66	41
Chicago	215	95	35	4	250	99	40
Los Angeles	325	151	75	10	400	161	40
Phoenix	75	31	25	7	100	38	38
Gary	115	44	10	0	125	44	35
Cincinnati	70	23	0	0	70	23	33
*Iron Range	110	36	0	0	110	36	33
San Francisco	150	59	50	3	200	62	31
Baltimore	130	39	5	1	135	40	30
*Manhattan	705	261	245	26	950	287	30
Seattle	140	38	10	7	150	45	30
Milwaukee	150	50	25	1	175	51	29
Tucson	20	9	15	1	35	10	29
Twin Cities	180	51	0	0	180	51	28
Kansas City	125	29	25	7	150	36	24
Tidewater	120	27	0	0	120	27	23
Indianapolis	125	27	0	0	125	27	22
Morgantown	120	26	0	0	120	26	22
Toledo	50	11	0	0	50	11	22
Albuquerque	60	18	25	0	85	18	21
Dallas	110	24	50	4	160	28	18
San Jose	90	18	40	4	130	22	17
Charleston	125	17	0	0	125	17	14
Miami	90	10	10	0	100	10	10
Houston	135	5	40	0	175	5	3
Miscellaneous		191		26		217	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7070</b>	<b>3458</b>	<b>1110</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>8180</b>	<b>3635</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>		<b>1383</b>		<b>217</b>		<b>1600</b>	<b>20</b>

\*indicates area that has raised goal



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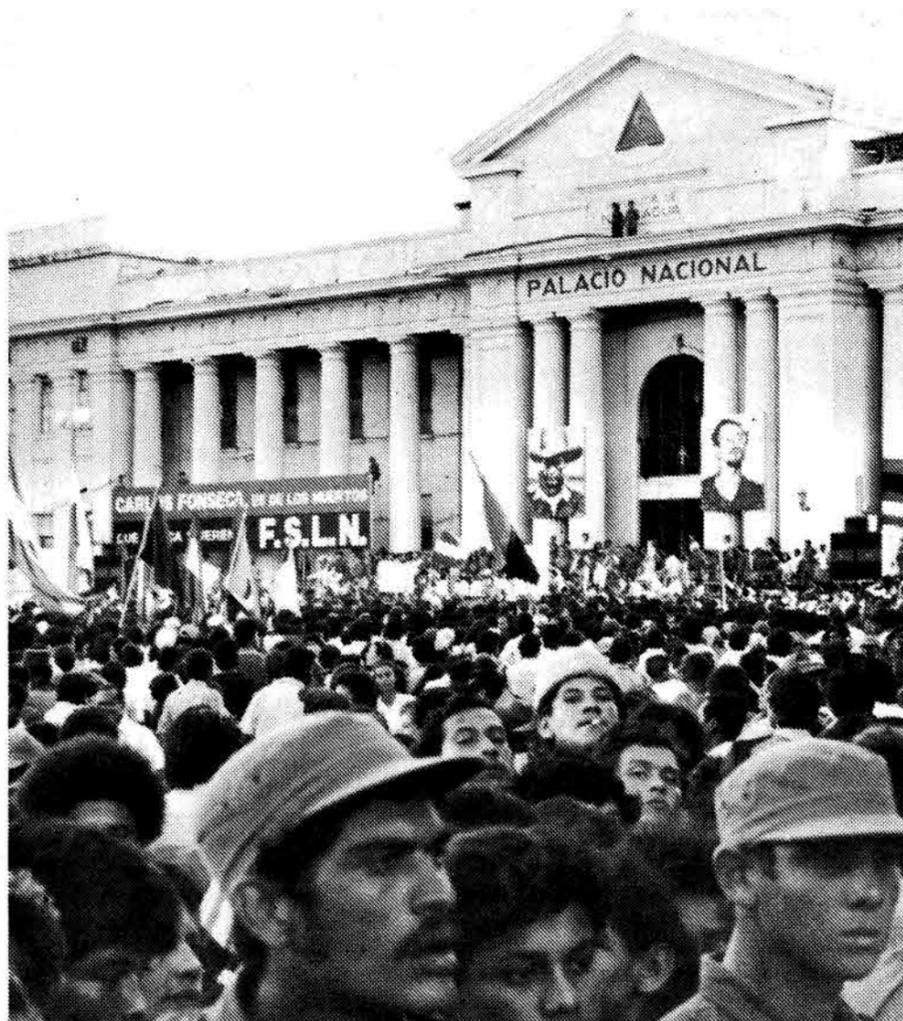
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Intercontinental Press/Fred Murphy

# Nicaragua answers Nation mobilizes against

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA—A month-long mobilization began here October 4 in response to the U.S.-Honduran naval maneuvers known as Falcon's Eye which are taking place in the Caribbean waters adjacent to Nicaraguan territory.

"Falcon's Eye is a warning to our revolution," Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge told a crowd of thousands in the working-class barrio of Ciudad Sandino October 6. "But we have a warning of our own to deliver. We are a peaceful country. But nobody should forget that this peaceful people also knows how to fight, that this peaceful people has a heroic history."

In announcing the month of protests October 2, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega predicted that the mobilizations would peak October 8 and 9, when the maneuvers would be at full steam. But by the time October 8 arrived, there had already been protest demonstrations in every part of the country.

Led by the July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS-19), thousands marched October 4 from the Indian barrio and long-time revolutionary stronghold of Monimbó to the fortress of Coyotepe on a nearby hilltop.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of October 7, more than 4,000 residents of the town of Estelí assembled at the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) headquarters there.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) daily *Barricada* reported October 7 that it had been flooded with reports on demonstrations and statements of protest from unions, organizations of women, youth, farm workers, and students, and community groups "from every corner of the country." *Barricada* said there was so much activity it was unable to report on all of it. Judging from the various demonstrations one sees and hears in Managua alone, this could well be true.

The theme of the October mobilization is that the entire population of Nicaragua must be prepared to face the military threat that U.S. warships off its coast represent. Members of the army, the Sandinista People's Militias, and the Militia Reserve Battalions have played a prominent role in all the demonstrations. On October 7 a dozen delegates to the Council of State wore their militia uniforms to the regular weekly session of this legislative body.

## Salvador rebel leader at UN Calls for unconditional negotiations

By Fred Murphy

UNITED NATIONS—In the final part of his address to the General Assembly here October 7, Commander Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction read the text of a proposal by the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador. The statement called on the U.S.-backed junta to open talks and seek a political solution to the Salvadoran conflict.

The FDR and FMLN had sent the proposal to Commander Ortega and authorized Nicaragua to present it to the UN General Assembly.

Before reading the statement, Ortega introduced FDR President Guillermo Ungo, who was seated with the Nicaraguan delegation. Applause erupted before Ortega could even finish the introduction. The Salvadoran was welcomed with a sustained ovation by a large part of the assembly, as well as by about 100 supporters of the Salvadoran struggle and the Nicaraguan revolution who were present in the visitors' gallery.

"If today our people are waging an armed struggle," the FDR-FMLN statement said, "this is because oppressive and repressive regimes have closed all peaceful avenues for change, thus leaving us with the armed struggle alone as the legitimate means to attain our liberation."

Nonetheless, the FDR and FMLN declared, "our desire is peace." To this end, the two organizations stated their readiness to "start a dialogue with civilian and military representatives that the junta may appoint. . . ."

The FDR and FMLN set down five "general principles" for such a dialogue:

"1. The talks should be carried out between delegates appointed by the FMLN-FDR and representatives of the government junta of El Salvador.

"2. They should be carried out in the presence of other governments, which as witnesses will contribute to the solution of the conflict.

"3. The nature of talks must be general and must take up the fundamental aspects of the conflict. . . .

"4. The Salvadoran people should be informed of the entire process.

"5. [The talks] should be initiated without prior conditions on either party."

The FDR and FMLN also outlined two points in particular that would have to be discussed in order to "guarantee a political solution":

"A. Definition of a new political, economic, and judicial order that will allow for and stimulate full democratic participation by all the various political, social, and economic sectors and forces, particularly those that have been marginalized. . . .

"B. Restructuring of the armed forces, based on officers and troops from the current army who are not responsible for crimes and genocide against the people and on the integration of the hierarchy and troops of the FMLN."

This fresh diplomatic initiative by the Salvadoran opposition served to answer the propaganda campaign being carried on by Washington and by junta president Napoleón Duarte around the theme of elections scheduled for El Salvador next March.

In a September 29 address to the General Assembly, Duarte had claimed that any opposition group "that puts down its arms" will be allowed to participate in the elections. But he also declared that "my government completely excludes any negotiations or dialogue with organized armed sectors."

Elections, the FDR and FMLN said in the statement read by Ortega, can be "a valid and necessary instrument for expressing the will of the people, so long as the conditions exist to allow the people to express their will freely."

But they emphasized that such conditions do not exist in El Salvador today, "inasmuch as the regime's repressive apparatus, which murders political and labor leaders and activists, remains intact. [This apparatus] persists in persecuting the progressive sectors of the church, and is also responsible for the daily physical elimination of dozens of citizens. Likewise, the regime currently has in effect a state of siege, martial law, and press censorship, and it is escalating the war against the people with arms and advisors sent by the U.S. government."

In concluding their statement, the FDR and FMLN declared that they were

"directly addressing the government of the United States of America and demanding an end to its military intervention in El Salvador, which is against the interests of both the Salvadoran and American peoples and endangers the peace and security of Central America."

The positions of the FDR and FMLN were presented to the United Nations at a time when international opposition is growing to U.S. military intervention in Central America. A number of governments and organizations have added their endorsement to the August 28 declaration by the French and Mexican foreign ministers recognizing the FDR and FMLN as "a representative political force."

Legislators from more than 100 countries meeting in Havana in mid-September for the world conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union adopted a resolution that paralleled the French-Mexican position. On September 30, Panamanian President Aristides Royo addressed the UN General Assembly and endorsed the French-Mexican statement. Panama's territory and diplomatic services would be available for any efforts "to begin contacts and negotiations aimed at ending the conflict in El Salvador."

Fabio Castillo of the FDR's Political-Diplomatic Commission termed Royo's offer "perfectly acceptable" on October 1. But the junta rejected it October 7, stating, "It is clear that there is no chance of dialogue or negotiations with armed sectors, and therefore any possibility of mediation is excluded."

No response by the junta to the new FDR-FMLN proposals had been reported as of October 9. But in an October 8 speech to the General Assembly, U.S. Deputy Representative Kenneth Adelman rejected them and reiterated Washington's support for Duarte's phony elections.

The conditions under which that voting will be held were further indicated October 3, when the junta extended its martial-law decree (first imposed in March 1980) for another thirty days. Among other things, the decree bans all outdoor political gatherings and prohibits any transmission of national news by the country's radio stations.

From Intercontinental Press



At UN news conference: Nicaraguan leader

## Freedom :

By Nelson González

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador is gearing up for an impressive fall campaign in solidarity with the fighting people of El Salvador.

On October 15 CISPES will launch a major fundraising effort to aid the thousands of Salvadoran refugees. These people are fleeing the terror campaign being waged by the Salvadoran junta against the Salvadoran population.

