

THE MILITANT

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

U.S. sharpens warning to Central America

Haig: 'hours growing shorter' for Nicaragua

By Fred Murphy

As protests mount around the world, Washington is stepping up its threat to use military force against Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, and Grenada.

The *Washington Post* made known November 22 that "the Reagan administration is approaching a crucial decision on whether to take action against Nicaragua to prevent that country from becoming 'another Cuba,' according to senior officials in several government agencies."

One official quoted by the *Post* said, "We are duty bound to do something."

A second official added, "You will find there will be actions by the United States that will speak for

themselves before long. Things have got to be confronted in a variety of ways."

The day after the *Post* article appeared, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger announced that the U.S. Caribbean Command based at Key West, Florida, would be reorganized to take on extended responsibilities, not only in the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea, but also on the Pacific Coast of Central America, which includes El Salvador and Nicaragua.

That the White House is deadly serious about its military plans was underscored by nationally broadcast television interviews with Secretary of State Alexander Haig and White House Counselor Edwin Meese on

November 22. The *Wall Street Journal* reported: "Top administration officials indicated, in the clearest terms yet, that they are considering action soon" against Nicaragua.

Interviewed on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley," Haig declared, "the hours are growing rather short" for Nicaragua. He refused to rule out U.S. military action against the country, stating that "it serves no constructive purpose to draw fences around the limits of American policy when nations are proceeding to push against our fundamental values."

Haig also appealed to "neighboring states" and "the forces of freedom in Nicaragua" to respond to the "huge

military structure" he claims is being created in Nicaragua with arms sent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe "directly through Cuba."

Haig and other administration officials have repeatedly charged that Soviet arms are being routed through Cuba. But despite challenges by the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments to produce evidence, none has been produced.

Meese, who appeared on CBS-TV's "Face the Nation," said a naval blockade of Nicaragua was not ruled out. Another option, he said, "involves putting pressures on Nicaragua by other nations in the area."

While Meese and Haig focused on

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NEW YORK CITY, November 21 — One thousand march to denounce U.S. military plans in Central America and Caribbean.

Militant/Lou Howort

Demonstrations in U.S. sound the alert

By Nelson González

"This march and hundreds more like it in the future are clearly sending a message to the U.S. government: 'No U.S. direct or indirect intervention in Central America and the Caribbean'."

"The imperialist circles have not learned their lesson. They have not learned that when a people have obtained their liberation, if foreign troops intervene in El Salvador, Nicaragua, or Cuba they will find a people ready to fight until they are defeated."

"... long live Cuba first liberated land, long live Nicaragua, long live El Salvador, long live Guatemala, long live Puerto Rico."

These words were spoken by Ra-

mon Cardona a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR) as he addressed the 1,000 people that turned out for a November 21 emergency protest against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The New York action was part of a rapid response by the Central American and Caribbean solidarity movement here in the United States. It has served notice to the Reagan administration that U.S. imperialism will face opposition at home if it carries out its projected military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Responding to the November 8 call by the Emergency Campaign Against

U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean for November 21 emergency protests, actions were organized in over thirty cities.

In New York City 1,000 spirited demonstrators gathered at the Times Square recruitment center and marched to the UN Plaza. There they heard speeches from Andrés Gomez, a representative of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Ramon Cardona, representative of the FDR, and Rusty Davenport recently returned from Honduras, as well as others.

Over forty organizations, including the Central America and Caribbean solidarity networks; peace groups, religious groups; organizations from the Puerto Rican movement such as

the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, El Comité, and Vieques Committee; Communist Party; Socialist Workers Party; Workers World Party; and others took part in the New York protest.

In San Francisco, 1,000 people marched and rallied at the federal building against the war threat in a Bay area demonstration which included activists from Oakland and San José.

A news conference was held in San José on November 20 at the office of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 420.

On hand at the conference were Ron Lynd, a representative of the Santa Clara County Central Labor

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No Euroshimas!

President Reagan has embarked on a campaign to combat the impact of the massive anti-missiles movement in Europe.

He kicked it off with his foreign policy speech November 18, which was largely aimed at a European audience. At U.S. government expense, Reagan's address was beamed live to Europe and was delivered during peak European viewing hours.

It was designed to project a different, more pro-peace image for the Reagan administration than has been created in recent months by constant comments about the feasibility of waging "limited" nuclear war in Europe.

Reagan called on the Soviet Union to dismantle all its existing medium-range missiles, some of which have been in place since the 1950s. In return, he said, Washington would cancel its plans to deploy 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Europe in 1983.

Ever since the December 1979 decision to deploy the missiles, European NATO officials have insisted that in order to win acceptance from the European people for the missiles, they must be portrayed as part of an arms limitation process. They urged the Reagan administration to begin talks with Soviet officials in Geneva on November 30 and to put forward there the proposal he presented in his speech.

But NATO officials know that this is not a serious proposal. Rather it is a ploy to pull the wool over the eyes of millions of Europeans who oppose the missiles and defuse the antimissiles movement. In fact, several weeks before Reagan's speech, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev had already publicly rejected the proposal.

Reagan's November 18 speech was consistent with NATO's line that the U.S. missiles are needed to counter Soviet SS-20 missiles.

But this is false. The U.S. government's plan has nothing to do with Soviet SS-20s. The SS-20s cannot reach U.S. targets, but the Pershing II and Cruise missiles that Washington wants to deploy in Europe can hit Soviet targets from bases in West Germany in as little as six min-

utes. It takes thirty minutes for missiles launched from bases in the United States.

The truth is that Washington's missile plan is part of a huge effort to establish the Pentagon's nuclear first-strike capability against the Soviet Union. The deployment of Pershing II and Cruise missiles is one aspect of a much larger arms buildup by the U.S. ruling class that includes the introduction of other first-strike weapons, such as the MX missile, and improved warheads for Minuteman III missiles.

The Pershing II and Cruise missiles are also intended to bolster the U.S. government's ability to wage a nuclear war against the Soviet Union that could involve Europe but not the United States.

Because Reagan's speech was designed to bolster the lie that Washington's missile plan is aimed at countering existing Soviet missiles, he conveniently ignored the fact that right now both France and Britain have their own intermediate-range missiles targeted on the Soviet Union.

He also neglected to add in the French, British, and U.S. nuclear submarines in West European waters; or the fleets of nuclear-armed bombers all three have on constant alert against Soviet cities. Thus, the U.S. government's missile plan is designed to change a situation that's close to parity into one where Washington and its imperialist allies have overwhelming superiority.

President Reagan's fraudulent attempt to portray himself as a man of peace was widely hailed by the big business press in this country. But as long as he maintains the perspective of fighting and "winning" nuclear wars that would be limited to Europe, it will be very unconvincing to millions of people in Europe who have declared to the world that they don't want any "Euroshimas."

In fact, just three days after Reagan's speech, 350,000 people poured into the streets of Amsterdam to demand that the Dutch government oppose U.S. missiles in Western Europe. It was the largest demonstration in Dutch history and one of the largest yet in the wave of demonstrations that have occurred throughout Europe this fall.

Demonstration bomb

Secretary of State Alexander Haig's recent announcement that the United States has contingency plans to explode a nuclear warhead in a conventional war in Europe as a "demonstration" to the Soviet Union has been widely publicized and condemned.

No one should have any doubt that the rulers in this country would use such a "demonstration" bomb. They have done so before.

In August 1945, during a "conventional" war with Japan, President Harry Truman ordered the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing more than 350,000 people.

These fiendish acts were done in spite of the fact that the Japanese government was suing for peace.

Washington did it to prevent the USSR from entering the war with Japan, from being involved in the negotiations with Japan, and from having any role in postwar Japan. But above all it was a "demonstration" — a warning — to the USSR that the U.S. rulers would go to any lengths to insure their domination in the world. It was a display of the immense power that U.S. imperialism planned to wield in the postwar era.

In his November 18 speech President Reagan read part of a letter he had sent to Soviet President Brezhnev back in April, in which he urged the USSR to show the same "restraint" in foreign policy that Washington has displayed. "When World War II ended," Reagan said, "... our military might was at its peak, and we alone had the ultimate weapon — the nuclear weapon — with the unquestioned ability to deliver it anywhere in the world. If we had sought world domination, then who could have opposed us?"

Instead, he asserted, the United States followed a different course of helping "the nations who had been our enemies."

His hypocrisy and arrogance were compounded when he went on to assert that "There is absolutely no substance to charges that the United States is guilty of imperialism or attempts to impose its will on other countries by use of force."

We submit that the record speaks for itself — from the U.S. invasion of Korea in 1950 to the carpetbombing of Vietnam, from the landing of U.S. Marines in Lebanon in 1958 to the invasion of Cuba in 1961. And today Reagan's administration is preparing some form of military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean to stem the tide of popular revolution there.

Iranian soldier freed

Ardeshir Farzan, an Iranian soldier imprisoned in Kerman, was released November 24. Farzan was to have gone on trial November 20 on charges of belonging to the Fedayeen Minority. Farzan does not belong to the group.

The November 20 trial was cancelled after a wave of protest telegrams urging the soldier's release.

Funds needed to get the truth out

The *Militant* is continuing its expanded coverage of the danger of U.S. aggression in the Caribbean and Central America.



Our supporters have increased their sales of the paper so that thousands more are able to read our analysis and our on-the-spot coverage from the region.

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

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Socialist council member hits Haig's lies



MEL MASON

Militant/Andy Rose

By Janice Lynn

SEASIDE, Ca. — Mel Mason, socialist city council member in this Monterey Peninsula city, issued a news release November 19 denouncing the U.S. State Department's unsubstantiated allegations against Cuba.

Mason threw his support behind the demand made by eight members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) that Secretary of State Alexander Haig sub-

stantiate the charges he and his department have leveled against Cuba.

These include allegations that 500 Cuban troops have landed in Nicaragua, that arms have been sent by Cuba through Nicaragua to El Salvador, and that Cuban advisors were in El Salvador.

Mason, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), warned that these types of allegations were "creating conditions for aggression against Cuba and Nicaragua, and military intervention in Central America."

He charged that this was an attempt by the U.S. government to plunge the United States into an offensive war against the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Central America.

"These allegations can only be viewed as a unilateral threat to world peace," Mason said. He noted that the Cuban military had been placed on alert status in preparation for a possible U.S.-supported invasion.

"As an elected official," Mason declared, "I support [the CBC's] request and wholeheartedly believe that U.S. interests can best be served by a foreign policy that addresses the social, economic, and political needs of the people in Central America and the Caribbean, rather than a policy based on sabre-rat-

ting, innuendo, and international brinkmanship."

In reporting on Mason's press statement, the local radio stations and newspapers made much of the fact that Mason was again ignoring a resolution passed by other city council members last February (after Mason spoke out against racism at Ford Ord) warning Mason not to use his council title when speaking on affairs "not connected with the city."

In response, Mason told the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* that the issue of a possible war involving the United States did, in fact, affect Seaside.

"If we get involved," the *Herald* quoted Mason as saying, "our young people will be drafted and sent over to fight."

It has been precisely Mason's outspoken opposition to the U.S. government's attempts to revive the draft, to racism, police brutality, U.S. war threats, cutbacks in social spending, and other issues that has won him the support of large sections of Seaside's Black and working-class communities.

This was manifested at the November 19 Seaside city council meeting, when Mason was presented with a plaque from the Civil Rights Division of the Spinal Cord Injury Research Foundation (SCIRF).

This award is just one of many Mason has received from community organizations during his term in office.

Mason is also widely respected for his leadership role in the newly formed National Black Independent Political Party.

"Mr. Mason, our organization would like you to know that we are proud of your outspokenness in regards to civil rights and police brutality," McDoris Hill-Dancer stated on behalf of the foundation's president.

"We see our government taking from the poor and giving to the rich; spending billions of dollars on B-1 bombers and MX missiles," Hill-Dancer said in presenting the award.

The statement noted that while the SCIRF was not a political group its members were concerned about the deteriorating civil rights progress of Black Americans.

"It seems as if a signal has been sent out to all racist groups and law enforcement agencies to crack down," the statement went on, explaining that Blacks, other minorities, and teenagers were the first to be affected.

"We shall be grateful to any Black man who is unselfish enough to speak out for equality for all mankind," the presentation concluded.

... U.S. demonstrations sound alert

Continued from front page

Council and Frances Fink from the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Local 6. Among other speakers, they condemned the current U.S. military maneuvers and endorsed the November 21 action.

Boston activists turned out 300 strong in very cold weather in a demonstration specifically built in solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada.

In addition an evening rally held at the Arlington Street Church brought out nearly 100 people.

In Baltimore, 150 people rallied chanting, "No More Blockade Against the Cuban People," "No More Vietnams," "Jobs Not War," "No Draft No War U.S. Out of El Salvador." Speakers at the rally included a representative from the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), a representative from United Steelworkers Local 2610 who read a resolution his local had passed condemning U.S. military aid to El Salvador, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and others.

In Philadelphia, 125 people picketed the federal building where local television picked up the protest sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Venceremos Brigade, and others.

In Pittsburgh 100 people turned out for a picket in blustery weather. Spon-

sored by the Central Mobilization Coalition, there were speakers from the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, a Maryknoll nun, the Young Workers Liberation League, and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

In Albuquerque 150 people also picketed.

Seaside, California's socialist city council member Mel Mason held an emergency news conference on the steps of City Hall to demand that the U.S. keep its hands off Cuba and the rest of Central America and the Caribbean.

At press time reports are coming in of protests in Houston, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Greensboro, Seattle, Albany, Los Angeles, San Diego, and many others.

The November 21 actions, as is evident from the sponsors, brought out a unified response from a wide variety of organizations in the United States.

Organizations such as the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Nicaragua, CISPES, Grenada Friendship Society, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Communist Party U.S.A., SWP, YSA, Black United Front, NBIPP, representatives of the Maryknoll Order and other religious organizations, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, People's Antiwar Mobil-

ization, trade unionists, as well as others.

In addition the November 21 actions received wide media coverage in the local areas as well as some national coverage, bringing thousands more the message, "No to U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean."

After the November 21 protests, a number of upcoming solidarity events will keep the spotlight on U.S. imperialism.

On December 2, the anniversary of the brutal murder of four American nuns by the brutal Salvadoran junta

will be commemorated all across the United States in rallies, meetings and conferences sponsored by CISPES and supported by other organizations.

In addition an ongoing emergency telephone and telegram campaign to protest the current war threat by the Reagan administration, organized by the solidarity networks and other national organizations will keep reminding the Reagan administration that the solidarity movement is ready to act at a moments notice to defend our brothers and sisters in Central America and the Caribbean.

'Free West Indian' hails NBIPP

A report on the founding congress of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) in August was carried in the September 26, 1981, issue of the *Free West Indian* published in Grenada. The article, headlined "Anti-capitalist black party formed in U.S.," briefly describes the congress and quotes several paragraphs from the preamble to the party's charter.

The article points out that, "While traditional civil rights organizations in the U.S., such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and others still view politics within the framework of reforming the Democratic and Republican parties,

NBIPP's development has made a clear and unequivocal break with the capitalist system."

The article goes on to say, "The NBIPP's founding at this time is of particular importance to countries like Grenada. It increases the ranks of our allies at the center of the world imperialist system; it demonstrates to the world that the capitalist pattern of development brings no benefits and, indeed, inflicts great hardships on the masses of its people; and it is proof positive that no matter how many individual Black leaders are assassinated, jailed, or co-opted by the U.S. government, the movement of those suffering at the bottom cannot be extinguished."

Young Socialist Alliance Convention



Young people are among those who suffer most under Reagan's program of cutbacks, war, and attacks on democratic rights. The Young Socialist Alliance is a national youth organization active in the fight against Reaganism and the big-business attack on youth and all working people.

There is no better way to learn about the YSA than by attending the twenty-first National Convention to be held December 31-January 3 in Philadelphia. To find out more, fill out the coupon below or contact the YSA chapter near you listed on page 19.

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... world protests demand 'no intervention'

Continued from front page

Nicaragua, the stepped-up naval operations of the U.S. Caribbean Command underscored the threats to Cuba and Grenada as well. The command, according to the Pentagon, will be reorganized to include the current Key West forces along with the Antilles Defense Command in Puerto Rico, and units of the U.S. Navy, Army, Air Force, and Marines.

In a further ominous move reported by the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* on November 21, five Caribbean governments have established a "political-military alliance to form a strategic axis in the Caribbean basin that could insure open sea routes . . . and also reinforce the blockade and isolation of Cuba and Grenada."

The alliance, said *Excelsior*, is "under the tutelage of the United States — and, indirectly, of Great Britain."

The countries involved are Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Barbados, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. Trinidad-Tobago and Dominica may also join, the paper reported. One plan being negotiated by the countries is the establishment of a regional Caribbean coast guard. "The project was born in 1979 when the prime minister of Barbados, Tom Adams, discussed it with the minister of the office of the exterior of Great Britain, James Callaghan," *Excelsior* said. "After the triumph of the Grenadian revolution in March of that year, the coast guard was planned with a minimum of 120 men."

'No to Yankee threats'

Defenders of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Salvadoran revolutions have taken to the streets in many countries to protest these military plans. On November 21, thousands marched and picketed in nearly thirty cities across the United States. When half a million persons rallied against nuclear weapons and NATO in Madrid, Spain, on November 15, many also carried banners and placards reading "No to the Yankee threats against Cuba and Nicaragua!"

Thousands have marched in Peru and Ecuador. On November 14, hundreds picketed the U.S. embassy in London, chanting, "Cuba si, Yankee no!" Two thousand persons participated in a rally in Paris on November 16 sponsored by the French Communist Party, and a mass march in solidarity with El Salvador is planned by a broad range of organizations for that city on November 28.

A week of anti-U.S.-intervention protests was scheduled in Colombia from November 22 to 28.

One thousand demonstrated at the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City November 22, the day before Haig arrived there for a two-day visit.

Mexican President José López Portillo declared November 20 that an American intervention against Cuba or Nicaragua



Troops in Grenada. Whole island is on alert to meet military threat organized by United States and Britain.

ragua "would be a gigantic historic error."

Leading political figures in many other countries have also spoken out against Washington's dangerous moves. "The Palestinian Resistance will support Cuba in the event of an imperialist attack," said Yassir Arafat in Beirut on November 7.

Juan Mari Bras, leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, said in San Juan on the same day, "From the moment the aggressors set foot there we will be in active solidarity with Cuba and on a war footing against U.S. military bases in Puerto Rico."

Former Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez said in Caracas November 8 that the Reagan administration "has no right to threaten world peace." Referring to reports of U.S. plans against Cuba, Pérez added that "we do not accept unilateral intervention by a strong country in the life of another."

U.S. allies uneasy

The outcry against Washington's plans have proved embarrassing to the Reagan administration. Among other things, it forced some of Washington's closest Latin American allies to take their distance publicly.

Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins arrived in Washington on a three-day state visit November 16. Before leaving Caracas, Herrera told the press that his position in talks with Reagan would be "particularly opposed to any type of armed intervention in whatever country and in favor of respect for the self-determination of peoples."

During a state dinner at the White House on November 17, Herrera de-

clared — in a toast to Reagan — that his government "rejects any kind of armed intervention" in Central America.

Such statements from Herrera are particularly significant in light of the fact that he is a strong backer of the military-Christian Democratic junta in El Salvador that the U.S. plans are designed to shore up.

On November 16, Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus of the pro-U.S. regime in Costa Rica declared that his government "rejects any type of intervention in Central American problems." According to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from San José, "Niehaus also rejected the possible formation of an inter-American army to intervene in the Central American region."

The Ecuadorian government has also made clear its opposition to U.S.-sponsored military action in Central America. President Osvaldo Hurtado told student and labor leaders in Quito on November 7 that the "armed forces of Ecuador will not be allowed to participate in any U.S. intervention in Central America."

Likewise, Peruvian President Fernando Belaúnde said in Lima November 8 that "we will not support any intervention" in Central America.

And on November 8, José Francisco Peña Gómez, general secretary of the ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) of the Dominican Republic and president for Latin America of the Socialist International, declared that "we oppose a U.S. invasion of any Latin American country." Peña Gómez fought the U.S. marines that invaded his country in 1965.

Venezuela, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Peru, and the Dominican Republic are the countries most often held up by U.S. propagandists as the "model democracies" of Latin America. It is more difficult politically for Washington to launch a military adventure in the region without the support of at least some of these governments.

'Sovereignty is sacred'

Commenting on the series of statements by Herrera Campins of Venezuela and others, Sergio Ramírez of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction said November 17 that "it seems to us that this kind of declarations . . . politically disarm the attempts of the Reagan administration to achieve its militaristic and expansionist aims in Central America."

Ramírez also replied to the ultimatum presented to Nicaragua on November 16 by U.S. Vice-president George Bush. Speaking to a convention of realtors in Miami, Bush said he wanted to "send this message to the Sandinista leader-

ship: the time has come for you to decide. . . . Reject the totalitarian course. That way lies only madness and ruin."

Referring to Bush's complaints about Nicaragua's close ties with Cuba, Ramírez said:

"It makes me laugh that the vice-president . . . wants to tell us who we should be friendly with and who should be our enemies.

"I think that it is very difficult for gentlemen with such a mentality to understand what the change in Nicaragua has meant — how the clock of history has changed since the times when Somoza's regime broke all records in taking orders from the U.S. government."

The Sandinista daily *Barricada* took up the same theme in a November 17 editorial:

"It is clear that Bush is not offering friendship. Instead, what he wants is to gain publicity, with the well-defined aim of creating an atmosphere in the public opinion of his country that would make Nicaragua appear reticent before his gesture of 'good will.' By presenting us as recalcitrant or even aggressive, the policy of threats, blackmail and attacks would be made easier. . . .

"The new administration thinks anyone can be bought. That is where it goes wrong. The dignity of Nicaragua has no price and it is not for sale. Our sover-

Vietnamese defend Cubans

According to a weekly news review issued by the Vietnamese mission to the United Nations on November 16, the "Hanoi press last week came out strongly against the U.S. administration for its slander campaign and threat against Cuba, and voiced full support for the fraternal Cuban people. Editorials and commentaries were run by both leading papers — *Nhan Dan* and *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* — demanding the U.S. put an immediate end to their hostility toward Cuba.

"World condemnation of the U.S. aggressive plan against Cuba was prominently reflected in the papers. It was also reported that a Hanoi gathering in solidarity with the Cuban people was held on November 14 under the slogan: 'The Vietnamese people stands unswervingly with Cuba.'"

eighty is sacred, and its great guardian is the people. When will the Americans understand that?"

Bishops condemn aid

It is evident that the Reagan administration has not succeeded either internationally or at home in creating the atmosphere that Bush, Haig, and others have been seeking.

Further evidence of this failure was provided November 19, when the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, meeting in Washington, adopted a resolution stating that "we continue to oppose U.S. military assistance to El Salvador." The bishops also warned against any U.S. policy "designed to isolate Nicaragua," and urged the administration to grant asylum to Salvadoran refugees.

The campaign to prevent U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean has helped break through the virtual press black-out and helped expose Washington's intentions. But it would be foolhardy to think that Washington will give up after a few diplomatic and political setbacks.

Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada remain on military alert. The supporters of these revolutions abroad — and all who defend the right to self-determination — must continue their protests and efforts to get out the truth.

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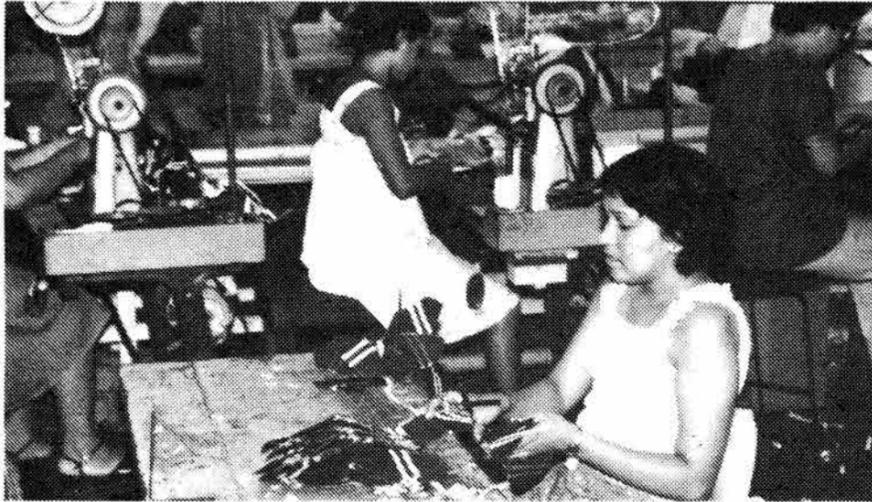
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Conditions improve in shoe factory

Nicaraguan workers push for more control



Health and safety measures, as well as production, are a priority for these workers at the Rolter shoe factory in Managua.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA — By Nicaraguan standards, the Rolter shoe factory here is in good shape. The plant was not destroyed during the war. Foreign exchange problems have caused delays in delivery of raw materials, but there are no indications Rolter is going to close.

The factory is in private hands, but the owners have not been charged with decapitalizing their business as have other bosses. Rolter's 350 employees have had pretty steady work.

A morning spent at Rolter recently gave us a picture of the gains Nicaraguan workers have made — as well as the difficult economic problems they still face. We were shown around by Misael Cardoza, secretary-general of the union, and by Héctor Zúñiga, who is in charge of the popular militias at the factory.

Rolter is one of the oldest industries in the country and plays a big role in the economy. A mountain on the outskirts of Managua has "FLSN" in giant white letters on its slope. It once said "Rolter" in letters equally huge.

In 1975 Rolter workers struck for three months in an unsuccessful attempt to win a union. Strike activists were fired, and several workers we talked to were unemployed for a couple of years. The union, affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation, was born with the FSLN victory in 1979. Now all but five of the workers at the plant are members.

Here they are proud to make shoes for the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, not for fancy dress wear. We saw sturdy school shoes and sneakers, inexpensive rubber slip-ons, and line after line of black work boots. "We can't have our peasants working the land in their bare feet," said one union leader.

Before the revolution Rolter exported shoes. But, Héctor told us, "we don't export any more because of the great need in Nicaragua."

How it's changed

About 70 percent of the work force at Rolter is female. In some departments, such as cutting and assembly, men and women work the same types of machines. Only women work sewing machines, and only men work in maintenance and operate the heavy mixers where synthetic rubber is made.

We talked to women stitchers who had worked at Rolter more than fifteen years. Each said the biggest difference the revolution has made in her work is in the pressure. "Before there was constant pressure," said Rose Argentina, age forty. "Pressure to work faster, not to talk. Before when we asked permission to leave our machines, they didn't believe our reasons."

We saw no foremen standing over workers. In fact, any U.S. worker would be struck by the low profile of manage-

ment. They didn't say a word to us during the several hours we were there.

Not a single worker looked over his or her shoulder to make sure no one was watching before stopping to talk to us.

Working with the Ministry of Labor, the union has won improvements in health and safety. By and large the plant is well lit and well ventilated. A whirring belt that used to be uncovered now has a metal case.

In the department where synthetic rubber is mixed, we noticed a brand new tiled washroom. Hot-water showers are quite rare in Nicaragua, even in the homes of the rich. But the Ministry of Labor told Rolter to put one in because the workers in this area get covered with a sticky dust. We asked when the Ministry of Labor had made this recommendation. "A week ago," we were told.

In factories and working-class neighborhoods in Nicaragua, government-subsidized stores provide basic necessities at cost or below cost. At Rolter we found corn, juice, oatmeal, baby food, toilet paper, rice, soap, coffee, and other staples for sale. The quantity workers can buy depends on the size of their families.

A new sound system

After the revolution the workers got a lunchroom. "Before, we used to eat sitting on the dirt ground," a worker told us. Now they sit on chairs, at formica-topped tables, in a clean, airy building. It used to belong to a relative of the owner.

The union is trying to raise funds to install a public-address system in the lunchroom so that workers can hold meetings there.

Some Rolter workers have taken courses in union organizing and political education at the Sandinista Workers Federation, and, as Misael told us, "we are teaching each other these things as we learn them." Workers will use the sound system to discuss why they should participate in health campaigns in their communities and safety campaigns at work, join the popular militias, and become more active in the union.

Despite their gains, the workers still face extremely difficult conditions.

Some machines were old when first installed thirty years ago. "They don't even make these any more," one worker said. We saw a transmission belt held together with shoe laces. Sometimes, when machines are down, workers do their jobs with their bare hands.

Workers we talked to were concerned that production at Rolter had dropped 30 percent below pre-revolution level. Shortages of raw materials are largely responsible, they said. The week before our visit, a whole line was closed because spare parts didn't arrive.

A worker who mixes synthetic rubber

showed us the ingredients used: 1,000 pounds a day of a clay mix, every pound of it imported from the United States; another substance from Holland; another from Guatemala. If any of the three is missing, production stops.

Misael, the head of the union, said the union does what it can to deal with these problems "in spite of the limitations on its activity that flow from the fact Rolter is privately owned."

How to combat shortages

A union production committee "watches out for problems," Misael said. "It brings to our attention shortages of spare parts or raw materials. And when an imported raw material is missing, we try to figure out what we can substitute."

Workers are no longer sent home without pay when production is temporarily off. Salaries vary from job to job, but all make more than the legal minimum wage. Still, like almost all Nicaraguan workers, they live in poverty.

Few women here can afford to pay someone to watch their children, we were told. "They leave them with a relative or with their oldest child, or sometimes alone," one woman told us. "It is a real problem."

Rolter workers received wage increases in both the contracts they negotiated since the revolution. The union, however, shares the FSLN's general ap-

proach to wages — that the long-term solution is to raise production so as to maintain and raise the "social wage" or standard of living of the working class as a whole.

"A certain amount of tension exists about wage levels," Misael admitted. A lot of the problem comes from businessmen hoarding and speculating with the prices of basic necessities," he said.

"Workers who make, let's say, 300 cordobas a week [about the minimum wage] can't live on it. That's the truth. Even for workers here."

"But the revolution didn't create these problems, it inherited them. And the FSLN, with the help of the workers and peasants, is trying to come up with the scientific solution to these problems."

A 'beautiful revolution'

Misael told us that he was more worried about economic attacks on revolutionary Nicaragua than about a military invasion. "We're better prepared for the latter," he said.

Almost all the workers at Rolter participated in one way or another in the war against Somoza. "If they weren't actual combatants," Misael said, "it was only because they didn't have any guns."

Three Rolter workers were killed in the insurrection. The union is named after one of them.

"This was one of the most beautiful revolutions in all of history," Misael told us proudly. "Here people fought with firecrackers. They fought with hunting weapons, even with old swords and with rocks. By the time we started to get some modern arms, the National Guard was already defeated. More than anything else, we won because of our level of organization and our discipline."

We asked Héctor about himself. Now twenty, he started working at Rolter when he was fifteen, participated in the insurrection, and was a founder of the union. He was on the "general staff" of the workers' literacy brigades in Managua during the literacy campaign. Although he is now the head of the militias at Rolter, he apparently finds a little free time. Because, before we left, he gave us copies of half a dozen of his poems.

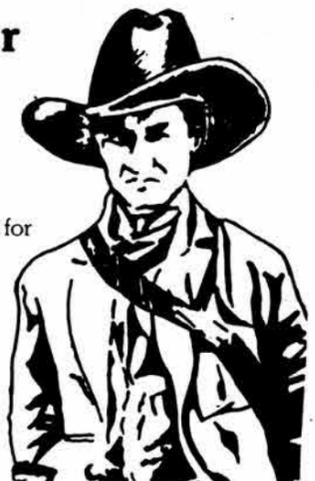
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Solidarity with Central America



and the Caribbean

Central America conferences well attended

Nearly 500 people attended a conference on Central America in New York on October 31 sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador and the Guatemala Scholars Network.

It was held as part of an International Day of Protest Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and in Solidarity with Nicaragua which was celebrated in a number of different European cities with rallies and demonstrations.

The conference sponsored a broad array of workshops, during which representatives from Nicaragua, Guatemala, Cuba, and El Salvador, gave informative presentations. Ricardo Bracamontes from ANDES (the Salvadoran teachers union) addressed the gathering at a final rally where he expressed his appreciation of the efforts of the solidarity movement in the United States.

The previous weekend the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Nicaragua held a delegated conference to which fifty people came representing thirty-two solidarity committees from all over the U.S.

The gathering decided to focus on an educational campaign to alert the American public to Washington's efforts to destabilize the Nicaraguan revolution.

Activities projected as part of this campaign were an expanded Network bulletin, teach-ins, the formation of a speakers bureau, and the organization of tours of Nicaraguan government representatives, trade unionists, etc., in the United States.

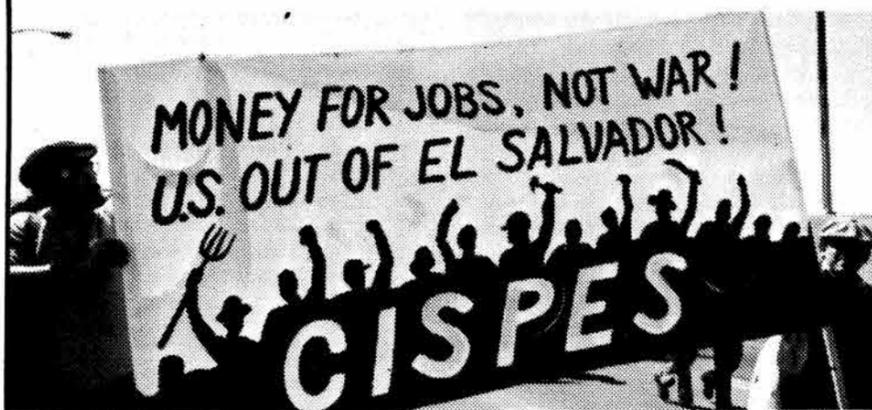
For more information: National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, 1718 20th Street, N.W. Washington D.C. 20009, (202) 223-2328.

Iranian government recognizes F.D.R.

The following United Press International dispatch appeared in the October 29 issue of *El Diario/La Prensa*, Spanish language daily in New York:

"Beirut — Iran recognized the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador and the Salvadoran guerrillas according to information received from the official news agency PARS.

"In a transmission from Tehran received in Beirut, the dispatch says, 'the Minister of Exterior Relations for Iran on Sunday recognized the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Frente Farabundo Martí de la Liberación Nacional, who are active against the military dictatorship of José Napoleón Duarte in El Salvador.'"



Militant/Lou Howort

Solidarity activists keep fast pace

Central American and antidraft activists all across the country are busy organizing a myriad of activities. The following are only a small sample of what is going on:

- On October 17 a march and rally took place simultaneously in El Paso, Texas and Juarez, Mexico. One hundred people attended both events. Demonstrators were demanding political asylum for Salvadoran refugees and U.S. out of El Salvador. Mauricio Duarte, a member of the Salvadoran student association addressed the El Paso activity.