Eighty-five percent of Salvadoran families have had a member murdered.

There are over a half a million Salvadoran refugees who have fled their country to neighboring countries such as Honduras, Mexico, Belize, and others. More than 70,000 have come to the United States. They face either direct military attacks by the Salvadoran military

# ers U.S. threat military maneuvers

Both U.S. and Honduran troops are involved in the Falcon's Eye maneuvers, and there have been reports in Honduras that members of Somoza's old National Guard are taking part as well. Nicaraguans consider this show of force a serious threat against them and against the revolutionary movements in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The last such joint maneuvers in Central America took place in Somoza's Nicaragua in 1976, and involved troops from Guatemala and El Salvador, as well as the United States and Nicaragua. The main warship involved in Falcon's Eye, the USS *Fort Snelling* played a central role in the U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo in 1965, and was also involved in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

Falcon's Eye is so unpopular here that even the right-wing proimperialist parties have had to adopt a critical stance toward it, although they all downplay the threat the maneuvers represent and refuse to take part in the protest mobilizations.

The Pentagon always claims that maneuvers like Falcon's Eye are just "routine exercises." But the fact that the Falcon's Eye is aimed at Nicaragua was

confirmed October 5 by retired U.S. colonel Samuel P. Dickens, a special envoy of Reagan and one of the directors of the Inter-American Security Council. Dickens told reporters in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, that Falcon's Eye "is a way to show the countries of Central America that the U.S. will stand behind them in the event they are attacked by Cuba or Nicaragua." He also said that "many of us already consider ourselves to be fighting World War III, because communism is on the rise all over the Western Hemisphere."

When the coordinator of the Nicaraguan government, Commander Daniel Ortega, addressed the UN General Assembly on October 7, he warned of the danger that war games like Falcon's Eye represent. He asked if the Reagan administration was going "to continue driving ahead with its policy of military intervention, against the will of the people of the United States itself?"

"We want peace," Ortega said, "but not at the cost of our freedom. We don't want a war. But if war is thrust upon us, we will resist with a war of the entire people."

From Intercontinental Press



Daniel Ortega, left, and Guillermo Ungo of FDR

Intercontinental Press/Fred Murphy

## fighters to tour U.S.

and their accomplices in Honduras or threats of deportation, as evidenced by the large numbers of refugees being deported from Mexico and the United States.

CISPES projects aiding these refugees by raising \$250,000 in a campaign that will last until December 25. All chapters and Central America solidarity groups are urged to participate in this effort.

In addition CISPES is sponsoring fall speaking tours of seven representatives from El Salvador. They will travel across the United States to help further educate Americans about the struggle in El Salvador.

Three of the speakers are representatives of the Salvadoran teachers union ANDES, and the others represent groups like the Association of Salvadoran Women, the Association of Salvadoran Students, the Independent Movement of Profes-

sionals and Teachers and the National Conference of the People's Church.

These tours are currently underway. Among the cities where engagements have already been set up are New York City; Morgantown, West Virginia; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle.

The tour is set up so that one or more of the speakers will be traveling through CISPES regional centers.

CISPES chapters and other solidarity groups can get in touch with either the CISPES national office or anyone of the CISPES regional centers to make arrangements to set up meetings or other activities for one or more speakers passing through their region.

For more information contact: CISPES National Office, P.O. Box 12056, Washington, D.C. 20005, (202) 887-5019.

## Solidarity with Central America



## and the Caribbean

### Labor committee hits U.S. aid to junta

The following excerpts are from an article appearing in the October 2 issue of the United Auto Workers *UAW Washington Report*.

"... There is no democracy in El Salvador. What exists is a government at war with its own people. And that war is being supported and financed by the United States.

"The National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador supports self-determination for El Salvador, and urges a negotiated settlement of the conflict there.

"American military aid and intervention will not address the tragic circumstances of poverty and underdevelopment that have been endemic to El Salvador for generations.

"It can only escalate tensions in the area and place the United States at the threshold of a broader conflict. The American people are not willing to sacrifice their sons and daughters to prop up unpopular despots.

"Nor are they willing to finance military adventure when Federal budget cuts are threatening essential social services.

"For these reasons, and in light of labor's long standing commitment to peace and democracy, the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador calls on all members of Congress to vote to delete all military aid to El Salvador from the foreign aid authorizations and appropriations bills, and to terminate our military presence there.

"Further, the Committee pledges to join with other segments of American society, such as religious, community and human rights groups, and other people of good will, in helping to further educate the American people about the tragedy in El Salvador and to encourage a negotiated settlement of the conflict there. . . ."

The article was signed by Douglas Fraser, UAW president; Jack Sheinkman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; and International Association of Machinists President William Winpisinger.



### Nicaraguan sports festival

The following report from Pittsburgh was sent to us by Bill Kalman.

"Thirty-four different teams competed in softball, soccer, and volleyball here September 13, in a unique and exciting sports event. The day-long 'Roberto Clemente Sports Festival for Nicaragua' attracted more than 200 participants in the campaign to collect athletic equipment for the young people of Nicaragua.

"The event was sponsored by the Pittsburgh Central American Mobilization Coalition, the Brother's Brother Foundation (a humanitarian aid organization), the University of Pittsburgh Latin American Graduate Students Association, and the *Mill Hunk Herald* (a local alternative newspaper). The festival was also endorsed by Vera Clemente, widow of the Hall-of-Fame outfielder for the Pittsburgh Pirates, and by former Pirates catcher Manny Sanguillen. Most Pittsburghers know that Clemente was killed in an air crash while flying medical supplies to the victims of Nicaragua's 1972 earthquake.

"The Pittsburgh event kicked off a broader campaign being launched under the auspices of the Brother's Brother Foundation to collect surplus sporting goods for Nicaragua from manufacturers after the Christmas season.

"The Festival collected more than 300 items of sports equipment, including various kinds of balls, gloves, and bats. Additionally, over \$200 in donations were received.

"Union, student, and community teams participated. Semiprofessional soccer clubs played each other, or were pitted against a team of international students from the University of Pittsburgh. Teams from the American Federation of Government Employees, Service Employees International Union, and the Postal Workers union competed in softball. The day's big game saw the championship team of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1397, from U.S. Steel Homestead, defeat USWA Local 1219 from the U.S. Steel Edgar Thompson Works."

—Nelson González

Please send information on activities in your area to Nelson González, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

# Miners' safety is victim of Reagan's budget

## 'Trail of Tears' Dam to flood reservation

By Ellie Garcia

PHOENIX—Last month forty Yavapai Indians marched for three rainy days from the Fort McDowell Reservation to the state capitol in Phoenix. A rally of more than 350 was held at the capitol. The march, called the "Trail of Tears" by the Yavapai, protested the proposed Orme Dam which would be built on the Yavapai Reservation.

Following the protest the Central Arizona Water Control Study (CAWCS) went through the motions of consulting the public by holding hearings. Three hearings were held September 28-30. Representatives from many organizations spoke out against the proposed dam, including the Audubon Society, Center for Environmental Studies, the Arizona Archaeology Society, the Lutheran Church, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Over 100 years ago the Yavapai owned more than 10 million acres of central Arizona. The federal government stole the land and forced the Yavapai to walk to the San Carlos Apache Reservation 180 miles away. Many died of exhaustion or were murdered on this march. The Yavapai culture and language were different from the Apaches. After being forced to relocate at San Carlos, the Yavapai returned to Fort McDowell, which was proclaimed an Indian reservation and promised to them "forever" by President Theodore Roosevelt.

Today the Yavapai own less than 3 percent of their ancestral land.

The proposed Orme Dam is an earthen fill dam to be located where the Salt and Verde Rivers come together upstream of Phoenix. It would flood most of the Fort McDowell Indian Reservation. Big capitalist farms, requiring water for irrigation, and industry would receive over 90 percent of the stored water while paying less than 1 percent of the cost of Orme.

The week before the march, Secretary of the Interior James Watt met with the Yavapai regarding Orme Dam.

At one point during the heavily emotional meeting, tribal chairman Norman Austin broke into tears as he barely choked out his plea that Watt not destroy the Yavapai nation.

Watt answered that he heard the "cry from the heart of the Yavapai," after all, his ancestors were also from the land, they were pioneers.

Watt's hypocritical response led the Yavapai to walk their "Trail of Tears."

At the capitol the marchers asked to meet with Governor Bruce Babbitt, but he sent an aide instead.

Speakers at the rally included George Martin, California American Indian Movement; Kimberly Williams, Yavapai tribal queen; Norman Austin; John Smith and Hiawatha Hood, tribal elders; and Clinton Pattea, tribal secretary.



Militant/Osborn Hart

Health and safety was one of the major issues with United Mine Worker demonstrators at Solidarity Day.

## Phoenix socialist protests dam

Ellie Garcia, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Phoenix, spoke against the proposed Orme Dam at public hearings on September 30 called by the Central Arizona Water Control Study.

She blasted the notion that the dam proposal is the answer to flood control. "The facts show that Orme Dam has nothing to do with flood control."

"The solution for flood control is simple—channel the river. But this is not considered a serious alternative. Why? Because agribusiness and in-

dustry's real concern is not flood control but water shortage."

She attacked the argument of the dam's supporters that the Yavapai Indians are putting their own selfish interests above the flood control needs of the people of Phoenix.

"I urge working people of Phoenix especially Blacks and Chicanos to unite with Yavapai Indians who are leading the fight against the Orme Dam. We shall not fall for the big-business game of divide and conquer or we will lose."

## Martinez wins victory in frame-up case

By Bernie Senter

DENVER—In a surprise move, Denver prosecutors dropped all state charges against Francisco "Kiko" Martinez on September 28. Martinez is a Chicano activist and attorney who has been accused of sending letter bombs in 1973 to opponents of the Chicano liberation struggles.

The evidence against Martinez is so flimsy that a federal trial last January ended in a mistrial when it became clear that no conviction could be obtained. Shortly after the trial, government documents were released to the press pointing to a conspiracy to deny Martinez his right to a fair trial. This led to the dismissal of charges on the state level.

During the trial last January, a secret meeting was held in presiding Judge Winner's motel room. At the meeting with the judge, were the prosecuting attorneys, federal marshals, court personnel, and two witnesses, including one who was still on the stand. Defense attorneys were not told of the meeting.

At the hotel meeting a mistrial was discussed. The judge suggested that a mistrial be declared after the defense

had presented portions of its case so that its courtroom strategy could be revealed.

When the secret meeting was brought to light, another federal judge dropped the charges against Martinez on that case. Charges stemming from two other letter-bomb incidents, however, are still pending in federal court.

Other instances of government misconduct were also brought to the public's attention.

Following the mistrial, Judge Winner sent a letter to the Justice Department protesting its refusal to permit the FBI to place concealed cameras in the courtroom. Winner's aim was to gather evidence for a "jury intimidation" case against Martinez. Although absolutely no intimidation ever took place, Winner claimed that "attempted jury intimidation was apparent to everyone." The instances the judge referred to were that one defense lawyer wore sunglasses in court and some spectators wore "Free Kiko" t-shirts.

The judge's letter also labeled supporters of Martinez as terrorists.

In spite of this Martinez supporters filled the courtroom.