- In San Antonio on October 10, seventy-five people picketed the main post office demanding an end to draft registration and U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

- In Cincinnati on September 24, a picket in front of the Westin Hotel drew fifty people. The Westin was the site of a symposium entitled "The Threat to U.S. Security and the Department of Defense Response." Featured speakers were Major General Robert Taylor, Deputy Commander of the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force and General Richard G. Stillwell, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Review.

While this was going on picketers outside chanted, "No Draft, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador."

- On October 17 in Indianapolis, 160 people came to see the film, "El Salvador: The People Will Win." The audience also heard from Victor Rubio, an official spokesperson for the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. Two hundred dollars were raised at the event.

- In Detroit on October 30, over 100 people came out to hear Caldwell Taylor, Grenada's Ambassador to the United Nations.

— Nelson González

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

Honduran troops fire on Nicaragua

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA — The Nicaraguan border post at El Guasaule has come under fire from Honduran troops twice in one week, the second time November 17.

The latest attack lasted thirty minutes and consisted of machine-gun and mortar fire.

According to Guatemalan truck drivers and Costa Rican tourists who were at the border crossing, the attack was completely unprovoked and took everyone by surprise. The Costa Ricans noted that there were no Nicaraguan soldiers in the area, only customs officials.

No one was hurt in either attack, but bullets passed through the building's radio room, and would have killed the operator had he been there.

The Nicaraguan government laid the blame for the attack on sectors within the Honduran officer corps who want to provoke a war between

the two countries.

Meanwhile, efforts by bands of ex-Somozaists in Honduras to provoke an incident with Nicaragua have come to light. On November 4, Nicaraguan Vice-minister of the Interior Commander Luis Carrión charged that the Somozaists were planning to attack Honduran villages, dressed in Nicaraguan army uniforms and shouting Sandinista slogans. The provocation, Carrión said, was being planned to take place before the Honduran elections on November 29. Such plans were also denounced November 10 by a coalition of thirty Honduran trade-union and political organizations, and reported on in the November 17 issue of the Tegucigalpa daily *El Tiempo*.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Fr. Miguel D'Escoto declared that his country would bring the matter of the planned provocations before the Organization of American States.

From Intercontinental Press

Refugees from El Salvador murdered as army continues scorched-earth tactics

By Arnold Weissberg

MANAGUA — Salvadoran and Honduran troops killed between 200 and 300 people trying to flee El Salvador across the Lempa River November 15-16. The refugees, most of them old people and mothers with children, were attempting to escape indiscriminate terror bombing carried out by the Salvadoran army.

Reports of the massacre began to filter out at once and were confirmed November 18 in an Agence France-Press dispatch.

The slaughter was part of a Salvadoran government offensive against guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in the province of Cabañas. Thousands of people were reported to have fled the government's scorched-earth tactics.

Also as part of this offensive, Salvadoran army units crossed into Honduras and took control of the refugee camp at La Virtud, with the apparent complicity of the Honduran army. The Salvadorans sought to kidnap between thirty and forty refugees, according to press reports reaching here, but were prevented from doing so by the presence of a delegation of U.S. citizens, including Robert Brauer, an aide to U.S. Representative Ronald Dellums.

However, in simultaneous operations at Guajiniquil and La Cuesta, seven Salvadoran refugees were kidnapped and taken away.

The foreigners who witnessed the attempted kidnapping at La Virtud were briefly held by the Salvadoran security forces. One of the foreigners was Bianca Pérez Jagger, ex-wife of British rock star Mick Jagger. Pérez is a Nicaraguan citizen and has been working to help the Salvadoran refugees in Honduras.

Before Bianca Pérez was allowed to leave Honduras, she was threatened and interrogated by the head of the Honduran security police and was forbidden to make any public statements. But when she got to Miami, she held a news conference and described the raid.

According to Pérez, between twenty and thirty men, some in Salvadoran army uniforms and some in civilian clothes (thought to be from the right-wing Salvadoran paramilitary group ORDEN) attempted to kidnap the refugees, who included children and pregnant women. "We were lucky to get out alive," Pérez said.

Brauer, the congressional aide, pointed to the refusal of the Honduran military officers at the camp to stop the incursion. "We saw lots of things here that indicated cooperation between the Hon-

duran and Salvadoran military," he said.

Humanitarian organizations working with the refugees in Honduras declared that the incursion of Salvadoran troops had created a "climate of terror" in the camps.

The bloody military-Christian Democratic junta that rules El Salvador has long insisted that the refugee camps are little more than hideouts for the guerrillas. Its armed forces have carried out other murderous attacks on peasants fleeing their homes.

The FMLN has denounced the government's use of 200- and 500-pound white phosphorus bombs in Cabañas. While the government claimed to have killed or wounded 125 guerrillas in its operation there, the FMLN, whose casualty estimates have been much more accurate, declared it had suffered eight casualties, while inflicting thirty or forty on the army.

Continued heavy fighting was also reported in Chalatenango Province, long a guerrilla stronghold. The government's latest offensive there was stalled, with the army unable to reinforce its troops on account of the fighting in Cabañas.

The Salvadoran army has launched some forty offensives this year alone, in thirteen of the country's fourteen provinces. Not one has succeeded in dislodging the guerrillas.

In October, for example, 2,500 government troops participated in attacks in the province of Usulután, some forty miles southeast of the capital, San Salvador. The army refused to report the results, and even took over the local hospital to keep casualty figures secret. United Press International correspondent John Newhagen declared the operation the army's worst setback since January of this year.

Meanwhile, Col. José Guillermo García, Salvadoran defense minister, told reporters upon his return from Washington that the military dictatorships of Argentina and Chile had offered assistance to his government and that some aid had already materialized.

FENASTRAS, one of El Salvador's chief labor federations, has issued a call for a general wage hike, freedom of organization, collective bargaining, and freedom for political prisoners. Héctor Bernabé Recinos, head of FENASTRAS, has himself been imprisoned for fifteen months. The trade-union federation accuses the government of permitting "only the industrialists, landlords, and businessmen to organize" and of using "any and all means to terrorize or break up union organizations."

From Intercontinental Press

Interview with Black party leader

NBIPP raps U.S. threats and pledges action

By Larry Seigle

HAVANA — National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) Co-chair Ron Daniels has pointed to the need to speak out "against the potential U.S. intervention in Cuba, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, and throughout the Caribbean and Central and South America in its efforts to destabilize progressive revolutionary governments."

Daniels's remarks came in an interview with the *Militant*. He said that this is the "consistent posture" of the NBIPP and one that will be "increasingly backed up by concrete action, both as a party and in cooperation with other progressive formations in the future as we develop. That is our clear intent."

Daniels is here for a "Seminar on the Situation of the Black, Chicano, Cuban, Indian, and Puerto Rican Communities in the United States." Sponsored by Casa de Las Americas, it has brought together figures from the different movements of the oppressed nationalities in the United States, along with Cubans who have been researching these questions.

"The Cuban revolution occupies an important place in the minds of Afro-Americans," Daniels told the *Militant*.

"We take an intense interest in the degree to which the advent of socialism has eradicated institutionally, and in terms of all forms of policy, racism," the Black leader stated. "We see the Cuban revolution, as defined by Fidel Castro, as an Afro-Hispanic revolution, and of course we are interested because of the special role that the Cuban people are playing in terms of defense of revolutionary struggles in Africa and throughout the Third World."

In Daniels's view, "the degree that other people achieve their own self-determination and come into control of their own resources helps simultaneous-

ly to advance our struggle inside the United States."

A long-time supporter of the Cuban revolution, Daniels has wanted to come here for many years, but this is his first visit.

"I must admit to being even more exhilarated and more fortified in support of this revolution than before I came here," he said.

The official representative of the NBIPP here, Daniels has been discussing the new party and its perspectives with conference participants from the U.S. and with Cubans.

"We have had some informal discussions with people here about our party. We want to make them aware of developments and political tendencies, and have advised them the NBIPP has developed, as well as the National Black United Front. We have talked about our desires and efforts to pull together increasing coordination and unity within the Black liberation movement — as well as to structure dialogue and relationships with progressive forces within other oppressed nationalities and with progressive organizations in general."

The idea of the NBIPP is "something of a new idea" to the Cubans he has talked to, Daniels said.

The NBIPP "will be moving to have more formal and official visits on the part of our party to Cuba in the not too distant future," Daniels said.

"As you well know, we are a young party," Daniels said. "We just had our first central committee meeting. We have a long agenda of work ahead of us which is progressing very rapidly and well."

"Yet we need to do some more consolidating," he continued. "And as that consolidation proceeds we will be moving to a much more forceful posture in terms of issues."

EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

The National Black Independent Political Party

An important step forward for Blacks and other American workers

By Nan Bailey, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren



32 pp., \$1.25 plus \$.75 for handling. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Women in Revolt

Black party: important ally in the fight for equality

Women's rights fighters have an important new ally — the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

The party held its founding congress in August of this year, and adopted an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist program as its charter.

Sections of the charter are reprinted on pages 8 and 9 of this issue of the *Militant*. The section of the charter on women was printed in the October 9 issue of the *Militant*. It contains one of the most advanced programs for women's equality of any pro-women's rights organizations.

Its demands include:

- Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment
- Legal abortion available on demand
- Free daycare
- Paid maternity leaves
- Equal pay for work of comparable value
- Affirmative action
- Opposition to compulsory or uninformed sterilization.

The party's structure reflects its political program. One-half of all leadership bodies must be female. And NBIPP has established national, regional, and local women's commissions.

NBIPP's program has grown out of the experience of Black liberation fighters, and their program for women out of the conditions and struggles of Black women.

As of September, 1981, 14.3 percent of Black women twenty years old and over were unemployed. That compares with 5.7 percent for white women; 6.8 percent for all women; and 6.2 percent for men.

For young Black women, the unemployment rate zooms to 43.7 percent, the highest for any single category of workers.

Black women average 54 percent of the money men make.

They are concentrated in low-paying service, clerical, domestic, and factory jobs.

Approximately 34 percent of all Black females live below the poverty line.

And Reagan's budget cuts hit Black women with a vengeance.

Black women increasingly see their fight for equality as women totally bound up with their fight for equal rights as Blacks.

And they have won the majority of the Black community to this view.

This is a relatively new phenomenon.

When the second wave of feminism burst onto the scene in the late sixties, the big-business media played up its predominantly white composition and claimed it was a middle class movement, irrelevant for Black women and working class women.

That's because the ruling rich feared the truth: it's working class women and women of the oppressed nationalities that have the *most* to gain from the fight for women's equality. Therefore, these women — and men — would become its staunchest supporters.

This ruling class propaganda was reinforced by the refusal of the major women's organizations to deal with the specific problems facing Black working women. This even led some Black leaders to view women's liberation as simply a white women's issue.

But as the consciousness of Black women has changed, they've changed the views of the Black movement.

Black women have played a major role in getting the labor movement to begin to take up the demands of women.

They form the backbone of many union women's committees, and are a high percentage of union contingents at women's rights rallies and marches.

This is also reflected by the leading role played by Black women on all levels in the Coalition of Labor Union Women. The recent convention of the AFL-

CIO elected Barbara Hutchinson of the American Federation of Government Employees to be the first Black woman ever to sit on the AFL-CIO's Executive Council.

It's this militancy born of the economic and social position of Black women that makes them an indispensable and central component of any effective leadership of the women's movement.

Black women will play a key role in forging the program and strategy of the women's movement just as they are doing in NBIPP.

Just as important as the demands NBIPP is raising is its analysis of the roots of women's oppression and how it relates to racism and class exploitation; and its strategy for fighting injustice.

The charter explains: "We believe that Black women are held down by triple oppression: as Blacks, as women and as workers."

NBIPP targets capitalism as the root of the problem and calls for, "an end to a system that attaches primary importance to the accumulation of private wealth and corporate profit."

NBIPP opposes both the Democratic and Republican parties as having "betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours."

NBIPP "aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation."

This is the program and perspective that NBIPP educates and organizes around.

Every fighter for women's rights should seek out the nearest NBIPP chapter for discussion, for joint activities, for ideas on how to involve more Black women in the fight for women's rights.

You can contact NBIPP nationally at 2728 Twelfth Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001.

— Margaret Jayko

'The Democratic and Republican parties have sold us out'

Program of the national Black party

An important new organization, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), held its founding congress August 21-23.

The congress adopted a charter that is the most advanced program of any organization in the Black movement. It calls for opposition to 'racism, imperialism, sexual oppression, and capitalism.'

Because we think the NBIPP's formation and its charter are of great significance to Black Americans and to all working people, we are reprinting major excerpts from the charter.

In issues 35-37 of the 'Militant' we published sections of the party's program on jobs and income, education, health care, political equality, economic development, repression, and women's rights.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Centuries of racism and racist discrimination in the United States have effectively prevented Black people from experiencing equal opportunity in all areas of social, political and economic life in this country. As a result we are grossly underrepresented, and discriminated against in public and private employment, higher education and other areas. We believe that a comprehensive program of affirmative action, carried out in the major institutions of U.S. society, is a method of intervening to remedy past discrimination and put a check on current and future discrimination. We do not believe that affirmative action in and of itself will remedy the suffering and deprivation of generations of Black people, but support its implementation as a democratic demand to combat racism and racist practices in this country. We recognize that fresh initiatives in this area are absolutely necessary to prevent further retrogression.

Therefore We Demand:

- The immediate implementation and enforcement of meaningful and workable affirmative action programs with specific goals, time limits, quotas and penalties for failure to fully comply in all private and public employment, job training programs and education. Such programs should be carried out and monitored in all institutions of this society.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Work to organize support for proposed progressive affirmative action legislation and strengthen and enforce affirmative action laws already on the books.
- Conduct a major educational campaign focusing on the need for affirmative action.

HOUSING

We believe that low cost, adequate, decent and san-



NBIPP

What the Black party stands for

'We believe that the Democratic and Republican parties serve the interests of the ruling class and not the masses of Blacks and other oppressed and exploited peoples. These parties protect and defend the interests of the bankers and industrialists. They have sold us out.'

itary shelter for our people is a basic human right. No one should be without an adequate house or apartment. The massive displacement of tenants, affordability of shelter, access to suitable housing and deterioration of existing housing units is a national disgrace. We believe that the current housing crisis throughout the nation is helping to account for a massive destruction of family life in the Black community. The government agencies which administer housing, e.g., HUD, are slum landlords. We are opposed to the destruction of the inner city Black communities through gentrification, special deconcentration and planned shrinkage (i.e., destroying our houses and replacing them with high cost housing). Such practices are an attack on Black cultural life in America.

Therefore We Demand:

- That the government allocate all the necessary funds and human material resources to building and providing low cost houses and apartments for all who need them, especially for poor and middle income people.

- That the maximum interest rates on loans for financing construction, rehabilitation and purchasing of single and multi-family units be rolled back immediately to five percent (5%).

- That federal assistance for public housing, rent subsidies and mortgage insurance be substantially increased to adequate levels.

- The immediate cessation of all gentrification and spatial deconcentration projects in urban centers, that seek to disperse and displace Black people and destroy our culture.

- That not more than 10% (ten percent) of a person's annual income be paid on rent (which constitutes a rent control program).

- The cessation of all discriminatory and anti-family housing practices, e.g., red-lining, denial of public housing to ex-offenders and families with children, etc.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Organize independent cooperative economic ventures to secure quality and inexpensive housing for our people.

- Organize to implement, support and enforce such policies, regulations and legislation that will achieve our demands.

- Join in cooperative efforts with tenants organizations and other groups to fight for better housing.

ENERGY

We believe that Black people have a right to have full access to low cost and efficient energy sources. At present, the wealthiest 10% of the population spends about 4% of their income on energy, while the poorest 20%, which includes most Black people, pay about 25-30%. We believe that the corporate energy monopolies have played a major role in creating the so-called energy crisis and are responsible for the energy rip-off, manifested through contrived energy shortages, skyrocketing energy prices, record corporate profits, and a spillover inflationary effect on the entire economy.

Therefore We Demand:

- Nationalization of the energy industry at all levels and in all sectors with full participation of Black and poor people in the management, control, and decision-making policies of the industry.

- Strict government regulation on the prices of essential energy sources to curb skyrocketing energy prices.

- Special government subsidies to Black and poor people to help them pay their inflated utility bills.

- Full government funding for research and development of new and/or cheaper energy resources.

- An end to all propaganda which blames the so-called energy crisis on the energy producing Third World nations and OPEC.

- Government support for weatherization, housing, rehabilitation and restoration programs.

- Full disclosure of the corporate records of the energy monopolies.

- Immediate halt to the use of nuclear power.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Help to organize and encourage independent energy information and technology projects and programs in the Black community to foster economic development and self-sufficiency.

- Establish a watch dog mechanism to monitor energy legislation and policies.

- Educate the Black community about general energy trends and policies.

- Support all legislative, legal and political initiatives aimed at achieving the above demands.

LAND

We believe that Black people have the right to land ownership and should be protected against massive and unscrupulous land seizures as have occurred over the past twenty and more years. Since 1972, more than one-third of the 6,000,000 acres owned by Blacks at that time has been stolen through foreclosures and refusal to make loans to help make the land productive; also, the concentration of land in the hands of multi-national agri-businesses significantly contributes to hunger and malnutrition among Black people through monopolization and price manipulation.

Therefore We Demand:

- The immediate cessation of the seizure of Black owned land.

- The implementation of a radical reform program to meet the social needs of Black farmers and rural dwellers, so that they may retain their land as individual owners and/or as members of farmer cooperatives and to maintain a decent standard of living.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Work with groups such as the Emergency Land Fund and other organizations to organize against seizures of Black land, educate and provide assistance to Black land owners on how to protect their property.

- Work to force the government to address the special needs of Black landowners and intervene to protect them through special government subsidies and laws.

- Educate the Black community nation-wide about the plight of Black landowners and the rural poor.

- Work to bring about land reclamation for those Blacks who have lost land.

- Develop producer-consumer food cooperatives and collectives to ensure direct supply, and access to the supply, of food for Black people.

ELECTORAL POLITICS

The electoral politics of the National Black Independent Political Party is firmly grounded in a tactical and strategic policy which pursues our goals and objectives and which advances our platform and program. Strengthened by Black community organizing, it is an important weapon in the struggle for the rights of Black and Third World People to enjoy democratic rights, freedom and self-determination in the U.S. We believe that the Democratic and Republican Parties serve the interests of the ruling class and not the masses of Blacks and other oppressed and exploited peoples. These parties protect and defend the interests of the bankers and industrialists. They have sold us out. The electoral strategy of the NBIPP is independent of the Democratic, Republican and all other parties. We believe that Black and other elected or appointed officials should use their positions to protect and defend the rights of Black and other oppressed people.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Through its electoral arm, run candidates for office to advance the aims of the Party.

- Conduct massive education and voting drives to advance the Party's electoral strategy.

- Utilize the electoral process to educate large numbers of Black people about the goals of NBIPP and to speak out against the oppressive and dehumanizing conditions of racism and economic exploitation faced daily by the Black community.



April 15, 1967: New York City

'We believe that no Black person should be forced to fight an imperialist war of aggression for the U.S. against people who are oppressed and fighting for freedom as we are here in the U.S. Therefore we demand an end to draft registration and the draft.'

PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

We believe that Black people have a vital stake in working to avert nuclear holocaust, which no one will survive. We believe that the United States' military establishment and its arms policy pose the greatest threat to world peace and humanity. We believe that the huge increases in the military budget will seriously further deteriorate the United States' economy and will bring about deeper and more severe cut backs in vitally necessary social programs for Black and poor people.

Therefore We Demand:

- That the United States government initiate actions and take the lead towards bringing about total nuclear disarmament.
- An immediate cessation of all research, development, stockpiling and deployment of nuclear weapons.
- An end to military arms transfers to nations which violate human rights and who violate the sovereignty and independence of other nations.
- An end to the huge and wasteful expenditures in the military.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Organize the Black community to oppose militarism and military spending and to support peace and disarmament.
- Educate the Black community about the danger of nuclear war and nuclear holocaust.
- Work with other like-minded peoples and organizations as we struggle for peace and disarmament.
- Support all legislative initiatives aimed at preventing the development and stockpiling of nuclear and conventional weapons.
- While doing the above, work to uphold the right of liberation movements in Africa and the Third World to engage in armed struggle as they fight for human rights, democracy, independence and peace.

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

We believe that Black people have the right to refuse induction into the United States Armed Servi-

ces. We believe that the armed forces have become the employer of last resort for our people. We believe that no Black person should be forced to fight an imperialist war of aggression for the U.S. against people who are oppressed and fighting for freedom as we are here in the U.S.

Therefore We Demand:

- An end to draft registration and the draft.
- No prosecution of our people who resist military conscription.
- An end to racism and repression against Black persons in the military.
- The right of Black people in the services to organize and fight racial discrimination and repression.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Actively organize against the draft and draft registration.
- Provide legal, political and moral support to draft resisters.
- Defend our sisters and brothers who are harassed, prosecuted and imprisoned in the military for resisting racism and repression.
- Support the right of Black people in the services to organize and fight racial discrimination and repression.
- Actively organize against the voluntary flight of our youth to the armed forces as an employer of the last resort, and try to politically educate those who do join.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The international policy of the N.B.I.P.P. is firmly based on the principles of respect and cooperation with other people, and solidarity with the struggles of the oppressed peoples of Africa and the Third World. The party has a responsibility to inform and educate the broad masses of Black people on international affairs for the purpose of developing a progressive world outlook based on our national, racial and class interests. We must develop independent relationships with African, Caribbean and progressive na-

tions and liberation movements throughout the world. To accomplish the above, the party should establish, through its international center, liaison offices in progressive African nations, staffed with party members. Such liaison offices and officers should be established and assigned to African liberation movements and progressive movements and nations throughout the world. The NBIPP, through international centers, should establish a fund to support such liaison activities. The staff at each center should research, collect, interpret and disseminate information to our national office. The party should establish and administer a separate fund for investment in the economics of progressive African and Caribbean nations.

Therefore We Demand:

- An end to U.S. economic, political and military support for racist, fascist and dictatorial regimes throughout the world.
- An end to U.S. military intervention and C.I.A. covert operations in other nations.
- U.S. food and economic and technical assistance, without adverse restrictions and conditions, to Africa and the Third World.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Organize Black people to force a change in current U.S. foreign policy.
- Organize support for the ratification by the U.S. of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- Support all organizational, legal and legislative efforts to realize our demands.

SOLIDARITY WITH OTHER OPPRESSED PEOPLES

We support the heroic and just struggles of the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for freedom, national liberation, self-determination, sovereignty and independence.

Therefore the Party Will:

- Organize material, moral and political support for the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and other oppressed people and nations throughout the world.
- Educate the Black community to the need for international solidarity with oppressed peoples.
- Build mutual support networks between the Black community and oppressed people throughout the world.
- Work to establish NGO (Non-governmental organization) observer status at the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Non-aligned Movement, the Organization of American States and other international bodies.

PRISONS

We believe that all Black prisoners who have had neither fair political and economic opportunities, nor fair trials by juries of their peers should be released from prison. We believe that all Black political prisoners and prisoners of war (POWs) should be immediately released and allowed to leave the U.S. to any friendly country which grants them political asylum. We believe that U.S. prisons are currently being used to torture and intimidate Black dissidents, disrupt the Black community and the Black family and to intensify the U.S. policy of genocide against Black people.

Therefore We Demand:

- The right to organize and protect the rights of prisoners.
- An end to torture and genocidal treatment, e.g., drug experiments, lobotomies, etc.
- The end of slavery in prisons.
- The payment of wages to prisoners in accordance with laws and practices governing all workers for comparable or equal work.
- The right to a single cell.
- The right to free relevant training while in prison.
- The end to censorship of materials and communications to prisoners.
- The abolition of the death penalty.
- The abolition of all laws which try and incarcerate youth as adults.

To Achieve and Realize the Above, the Party Will:

- Seek out and work with progressive prison organizations.
- Fight against new legislation proposing increased prison construction sentences, and reduced prisoner legal rights, etc.
- Support and or initiate legislation and programs to achieve these demands.
- Support the right of prisoners to organize.

By Cindy Jaquith

LONDON — American workers face a grim winter with unemployment officially at 8 percent and predictions it will reach the highest level since the Depression.

But unemployment is already twice the American rate in some parts of Britain today.

As an American visiting Britain in November, this reporter was stunned at the number of plant shutdowns. The TV evening news has added a special feature: after the domestic and international news, and the sports, the announcer reports which factories have closed down that day and how many other layoffs have taken place.

The official unemployment rate is over 12 percent, but everyone admits that it's much higher for youth, especially Blacks and Asians; and in certain parts of the country, like Wales, where it's over 15 percent; Scotland; and the West Midlands, heart of the auto industry, where it reaches 16 percent.

The British Steel Corporation, which laid off 68,000 workers in the last two years, has now announced plans to throw another 20,000 onto the streets.

The machine tool industry has cut 26,000 jobs in the last decade, and another 20 percent of the workforce in just the last year.

The garment and textile bosses are laying off 700 workers a month. The total number of garment workers has plummeted from 92,000 in the 1970s to 34,000 today.

Inflation

Along with double-digit unemployment, Britain has double-digit inflation — currently 11.7 percent and due to go up. Many consumer items are far more expensive than in the United States.

A pack of cigarettes easily costs \$1.80. Until recent fare cuts, a subway ride in London was way over \$1, and the fares are going to go back up again. The kind of restaurant meal you would buy in the United States for \$5 costs about \$8 in Britain.

Industrial workers are paid considerably less than workers in the United States. Many unionists take home a lot less than \$200 a week, making the infla-

tion squeeze all the worse.

In the past, Britain has been referred to as a "welfare state." That's because after World War II, major struggles by the workers forced through social measures much more extensive than what American workers have ever won. These included nationalization of major industry, health insurance that paid for virtually all medical care, rent subsidies, and nursery care.

The workers made these gains because, unlike in the United States, where the two major parties are both capitalist parties, in Britain there is a labor party, based on the trade unions. The workers were able to pressure this party into taking some measures to improve their standard of living.

Reaganism and Thatcherism

But beginning in the 1970s, as British industry went into serious decline, the capitalists began to attack workers' wages and social benefits, using the Labour Party administration in power to carry out the offensive. The workers reacted by throwing Labour out. Thatcher got elected, and the ruling class decided to sharply step up the attacks.

The American media frequently compare the economic and social programs known as "Thatcherism" to "Reaganism." The fundamental source of the policies is the same: the declining ability of capital in both countries to profitably compete on the world market and the necessity therefore to drive up the rate of exploitation of the working class.

Because British big business is in worse shape, the crisis there is much deeper. But the goal of the capitalists on both sides of the Atlantic is the same: to retool and restructure industry so it is more competitive in the world market, which means lowering wages, increasing productivity, pressuring the unions to relinquish on-the-job control, and ultimately, breaking the unions.

'Choices'

Like in the United States, British capitalists tell the workers the recession is their own fault — they've asked for wages that are too high. And the workers are given a "choice": accept pay cuts or face even higher unemployment.

British worker



Machinists at Laurence-Scott plant (left, battling cops) occupied factory for seventeen w Thatcher government's plan to 'retool' British industry.

In early November, the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) held its annual meeting. The industrialists laid out the "choice" nakedly. Said CBI President Sir Raymond Pennock:

"Pay is the very root of inflation. . . . It is our job and above all else our job to make the 20-odd million people in jobs really understand that the major cause of having three million not in jobs is because for five years they have been paid more for less and less output.

"The quickest way back to competitiveness, prosperity and reduction of that three million out of work is for the 20 million in work to receive increases, if not nothing, at least not more than those of our German and Japanese rivals, and positively no pay increases unless backed by increased productivity."

Pennock insisted that the government make more cuts in social services and stick to its 4 percent guideline for pay raises. Even that was too much, he com-

plained, pointing with satisfaction to the 250,000 workers who got no wage increase this year.

Pennock explained big business intends to teach the British working class a lesson: "people have been pricing themselves out of jobs. Until we get that simple truth across, the dole queues [unemployment lines] will get longer and more companies will go bust."

In other words, if you want a job or you want to keep your job, get ready to work harder for less pay.

A few days after the CBI conference, Parliament heard the annual "Queen's Speech," an event similar to the State of the Union speech in Congress each January.

Queen Elizabeth called for "further reductions in the level of wage settlements," and for less spending on social services. She also declared Britain would stay in NATO, despite a demonstration of 250,000 October 24 against

As contracts near, U.S. auto

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT — The giants of the automobile industry are conducting a war against auto workers.

The companies are all trying to repeat the defeat they dealt the union at Chrysler two years ago. Ford and General Motors have launched their initial barrages about the concessions they want in the next contract with the United Auto Workers which comes up in September 1982.

Recently, Ford forced workers at four plants in the Detroit area to accept concessions in their local agreements.

General Motors convinced the leaders of a large UAW local at a Delco Remy Division plant in Anderson, Indiana, to begin local contract bargaining now. GM has also begun an intensive propaganda campaign among all its workers to convince them they should make concessions on the contract.

American Motors has demanded workers accept a 10 percent pay cut for twenty-two months to help them out of the problem of a "cash shortage."

Volkswagen got the UAW to accept another contract which keeps VW workers' wages behind those at Ford and General Motors. The workers had been promised a contract that would bring them to parity.

Both General Motors and Volkswagen have delayed or cancelled plans to build new plants. The General Motors deci-

sion to delay construction of a project in Detroit and Hamtramck, Michigan, infuriated the thousands of people who were forced to leave their homes to make way for the projected new plant.

The auto companies have not gotten away with every attack they have tried. Ford workers at an aluminum casting plant in Sheffield, Alabama, are refusing a company demand to take a 50 percent cut in wages and benefits or try to buy the plant.

But workers at General Motors' Hyatt bearing plant in Clark, New Jersey, did cave in to similar demands. And those workers are now suffering the consequences of an outrageous rip-off scheme sold them by General Motors.

Local concessions

Work rules are very specific to each plant. They cover drinking fountains, ventilation fans, coveralls and gloves, the number of relief people, clean-up practices, and safety conditions. Every one of these conditions is a result of struggles by auto workers against the companies.

At the four Ford plants the company won concessions on issues such as overtime restrictions, job classifications, and clean-up rules that will lead to more layoffs. The plants are Sterling Heights Axle, Livonia Transmission, Monroe Chassis, and Rawsonville Parts.

These four plants have had heavy layoffs. Ford owns 25 percent of Toyo Kogyo, a Japanese auto company. The Livonia and Sterling Heights plant make transmissions and axles. Ford said if the concessions were not made in Detroit they would have the new auto-

matic transaxles for 1984 front-wheel-drive cars made in Japan.

The workers were inundated with stories about a supposed \$8- to \$10-an-hour difference in wage costs with Japan.

The union leadership helped the company blackmail the workers. UAW vice president Donald Ephlin explained: "What approval of these contract changes means is that if workers are given the hope there will be some measure of security, they will respond. . . . The concessions are a gesture . . . done in a spirit of cooperation, and the leaders in each of the locals deserve credit for making their case."

But the UAW leadership only deserves credit from the companies, not auto workers. These new concessions prove once more that if you give the companies anything, they'll try to take more. The local concessions Ford won are encouraging Ford and the other companies to push for similar, immediate concessions at other plants.

A national contract?

The companies are not only pushing for big concessions in next year's contract, but they intend to further break up the practice of having an industry-wide contract. There are already separate contracts: the Big Three contract, which originally covered Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler; the American Motors contract; and the one with Volkswagen.

But Chrysler has already been broken off from this contract. In 1979 and 1980, under cries of imminent bankruptcy, the company and the federal government organized the "Chrysler rescue op-

eration" around one central demand: concessions from auto workers. The concessions were forced down the throats of Chrysler workers in different steps. But all together they are supposed to amount to \$622 million transferred from the pockets of auto workers into the pockets of the banks and other owners of Chrysler.

UAW President Douglas Fraser was put on the company board to help force through the concessions.

Today, conditions in Chrysler plants have deteriorated to the level of nonunion shops. Wages are as much as \$2 an hour behind Ford and GM. Cost-of-living raises and paid personal holidays have been eliminated.

And Chrysler still went ahead and eliminated thousands of jobs.

For 1982, Ford and GM want separate contracts. The union leadership seems to be willing to go along.

A UAW leader told the Detroit *Free Press*, "If GM yields more than Ford, why not let the GM workers have it?"

That sentence could be worded a little differently: If Ford won't yield as much as GM, let the Ford workers suffer.

The union officials are talking about profit-sharing schemes and getting more union seats on boards of directors. Since the automobile industry suffered about \$1 billion in losses just for the third quarter of 1981, trading wage increases for profit sharing is not a good option.

Some union leaders say the 1982 contract negotiations will focus on demanding job security and more worker involvement in decision-making. One lesson we have learned is that no auto job

3 vs. Thatcher



Militant Cindy Jaquith



and are still on strike against threatened closing of plant. Such closures are part of

the stationing of NATO missiles in Britain. She indicated Britain would step up its repression in Northern Ireland, and increase its collaboration with other imperialist governments in the Middle East and in southern Africa.

Thatcher bares teeth

But the real teeth of the new government proposals were outlined by Thatcher. "The generation which was brought up to believe that governments can guarantee prosperity, full employment and happiness for all, now knows that life is not really like that," she said.

Then she outlined a series of major new antilabor measures: including a new union-busting bill, denationalization of gas production; efforts to protect "commercial and industrial" taxpayers from higher taxes; and stiffer penalties for youth convicted of "crimes."

Thatcher also vowed to continue her

war against "terrorism" in Northern Ireland — in other words, to maintain, by an occupation army, the subjugation of Britain's colony. She carried out that pledge two weeks later with the dispatch of another 600 troops to Northern Ireland as resistance to British repression broke out once again.

Two sides of class struggle

To only see one side of the class struggle in Britain — what Thatcher and the capitalists are doing — would be just as wrong as seeing only the side of Reagan's offensive in the United States and missing the growing resistance to his policies.

Thatcher and the capitalists are still winning most of the battles in Britain. But the fightback in Britain is more advanced than in the United States.

The British workers have obviously suffered very severe blows. Seeing no

counteroffensive from their union leaders, and acquiescence from the leadership of the Labour Party, many workers have felt they had no choice but to accept the blackmail of wage cuts, speed-up, and forced retirement in order to hold onto their jobs. That has not worked, of course, and now the mood of fightback is growing.