By Linda May Flint

MORGANTOWN, W. Va.—Over the past three years, one coal miner has died in an accident every other day. A coal miner's chances of getting killed on the job are eight times greater than for a laborer in manufacturing.

Reagan and Congress are proposing to cut the budget of the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) in half—from \$63.2 to \$31.6 million. An amendment is being pushed to cut inspections of underground mines, which is now four times a year, to twice a year except for unusually hazardous ones. Surface mine inspections would be cut from twice to once a year.

These will be on top of cuts in mine safety enforcement that began in 1978 under the Carter administration. Carter imposed a hiring freeze on MSHA. United Mine Workers (UMW) officials report that in the last two years Carter was in office, mine safety inspections in southern West Virginia declined by up to 50 percent.

MSHA inspectors tour the coal mines to see that safety regulations are being followed. The regulations are codified in the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. This comprehensive law was won after a gigantic effort by miners and their supporters in the 1960s.

The Farmington, West Virginia, mine disaster that killed seventy-eight miners in 1968 was the last straw that broke the opposition to the law. Richard Nixon was forced to sign it in 1969.

The first line of defense in assuring safety is the consciousness of the union

Linda May Flint is a miner in northern West Virginia and a member of UMWA Local 1702.

members and the elected safety committees at each mine. MSHA inspectors are also very important. They can cite the companies for violations found during inspections. When violations are written up by MSHA, the mine operators are given a certain time to correct the condition. Fines can be levied against them. Inspectors can shut down a section or an entire mine.

Individual miners or the local union safety committee can call in MSHA inspectors over a safety dispute with the company.

Cutting back the number of inspectors and the frequency of inspections are the second direct attack on miners by the government in the last year. When Reagan announced the cuts in Black Lung benefits last winter, the UMW responded with a two-day protest strike and a demonstration in Washington March 9.

Sam Church, the UMW President, has indicated the union will fight the latest cutbacks too.

"The Reagan-inspired budget devastation no longer simply threatens the well-being of our members; it now threatens their very lives," Church said. "I want to assure President Reagan and members of Congress that I will take any action necessary and within my power to prevent this threat on the lives of our members and to protect the Mine Safety and Health Act."

The mine safety and health regulations miners won a decade ago set the standard for all health and safety regulations in American industry. We miners set a powerful example.

Miners are now discussing the direction to take in fighting the attacks against us and all other workers.

# Federal lands opened to energy trusts

By William Gottlieb

The Reagan Administration is going full steam ahead with its plans to open up federally-owned lands to private exploitation.

The administration policies are being carried out by Secretary of the Interior James Watt. Watt wants to halt the acquisition of new land for the national park system, open up national forests for oil and gas drilling, and reorganize the Office of Surface Mining to give coal companies a free hand to strip mine. The Reagan-Watt policies are opposed by virtually every conservation group including the Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, and the National Wildlife Federation.

The federal government owns about one third of the land surface in the United States, mostly in the West. More than 85 percent of the land in Alaska and Nevada is federally owned, as is almost 50 percent of the land in California. Federal land policy is, therefore, crucially important.

Most of the federally-owned land is controlled by the Department of the Interior. This land includes much of the remaining wilderness areas in the United States. On these lands live such animals as elk, bighorn sheep, mountain goats, grizzly bears, and eagles. The destruction of these lands could conceivably lead to the extinction of some of these species.

In defense of his policies Watt has invoked theological arguments. He explains, "I do not know how many future generations we can count on before the Lord returns" and "my responsibility is to follow the Scriptures which call upon us to occupy the land until Jesus returns."

However, there is more than just theology involved in the Reagan-Watt land policies.

Besides including some of the most beautiful wilderness areas in the world, the federal lands contain oil and natural gas reserves. For many years, however, it was not profitable for big business to develop these resources because their recovery costs were above the world market price of oil. With the sharp rise in the price of oil since the early 1970s, this has now changed dramatically.

The energy monopolies are deter-

mined to take full advantage of these new possibilities for profit, regardless of the cost to the environment. Out of this profit drive arose the "Sagebrush rebellion."

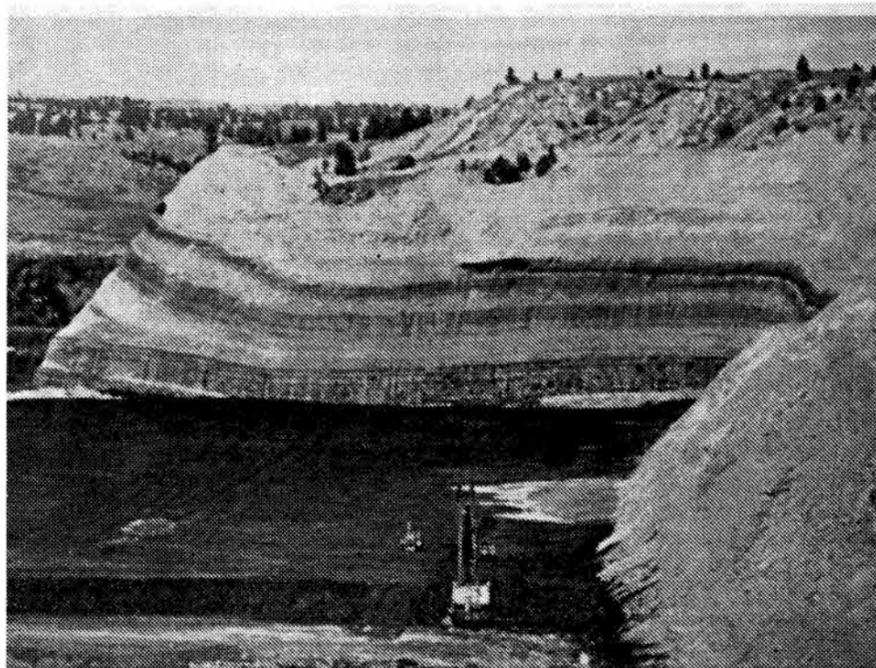
This was a "rebellion" by the energy monopolists against what they saw as the excessive emphasis given to conservation by the federal government. It reached its peak during the Carter administration. The "rebel" capitalists pushed for the transfer of ownership of the land from the federal government to the state governments. These governments, securely under the thumb of the energy lords, would allow the exploitation of the lands in the best traditions of the "free enterprise system."

Among the organizations leading the "rebellion" was the Mountain States Legal Foundation. Its head was none other than James Watt, future Secretary of the Interior. Reagan's appointment of Watt as Secretary of the Interior was considered a little gross, even by other capitalist politicians. This sentiment was reinforced by the fact that Watt's Mountain States Legal Foundation has lawsuits pending against the Department of the Interior. Rep. Morris Udall (D., Arizona) declared, "When a new administration comes in, you expect change. But you didn't expect them to go out and pick the most controversial, bombastic person they could find and put him in."

Once in office Watt took actions to "defuse" the Sagebrush "rebellion" he helped lead. After all, why go through the cumbersome process of transferring federally-owned land to state governments when you have an administration which is willing to directly lease them to the energy monopolies?

Besides being in the immediate profit interests of the coal, gas, and oil monopolists, the Reagan-Watt policies serve another purpose. Revolutionary struggles and growing instability in the Middle East threaten the regular flow of oil from that source. The U.S. government wants to increase petroleum and coal production within the United States to serve as a buffer in case of such a supply crisis.

For this reason Washington has done everything in its power in recent years to encourage astronomical energy prices



Strip mining in Wyoming. Watt wants to open public lands to this kind of destruction.

## Protests greet Watt

SALT LAKE CITY—Environmental activists dogged the footsteps of Interior Secretary James Watt during his three-week tour of the Rocky Mountain area in September. Hundreds of protesters greeted Watt everywhere from Denver to the Jackson Hole, Wyoming, resort area. Picketers, mainly young park employees, even followed Watt around Yellowstone Park.

At a Salt Lake rally of more than 1,000, Jim Pissot of the Utah Audubon Society blasted the Reagan Administration's policy of turning public lands and resources over to private corporations. Many Utah

residents are especially upset about Watt's efforts to permit coal mining on federal lands adjacent to Bryce Canyon National Park. Pissot noted that Watt's rationalizations for environmental carelessness have shifted from "getting government off our backs" to arguing the necessity of energy development for "national security."

Socialist Workers Party spokesperson Bill Hoyle called for an immediate halt to development of the MX missile, neutron bomb, and nuclear power plants. "We need jobs and a safe environment, not bombs and strip mines," Hoyle declared.

through the deregulation of oil and natural gas prices. Giving the energy magnates a free hand on federal lands, as well as pushing ahead with the develop-

ment of nuclear power, all stem from these considerations. They reflect a perfect marriage between "national security" and private profit.

## Plight of the working farmer

Today, while food production, processing, and distribution techniques are becoming more efficient and centralized, the living standards of five million working farmers and tens of millions of working class consumers are declining.

On the other hand the big food trading monopolies and banks who exploit the working farmer are reaping greater profits.

Working farmers, who produce the majority of total U.S. agricultural goods, are especially hard

### As I see it

hit by the current economic crisis. These farmers and their families work the land themselves, have limited financial resources, and often have a second job. Each year they are forced to borrow tens of thousands of dollars (many up to \$200,000) for seed, fertilizer, machinery, fuel, pesticides, and in many areas for water.

Sky high interest rates as well as double digit inflation severely affect the working farmer. While the monopoly corporations raise the price of machinery, fuel, fertilizer, electricity, etc., the price of the commodities that the farmer sells to the purchasing monopolies has been falling. In the last year the price of wheat has dropped 7 percent, that of corn 23 percent, and soybeans 19 percent.

Farmers are demanding that their income be maintained as the cost of production rises. They

are not out to rip off the consumer.

Recent protests led by the American Agricultural Movement expose the profit-gouging of the big corporations like Ralston-Purina, Dow, John Deere, Exxon, and others which control the basic necessities that working farmers need. Likewise, the food processors take a giant profit by increasing the commodity price several hundred percent by the time it reaches the supermarket.

Reagan's cutbacks in food stamp, school lunch, and senior citizens meals programs adversely affect the working farmer. With less food purchased by the government for these vital social service programs, working farmers will be unable to sell their produce at a price that will return their expenses and then some.

Under the present set-up working farmers need subsidies just to exist. Rich agricultural interests, however, have been profiting off government subsidies for years.

As socialists we believe that there should be no subsidies to the profit-making agrarian capitalists who exploit wage labor.

John Block, the Illinois hog and corn farmer who is Secretary of Agriculture, is requiring a 15 percent reduction in wheat acreage in return for government aid. We need more land in production to help feed the world, not less.

While the Reagan administration is giving handouts to rich capitalists in both industry and agriculture he is attacking the working farmer.

Reagan is forcing farmers to repay disaster loans that were made to 75,000 farmers since 1977. Ninety-nine debt collectors will go through the southeast to try and collect the outstanding

\$250,000. Most of these loans have not been repaid because the many small, impoverished, working farmers who were struck by flood, frost, blight, bugs, or other natural disasters can not pay them. Needless to say, these debt-collectors will not be welcomed.

Farmers who were affected by the Three Mile Island disaster for example, did not get disaster loans and are having one hell of a time trying to collect from TMI owners.