In some plants threatened with closure, the workers have decided to occupy the factory rather than let the boss close it down, despite opposition from top union officials. One such occupation by machinists at the Laurence-Scott plant in Manchester, lasted seventeen weeks. The workers are still on strike, picketing from the outside.

These battles have been isolated by lack of official union backing, but a few have won. Such fights are symbolic of a more general political discussion going on in the working class over the fundamental perspectives for the labor movement.

Labour Party debate

In the last year this has exploded inside the Labour Party, as more and more unionists demand that the party they see as theirs wage a struggle against big business.

The workers have forced the Labour Party to take an official position for unilateral disarmament and against the stationing of NATO missiles in their country.

At the party's annual conference last September the "Labour left," as it is called, nearly succeeded in electing Tony Benn deputy leader of the party.

Benn has supported strikes and appealed to the industrial unions to fight back against Thatcher. He calls for more jobs and opposes social cutbacks. He supports legal abortion. He campaigns for greater democracy in the party, and for elected party representatives in Parliament to carry out the mandate of the membership.

As a result of the leftward motion inside the Labour Party, tens of thousands of workers have joined it recently. There is even discussion of forming Labour Party branches in factories to give the workers a more direct role in formulating the policy of the party. (We'll return

to the discussions in the Labour Party in a future article.)

Two other struggles indicate the rising class consciousness in Britain. One is the antimilitarization movement, which turned out a quarter of a million people in a demonstration against Cruise and Trident missiles in October. One of the most popular slogans was "Jobs, not bombs," signaling the refusal of British workers to sacrifice more so that Thatcher can increase the war-making powers of imperialism.

Black struggle

Second is the growing struggle among Black and Asian youth, graphically brought home to the world last summer when rebellions exploded in nearly every major British city.

The rebellions showed the deepening class consciousness of the working class as a whole. Many white youth, also hit hard by unemployment, joined the protests.

The response among white workers in the factories was significant. Several told this reporter they sympathized with the rebellions because jobless youth have no alternative today.

In Manchester's Moss Side rebellion, defiant youth nearly dismantled the police headquarters. Many now face stiff prison terms.

An older white man on strike at the nearby Laurence-Scott plant told the *Militant*: "This is supposed to be a democracy, but it's becoming more like a police state. Do you know they had imported machine guns from West Germany to use against those kids?"

In mid-November the political and economic crisis in Britain came to a head when British Leyland auto workers refused to accept an insulting 3.8 percent wage increase and voted overwhelmingly for the first time in years to strike. Had the workers been backed up, instead of betrayed, by top union officials, we could have seen the biggest confrontation between workers and the British rulers in several years.

In our next article we'll look at what happened to that strike, why the workers were forced back to work with a mere 3.8 percent, and what young workers at British Leyland see coming in the future.

giants step up their attack

is secure.

And the involvement in decision-making they're talking about means none of the Employee Involvement Program at Ford and the Quality of Work Life at GM. These are for indoctrinating workers with the idea that what's good for the companies is good for the workers.

Economic crisis

The automobile industry is not in a crisis because of unfair competition from imports, high oil prices, or overpaid and lazy workers, as the companies claim. These lies cover up the real problem: the capitalist economic system does not work.

Why are there layoffs and auto plant closings?

Because they overproduced cars. There are more cars than people can afford to buy. There are not more cars than people want or need.

Profits are the reason for existence of automobile companies. Profits are shrinking. Not just the amount of profits, but their rate of profits. The competition from Japan and elsewhere does hurt their profits. Japan's more modern equipment, such as robots, produce cars more efficiently and with fewer workers. To compete, the U.S. companies are forced to make huge investments to modernize and rebuild their factories. The investments will bring them a lower rate of return, lower profits per dollar of investment.

The only solution the companies see is to crack down on labor. Cut wages, cut benefits, cut safety protection, speed up the work.

Auto workers have a militant tradition. It took gigantic struggles to establish our union in the first place.

It's going to take that kind of struggle again, where tens of thousands of auto workers, our families, communities, and other workers go into battle again against the employers and the employers' government.

It will take new leaders of auto workers to carry out that fight. Those workers will come off the assembly lines and the unemployment lines where the

ranks of the auto workers are now.

They will not be talking the language of a "cooperative spirit" with the bosses.

They will be talking the language of fighting for a shorter work week with no cut in pay to protect jobs; of opening the books of the companies to public scrutiny when the bosses say they are going out of business; of fighting to nationalize the auto industry — take it out of the hands of the profit-mad investors who have no concern either for auto workers or what auto workers produce.

We need to shake up our union to do this. We need to shake up politics, too. The government went all out to shove the Chrysler contract down auto workers' throats. And both the Democrats and the Republicans are totally committed to driving through the employers' offensive and upholding the profit system.

We need a party of auto workers, steelworkers, and other working people to fight for our interests and for a government that will be for us, not against us. We need a labor party.

Ford workers resist company blackmail

By Bob Bruce

SHEFFIELD, Alabama — At the aluminum casting plant here in northwest Alabama, the 1,000 members of UAW Local 255 told Ford Motor Company they would not submit to a blackmail threat.

The company has complained of losing money here for several years. The union local made some work rule concessions which saved Ford money.

But, without warning, Ford Vice-president Peter Pestillo came to Sheffield October 21 and demanded a 50 percent pay and benefit cut. The workers could take the cut under Ford ownership, or throw their savings into buying the plant from Ford and still take the pay cut. Pestillo said Ford would close down without one or the other set of concessions.

Even the national UAW leadership

saw this was an escalation. Wages are part of the national contract. If one plant were forced into a wage cut, that would mean every local for itself.

The Sheffield workers rejected the threat. But Ford wouldn't take no for an answer. They claimed there may have been a "misunderstanding" about buying the plant. And UAW President Douglas Fraser helped out by saying, "if the workers want to go that way we wouldn't intervene."

But the Sheffield workers are not interested in pay cuts in either a Ford plant or an "employee-owned" plant.

Workers we spoke to explained why.

"Ford is testing us now to get us scared and willing to accept anything at contract time," Herbert Brannon said.

Bobby Pruitt, a diecaster, pointed

out, "if we take a 50 percent cut in pay, none of our bills would be cut."

Ford has been complaining that 30 to 40 percent of the Sheffield production is scrap. Pruitt denied it: "It's just some Reagan type jive to get rid of the union."

"The union has gotten us to the point where we can survive and we cannot take any cuts."

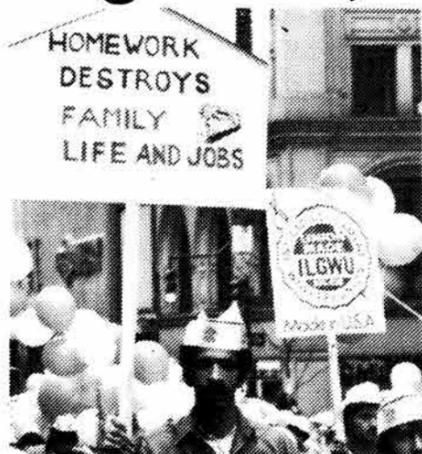
UAW Local 255 President Lavoye McCanless called the employee stock scheme a "conscriptive purchase plan."

He explained it would leave Ford with the same management control, would still require a giant pay cut and would give Ford a big tax writeoff.

"If Ford succeeds," McCanless said, "it could mean the beginning of the end for forty years of UAW progress."

Serious new attacks

Bosses move against wage laws, for homework



Homework is step back to the nineteenth century; a step resisted by working people. New York Labor Day demonstration 1981.

By William Gottlieb

As part of their drive against the organized labor movement, the bosses and their government are conducting a "legal" offensive to repeal or weaken laws considered too "pro-labor."

In 1931 President Herbert Hoover signed into law the Davis-Bacon Act. The law requires that any contractor working on a federal construction project pay at least the "prevailing wage" in a given region. Over the years that has come to mean union wages.

Congress is considering legislation that waives the Davis-Bacon requirements in military projects. In addition many members of Congress hope to extend the waivers of the Davis-Bacon requirements to the civilian arena as well.

The Labor Department itself is joining the drive to gut Davis-Bacon. Department regulations currently define "prevailing wages," to be wages that are paid to 30 percent of the workforce in a given category in a particular area. The wages must be specific wages defined to the cent, not average wages.

This means union wages, since union contracts define wages to the cent. Non-union contractors however use "incentives" as a speedup device. Consequently they do not pay a specific wage. The Labor Department wants to do away with the 30 percent rule and define wages as the average paid in the area, not a specific actual wage defined to the cent. This would enable the federal government to award construction contracts to nonunion employers.

The Associated General Contractors and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are pushing for complete repeal of Davis-Bacon next year. The big business weekly magazine *Barron's* notes that, though Reagan promised to oppose repeal of Davis-Bacon during his campaign, "he didn't promise to fight repeal."

Another law under attack in Congress is the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers Act that establishes unemployment and other social insurance for dockworkers. Congress is considering a bill that would sharply restrict the number of workers who are eligible for benefits under the Act. The bill now going through Congress would also place a 3 percent cap on yearly increases in benefits. Other payments to dockworkers that Democratic and Republican legislators consider "excessive" would be curtailed.

In a move aimed at some of the most exploited workers, Secretary of Labor Donovan has removed a forty-year ban on industrial homework in the knitted outerwear industry. This opens the way for the revival of the "home work system" where garment workers and their children were forced to do work at home in addition to the work they did in the shop. AFL-CIO Research Director Rudy Oswald pointed out that Donovan's order "renews the danger for the same child labor abuses which existed so ex-

tensively prior to the ban on homework imposed under the Fair Labor Standards Act."

Senator Strom Thurmond, the arch-racist senator from South Carolina, has introduced legislation aimed at overthrowing the 1973 Emmons decision of the Supreme Court. In 1973 the Court ruled that activities by unions to achieve higher wages and other legitimate union objectives did not constitute extortion, which is a federal felony under the Hobbs Act.

The National Right to Work Committee has been pushing for legislation to overturn the Emmons decision on the ground that workers who refuse to join unions are subjected to violence. If the Thurmond legislation goes through, the bosses will be able to argue that compulsory union membership is in violation of the Hobbs Act because people who refuse to join unions are subject to "extortion." This could, in effect, establish a national right to work (for less) law.

Another method the government has been using is the enforcement of patently unconstitutional laws that remain on the books but have never been enforced. Reagan fired the PATCO workers under a 1966 law that among other things bars a person from federal employment if he or she "is a member of an organization of employees of the Government of the United States or of individuals employed by the government of the District of Columbia that he knows asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States or the government of the District of Columbia." (emphasis added)

A favorite technique of the labor haters in the bosses' government is to present themselves as defenders of the rank and file against the very real abuses of trade union officials. For example the Compulsory Campaign Contributions Bill which is now being considered in Congress would outlaw campaign contributions out of union dues. It is true that today union officials frequently squander union funds contributed by the rank and file on campaigns of Democrats and other capitalist politicians. However, such legislation would severely hinder the unions from acting politically in any way. It would, for example, present a major legal obstacle to the functioning of an independent labor party based on the unions.

Another example of the antilabor government posing as a friend of the rank and file are laws supposedly aimed at union corruption and racketeering. The Reagan administration wants to strengthen these laws.

While it is necessary to end union corruption and racketeering, this necessary house cleaning operation should be carried out by the ranks themselves.

Assigning this task to the federal government and the FBI gives them an excuse to attack the unions. Since they are usually in collusion with the real gangsters in the unions, "anti-corruption" laws are used to victimize union militants. These laws also enable the government to blackmail union officials into supporting government policies.

An example is the Teamsters and the International Longshoremen's Association, which both endorsed Reagan for president in 1980, some of whose leaders thought this would help them stay out of jail.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland recently endorsed Reagan's proposed new legislation against "union corruption." The AFL-CIO originally opposed these rules. Kirkland's flip-flop is another capitulation to the antilabor offensive. It is a blow to the entire labor movement.

All of this led *Barron's* in its October 16 issue to gloat that the current "legal" offensive against the labor movement was "the most important labor development since passage of the Taft-Hartley act nearly four decades ago."

National Picket Line



Ripping off workers the united way

Your boss and a union rep are starting to come around for the annual United Way, Community Chest, United Fund rip off. You'll be subjected to the hard cop, soft cop act. The company will tell you about the trophy they have to win for 100 percent participation. And remember that shovelling job nobody wants, your foreman might remind you.

The union will appeal to your generosity: Reagan's budget cuts are devastating all social programs. We should give more than ever.

And then to balance the whole thing out, there are the racists and right-wingers who are against the community fund drives for the wrong reasons.

It takes some guts, and also a little tactical judgement to stand up against all this and tell the truth about these fund drives: they are rip offs. Workers should not contribute a penny.

This column will have a contest. Send in examples of the worst propaganda you get subjected to for these programs. Demand copies of the lists of groups that receive funds. See how many "right-to-life" and other right-wing groups are on there.

Send your contributions [SIC] to National Picket Line (NPL), The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014.

Rail bureaucrats blame PATCO

A tentative contract has been reached for five rail unions. The old contracts expired April 1.

The agreement covers members of the clerks (BRAC) which has about 110,000 rail workers; Maintenance of Way, 94,000; carmen, 40,000; machinists (IAM), 22,000; electricians (IBEW), 14,000; and 6,000 sheet metal workers.

In addition to lower pay hikes than the old contract, the new one is for 39 months, instead of the usual 36.

BRAC President Richard Kilroy told a news conference the PATCO strike was to blame for the proposed contract being a retreat from previous ones.

Kilroy should know. BRAC airline clerks were forced to take pay cuts and submit silently to layoffs to help the airlines endure the pain of the controllers strike. The IAM aircraft mechanics were also kept on the job while the controllers took on the airline industry and the federal government. IAM and BRAC could have helped shut down the airlines and win the PATCO strike.

The tentative rail contracts do not include the two main operating unions, the United Transportation Union and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Their contracts expired April 1 also, but they are still negotiating.

Give back contracts are not the only problems facing rail workers. On Conrail, they are already locked into 12 percent less than whatever the wage rates are in the new contract. All rail workers are already having \$9 a week more deducted from their checks to pay the railroad retirement fund. There are job eliminations on every railroad. And all the federal laws protecting the jobs, retirement, safety and working conditions of rail workers are being cut back.



Labor Day strike demonstration in Hamilton.

Canadian steel strike

While the international officers of the United Steelworkers of America are begging the U.S. steel industry to let them have another no-strike pact, the largest basic steel mill in Canada has been shut down by a strike since August 1.

The strike is by the 12,500 members of United Steelworkers Local 1005 at the Hilton Works of the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco) in Hamilton.

Local 1005 needs support. And we have plenty to learn from the brothers and sisters on the other side of the Great Lakes.

The address of Local 1005 headquarters is 1031 Barton Street East, Hamilton, Ontario. The phone number is (416) 547-1417.

A good project for your steelworker local here would be to invite a representative of Local 1005 to explain the issues in their strike. And maybe organize a gate collection to add to the \$30 a week Pittsburgh provides in strike benefits.

A victory at Stelco will strengthen the whole union, on both sides of the border.

— Stu Singer

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.

Unity Party gets 13% of vote

Barbaro campaign: no break with Democrats



More prisons like this was the goal of the New York bond issue which Barbaro voted to put on the ballot. The bond issue failed on a recount.

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The major dailies agreed that Mayor Ed Koch had won re-election November 3 by a "landslide."

A longtime Democrat, Koch had taken both the Democratic and Republican nominations and polled 75 percent of the vote in the general election.

And this, the media noted with satisfaction, even though Koch, who began his political career as a liberal, is now a hard-nosed right-winger.

Actually, the Koch victory was not quite the landslide it was touted to be. He himself confirmed this with post-election statements advising that he would try to tone down his anti-Black and anti-Latino rhetoric, and would have some more Black and Brown faces in city hall.

The election turnout was the lowest in decades, with but 46 percent of the registered voters going to the polls. And registered voters are only some 50 percent of those qualified to vote.

That works out to a "mandate" of about 17 percent of those qualified to vote.

Among those who did go to the polls, perhaps the most significant expression of dissatisfaction was the vote won by Democratic state assembly member Frank Barbaro, who ran for mayor on the Unity Party line after being defeated by Koch in the Democratic primary.

Barbaro won 36 percent of the primary vote. In the general election, his vote dropped down to about 13 percent. But he had a lot going against him.

In the primary, the only other person

running against Koch was the little-known candidate of the right-wing U.S. Labor Party. In the general election, Barbaro was one candidate in a field of seven.

During the primary election, the media gave Barbaro a certain amount of exposure. In the general election, he suffered the same treatment as the other minority party candidates: a virtual press blackout.

In the Democratic primary, Barbaro enjoyed the endorsement of the city AFL-CIO central labor council and a number of unions. He was able to raise a campaign fund of about \$150,000.

Took a walk

After he was beaten in the primary, most of the labor officials who had endorsed him as a means of putting pressure on Koch, took their distance from his campaign, as did a number of Black Democratic politicians. The central labor council did not renew its endorsement and there were but meager funds available.

Most of Barbaro's support came from radical groups — the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Citizens Party, Communist Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, New Alliance Party. The Hospital Workers and a few other smaller unions continued their support. The Socialist Workers Party was the only left group that refused to be party to this, nominating its own mayoral candidate, Wells Todd.

In addition to the sharply reduced support he experienced in the general election, Barbaro had the liability that politically his campaign got even worse than when he was running in

the Democratic primary. He had even less to say about real issues in the campaign and persistently ducked important problems for obviously opportunist reasons.

Yet, despite all this, according to unofficial returns, Barbaro polled some 160,000 votes. He placed second in the contest, winning four times the vote of the Liberal Party, which is long established in the city, with ties to sectors of the union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party machine.

Throughout, Barbaro took a right-wing stand on the "crime" issue, trying to prove himself even "tougher" than Koch. He did criticize Koch's abrasive hostility to Blacks and Latinos, but offered nothing in the way of a program to meet their needs. He even avoided condemning the unsuccessful efforts of the Koch administration to put through a gerrymander redistricting plan that would have reduced Black and Latino city council representation even further.

Although touted as a "labor" candidate, Barbaro even ducked dealing with the action of the Transit Authority in punitively stripping the Transport Workers Union of the dues check-off.

Throughout, Barbaro insisted that he, not Koch, was the "real" Democrat. He made plain that despite the Unity Party ballot designation he had no intention of breaking from the Democratic Party.

Taking all that together, 160,000 votes is not insignificant for someone who was widely viewed as a prolabor, independent nominee. It suggests what could have been accomplished if the unions had nominated a genuine labor candidate running on a real labor program.

Step in right direction?

Some of Barbaro's supporters on the left have argued that while his campaign fell short of being such a labor campaign, it was a step in that direction, that it helped to promote independent political action.

Obviously Barbaro's supporters included people who do want to see the development of working-class political action and did see his bid as a step in the right direction.

But the argument is a fraud. The function of the Barbaro campaign was precisely the opposite. It was a barrier to the promotion of independent class politics.

Certainly Barbaro himself did not move to the left. If anything, his left supporters found themselves adapting to his right-wing positions.

For instance, the Citizens Party members were generally regarded as favoring a "no" vote on the ballot proposition to raise half-a-billion dollars for more jails.

Barbaro, as a member of the state legislature, had voted to put that reactionary proposition on the ballot. But during the campaign, he decided to keep quiet on the question because so many of his supporters were against it. But he refused to come out for a "no" vote.

Meanwhile, the Citizens Party, which was working hard for Barbaro, failed to take a formal position on the prison bond issue. Wasn't that, obviously, because they didn't want to embarrass their candidate?

CP: anything goes

Even more shameful was the role of the Communist Party. Its support for Barbaro was so slavishly uncritical that the *Daily World*, which reflects the party's views, found itself enthusiastically reporting Barbaro's right-wing "crack-down-on-the-criminals" line.

The Communist Party also failed to tell its supporters its position on the prison bond issue. When it came to referenda in New Jersey, the *Daily World* had a list of how to vote. But on the prison bond issue in New York, it merely described it, adding the profound bit of wisdom that voters would have a choice of voting "yes" or "no."

Yet the Communist Party thinks the Barbaro campaign was a fine experience and wants to see more of the same. It very much favors maintaining the Unity Party ballot designation, pointing out that if a candidate for governor wins 50,000 votes statewide — far less than Barbaro won in the city — the party would have permanent ballot status.

But that doesn't mean the Communist Party wants to see a new party that would stand in fundamental opposition to the two capitalist parties. Far from it.

The CP hopes such a ballot party would command enough "swing" votes to give new strength to the flagging "progressive" forces within the Democratic Party. It would simply be a pressure vehicle in the treacherous, utopian quest to "reform" the Democratic Party.

Several of the glowing accounts of the Barbaro campaign in the *Daily World* have said that the Unity Party suggests the days of the American Labor Party, which functioned in New York from 1936 to 1952.

There's a certain truth to what the CP says. The American Labor Party was used by the Communist Party and others as a device not to promote independent political action but to thwart it. Its function was to keep the workers movement within the strait-jacket of reformist capitalist politics.

How the American Labor Party was used to perpetrate that swindle will be the subject of another article.

Meeting celebrates life of a revolutionary

A meeting to celebrate the life and accomplishments of Morris Chertov, a founder of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), was held in Los Angeles at the SWP headquarters November 7. Chertov died November 2. He was seventy-three years old.

More than \$1,100 was contributed for the SWP leadership school. A graduate of an earlier school, Chertov was a strong partisan of the new one, which opened in the fall of 1979.

Chairing the meeting attended by over eighty friends, was Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary. During the launching of the school Barnes had consulted Chertov on the course of study.

The school allows party members to

step back from the day-to-day press of activity to study the political writings of Marx and Engels.

Barnes read greetings from several generations of socialists who recalled their work with Morris through the years.

A message came from the thirteen students currently at the school. They noted Chertov's deep conviction about the importance of Marxist theory and education.

They quoted words Chertov wrote upon the death of the central founder of the SWP, James P. Cannon. Recalling his early years, Chertov said:

"We were heirs to great conquests in the realm of theory. Our theory was the generalization of hard and

bloodily fought revolutionary experience, which properly applied would illuminate our problem."

In subsequent years "Morris Chertov helped instill these convictions into a new generation of party members," the students wrote. "He was the living embodiment of these experiences, lessons, traditions, and struggles."

John Benson, now a Los Angeles railroad worker, recalled working with Morris in Philadelphia in the 1960s. Morris and Pearl, his companion, had won to the socialist movement a group of young people inspired by the Cuban revolution and the growing antiwar movement. Benson moved to Philadelphia to help lead

the new forces.

Benson remembered Morris's broad quest for knowledge, including an interest in Marxist philosophy.

SWP national committee member Fred Halstead gave an appreciation of Chertov's life — from the time he joined the socialist movement as a young auto worker to his last years in Los Angeles.

Cathy Gutekanst, Young Socialist Alliance organizer, spoke about Morris's ability to encourage young people.

Former SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs and Marvel Scholl sent a message saluting Chertov's many years as an active and loyal member of the party.

Steelworkers only get what they fight for

By Stu Singer

In 1959 the entire steel industry was shut down for 116 days by the last industry-wide steelworkers strike.

The union came out of that strike with a little more than the companies wanted to give them. The union leadership had to submit to the kind of anti-union campaign launched against the miners when they go on strike. The government intervened with a Taft-Hartley strike-breaking order.

Union publications frequently repeat

This article continues a series on the steel industry and the Steelworkers union that began in last week's Militant.

the point that the leadership never wants to go up against the companies and the government like that again.

The 1959 contract was not a particularly good one. The leadership gave away the cost of living allowance completely (it was won back a few years later.)

But the union was stronger versus the companies as a result of that strike.

The ranks went back to work more militant, better able to defend themselves on the shop floor.

From 1959 through the 1970s, under the ENA the union regained the cost of living provision but won very little else through contract struggles.

Steelworkers did win important gains in this period, but they came from outside the contract process.

Civil rights

Black steelworkers have tried to get the union involved in fighting discrimination since the union was founded. Some gains were won. But the union was more an obstacle than an ally in fighting company racism. In many plants the union helped the companies enforce segregation.

Black steelworkers fought to be included on the slates running for union office and to get civil rights resolutions passed at conventions. These issues were at the center of the union's political life.

I.W. Abel's victory over incumbent President David McDonald in the 1965 election was partly a result of support from Black steelworkers who thought Abel would support civil rights.

Black steelworkers and their supporters were greatly influenced by the rest of the civil rights movement. Petitions, meetings, demonstrations and lawsuits were launched against the racist steel companies and against the union.

Historic gains were won, especially in establishing affirmative action programs.

By the late 1970s the steelworkers union had changed. It was a dramatic development when the union led the defense of affirmative action in the Weber case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

A racist named Brian Weber challenged the 1974 USW contract with Kaiser Aluminum in Louisiana. The contract included affirmative action guarantees for Blacks and women to get into company training programs. The Supreme Court ruled against Weber in 1979.

The most important organizing victory in decades, the union victory at the Newport News, Virginia, Tenneco shipyard in 1980, was only possible for a union that supported civil rights.

The affirmative action victories have dramatically increased the number of women working in the steel industry. The pressure of these women on the union leadership has won active support for the Equal Rights Amendment and other women's rights issues.

Health and safety

Health and safety conditions of steelworkers improved over the last twenty years. And like the civil rights victories, these gains came from outside the contract negotiations.

The most important gain for health and safety of steelworkers and all other workers grew out of the long struggle by coal miners against black lung disease and for mine safety. The miners were forced to overturn the leadership of their union in order to remove it as an obstacle in this life and death struggle.

By the early 1970s the miners had established the most democracy of any union in the country and forced President Nixon to sign the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

The Occupational Safety and Health Laws that followed were modeled after the miners' victories.

The government-backed safety programs have made a big difference in the steel industry. The Reagan administration is dismantling these programs. Many steelworkers will pay for these budget cuts with their lives.

A movement by steelworkers fighting for coke oven safety developed within the union. It was inspired both by the miners' black lung fight and by the civil rights movement. Most coke oven workers are Black.

But the movement for coke oven safety never succeeded in breaking out of the straitjacket of union politics. There have been some improvements in this area, but the companies have stalled and challenged it every step of the way. And the union's promises to fight harder for protection for coke oven workers are

little more than rhetoric every three years around contract time.

ENA referendum

Before the secret negotiations began last month on renewing ENA, both sides tried to score some points.

U.S. Steel made another attempt to portray steelworkers as overpaid, underworked, and incapable of standing up to Japanese competition. This was the message of full page ads the company bought in a number of daily newspapers.

Similar ads bought by the company featured steel industry hero I.W. Able explaining union-company co-operation after the ENA was signed. Those ads were made into posters and put up in steel plants. (They were pulled down when the Abel machine got scared they were giving ammunition to the opposition forces in the union.)

In the last few years the companies have explained their attitude to ENA in the big business press. The advantages they won in 1973 are not enough today.

In 1973 the ENA was a new model for "labor relations." But the auto industry and the United Auto Workers officials have come out with an improvement: the Chrysler contract.

ENA provides wage hikes and an uncapped cost of living allowance. The Chrysler contract has wage and benefit cuts.

The companies want a "Chrysler ENA" in steel.

The steel union officials are going along with this.

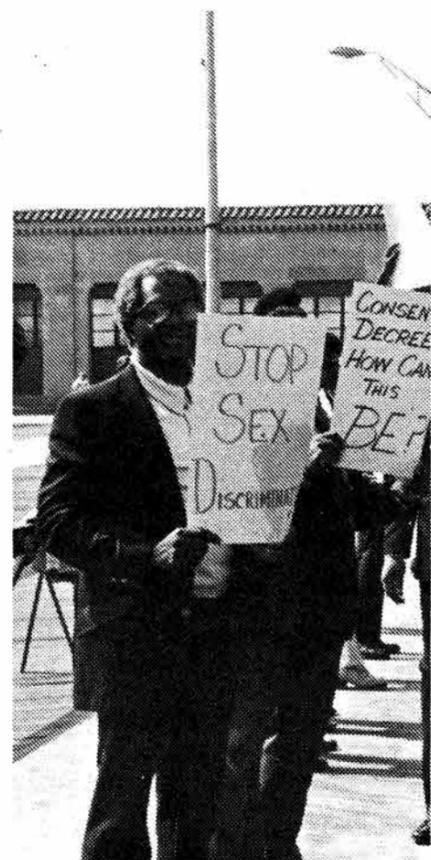
USW Vice-president Joe Odorcich explained at the time of the 1980 contract that the union moderated its demands because "to have a union, you have to have a company, and that company has to make bucks."

To show their commitment to the pro-company ENA, the union leadership organized an "advisory" ENA referendum in the Chicago-Gary area. That is District 31, the largest concentration of basic steelworkers in the country. It was the area that was known as the center of opposition to the ENA.

Jack Parton, the new District 31 director, called the referendum as one of his first acts after taking office. On September 23, over 56,000 ballots were mailed out. Only a third were returned. The result was announced October 2: ten to one in favor of ENA.

Basic steelworkers do not have the right to vote on their contract. The ENA was never put to a membership vote before this.

The District 31 referendum was done very quickly. There were no discussions, no debates.



Militant Herman Kirsch

The information sent out with the ballots gave the impression the vote was for or against the cost of living allowance.

The issue of the right to strike was dealt with in double talk: "The strengths of an ENA bargaining agreement include: The industry gives up the right to take a strike."

The genius who thought that one up will describe the wage concessions in the next contract as a case of the companies giving up the right to pay steelworkers nothing.

The District 31 ENA referendum was a set-up.

The results represent a weakening of the union in the face of the companies and a capitulation of the opposition forces within District 31.

Steelworkers fightback

After years of leading a strong current in the union that was seen as opposing the ENA, not one of the District 31 opposition leaders came out for a no vote on the referendum. They either remained silent or called for a yes vote.

When opposition leader Ed Sadlowski ran for union president in 1977, he effectively argued against the ENA. In a national television debate with Lloyd McBride just before the election, Sadlowski presented a strong argument about how the ENA weakens the union against the companies.

McBride won the election, but Sadlowski won a majority among basic steelworkers, those who are covered by the ENA.

It was Sadlowski who first proposed there should be a referendum on ENA.

But the referendum was organized by Jack Parton, a McBride supporter, who had just defeated opposition leader Jim Balanoff. Balanoff had been District 31 director since 1977.

The rank and file caucus of Local 1010, one of the strongest groups in Dis-

Overly successful chickens

The American Iron and Steel Institute held its annual meeting in New York last May. The chairman of Republic Steel Corporation, who is also the chairman of the industry group, gave an interesting speech there.

William J. DeLancey told the gathering of steel bosses: "Any assessment of our long-term future must of course take into account our competitiveness vis-a-vis the most efficient overseas producers. . . . As you know, the Japanese labor costs are not much more than half of ours and Korean labor costs are probably less than a quarter of the Japanese costs. . . ."

"This basic and continuing differential constitutes a troublesome problem for both labor and the companies in the U.S. steel industry. If the economic facts are properly understood, this substantial drag on the competitiveness of U.S. steel production presents a common threat which should

tend to draw the industry and union closer together. . . . The favorable prospects for all concerned in achieving an enhanced competitiveness in the Reagan years should encourage labor and the companies to recognize their joint advantage in such success. . . ."

Union President Lloyd McBride made a similar remark in a newspaper interview last May: "Some of our problems stemmed from having done too well in collective bargaining . . . and these chickens are coming home to roost. We have to face that."

McBride recently told *Barron's* magazine that he expected a compromise to keep the ENA: "We both have a great deal at stake and there is every compelling reason to reach an accommodation."

Of course, these reassuring statements are only intended to be read by the steel bosses. For union members,

the leadership has thrown out some other suggestions.

In September, President McBride told a news conference that the Steelworkers are going to push for a twenty-four hour work week in the next contract.

A shorter work week with no cut in pay would be a great proposal for the contract negotiations.

But anyone who believes the present leaders of the United Steelworkers of America are going to fight for such an improvement must also believe in Santa Claus.

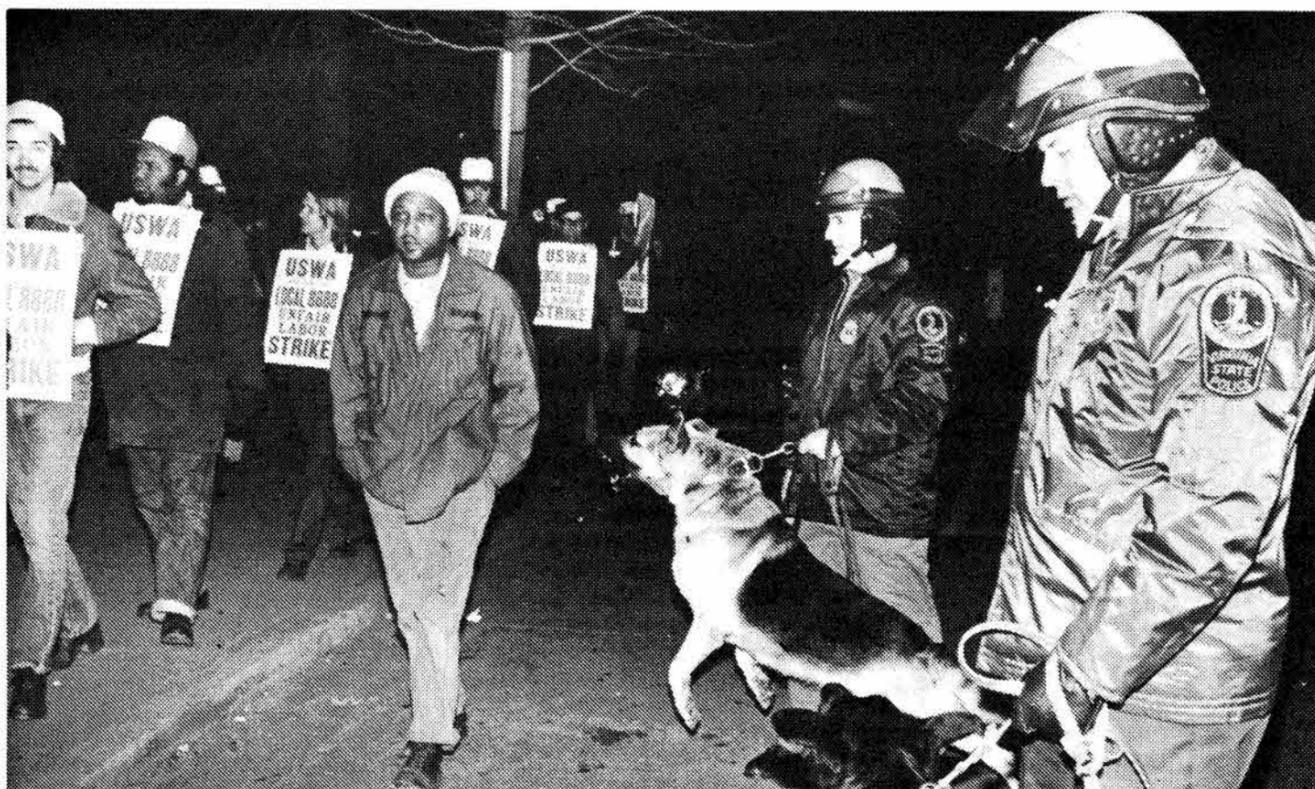
The secret negotiations that began October 6 are dealing with the "troublesome problem" DeLancey referred to, of steel labor costs being "too high."