These farmers have also been caught in the political game of the U.S. government's embargos against the Soviet Union. When the Carter Administration put an embargo on wheat sales to the USSR, working farmers took the brunt of it.

In spite of his promise to remove the embargo, Reagan dragged his feet for months before the embargo was finally lifted. The result is that U.S. grain sales to the Soviet Union are only one-third the level before the embargo.

Farmers will be interested in the discussion that is just beginning within the labor movement about the need to form a new party, a labor party. Farmers in Minnesota had some experience in the 1920s and 1930s with the Farmer-Labor party and its support in its early years for farmers' rights.

Above all the example of September 19th will rekindle the spirit of the tractorcades and the food support the farmers gave the striking miners in 1978. Working farmers have a stake in the labor party discussion and the realization that only a common struggle of workers and farmers can establish a government committed to the needs of both, saving both from ruin.

—Mark Friedman

# Why Marxists are opposed to terrorism

## Brief from historic lawsuit against FBI spying—Part III

This fall, in a New York federal court, legal arguments are being presented in a landmark lawsuit. The defendants are the United States government and its various political police agencies, including the FBI, CIA, and INS. The plaintiffs are the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The SWP and YSA have filed suit to put a halt to years of illegal spying and harassment by the secret police. Testimony in the case was heard for three months last spring. The evidence proved that the socialists have been targeted solely on the basis of their political ideas, not because they have committed any illegal acts. The political police have subjected them to illegal spying, disruption, burglaries, infiltration, public slander and much more.

The suit was brought as a means of combating these unconstitutional dirty tricks. It has played a major role in forcing into public view the truth about what the political police have done not only against the SWP and YSA, but against the labor movement, women's and civil rights forces, and other progressive movements.

The socialists are seeking \$70 million in damages, an injunction to halt these practices, and a court ruling declaring unconstitutional several federal laws used to undermine the Bill of Rights.

The legal brief filed by the SWP and YSA summarize the facts that were proved during the presentation of testimony last spring, and presents extensive legal arguments. The Justice Department will submit a brief in response.

In previous issues, we printed sections of the brief presenting the goals and activities of the SWP and YSA, and their views on democracy, socialism, and totalitarianism. We present here excerpts from the section covering the views of Marxists toward terrorism.

Milorad Popov, who is quoted in the excerpt printed below, was one of the FBI's "expert" witnesses. Mr. Popov testified that he has been working for six years on a doctoral thesis on "The Trotskyist Movement in France, 1924-1940," but that he "just never had a chance to . . . finish typing up the dissertation." He offered no other qualifications as an "expert."

In response to the testimony of Popov and similar FBI "scholars" about the Russian Revolution, the socialists called to the stand Professor Stephen Cohen of Princeton University, author of the best-known biography of Nikolai Bukharin, and a widely respected academic figure in the field of Russian history. References to his testimony also appear below.

Additional material from the brief and explanatory articles will appear in future issues.



May Day demonstrators in Tehran, 1980, celebrate massive mobilizations of exploited and oppressed that toppled shah. Mass action, not individual terror, is road to fundamental social transformation.

The SWP and the YSA are opposed to the use of terrorism, which they believe is "the antithesis of what is required to bring about a fundamental social transformation." Their understanding of Marxism is that it is incompatible with the use of political terrorism. They hold the view that the Russian Marxists, including Lenin and Trotsky, were consistent opponents of terrorism. Professor [Stephen] Cohen explained that the Russian Marxist movement was forged, in part, in a struggle against the terrorist tradition of the Russian populist current. "The Marxists were opposed to this [terrorism]," Professor Cohen explained. "[T]hey felt it did the movement no good and a good deal of harm. Their concept of change had to do with social forces and large mass politics and not with individual terrorism at all."

Farrell Dobbs explained that the SWP today holds to the same position. The plaintiffs oppose acts of terrorism because such acts are based on the idea "that self-appointed individuals can substitute themselves for the great mass of the people and by acts of terror bring about a change while the mass stands around as . . . though they were merely interested onlookers or watching something like a Super Bowl game. . . ." That, he said, is directly contrary to the need the

SWP and YSA see for the working class "to act as a class in its own behalf" in order to bring about a socialist revolution.

The plaintiffs are in agreement with the views on this question expressed by Trotsky. In a pamphlet entitled *Leon Trotsky Against Individual Terrorism* [available from Pathfinder Press for \$.75] Trotsky writes:

Whether a terrorist attempt, even a "successful" one, throws the ruling class into confusion depends on the concrete political circumstances. In any case the confusion can only be short-lived; the capitalist state does not base itself on government ministers and cannot be eliminated with them. The classes it serves will always find new people; the mechanism remains intact and continues to function.

But the disarray introduced into the ranks of the working masses themselves by a terrorist attempt is much deeper. If it is enough to arm oneself with a pistol in order to achieve one's goal, why the efforts of the class struggle? If a thimbleful of gunpowder and a little chunk of lead is enough to shoot the enemy through the neck, what need is there for a class organization? If it makes sense to terrify highly placed personages with the roar of explosions, where is the need for a party? Why meetings, mass agitation, and elections if one can so easily take aim at the ministerial bench from the gallery of parliament?

In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator who someday will come and accomplish his mission.

The anarchist prophets of "the propaganda of the deed" can argue all they want about the elevating and stimulating influence of terrorist acts on the masses. Theoretical considerations and political experience prove otherwise. The more "effective" the terrorist acts, the greater their impact, the more the attention of the masses is focused on them—the more they reduce the interest of the masses in self-organization and self-education.

### Moral hypocrisy of U.S. gov't

While criticizing terrorist acts carried out by groups who claim to be fighting on behalf of the oppressed, the plaintiffs invariably emphasize what they consider to be the moral hypocrisy of condemnations of terrorism from United States government officials. They also, without fail, express moral solidarity with those who may have carried out terrorist acts when they are faced with what the SWP and YSA view as brutal repression from tyrannical governments.

An example of this approach is Trotsky's article [in *Leon Trotsky Against Individual Terrorism*] about a 17-year-old Polish Jew, Herschel Grynszpan, who shot a Nazi official in the German embassy in November 1938. Trotsky wrote:

In the moral sense, although not for his mode of action, Grynszpan may serve as an example to every young revolutionist. Our open moral solidarity with Grynszpan gives us an added right to say to all the other would-be Grynszpans, to all those capable of self-sacrifice in the struggle against despotism and bestiality: *Seek another road!* Not the lone avenger but only a great revolutionary mass movement can free the oppressed, a movement that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution.

During the anti-Vietnam war movement, in which the SWP and YSA had a major role, they participated as organizers of the demonstrations and acted to avoid confrontations with the police, which they viewed as harmful to the goal of turning out the largest number of demonstrators to oppose the war. Not only did the SWP and YSA never engage in, plan or advocate any act of sabotage during their participation in the opposition to the war in Vietnam, but, in the words of Jack Barnes, "We were quite famous for just the opposite."<sup>1</sup>

The positions of the plaintiffs with regard to acts of individual terrorism were clearly expressed around the kidnapping and killing of Oberdan Sallustro by the Argentine Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP) in 1972. Sallustro was the general manager of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concord. The kidnapping and killing of Sallustro was one of hundreds of guerrilla-type actions that were carried out in Argentina during the early 1970s, under the dictatorial conditions imposed by the military junta that was in power there. It played a prominent role in the discussion in the Fourth International because the group that took responsibility for the action, the ERP, was led by leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), one of the Argentine groupings that were part of the Fourth International. This grouping was in the process, at the time of the Sallustro kidnapping, of breaking from Trotskyism and the Fourth International, but it was still publicly identified as part of the Fourth International. Its actions therefore became a topic of intense discussion within the plaintiff organizations and in the Fourth International.

### Kidnapping 'a mistaken course'

On April 3, 1972, the Political Committee of the SWP issued a public statement opposing the kidnapping of Sallustro as part of "a mistaken course" and urged the opponents of the military junta to seek a different method of struggle. The statement ascribed the "fundamental causes" of the rise of such violent incidents in Argentina to such factors as the "imposition of dictatorial military rule and the banning of political opposition . . . the use of troops and the police against workers who engage in strikes . . . the arbitrary imprisonment of unionists and union leaders, use of torture on suspects, secret killing of persons seized by the police . . ." and other actions of the government. The SWP criticized the ERP for "attempting to substitute small actions by a tiny group" for the needed "powerful actions by the masses themselves. . . ."

The SWP leaders also urged the United Secretariat of the Fourth International to issue a public statement indicating disagreement with the actions taken

1. The SWP and the YSA were so well-known as opponents of physical confrontations with police on the antiwar demonstrations that one of the FBI's Cointelpro tactics was to prepare anonymous letters and leaflets in an attempt to discredit the SWP and YSA for not having "the guts" to engage in violent attacks on the police. It is also worth noting that on some occasions, FBI undercover operatives were involved in provoking violence on the demonstrations.

by the ERP. The United Secretariat majority did not agree, and no statement was issued. Some sections of the Fourth International, such as the French, Belgians and British groups, issued public statements that lent political support to ERP actions. These positions, too, were criticized by the plaintiffs. In a statement issued by the SWP National Committee on May 11, 1972, the plaintiffs again stated they viewed the ERP actions as "an error that was damaging on a world scale to the Fourth International and to all sectors of the world Trotskyist movement. This error consisted of substituting the action of a small, isolated group for action by the masses."

The defendants at trial concentrated on quotations from the published articles by individual members and official bodies of Fourth International parties, not the plaintiffs, on the Sallustro kidnapping and murder. These show a range of opinion within the Fourth International, and the radical movement generally, on such events. The SWP and YSA disagreed with many of the opinions expressed in these writings. Nothing introduced by the defendants in any way contradicts the statements by the plaintiffs that they were politically opposed to the ERP kidnapping and assassination of Sallustro.

In sum, defendants' concentration on the Sallustro affair merely confirmed the contention of the plaintiffs that they expressed their opposition, in public and private, to the kidnapping and assassination of Sallustro, just as they have expressed their political disagreement with other terrorist acts.

The defendants did argue that the opposition of the SWP and the YSA to terrorism is subject to change because the plaintiffs are not "morally" opposed to terrorism.<sup>2</sup>

### Working-class morality

The SWP's opposition to terrorism does include a moral component. Jack Barnes explained that, for Marxists, this is not based on religion, but on a morality derived from the needs of the working class. For Marxists, Barnes stated, an act is only "justified if it leads to increasing the power of humanity over nature and to the abolition of the power of one person over another." He pointed out that Trotsky, in his book *Their Morals and Ours* [available from Path-

2. If the purpose of this contention is to show that the plaintiffs' position on terrorism is not well-grounded and therefore subject to quick changes, it simply falls before all the evidence, which shows this position to be the long-standing and deeply held view of the plaintiffs on political grounds. If the purpose of the contention, however, is to bolster a claim that the defendants have a right to investigate and disrupt groups who do not endorse the moral pronouncements of the United States government, or of the FBI, or CIA, or other defendant agencies, it is simply beyond the boundaries of any valid defense in this litigation.

finder Press for \$2.95], explained "why individual terror under all conditions comes into conflict with this guide." Trotsky wrote:

Are the given means [terrorism] really capable of leading to the goal? In relation to individual terror, both theory and experience bear witness that such is not the case. To the terrorist we say: It is impossible to replace the masses; only in the mass movement can you find effective expression for your heroism.