There is little danger anyone will think this round of negotiations will end up with the union being "too successful."

Dictatorship?

In the speech quoted above by American Iron and Steel Institute Chairman William J. DeLancey, he had some further remarks to make about politics:

"If as a nation we miss this chance to support a president who is dedicated to reducing governmental expense and to helping us do our jobs better and more productively, the next corrective move will undoubtedly be long delayed and may have to be *authoritarian* when it comes. With the cooperation of the other players involved in the scenario [he means labor], the U.S. steel industry can help make the administration's program achieve the success all of us need." [Emphasis added]



Opposite page: Black steelworkers picket 1974 Steelworkers convention in Atlantic City. Civil rights fight was against companies and union leadership. Above: Steelworkers victory at Tenneco shipyard in Newport News, Virginia, in 1979-80 was one of biggest union organizing successes in the South. Gains won for civil rights in the union made it possible.

district 31 supporting the Sadlowski-Balanoff opposition, decided to call for a yes vote on the ENA referendum. They bought the argument that ENA is a way to protect the cost of living allowance.

Local 1010 President Bill Andrews explained that "the companies seem to be getting ready for an all out battle against our COLA. Therefore, even though we do not believe that a no-strike agreement is in the long term best interests of this union, we are willing to endorse ENA's renewal for this contract only."

But Sadlowski was right in 1977 when he explained that ENA jeopardizes the ability of the union to defend any gains, including COLA.

The more the union leadership tries to convince the steel companies that they are committed to the ENA and to a "reasonable" approach to contracts when the companies are in trouble, the more the companies will take away from the contract.

The Experimental Negotiating Agreement is more than a no-strike pledge. It is a commitment of the union leadership to help the companies and to do whatever is necessary to get the union membership to go along with it. The economy today is in a crisis.

The employers can no longer make significant concessions and maintain their profits.

And the union faces more than just greedy employers. We are under attack from the employers' government also.

The leadership of the United Steelworkers union acts as if it has not gotten the message, but the steel barons have

made it clear: they are not going to throw a few crumbs to the union to repay a no strike pledge, or a joint speed-up drive. They want more.

The union leadership talks about turning things around by pouring more money into the Democratic Party. They're wrong. No matter how much money they give to the Democratic "friends of labor," they will keep on voting with the Republican enemies of labor for more cutbacks and more antilabor laws.

Opposition forces in the union will keep going down to defeat until they break out of the whole framework of pro-company, pro-Democratic Party politics of the union's incumbent leadership.

Changing attitudes

The leadership and membership of the steelworkers union are going in opposite directions.

The officials are trying to implement company takeback demands. Under the pressure of the offensive from the bosses

and the government, the union members are radicalizing.

There is a new generation of young steelworkers. A larger percentage than in the past are Blacks, other minorities, and women. Their attitudes on many social and political question are not reflected in the top union leadership.

Company management complains constantly about the "bad" attitudes of the young workers. The union leaders echo those complaints.

But the union has changed somewhat under the pressure of these workers.

Union members have gotten resolutions passed in their locals condemning U.S. involvement in El Salvador.

Nationally, the union is involved in collecting eyeglasses for Nicaragua.

These developments contrast sharply with the situation in the late 1960s. When Ed Sadlowski tried to raise opposition to the Vietnam war at a union convention, he was almost alone among even local steelworker leaders.

Opposition to nuclear power is very widespread in the union today. Union President Lloyd McBride served on Jimmy Carter's cover-up investigation of the Three Mile Island accident. But it was a movement led by steelworkers in northwest Indiana that recently handed the nuclear power industry a defeat when they forced an end to construction of the Bailly nuclear plant.

Steelworkers are going through a learning experience, getting a taste of what the employers have in store. The government is showing more clearly than ever which side it's on. The union leadership is failing a critical test.

Out of the battles steelworkers fight, a new leadership will emerge. It will forge a class struggle orientation for the union.

The next article will take up the kind of ideas that fighting leadership will put forward.

Steel plan: crackdown on labor

An article two years ago in the September 17, 1979 *Business Week* was headlined, "Big Steel's Liquidation."

The article was about the new approach U.S. Steel Corporation was adopting to boost profits. "The new plan calls for a massive efficiency drive in steel by shutting down unprofitable facilities, even though that will substantially reduce capacity, and then by cracking down on labor."

In 1979 U.S. Steel closed all or parts of fifteen plants, eliminating 12,500 steelworker jobs. This included closing the two large mills in Youngstown, Ohio.

They hired Japanese engineers to improve the output of a blast furnace in Gary and the whole operation at the modern Baytown, Texas, mill.

The company claims it is spending

\$1 billion this year and a little more next year to add two continuous casters and build a new rail mill and a new tube mill.

Bethlehem, the second largest steel company, beat U.S. Steel by a few years in closing down some mills and modernizing others.

When they put the "L" blast furnace on stream at Sparrows Point in 1978, they shut down two other furnaces. The new facility puts out as much iron with half the workers.

But most steel companies are investing more in buying up other companies than modernizing steel making.

Because, as the industry leaders point out, they are not in business to make steel. Their purpose is to get the biggest return on the investment of the stockholders.

And steel, with the enormous capital investments it requires, has a lower profit rate than many other businesses.

A lot of the steel investment plans are more talk than action. The plans got a big boost with Reagan's election and the windfall tax breaks to big business. But the economy is still going to hell. Interest rates are still around 20 percent. The industries that are the biggest users of steel, automobiles and construction, are in the depths of the worst depression since the 1930s.

So the projections and optimism of the steel industry barons of even a few months ago, are sinking.

The only part of their program that is moving ahead full speed is the crackdown on labor.

New York rally to hit FBI smear campaign

By Matthew Herreshoff

A rally has been set for December 12 in New York City to protest the stepped-up government campaign to smear, jail, and murder Black activists, socialists, and others who are considered to be "terrorists."

James Haughton, head of the Metropolitan Committee Against Govern-

The New York rally will be held at the Martin Luther King Labor Center, 310 West 43rd Street, Manhattan, at 7:30 p.m. on Saturday, December 12.

ment Terrorism, and of Harlem Fight-back, will be a featured speaker. The Metropolitan Committee was formed in Harlem, in response to the government's attempts to frame Black activists as terrorists following the October 20 hold-up of a Brinks armored car in Nyack, N.Y.

Muntu Matsinela, Northeast Regional coordinator of the National Black In-

dependent Political Party (NBIPP) will also speak. NBIPP has strongly protested the recent cop attacks against Black activists.

William Kunstler, attorney for Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston) and other victims of the government's campaign around the Brinks hold-up will speak at the rally. Fulani, a leader of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), was arrested on October 27, when 150 cops, three armored vehicles and two helicopters raided a farm in Mississippi, owned by leaders of the RNA. She was charged with complicity in the Brinks robbery.

Ten days later, the charges were dropped and she was released. Ali had proof that she was in New Orleans, 2,000 miles away, the day of the hold-up.

The government is now demanding that Ali testify before a grand jury, designed to frame up more activists. She has been denied the legal right to be represented by one of her own lawyers, Chokwe Lumumba. The only reason

given is that he is also a leader of the RNA, and therefore, a "terrorist."

The rally will also help build support for the Socialist Workers Party's (SWP) \$106 million suit against Associated Press (AP) and the New York cops for libel. An AP story, on the front page of newspapers from coast to coast, attempted to link the SWP to the Brinks robbery. The libel suit was filed on November 16.

Other victims of government persecution speaking at the rally include: Gregory Pardlo, Newark Cluster Chairman of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Association, and Peter Fisher, a shipyard worker in Groton Connecticut. Fisher recently defeated a company/government conspiracy to fire him as a "security risk" and won back his job.

The New York rally is part of the Political Rights Defense Fund's (PRDF) nation-wide campaign in defense of civil liberties. Rallies are being held in fifty cities around the country this fall.

The rallies are building support for

the SWP's and Young Socialist Alliance's lawsuit against the government and its secret police, and for other legal battles, like the SWP's libel suit.

Funds raised at the rallies are helping to boost PRDF's \$125,000 fall fund drive, which will finance these battles. So far, \$44,000 has been received. An additional \$6,000 was pledged at four rallies that have already been held.

Information on PRDF's rallies in many areas can be found in the *What's Going On* section on page 18. If you'd like to find out more, or to help boost PRDF's \$125,000 fund, please send in the coupon below to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Enclosed is my contribution
 Please send me more information

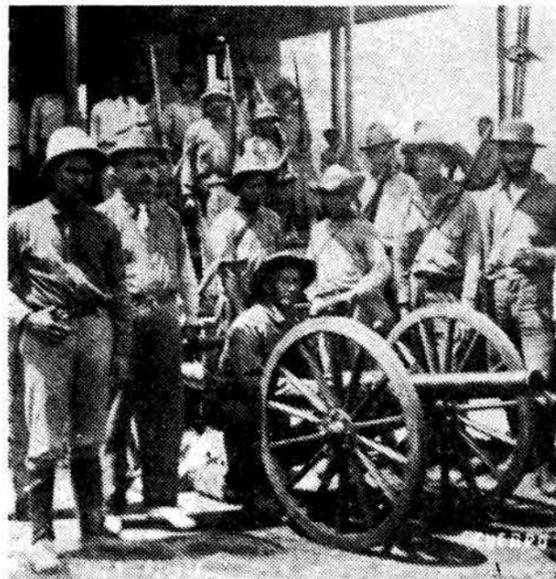
Name _____

Address _____

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Our Revolutionary Heritage

United States hands off Nicaragua — 1926



Sandino's soldiers in Nicaragua with a piece of mountain artillery.

U.S. government threats against Nicaragua are escalating. Nicaraguan revolutionaries, the Sandinistas, are branded as bandits, communists, Bolsheviks, threatening all of Central America. The U.S. government organizes secret, right-wing terrorists to fight in Nicaragua.

The year: 1926.

The president: Ronald Reagan's hero, Calvin Coolidge.

The Marines stayed in Nicaragua from 1926 until 1934. They landed at Bluefields on the Atlantic coast to "protect American lives." They landed on the Pacific coast to establish "neutral zones," control the railroads and fight the bandits and Bolsheviks.

The "bandits and Bolsheviks" were led by the great Nicaraguan revolutionary leader, Augusto César Sandino.

In the U.S. there were antiwar demonstrations demanding: "Withdraw all American forces from Nicaragua."

U.S.-funded training camps in Florida and Honduras today are organizing counterrevolutionaries. They slip into Nicaragua to kill literacy drive teachers and others.

In 1927 the U.S. government organized the crimi-

nal gang called the Nicaraguan National Guard to do the same kind of things. They imposed Anastasio Somoza to head the guard. Somoza's family remained in power until 1979.

A weakened U.S. imperialism did not send in the Marines in 1979.

But they are preparing some sort of attack right now.

The pictures with this article are from the *Labor Defender*, the monthly magazine of the International Labor Defense (ILD).

The ILD was a nonpartisan defense organization. While it was led by members of the Communist Party (CP), the ILD was also backed by radicals who were not in the CP. Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs was on the national committee. Wobblies (members of the Industrial Workers of the World) were also involved in the ILD.

The ILD defended all class war prisoners, as they used to call it. Sacco and Vanzetti and Mooney and Billings were two of the best known cases.

The ILD magazine was filled with articles protesting lynchings against Blacks, defending coal miners and other workers on strike. Defense of revolutionaries throughout the world was also a big focus of the magazine. From Cuban CP founder Julio Antonio Mella, killed in 1929, to the freedom fighters in China, to Sandino and the Nicaraguans, the *Labor Defender* defended them and helped get out the truth

about their struggles.

Until late 1928, the head of the International Labor Defense was James P. Cannon, a leader of the Communist Party who had been a Wobbly and was in the Socialist Party left wing before the Russian Revolution. The *Labor Defender* was edited by Max Shachtman. Rose Karsner, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Martin Abern, Arne Swabeck, and Hugo Oehler were all associated with it.

A small note in the back of the December 1928 issue of *Labor Defender* informed readers that the National Executive Committee of the ILD had unanimously accepted the resignations of Cannon, Abern and Shachtman. What had really happened was that they were expelled from the Communist Party for defending Leninism. Their expulsion was a big step down the road to the CP turning against its revolutionary origin.

But the CPers who were expelled at that time immediately began a new publication: *The Militant*.

So the *Militant* of today sends its solidarity to today's Sandinistas in the tradition of our predecessors on the *Labor Defender* and their support to Sandino and the Nicaraguan revolutionaries of over fifty years ago.

And we raise the same demand against Calvin Coolidge's successor Ronald Reagan: Keep your hands off the Nicaraguan revolution.

— Stu Singer



Members of the Workers (Communist) Party picketing in Washington against war on Nicaragua in 1927.

Learning About Socialism

'Granma' on housing problem in Latin America

The *'Militant'* recently ran an article on the housing crisis in the United States. We thought our readers would be interested in reading the following article from the Cuban Communist Party's paper, *'Granma'*, on the housing crisis in the rest of the Americas. The article, by José Benítez, is reprinted from the October 25 issue of the English-language *'Granma'* weekly review.

More than a century ago, Friedrich Engels wrote, "It is not the solution to the question of housing which will resolve the social question, but on the contrary, it is the social question, that is to say, the abolition of the capitalist mode of production, which will make it possible to solve the housing question."

An analysis of the state of housing in the capitalist world today would probably present a picture very similar to that of a century ago. Where there have been no social changes, there have been no essential changes in housing. The housing problem in the capitalist world continues to grow alarmingly, like an atomic mushroom cloud.

Glaring contrasts strike the observer in any big city in both the developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped countries: luxurious mansions set in lovely gardens, with deluxe cars parked at the door, and then the wretched hovels of the poor, where physical insecurity goes hand in hand with the psychological and moral effects of overcrowding. Beside the elegant suburbs where the privileged live are the disgraceful conditions of the slums, breeding grounds for tuberculosis and other diseases, where men, women and children live on top of one another in a veritable hell. In every city the slums have their own names:

they are chabolas in Madrid, favelas in Brazil, bidonvilles in France, villas miseria in Lima, ranchos in Caracas, and in the United States just slums.

Twenty years ago, the South Bronx in New York was a poor district inhabited by Blacks, Puerto Ricans and other immigrants. Now, it is an even poorer district, still inhabited by Blacks, Puerto Ricans and other immigrants. The state of New York decided one fine day to freeze the exorbitant rents, and the owners of the buildings — businessmen, real estate firms — chose to burn them down, sometimes with the tenants inside, and collect on the insurance. The men, women and children who survived, having nowhere else to go, lived on in the charred ruins.

In Latin America the housing problem is even more desperate. In recent decades, slums have become a depressing feature of the urban landscape where hunger, poverty and rags are the rule. In the mocambos of Recife, the cafú of Minas Gerais, the malucas of Rio Grande do Sul, the favelas of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, 30 million Brazilians struggle to survive in huts made out of cardboard, adobe, pieces of tin and other refuse. Carolina María de Jesús, who lived in the slums of Canindé, called them "junk rooms."

According to some estimates, the housing shortage in Brazil is over five million units. In Colombia, the deficit in 1980 was 1.5 million units, including a deficit of 200,000 in the capital alone. The "poverty of housing," as Engels called it, is the same throughout the length and breadth of Our America. Slums spring up beside an oil pipeline built by a big U.S. company; or beside a rich gold, tin or copper mine; or on a great estate where a man must work like a slave; or on the outskirts of the city, where slums serve as dumps and where undernourished, illiterate children learn the

art of begging all too soon — provided they don't die in their first year of life.

Up in the Andes, the Indians' hovels are among the poorest dwellings in the world. One room with a roof made of straw, walls of adobe or reeds, an earth floor, and no doors or windows shelter the Indian family, their dogs, pigs or other animals. They live like pariahs on the land that was once theirs, abandoned and forgotten by the world.

Both in the city and the countryside, this appalling situation is the same for the poor all over Latin America. More than 100 million Latin Americans, nearly a third of the continent's entire population, have to endure these conditions.

If we are to be able to speak of decent housing for Latin Americans, 16 million urban and 20 million rural dwellings must be built over the next five years, to respond to population growth, to replace housing which has become unusable and to make up for the deficit existing in 1980. The investment required for such an undertaking would be nearly 150,000 million dollars, taking 4,000 dollars as an average cost per dwelling.

Of course, it is not the finance transnationals which can solve this problem, nor the private construction companies, which speculate in housing, nor the bourgeoisie, who mortgage them, nor the owners, who make handsome profits out of renting pigsties. No, the solution to the housing problem in the dependent, underdeveloped countries of Our America lies first and foremost in the solution of the social problem on the continent, as an urgent prerequisite. The problem will never be solved until the social order which creates it is transformed at the base.

'Militant' sales spurred by protest actions

By Sandi Sherman

The campaign launched by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to get out the truth about U.S. military moves in Central America and the Caribbean continues to be well received around the country.