Defense witness Milorad Popov disputed the plaintiffs' contention that Marxists have consistently opposed individual acts of terrorism. When asked by the Court, "How did Trotsky stand on the idea of the use of terrorism by a minority group, let's say a small minority group?" Popov replied, "He approved of it if it was within the context that would resolve him in a successful furthering of his aims." When asked by the Court, "If one went and researched the writings of Trotsky, could you find support for what you are now saying?" Popov replied, "Yes. I don't have it at hand." However, despite the break of a weekend in the middle of his direct examination, Popov was unable to back up this claim when pressed on cross-examination. The one attempt at such a quotation Popov offered was a passage from a book by Trotsky [*In Defense of Marxism*] quoted by Pierre Frank, a leader of the Fourth International. The sentences Popov referred to from Trotsky read, "It must be said that the Narodnik terrorists took their own words very seriously: bomb in hand they sacrificed their lives. We argued with them: 'under certain circumstances a bomb is an excellent thing but we should first clarify our minds.'" However, the following sentence in Trotsky's book, which neither Frank nor Popov included, makes it even clearer that the quote is simply another reference to the fact that the Russian Marxists were opposed to the terrorism of the Narodniks: "It is historical experience that the greatest revolution in all history was not led by the party which started out with bombs but by the party which started out with dialectical materialism." Popov claimed that "there are many other" quotations from Trotsky to support his contention that Trotsky approved the use of terrorism by small parties under certain circumstances, but "I don't have them handy."

### FBI caught flatfooted

When again asked by the Court: "But can you point independently of Pierre Frank's analysis . . . to passages by Trotsky himself which espouse terrorism as a strategic weapon under some circumstances?" Popov replied, "I would have to go back to my files to see that." Further, under cross-examination, the following exchange ended the subject:

Q: But focus on what Trotsky said; can you tell me what version [of Trotsky's writings] you are referring to, to sub-

stantiate your view [that Trotsky was in favor of acts of terrorism under certain circumstances]?

A: I would have to go back through Lou[is] Sinclair's bibliography of Trotsky and go through all the references to terrorism, and that takes up pages and pages.

Q: But you did not come prepared today—

A: No, I didn't at all. I came here prepared to testify on what I testified.

Q: So you are not currently familiar with any reference by Trotsky supporting individual acts of terrorism?

A: I did not come prepared to testify on that.

The evidence leaves no room for doubt about the positions and actions of the plaintiff organizations in regard to acts of terrorism. Nor is there any room left for the implication that any grouping within the SWP or YSA is or has ever been terrorist, or advocated terrorism. The defendants offered no evidence to counter the testimony by Mr. Barnes that the Internationalist Tendency (IT), a minority within the SWP that existed in the early 1970s and agreed with many of the positions of the majority of the Fourth International, never advocated terrorism or urged that the SWP advocate terrorism. The only member of the former IT called to testify, Hedda Garza, corroborated this testimony.

## Political Rights Defense Fund



### Just published

The Political Rights Defense Fund has just made available for public sale the 600 page brief filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

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

- Copies are available for \$10 from PRDF.
- Please send me a copy of the brief. I enclose \$10.
  - Please send more information on the SWP and YSA fight against the political police.
  - Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help PRDF continue its activities.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_  
 State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# Friend of court brief filed in SWP case

By Larry Seigle

The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Bill of Rights Foundation have filed a friend of the court brief in the socialist suit against the government. Leonard Boudin, eminent constitutional attorney, prepared the brief.

The friend of the court brief supports and, in several key areas, significantly expands the arguments on the issue of financial compensation in the brief filed earlier by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). It stresses the right of the socialist organizations to collect substantial sums from the government for violations of rights secured by the United States Constitution.

The brief points out that "all of the various wrongful acts committed by the government were committed with one aim in mind—to prevent the SWP from being able to enter into alliances, attract supporters, garner votes, and in general to present its political program to the public-at-large. There can be no doubt that the right of the Party to speak out on public issues and campaign for public office was both the intended target and principal victim of the government's assault on First Amendment rights."

The Boudin brief calculates that the damage done to the rights of the socialists amounts to \$112 million, and urges the court to make an award of that amount. The brief filed by the SWP and YSA asks for \$70 million. (The socialists had earlier asked for \$40 million, but new evidence that emerged at the trial led to the surcharges.)

The amounts requested may seem excessive to the judge. Judges, after all, are not known for their willingness to recognize that the constitutional rights of working people are worth all that much. Nonetheless, the sums demanded are mod-

est when compared to the value the American people place on constitutional liberties.

The friend of the court brief makes a convincing case that the SWP and YSA are legally entitled to substantial amounts of money. For example, it notes that a federal law provides damages of \$100 for each day of illegal wiretaps. The FBI has admitted wiretaps of the SWP totalling 20,000 days between 1943 and 1963. At \$100 a day, this would come to \$2 million.

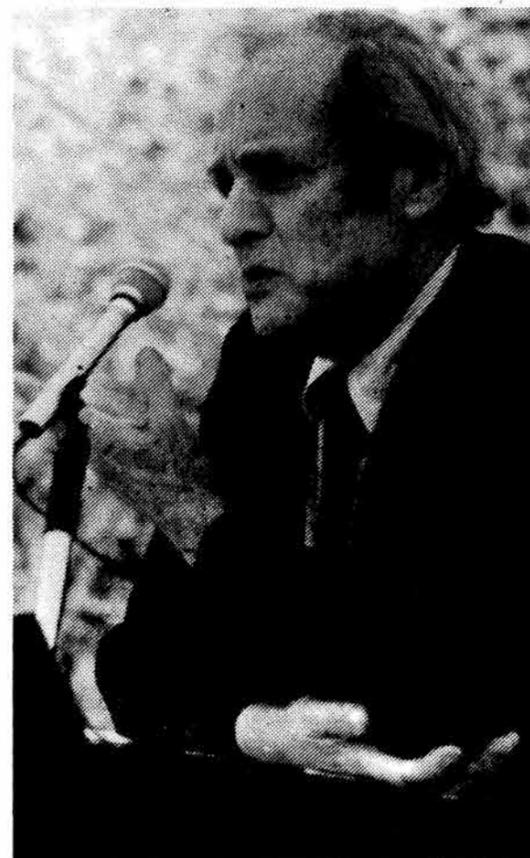
The brief further argues that each time an FBI informer attended a meeting of the SWP or YSA that was open only to members, the FBI invaded the privacy of the organizations, and this should be measured at the same \$100 rate. This yields a total of \$10 million.

Using similar methods of computation, the brief demands \$25 million for the government's interference with the election campaigns of the SWP and the same amount to compensate for contributions presumably lost to the SWP and YSA as a result of the effect of FBI harassment on potential members and supporters. Calculations for other FBI crimes bring the total to \$112 million.

Leonard Boudin, as the chief attorney for the SWP and YSA, filed the suit in 1973. He vigorously battled the government through the many years it took to bring the case to trial. Prior to the opening of the trial, at the request of the SWP, he stepped aside as chief counsel. His legal support for the constitutional battles that will be fought as the case moves into the post-trial period of briefs and appeals will be invaluable.

The two organizations on whose behalf the friend of the court brief was filed have also been long-standing supporters of the SWP case. The National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has consistently provided aid to individuals and

groups fighting to protect constitutional rights. The Bill of Rights Foundation, a tax-exempt foundation, has provided financial backing for the SWP suit for many years.



LEONARD BOUDIN

Militant/Harry Ring

## First challenge ever to 1940 law

# Socialist suit takes on Voorhis Act

By Larry Seigle

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is demanding that a federal judge rule the Voorhis Act unconstitutional "on its face." The effect of such a ruling would be to erase this reactionary law from the books.

The legal move is contained in the voluminous brief filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in their suit against the government. The decision to challenge the Voorhis Act means that for the first time since it was enacted in 1940 this law will be put to a constitutional test.

If you are not familiar with the provisions of the Voorhis Act, you aren't alone. It is an obscure law. *In fact, no one has ever been indicted under it.*

Yet the assault on this little-known law is right at the heart of the socialists' historic challenge to the political police.

Here's why.

### Disclose membership lists

The Voorhis Act requires certain political organizations to register with the Attorney General. A group must comply if it advocates "the overthrow of the Government of the United States" and

is "affiliated directly or indirectly with a foreign government . . . or an international political organization."

What would registration entail? Every six months the organization would have to turn over to the attorney general the names and addresses of every single member or financial contributor. In addition, every publication, every internal document, every leaflet, and every mailing produced by the group or any of its members would have to be turned over.

The attorney general would then, by law, make all of this material public.

The effect of such compelled disclosure on a group that the government, the cops, and the employers consider "subversive" would be devastating.

There has never been a clearer instance of a law whose provisions, by their very nature, violate the First Amendment's guarantee of the freedom of association.

The principle that the Bill of Rights protects the right to privacy of the members of an organization involved in political activity was initially fought for and won by the NAACP.

In 1958, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Alabama NAACP didn't

have to turn over its membership lists to state officials, who were claiming they needed to investigate charges that the NAACP was doing business illegally in the state. The NAACP successfully argued that disclosure would subject its members to harassment and victimization by the Ku Klux Klan and other reactionary organizations.

More recently, the SWP and the Communist Party have been able to extend this principle to protect the privacy of names of contributors to their election campaigns.

The registration requirements of the Voorhis Act clearly violate these court rulings. But it has never—until now—been tested in court.

### Rulers' stake in law

What good is a law that the government doesn't use for prosecuting people? Plenty.

First, the simple fact that the law is on the books has the intended effect of discouraging individuals and organizations from doing things that they have a perfect right to do under the Constitution. This is especially true with laws like the Voorhis Act, which are so broad and so vague that you can't tell for sure

what they outlaw and what they permit.

Second, even though the law hasn't been used, the rulers want it in their arsenal so they can use it in the future.

Third, as long as the law exists, the political police can cite it as justification for the need to permanently investigate groups who "may" violate it. This is exactly what the FBI uses the Voorhis Act for today.

According to FBI agents who testified at the trial of the case last spring, searching for possible Voorhis Act violations by the SWP was "one of our highest objectives."

In the brief, the socialists point out the absurdity of the claim that the FBI has had to "investigate" the SWP for four decades to find out if the party was violating the Voorhis Act.

The SWP considers itself to be politically part of the Fourth International, although it has not been a section since 1940. At that time the party formally disaffiliated so as not to be forced to turn over its membership lists to the government. The SWP and YSA also maintain extensive contacts with revolutionary organizations in other countries that are not part of the Fourth International.

### Sword of Damocles

The brief argues that, "Evidently the defendants prefer the threat of prosecution eternally poised over the SWP's head to actual prosecution under an unconstitutional statute. In the words of [Supreme Court Justice Thurgood] Marshall, 'the value of a sword of Damocles is that it hangs—not that it drops.'"

The government has succeeded for forty years in avoiding a test of the constitutionality of this "sword of Damocles." One of the most significant accomplishments of the SWP suit so far is that this law has now been dragged into the public view and into court. It thus makes possible a fight to have it finally struck down.

The socialists' brief also opens a constitutional challenge to the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The brief points out that there is no credible evidence that the SWP or YSA have ever acted as "foreign agents" and seeks a ruling from the court that this law, along with others cited by the FBI, can not provide a justification for the FBI's campaign of disruption and harassment against the SWP and YSA.

The "foreign agents" act, like the Voorhis Act, is aimed at preventing working-class organizations from participating in international political campaigns and movements. But, unlike the Voorhis Act, it has been used.

### Irish Northern Aid

Last May, a federal judge in New York ruled that a group known as Irish Northern Aid, which send funds and clothing to the families of republican prisoners in Northern Ireland, must register as an agent of the Irish Republican Army. The judge ordered the group to turn over detailed information on where its money comes from and where it goes, and to identify all literature it publishes.

### Regulating political activity

The government will battle hard to defend its right to use both the Voorhis Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act as weapons to control political activity.

The Democrats and Republicans intend to expand the right of the political police to spy on and keep track of those who speak out against government policies. And first in their line of fire are those who don't agree that the field of political interests and activities of working people stops at the border.

That is why the battle over the Voorhis Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act is among the most important of the many that are shaping up in the socialists' lawsuit.

(Next: challenge to immigration law)



Machinist union members at Solidarity Day, September 19. Voorhis Act aims to limit international solidarity and collaboration among workers.

## CP wins disclosure fight

By Jim Mack

A victory for everyone's democratic rights has been won by the Communist Party (CP). The CP secured a court ruling that sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act requiring public disclosure of names of contributors are unconstitutional as applied to the Communist Party.

The ruling, by a federal district court in New York, was handed down September 22. The judge dismissed a suit by the Federal Election Commission against the Hall-Tyner Election Campaign Committee, which had refused to turn over the names of 424 contributors to the 1976 presidential election campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

The CP was able to force the FBI to admit that the party is currently the target of an "active investigation" by the FBI.

Citing the record of the FBI's Cointelpro operations and the result of congressional inquiries into FBI and CIA crimes, the judge concluded that "severe abridgment of associational rights is likely to follow from the compulsory disclosure of supporters of Communist Party candidates."

A number of previous cases, including successful challenges by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to these same disclosure provisions, were cited as authorities by the judge.

The SWP won an exemption from the

disclosure requirement in a federal suit begun in 1974. However, the SWP campaign committees must still compile and maintain information on contributors.

The victory in the CP case is a substantial advance over what the SWP was able to win. The CP will apparently no longer be required to record the names of its contributors. The judge concluded that "it is surely reasonable . . . for potential contributors to the Party to expect that the FBI would discover their identity through the use of informants or other investigative techniques, if their names were recorded in records maintained by the Committee."

The government has sixty days to decide whether to appeal.



MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH Militant/Saim Kolis

# Black congressmen, students back Iranian in deportation fight

By Suzanne Haig

Two United States representatives to Congress, Ron Dellums (Calif.) and John Conyers (Mich.) are supporting Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh's fight against deportation. Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student at Morgan State University in Baltimore and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, faces an Immigration and Naturalization Service hearing on October 15.

Other new support for her case has come from Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Henry Moore, president, International Association of Machinists Local 1784 in Baltimore; Rev. Daki Napata, Union Baptist Church, Baltimore; and Fran Donelan, American Friends Service Committee, Mid-Atlantic Region.

Hundreds of students at Morgan State, a predominantly Black school, have signed petitions protesting the deportation threat. One student told supporters who were circulating petitions that he could understand this kind of harassment against Mojgan. "Look what they did to Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party," he said, "but then they let the Klan do whatever they want."

An international student said that she knew of a similar case where African students who protested against their government were arrested here, thrown in jail, and now face deportation.

The presidents of the student governments at Morgan State and Coppin State College both support Hariri-Vijeh's case and signed a letter to the editors of the major Baltimore papers protesting the INS action.

On October 11, Hariri-Vijeh was interviewed on Morgan State campus radio station WEAA, one of the largest Black stations in Baltimore. They have carried news on her case all week. The big country music station, WPOC, has also carried news.

Four leaders of the anti-apartheid movement sent a protest message to the INS, pointing out the similarity of this case to that of South African poet and activist Denis Brutus.

The INS is using a technicality regarding the renewal of Brutus's visa as grounds to try to deport him.

At the National Organization for Women's national conference in Washington, D.C., October 10-12, hundreds of NOW leaders and activists signed protest messages. They include: Kristen Fahrenkrug-James, president of Tri-State NOW, Evansville, Indiana; Robin Crittenden, NOW Board member from Anchorage, Alaska, NOW; Kitty Tucker, Supporters of Silkwood; and Diane Dittmore, president, Tucson, Arizona NOW.

On October 14, Hariri-Vijeh will speak at a forum at Morgan State University entitled, "Why does the government want to deport a Morgan State stu-

dent?" A representative of the International Student Association will also speak. The ISA there has voted to support Hariri-Vijeh's case, and she has addressed their meetings on two occasions.

On October 15, there will be a picket line at the Federal Building in Baltimore, where the case will be heard before immigration judge Joan Arrow-smith. An open house for Hariri-Vijeh's supporters will be held that evening.

The INS is saying that Hariri-Vijeh is being deported because her student visa expired. But they have refused to renew it.

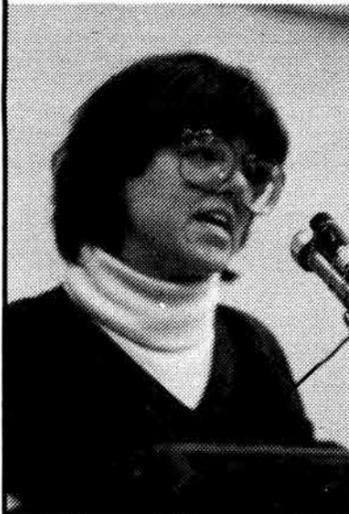
Hariri-Vijeh's lawyer, Shelley Davis, told the *Militant* that the INS is just trying to hide its harassment behind a technicality.

"There is a history of the INS going after people associated with the Socialist Workers Party. Their technique is to look for other grounds than political ones to deport them. This is what they are doing now.

"In court, Mojgan will testify and we will present documents showing a pattern of harassment against supporters of the Socialist Workers Party that were obtained through a \$70 million lawsuit against the INS and other government agencies by the YSA and SWP.

"These show an INS program to deport foreign-born persons—using a variety of excuses—for their political ideas and activities."

## Rallies in 50 cities to boost socialist suit



Militant/Jon Hillson



Militant/Kelly Lawrence



Militant/Susan Ellis



Militant/Susan Ellis



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Speaking for suit against government, from left: André Kahlmorgan, Betsy Soares, Héctor Marroquín, Diane Wang, and Mac Warren

By Matthew Herreshoff

The Political Rights Defense Fund will hold rallies in nearly fifty cities this fall as part of its campaign to mobilize support for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and INS.

The rallies will provide an opportunity for a nationwide, united show of support for this landmark suit from a broad range of individuals and organizations.

They will also be a major opportunity for the defense fund to raise the money that is necessary to cover the legal and publicity expenses for its suit against the government. The money will also cover the costs of related legal battles, such as the fight to block the deportation of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, who has been singled out by the INS because of her political ideas. Hariri-Vijeh is a member of the YSA and the SWP.

PRDF has set the goal of raising \$125,000 this fall to cover its anticipated expenses. Already, \$31,000 has been collected toward this goal.

The rallies will coincide with the escalation of the battle over political

rights, including the legal battles unfolding as the SWP and YSA suit heads toward a decision in federal district court. The fundamental constitutional issues that were raised in the trial of the case last spring will be the subject of extensive legal briefs and court arguments throughout the fall and winter.

Among the speakers at the rallies will be leaders of the SWP and YSA who will be crisscrossing the entire country this fall, speaking on the case and its significance, and winning new support for it.

Since the case was launched, organizations representing millions of people have become supporters of the suit. These include the NAACP; the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; a number of trade union locals and officials; Black and Latino organizations; women's rights groups, and others. In addition, many prominent individuals have lent their names to this important battle.

The fall rallies will build on the support that has already been won, and help to mobilize a visible dis-

play of support for the fight to halt disruption, illegal spying, frame-ups, and harassment by the political police.

The socialists who will be conducting the speaking tours include: Nelson Blackstock, who covered the trial of the socialist lawsuit for the *Militant*; André Kahlmorgan, SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta, and one of fifteen members of the Machinists union fired by Lockheed for her political activities; Héctor Marroquín, a member of the YSA and SWP who has waged a four-year battle against being deported; Geoff Mirelowitz, a member of the Steelworkers union at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point in Baltimore; and Olga Rodriguez, who testified for the SWP at the trial, and is the chairperson of the New York SWP.

Also: Sue Skinner, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union in Toledo who recently polled 6,000 votes as the SWP candidate for city council; Betsy Soares, member of the Machinists union and 1981 SWP candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Rich Stuart, member of Steelworkers

Local 1938, one of the unions whose membership has voted to support the socialist suit against the government; Diane Wang, a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in New York City, and author of "FBI vs. the Women's Movement"; Mac Warren, a member of the SWP National Committee, who coordinates the party's participation in the Black liberation movement; and Elizabeth Ziers, a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge plant in Detroit.

In addition to appearing at the PRDF rallies, the touring socialists will take part in other activities to build support for the suit. These include news conferences, radio and television appearances; meetings at union halls, near workplaces, and on campuses; and cocktail parties and other fund-raising events.

If you are interested in arranging for a speaker to address your organization or speak in your city or town, contact the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Tel (212) 691-3270.



**Not as dumb as he looks**—The White House decision to send Carter, Ford, and Nixon to the Sadat funeral because it wouldn't be safe for Reagan to go reminded us of the old ditty: "Somebody's got to go, and a real hero he will be. Somebody else, not me."

**What's the problem?**—Commenting on the discovery of a "hole" in the universe some 300 million light years wide, one of the scientists involved said that the finding was "exceedingly hard to understand." Maybe for a scientist. But not if you're a creationist.

**Spooky new opportunities**—Probably sheer coincidence, but as Reagan readied an executive order formally authorizing CIA infiltration of domestic organizations, the Company put in for a new building to double its headquarters size. It will house some 3,000 employees.

**Irrepressible**—Earl Butz is back. The former agriculture secretary who was dumped because he couldn't stop telling racist jokes in public was then convicted of tax evasion. (He overlooked \$148,000 of income on one return.) He was fined \$10,000, plus a fast thirty days in the slammer. Recently he lectured a farm audience about hard work,

honesty, and profits. He also told jokes.

**Human Blight?**—The Reagan administration has no immediate plans for filling the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights. Rather, it is weighing a "reorganization" of the Human Rights Bureau and pondering a new name for it.

**Two can't live as cheap as one?**—Buckingham Palace announced that what with having acquired a spouse, Prince Charles has granted himself a 50 percent tax-free pay raise. His annual stipend will now run a tad under three-

quarters of a million dollars.

**Wrong image**—The Treasury Department ordered an electrical company to stop packing lamps in shredded money. The stuff is available from the government at \$90 a ton. The government has a list of OK purposes for its use, including insulation and as an element in drilling mud.

**No sacrifice too great**—Voluntarily joining ranks with food stamp recipients and other cutback victims, U.S. senators reduced to fifteen their staff of thirty-seven assigned to operate the Senate's automatic elevators.

## What's Going On

### ARIZONA PHOENIX

**CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speaker: Ellie Garcia, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Phoenix; Mel Mason, socialist city council member from Seaside California. Sat., Oct. 24, 6:30 dinner, 8 p.m. rally. 1243 E. McDowell. Donation: \$5, \$2 rally only. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

### CALIFORNIA OAKLAND

**IRAN: REVOLUTION UNDER ATTACK.** Speaker: Janice Lynn, former staff writer, *Intercontinental Press*. Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

### SAN FRANCISCO

**IRAN: REVOLUTION UNDER ATTACK.** Speakers: Janice Lynn, former staff writer, *Intercontinental Press*; others. Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### COLORADO DENVER

**REAGANOMICS: NEW HOPE FOR THE HARD-CORE RICH.** Speaker: Alan Gummerson, railroad worker and member, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. Twelfth Ave. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### INDIANA GARY

**WHY WE HAD TO STRIKE: AN AIR-TRAFFIC CONTROLLER GIVES HIS SIDE OF THE STORY.** Speaker: Joel Flores, president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, Local 356. Fri., Oct. 23, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

### MICHIGAN DETROIT

**CAN THE MAJORITY RULE? THE CASE FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION.** Speaker: Dave Cook, member New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party. Sun., Nov. 1, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

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### MINNESOTA VIRGINIA

**POLAND: THE FIRST YEAR OF SOLIDARITY UNION.** Speakers: David Salner and Kirsten Murati, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 16, 7 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

**VIDEOTAPE OF HARRISBURG ANTINUCLEAR RALLY.** Sun., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 4715 A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### ST. LOUIS

**CUBA TODAY: EYEWITNESS REPORTS FROM RECENT TOURS.** Speakers: Daniel Hellinger, professor of Latin American Studies at Webster College, director of Greater St. Louis Latin American Solidarity Committee; Helen Savio, member American Federation of Teachers Local 420 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Oct. 18, 7 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

**WHY WORKING WOMEN NEED THE ERA: A DISCUSSION ON HOW TO WIN.** Speakers: Kathy Sayers, member United Mine Workers Local 2295 and Socialist Workers Party; representatives of Coalition of Labor Union Women and Missouri ERA Coalition; others. Sun. Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW JERSEY NEWARK

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speaker: James Harris, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New Jersey. Sat., Oct. 24, 7 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK BROOKLYN

**DEFEND BLACK, LATINO, LABOR RIGHTS.** Speakers: Wells Todd, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York; Kenneth Nelson, member National Black Independent Political Party; Tony J. Maimone, cluster chairman, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Enriqueta Acevedo, Young Socialist Alliance; William Henning, Communication Workers of America, Local 1180. Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. Medgar Evers College, 1150 Carroll St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee and Medgar Evers Student Government. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

### MANHATTAN

**RACE DISCRIMINATION IN THE U.S.** A class and discussion. Thur., Oct. 22, 6 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd Floor. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

**ELECTION EVE RALLY.** Tues., Nov. 3, 8 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Ausp: New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

### SCHENECTADY

**WOMEN AND THE FIGHT AGAINST REAGANISM.** Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

### OHIO

#### CLEVELAND

**KEEP THE BUSES ROLLING: A PANEL DISCUSSION ON DESEGREGATION.** Speakers: James Hardiman, NAACP Attorney; Michael Charney, Chairperson WELCOME; Amy Belvin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board; Mary Conner, chairperson, Clevelanders for Quality Education Now; Natividad Pagan, consultant, Hispanic Parents Union; others. Sat., Oct. 17, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### PENNSYLVANIA PHILADELPHIA

**THE TEACHERS' STRIKE AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY.** Teachers and others speak out on the cutbacks by the school board and how to fight back. Sun., Oct. 25, 7:30 p.m. New Covenant Baptist Church, Queen Lane and Wayne Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

### PITTSBURGH

**FILM: 'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.'** Sergei Eisenstein film of 1917 Russian Revolution. Fri., Oct. 23, 8 p.m. 1100 E. Carson St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

### UTAH

#### SALT LAKE CITY

**THE LEGACY OF SADAT: PEACEMAKER OR TYRANT?** Speakers: Representative of General Union of Palestinian Students, University of Utah; representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Oct. 24, 7 p.m. 677 S. 700 E. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WASHINGTON SEATTLE

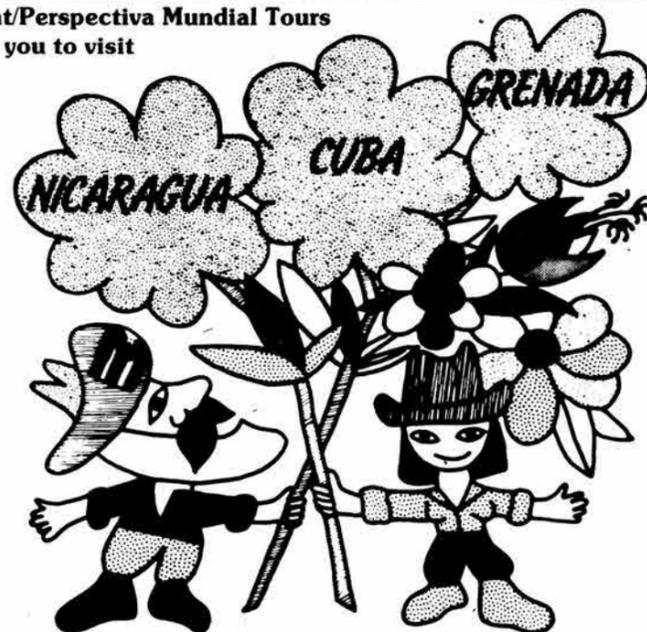
**REAGANOMICS: WHAT'S THE GAME PLAN?** Speaker: Dick Roberts, author of *Capitalism in Crisis and America's Railroads: the Case for Nationalization*. Sat., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

**INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMICS AND CURRENT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS.** Two classes by Dick Roberts. Sun., Oct. 25, 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

### N. Y. Campaign

On October 20, Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan Borough president, along with the other candidates for this office, will appear on the Urban Journal show. The program will be on channel 11 from 10:30-11:30 a.m. News Forum, channel 4 will have a panel of candidates for mayor of New York City, which will include Wells Todd, Socialist Workers Party candidate. This program will be aired October 25 at 11 a.m. and 8 p.m. for one hour.

### Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours invites you to visit



### Cuba

Solidarity Tour — November 22-29, 1981 — eight days, \$610

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Workers Democracy/May Day Tour — April 18-May 2, 1982 — fifteen days, \$960

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Nicaragua Tour — November 7-15, 1981 — eight days, \$750

Nicaragua and Cuba Tour — July 17-31, 1982 — fifteen days, \$1150

### Grenada

Third Anniversary Tour — March 7-14, 1982 — eight days, \$850

Prices include round-trip airfare from Miami, hotels (double occupancy), three meals (except for August 8-15 tour), transfers, and guide service.

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## Solidarity road

I belong to International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1346 in Tiffin, Ohio, and traveled with two IAM buses from Toledo to Solidarity Day in Washington on September 19.

These buses were mostly filled with machinists from the Toledo area, but they also included members of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign and a newly formed women's group, Toledo Women Organizing.

The first indication I had that this demonstration was going to be bigger and more significant than any I had been to previously came a week before. I met a woman who works at G.E. in Tiffin. She said that twenty members of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) were going to Washington on a United Auto Workers (UAW) bus from Fostoria.

A final count on buses from the Toledo area was: fourteen from the UAW; seven AFL-CIO buses; one from the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; two buses each from the IAM and the NAACP; plus innumerable vans and cars.

Our first rest stop was on the Ohio Turnpike outside Sandusky. There we saw the first of dozens of buses going to Solidarity Day. We met machinists from IAM District 192 in Montpelier, Ohio. This district organized four buses.

We also saw IUE and UAW members from Mansfield, Ohio. Later, I talked to union members from Dayton, Springfield, Columbus, Cincinnati, and Youngstown.

The Farm Labor Organizing Committee sent sixty members in vans and marched with the United Farm Workers in Washington.

At this stop and all the way to Washington we were passed by buses from Detroit. We also saw buses from Minnesota and Wisconsin.

The mood on the trip was buoyant. Some union members were excited just to be going to D.C. for the first time. Others understood the need for unions to join together. Some talked about Poland and how Reagan claims to support strikers there, but fires them here.

I marched with the

Machinists. Our section was pretty quiet. No one really leading cheers, except "O-H-I-O" and "I-A-M". It was the first demonstration for many members and many weren't sure just what you're supposed to do.

It's like Fraser said, "While Reagan may be taking a nap, the American people are waking up."

I stood at the front of the rally assembly with mostly UAW members, many of them Black. Civil rights leaders Joseph Lowery and Jesse Jackson got good applause, but Stevie Wonder got the biggest.

Benjamin Hooks, president of the NAACP, got a very big applause. So did Steve Wallaert, the PATCO president from Virginia. His speech was followed with chants of "PATCO!"

The *New York Times* quotes AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's "What do we do for an encore?"

That, I guess, is the question of the hour.

Kurt Landfield  
Toledo, Ohio

## Solidarity Day spirit

Thirty-five people gathered here at the Militant Forum on September 26 to discuss putting the Solidarity Day spirit into future action.

"Solidarity Day in Washington and in Denver were a big success," said Dave Dickman, Solidarity Day coordinator for the Utah AFL-CIO. He protested how the major media had lied about the turnout at these historic marches. "There were actually 5,000 marchers in Denver and 500,000 in Washington," he said. The Utah Solidarity Day Committee organized 250 Utahns to go to the Denver protest. On September 12, the committee held a rally in Salt Lake City which was attended by 100 people.

"Solidarity Day brought together people from many different points of view and from diverse organizations. We must continue to organize from this unity and in the spirit of solidarity to fight Reaganism," explained Dickman.

Echoing this spirit at the forum were Rev. Tony Watkins of the National Alliance Against Racist and

Political Repression and Dave Shaw, a committeeman for Machinists Union Lodge 1525.

Dickman announced that the Utah AFL-CIO will organize a mass demonstration on February 27. This date marks the first anniversary of a protest rally of 6,000 Utah construction workers outraged at the repeal of Utah's prevailing wage law. The law was the state equivalent of the Davis-Bacon Act, which is under attack nationally.

"We plan to have 10,000 people protest at the Utah State Capitol on that day against the right-wing threats to workers interests," said Dickman.

Bill Hoyle  
Salt Lake City, Utah

## Request for help

I am researching and writing a paper on the Criminal Syndicalism Trial in Sacramento, and focusing on one of the defendants at the trial by the name of Norman Mini. He was a local fellow, born and raised here in Sacramento.

I believe that he joined the SWP during the mid-thirties. He had been for several years a member of the CP.

I have been able to find people who knew him as a local "boy" but no one who knew him as a labor organizer, or radical. That is what I am looking for.

Please send any information to Mary Anne Ashley, 1822 "N" Street, #3, Sacramento, California, 95814.  
Mary Anne Ashley  
Sacramento, California

## 'Right-to-work'

South Dakota is a right-to-work state. On Solidarity Day 700 workers from a number of unions demonstrated in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, to show their pro-union sentiments.

The demonstration was led and organized by Local 1180 of the United Electrical Workers Union (UE). Local 1180 organizes the Sioux Falls plant of Litton Microwave. The Sioux Falls plant is a runaway plant. Litton, a notorious union-busting multinational corporation, has refused to negotiate with 1180 workers,

fired the local's officers, and cut the wages of the workers since 1180 won a National Labor Relations Board election.

The Litton workers led the way on Solidarity Day and according to Joe Miller, an organizer for UE Local 1139, workers from the other unions participating in the Sioux Falls events thanked them for the role they played in bringing together workers in this notorious anti-union state. They all agreed that Solidarity Day would help strengthen the cause of workers suffering under right-to-work-for-less conditions.

As a worker at Litton's Minneapolis plant, I think the determination shown by the Sioux Falls workers will strengthen our hand as we confront the company a year from now when our contract expires.

Jay Ressler  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

## 'Militant' makes rounds

You will be glad to hear that the subscription to the *Militant* being sent to St. Vincents is being well-appreciated. I am informed by the Grenadian Teachers that it is making the rounds of the teachers throughout the West Indies.

Herbert Lewin  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

## Refugees have rights

A dispatch from Knight-Ridder Newspapers informs us that the Cuban refugees presently confined at Atlanta federal prison will be reviewed by a three-man panel before being released. The panel will consist of an Immigration and Naturalization Services officer, a member of the Justice Department's criminal division, and a member of the United States Parole Commission.

A Justice Department spokesman is reported as having declared that before a refugee will be released, the panel would have to determine that he was non-violent and likely to remain so, and that he was unlikely to commit any crime.

This effectively places a

refugee so released on parole in the United States of America! Parole in this country results from someone being imprisoned after conviction and sentenced for a criminal offense committed in this country. Since no Cuban refugee confined in Atlanta federal prison has ever committed any criminal offense for which a judgment was imposed by a court of competent jurisdiction on American soil, the Immigration and Naturalization Services, the Justice Department, and the United States Parole Commission are completely without any jurisdiction to regulate or control the lives and social intercourse of any Cuban refugee seeking release from Atlanta federal prison to American soil.

The logical extension of placing someone on parole from prison will be parole violations and possible return to prison should any condition of the parole be violated by a Cuban refugee released under these terms previously stated. All of this amounts to blatant racism and the subjective domination, control, and exploitation of these people because of their previous status as Cuban citizens under Castro's regime. By terms of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which any high school student should know by heart, as this amendment and its provisions are the basis of American Democracy, the Cuban refugees are American citizens and are entitled as such to all of the protections and considerations granted any other American citizen, regardless of his previous status.

Would someone out there kindly inform the Justice Department that it is wrong and that the whole world of humanity has its eyes and ears keyed in on what it is doing to these poor displaced people.  
A prisoner  
Leavenworth, Kansas

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

# If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

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

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.  
**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.  
**CALIFORNIA:** Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.  
**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.  
**FLORIDA:** Gainesville: YSA, c/o Don Mackle, 1208 S.W. First Ave. Zip: 32601. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.  
**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.  
**ILLINOIS:** Champaign-Urbana: YSA, 1301 W. Green, Room 284. Zip: 61801. Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.  
**INDIANA:** Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP,

YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.  
**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, Box 352. Zip: 50613.  
**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.  
**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.  
**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.  
**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, P.O. Box 837. Zip: 01004. Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.  
**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Tel: (313) 663-7068. Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.  
**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.  
**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.  
**NEBRASKA:** Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30221. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 483-6236.  
**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave.

Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.  
**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.  
**NEW YORK:** Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.  
**NORTH CAROLINA:** Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.  
**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.  
**OREGON:** Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.  
**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 3255. Zip: 17105. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823.

Tel: (814) 238-3296.  
**RHODE ISLAND:** Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.  
**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.  
**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.  
**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.  
**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.  
**WASHINGTON:** Olympia: YSA, Room 3208, The Evergreen State College. Zip: 98501. Tel: (206) 866-7332. Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.  
**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, Box 3761. Zip: 25337. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.  
**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

# THE MILITANT

## Strikes hit Puerto Rico

### Workers, students resist Reagan budget cuts

By Nelson Blackstock

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—Reagan's budget cuts have helped set off two struggles now at the center of attention on this Caribbean island.

One is the strike by 6,700 workers at the state-owned electrical utility. Members of the Union of Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers (UTIER) have been out almost two months.

The other is the strike by students at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) and the closing of the school by the administration. The students voted to strike on September 2 in response to a 200 percent increase in tuition.

As a U.S. colony, Puerto Rico is directly affected by the decisions made in Washington. Budget cuts that hit hard in the United States are devastating on an island where the official unemployment rate is 21 percent and 60 percent of the population receive food stamps.

Pro-statehood Governor Carlos Romero Barceló is meeting stiff resistance to his moves to put through Reagan's offensive.

On October 8, more than 4,000 UTIER members and their supporters marched through the streets of San Juan.

Puerto Rican workers have no central labor federation, but UTIER members were joined by compañeros from several other unions. A contingent of striking air traffic controllers, members of PATCO here, came to show solidarity.

City bus drivers may soon be forced to strike for a decent contract, and on this morning they had decorated the sides of their buses with slogans such as, "Romero—enemy of the workers" and "Traacherous dog."

Striking students also turned out to join the march.

The demonstration was a show of strength in response to a new "final offer" by the Autoridad de Energía Eléctrica (AEE), the Puerto Rican power authority. Despite concessions by UTIER



'Long live trade union unity' is caption on banner carried by the Comisión de Trabajo Intersindical, federation composed of several trade unions on the island. Demonstration was in support of striking electrical workers October 8.

officials, the AEE is insisting workers accept either a two-year or four-year contract with a measly raise of \$50 per month the first year and \$55 a month the following year.

The AEE is refusing to sign a three-year contract, since it would expire during an election year and the AEE fears politicians would be under pressure to support the workers' demands.

Meanwhile, UPR students made headway in their fight against tuition hikes when top university administration officials met with General Council of Students President Roberto Alejandro Rivera October 11. The call for a "dialogue" has been a key student demand. Previously, the administration had insisted it would not meet with students until the strike had been called off.

University officials had closed the university following the disruption of a student demonstration on September 29. After gunshots had been fired, the administration insisted that campus cops were unarmed. But *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, produced on its front page a picture of the campus cop pointing a gun.

The administration has refused to investigate the possibility that cops may have fired a shot.

Last week, the administration announced that they had dropped 4,000 students who had boycotted payment of tuition. Officials were originally moving to reopen the campus on October 13, but have been forced to keep postponing the date as a result of student organizing efforts.

The mounting pressure on the administration is reflected by their decision to meet with Alejandro—even though he has been suspended from the university and is free on bail.

Also reflecting pressure on the administration was the decision at a recent meeting of 300, representing forty-nine organizations, to call for a dialogue between the students and the administration. Initiated by the Journalist Association, the meeting elected a seven-member body to observe such talks.

The observers include Pedro Grant, president of the General Workers Union; Luis Camacho, president of the Bar Association; and Rev. Alfredo Santiago, representing the United Evangelical Church. The meeting asked that no state police be allowed on campus.

## Philadelphia teachers fight contract busting

By H. Berman

PHILADELPHIA—Over 23,000 teachers and school employees here, members of Philadelphia Federation of Teachers Local 3, are defying a court order to return to work after four weeks on strike.

Picket lines outside schools were two and three times larger than earlier in the strike as the Monday morning, October 12, deadline for returning to work passed.

### General strike call by AFL-CIO

Oct. 14—The Philadelphia AFL-CIO voted tonight to authorize a general strike on October 28 of the labor movement in Philadelphia to support the teachers strike. The general strike call is subject to the approval of the unions in the city.

Meanwhile, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers will hold a mass membership meeting Sunday, October 18 in Convention Hall. Scheduled speakers include Black civil rights leaders Reverend Jesse Jackson and Andrew Young in addition to American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker and national leaders of the AFL-CIO.

The return-to-work order was issued by the courts at the request of the Board of Education. We teachers and our union face fines, possible jailings, and ultimately risk our jobs—like the air controllers—to maintain the strike. Yet only a few hundred scabs are working.

Since the strike began, over 200 teacher pickets have been arrested.

While the strikers face legal penalties, it is the Board of Education and the city and state governments that are guilty of violating the 1980 teachers' contract.

The striking air controllers are actively supporting the teachers. Solidarity between the two groups is very visible. Hundreds of teachers are wearing PATCO buttons reading, "Workers in Poland can strike, why can't we?" A PATCO sound truck has led marches and rallies by the teachers.

After a fifteen-day strike in 1980, we won a contract including protection from layoffs and a 10 percent pay hike to be deferred until this year to give time to raise the funds the city and state claimed not to have.

But the Board of Education, the city and the state government took no steps to provide the funds. They reneged on all the key points in the contract. Instead of protecting teachers from layoffs, 3,500 teachers were cut back

for this school year. The majority of those to be laid off are Blacks and younger teachers hired in recent years.

The Board of Education also announced it would not pay the 10 percent pay hike agreed to last year, and threatened further layoffs in the next two years.

Strikebreaking efforts have been unsuccessful. In addition to the back-to-work court order, politicians and the news media are trying to create opposition to the strike within the Black community. But this has failed.

About 40 percent of the union's membership is Black. The union has made serious efforts to explain the issues of the strike in the Black community. While Black politicians like Democratic City Council member Joseph Street and Republican State Representative Milton Street oppose the strike, Black labor leaders solidly support the teachers.

It is the cutbacks in education, not the actions of the teachers, that threaten the education of both Black and white students in this city.

On September 14, 10,000 teachers and their supporters demonstrated. Delegations from many other unions participated.

On October 1, a special session of the City Council to discuss the strike was flooded by 800 parents, students, and teachers from around the city. One

group, Parents Who Care, marched around City Hall chanting, "Fund schools," and "Money for schools, not for war."

On Friday, October 9, 2,500 teachers and their supporters showed up outside William Penn High School in response to announcements that the city was going to try to open the school.

The size of the demonstration blocked traffic for hours and prevented the bus carrying forty-one scabs from reaching the school. Afterward, about 1,500 teachers spontaneously marched downtown to rally at City Hall while union President John Murray met with Democratic Mayor William Green.

When Green was elected mayor two years ago, he was proclaimed a "friend of labor," and was backed by the PFT and the AFL-CIO. He is now leading the attack against the teachers.

The Philadelphia teachers' strike marks the first big confrontation between a public employees union and a government body since Reagan fired the air traffic controllers.

This strike is shaping up as another battle that the entire labor movement has a big stake in.

The solidarity between the teachers and air controllers in Philadelphia is an example of the kind of backing needed from the rest of the union movement.