Socialists in the New York/Northern New Jersey area sold over 1,200 papers last week, including 150 copies of the *Young Socialist* and 115 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Plant gate sales were brisk, with fifteen copies of the *Militant* sold during a sale at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and twelve copies sold at the bulk mail center in New Jersey.

Socialists set up a table at New York City Technical College, under a banner that said "Defend Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua" and sold fifty papers and \$10 worth of literature in ninety minutes.

Protest activities took place in a number of cities on November 21. Over 150 copies of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Young Socialist* were sold at a demonstration of 1,000 in New York. Fifty papers were sold at a protest of 300 in Boston.

Socialists in Dallas report the highest single copy sales in a long time. They have averaged ninety papers each Saturday since the emergency campaign to get out the truth began. Birmingham socialists report a similar response.

They sold 159 *Militants* and 72 copies of the *Young Socialist* last week. Socialists in Piedmont reported that it was easy to sell 152 copies of the *Militant* last week along with seven subscriptions, and Twin Cities socialists completed the first week of the emergency campaign having sold a total of 162 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

A team of socialists in Pennsylvania has just completed a six-week tour of that state to build the upcoming convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, to be held in Philadelphia December 31-January 3. During their tour they sold 1,171 copies of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Young Socialist*, along with fifty-eight subscriptions.

Renewals from readers who subscribed on the September 19 Solidarity Day actions continue to come in. To date, ninety-four people who bought a four-week trial subscription have renewed, bringing the total to 4 percent, with the number continuing to climb.

The accompanying scoreboard reflects the results at the end of the eighth week of our ten-week drive to win 8,000 new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Subscriptions from the final week of the drive are still coming in. A final scoreboard along with an article assessing the drive will appear in an upcoming issue of the *Militant*.

Protest rally hears Bernadette Devlin



Militant/Lou Howort
BERNADETTE DEVLIN McALISKEY

By Steve Bride

NEW YORK — Less than a year before, in Northern Ireland, she had been shot seven times and left for dead.

Now, in a small church on Manhattan's upper west side, she stood before a microphone, and a crowd of 600 stood and cheered.

The crowd quieted, and Bernadette Devlin McAliskey began:

"I think that many people in Ireland find it difficult to speak in any rational and unemotional sense about the past year.

"And for me it's odd, because I can quite objectively talk about the assassination attempt on my own life. But I do find it difficult to be unemotional and objective about the death of the hunger strikers."

It was McAliskey's first visit to New York since Protestant gunmen broke into her home on the morning of January 16 and shot down her and her husband Michael. He also survived the attack.

For this November 21 meeting, organized by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee, Bernadette was joined on the platform by Kiera O'Dempsey, lawyer for Dessie Mackin, an Irish freedom fighter imprisoned here; civil rights leader Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick; Seamus Ruddy of the Irish Repub-

lican Socialist Party; and others.

Her talk continued for a while as it had begun. The crowd listened as she recounted personal memories of the hunger strikers. Then she moved on to what it all meant.

"What Bobby Sands and the prisoners were trying to say was, you can take a man's liberty, you can imprison his spirit. For there is no law that is stronger than the desire to be free.

"That's why our prisoners died. And that is why throughout the world — whether people were Black, red, yellow, white; whether they were Americans, Iranians, Europeans, Africans — the oppressed of the world stood with us. And the oppressors of the world stood against us."

It was a theme that had been repeated many times that evening, and the crowd responded.

"We are the oldest colony in the world. We are a gateway between the struggles of what's called the Third World and the internal struggles of western capitalism.

"We are part of that struggle that is part of Western Europe, that is internally part of America: the struggle between those who produce the wealth of the world and those who benefit from that wealth and use it to persecute those who produce it."

The crowd broke into applause

"Let's take the Irish question to the peace movement in America; to the Black movement, to the Puerto Rican movement, to the whole melting pot of American society."

She was nearing the end now.

"Let's build a movement on principle: that's against repression in principle, that's for human rights in principle. And, since this is the most powerful nation in the world, a movement that's based on the most powerful section of American society: its united working people.

"And see if, at the end of the day, we haven't built a movement that ends not only British oppression in Ireland, but oppression all over the world."

She finished and started away from the podium. The crowd came to its feet and the cheering began again.

Subscription scoreboard

As of November 24, 1981

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
*Lincoln	40	51	0	2	40	53	133
**Cleveland	55	68	5	6	60	74	123
Denver	95	99	5	7	100	106	106
Atlanta	165	179	10	0	175	179	102
*Portland	75	75	0	1	75	76	101
Salt Lake City	140	150	20	12	160	162	101
Detroit	200	199	15	11	215	210	98
New Orleans	110	103	0	2	110	105	95
Louisville	125	117	0	0	125	117	94
*Boston	200	201	25	7	225	208	92
*Piedmont	180	162	0	1	180	163	91
San Diego	90	90	30	15	120	105	88
*Washington, D.C.	235	218	40	25	275	243	88
*San Antonio	130	115	35	28	165	143	87
*Philadelphia	130	120	40	22	170	142	84
*Iron Range	110	91	0	0	110	91	83
St. Louis	115	98	5	1	120	99	83
Kansas City	125	110	25	12	150	122	81
*Pittsburgh	290	239	10	3	300	242	81
Twin Cities	180	145	0	0	180	145	81
Tucson	20	24	15	4	35	28	80
*Harrisburg	130	101	0	0	130	101	78
Newark	275	249	75	20	350	269	77
Phoenix	75	61	25	15	100	76	76
Capital District	90	70	5	1	95	71	75
Los Angeles	325	265	75	34	400	299	75
*Birmingham	200	144	0	3	200	147	74
*Brooklyn	475	363	75	34	550	397	72
Chicago	215	164	35	13	250	177	71
Oakland	170	135	30	2	200	137	69
Morgantown	120	80	0	0	120	80	67
Baltimore	130	83	5	1	135	84	62
Gary	115	77	10	1	125	78	62
*Milwaukee	150	102	25	5	175	107	61
Seattle	140	84	10	7	150	91	61
San Francisco	150	97	50	8	200	105	53
**Toledo	50	26	0	0	50	26	52
**Cincinnati	70	34	0	1	70	35	50
Indianapolis	125	62	0	0	125	62	50
Dallas	110	53	50	23	160	76	48
*Manhattan	705	343	245	61	950	404	43
Albuquerque	60	30	25	6	85	36	42
Miami	90	37	10	3	100	40	40
Tidewater	120	47	0	0	120	47	39
San Jose	90	33	40	10	130	43	33
Charleston	125	22	0	0	125	22	18
Houston	135	18	40	2	175	20	11
Miscellaneous		232		39	0	271	
TOTAL	7250	5666	1110	448	8360	6114	73
SHOULD BE		5800		888		6688	80

*indicates area that has raised goal

**indicates area petitioning to put SWP on ballot



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New Renewal

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A matter of conscience? — It was interesting how instinctively Henry Kissinger resisted when Brazilian cops shoved him into a police van to get him away from protesting students. The Brazilian students were angered at the invitation extended Kissinger and carried one banner that declared: "Money for teachers, not assassins."

Inside dope — We have it from usually reliable sources that the \$1,000 those journalists stuffed in Richard Allen's pocket was not a bribe. It was a contribution toward a new set of White House dishes.

The mall syndrome? — Fort Worth, Texas, cancelled its Veteran's Day Parade this year because of the low turnout last year. Austin cancelled because it couldn't get a band. Dallas hasn't had one in at least eight years. The chairman of the Fort Worth committee said he thought the problem was that people now go to shopping malls. Also, he added, interest did begin to wane after the Vietnam war.

A great place to visit . . . — Kansas City may be featured in a film which would show the city being vaporized off the map in an atomic attack. A K.C.

tourist official enthused, "It could be tremendous publicity. It shows Kansas City at its best."

Specialists — A Chinese-sponsored conference on family planning welcomed a delegation from the ousted Pol Pot regime, which committed genocide against the Kampuchean people.

Devout — Retired Army Col. Charles Beckwith, who commanded the botched raid on Iran assertedly to free the hostages, now heads a firm which peddles advice to corporations on dealing with "terrorism." A plaque on the ex-colonel's

desk declares: "Kill 'em all. Let God sort 'em out."

That's capitalism — An Ohio quarry operator persuaded a Saudi Arabian sheik that he could do better with Ohio sand to filter his pool. Nine tons are being shipped over, along with the filter.

Thought for the week — "When I hear people talking about money, it's usually people who don't have any." — Richard DeVos, a Michigan businessperson and leading member of the Republican national committee, responding to critics of Reaganomics.

What's Going On

Rally to defend democratic rights and support socialists' lawsuit

ARIZONA TUCSON

DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS AGAINST REAGAN. Speakers: Eddie Jackson, United Steelworkers of America; Rich Stuart, Political Rights Defense Fund; Paula Edgar, American Federation of Teachers Local 1236; Bill Taylor, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 572; Vern Eilbrandt, Pima County Teachers Union Local 1238; Alvin Baker, president, Tucson NAACP; Lorenzo Torrez, People Before Profits Party; Romaine Pethick-Lawrence, Young Socialist Alliance; Mary Yablonski, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 449; Joe Fite, Carpenters Local 857; Paul J. Rubin, Retail Clerks Local 737; Diane Dittmore, National Organization for Women. Thurs., Dec. 10, 7:30 p.m. Fire Fighters Hall, 2264 E. Benson Hwy. For more information call (602) 622-8288.

CALIFORNIA SAN FRANCISCO

RALLY IN DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS. Speakers: Hector Marroquin, Political Rights Defense Fund; Dr. Owen Chamberlain, Nobel Laureate; Herb Mills, secretary-treasurer, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10; Maxine Jenkins, San Jose negotiator in comparable pay fight; David Aaroner, secretary-treasurer, Service Employees International Union Local 535; Rosa Maria Rivera, cofounder, A.N.D.E.S. (National Association of Salvadoran Educators); others. Sat., Dec. 5, dinner 6 p.m., rally 8 p.m. Golden Gate Flyer restaurant, 155 Steuart St. Donation \$5, rally only \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (415) 824-1992 or 763-3792.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

RALLY TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Martha Gaines, president, Atlanta American Civil Liberties Union; Fred Taylor, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James Harris, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. Georgia Hill Center, 240 Georgia Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

INDIANA INDIANAPOLIS

AN EVENING FOR THE BILL OF RIGHTS. Speakers: Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Winston-Salem, N.C.; Bill Crawford, Indiana Christian Leadership Conference; representative of Marion County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO; representative of Profes-

sional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; representative of Indiana Civil Liberties Union; Robert Rose, president, United Auto Workers Local 1983. Sun., Nov. 29, reception 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. North Meridian Inn, 1530 N. Meridian. Donation: \$3. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS! STOP ALL FBI, CIA, INS CRIMES! Speakers: Sue Skinner, Political Rights Defense Fund; Mary Byrd, sister of Sherry Singleton (murdered by New Orleans police in Algiers); Angie Celius, member, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and Coalition of Labor Union Women; Rev. Jerome Owens; Kalaamu Ya Salaam, activist against police brutality; Edward Shanklin, international representative, United Food and Commercial Workers; others. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. Dillard University, Albert Dent Hall, Room 126. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MINNESOTA TWIN CITIES

STOP GOVERNMENT ATTACKS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speakers: Liz Ziers, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; Tiffany Patterson, Twin Cities National Black Independent Political Party; David Rivera, attorney; representative from the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:45 p.m. reception and buffet, 8:30 p.m. rally, 9:30 p.m. social. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$5. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NORTH CAROLINA WINSTON-SALEM

COME TO A RALLY TO DEFEND YOUR POLITICAL RIGHTS. Speakers: Irving Joyner, National Prison Project and American Civil Liberties Union (organizations for identification only); Diane Wang, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; representatives from Greensboro Justice Fund and other organizations. Sat., Dec. 5, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. Holiday Inn, 127 S. Cherry St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OREGON PORTLAND

RALLY TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS. Speakers: Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers Party;

John Troxel, Citizens Party; Martina Curl, Communist Party; Jim Story, Central America Solidarity Committee; Elizabeth Cant, National Organization for Women. Sun., Dec. 6, 7 p.m. reception, 7:30 p.m. rally. Northwest Service Center, 18th and NW Everett. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS DALLAS

STOP REAGAN'S ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Gary L. Green, president, Dallas Ft. Worth Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 442, convicted of striking against the U.S. government; Peggy Brundy, member, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, and national committee, Socialist Workers Party; Shirley Peña, national committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 5, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King Center 2922 M.L.K. Blvd., Library conference room. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (214) 823-6279.

VIRGINIA NEWPORT NEWS

RALLY TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Andree Kahimorgan, Political Rights Defense Fund; Eli Green, member, Young Socialist Alliance and United Steelworkers of America Local 8888; others to be announced. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. Holiday Inn, Huntington Room #3, Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Tidewater Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

REAGAN'S WAR MOVES AND THE ASSAULT ON CIVIL LIBERTIES. Speakers: Political Rights Defense Fund, D.C. Committee for the Bill of Rights, Committee to Defend the NASSCO 3, others to be announced. Fri., Dec. 4, 8 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th and Columbia NW. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

STOP REAGAN'S ATTACKS ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. Speakers: Mac Warren, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sun., Dec. 6, 6 p.m. reception, 7 p.m. rally. Milwaukee Christian Center, 2137 W. Greenfield Ave. Donation: \$3. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

sentative, Social Action Collective, Washington Univ.; Keith Ross, chair, St. Louis Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

PROTEST REAGAN'S WAR THREAT IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA. A teach-in. Tues., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. Umrah Lounge, Washington University. Aup: Ad Hoc Committee against Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

NEBRASKA LINCOLN

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

NEW YORK BROOKLYN

THE MIDEAST: REAGAN RENEWS WAR THREATS. Speakers: Will Reissner, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*; Elias Ayoub, Palestinian student facing deportation; representative of the November 29 Coalition. Fri., Dec. 4, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

MANHATTAN

CLASS ON MALCOLM X. Thur., Dec. 3, 6 p.m. 108 E. 16th St. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

MANHATTAN

RALLY FOR DESSIE MACKIN. Irish political prisoner in an American jail. Speakers: Ramsey Clark; Frank Durkin and Kiera O'Dempsey, attorneys for Dessie Mackin. Fri., Dec. 4, 7:30 p.m. Washington Square Church, 135 W. 4th St. (off 6th Ave.). Aup: New York H-Block Armagh Committee. For more information call (212) 436-4770.

MANHATTAN

REAGANISM: WHAT IT IS, HOW TO FIGHT IT. Socialist Educational Conference. Classes and workshops (in English and Spanish) on Black nationalism, labor history, workers democracy and socialism, women's struggles. Sat., Dec. 12, 10 a.m. Columbia University, Barnard Hall, 3rd floor, 117th St. and Broadway. For more information call (212) 533-2902.

OHIO CLEVELAND

THE NEW THREAT OF WAR IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA. Speakers: Gumersindo Ruiz, Puerto Rican activist; Glenn Campbell, member, Young Socialist Alliance and Central America Solidarity Committee; others. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

TEXAS HOUSTON

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

DEMAND AN END TO U.S. INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST NEW YORK CITY

Demonstration: Saturday, November 28, 12:00 noon, Broadway and 34th St. The United Nations has declared Nov. 29 to be International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Demands: Support for the Palestine Liberation Organization; Condemnation of Zionism. Demand that U.S. military aid to Israel be stopped. Aup: Nov. 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 625-9858.

ARIZONA TUCSON

STOP FBI CRIMES. Speaker: Rich Stuart, Socialist Workers Party. Wed., Dec. 9, 12 noon. Student Union Room 355, University of Arizona. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-8288.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

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

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

THE FIGHT AGAINST REAGAN'S CUTS. A panel discussion, speakers to be announced. Sat., Dec. 5, 7 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CHICAGO

REVOLUTIONARY CONTINUITY: MARXIST LEADERSHIP IN THE U.S., PAST AND PRESENT. Three classes by Susan Lamont, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, 12 noon and 3 p.m.; Sun., Dec. 13, 11 a.m. 434 S. Wabash, 7th floor. Do-

nation: \$2 per class, \$5 all three. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH CENTRAL AMERICA. Registration 9 a.m. Workshops, slides, films. Rally 7:30 p.m. Speakers: Father Roy Bourgeois; representatives from El Salvador's Democratic Revolutionary Front and from Grenada consulate. Sat., Dec. 5. University Center, UMKC, 50th and Holmes. Aup: Communiversity and Central America Solidarity Conference Committee. For more information call (816) 361-1101.

THE CRISIS FACING U.S. FARMERS. Speaker: Merle Hansen. Sun., Dec. 6, buffet 7 p.m., meeting 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$1.50 for buffet, \$2 for meeting. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

ST. LOUIS

REAGAN'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS BUILDUP: MILLIONS SAY 'NO' Speakers: Eric Plutzer, repre-

NEW YORK MANHATTAN

BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT: THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. First National Plenary Session on Self-Determination. Fri.-Sun., Dec. 4-6. City College, City University of New York, 137th St. and Convent Ave. Aup: National Black Human Rights Coalition, New York Chapter. For more information call (212) 222-5246.

Letters



Ernie Lacy

Militant readers may remember the article in the October 30 issue on the police killing of a young Black man named Ernest Lacy in Milwaukee last summer, and the tremendous outrage in the community which forced the authorities to press homicide charges against the three police who were involved.

Well, the good name of the Milwaukee police Department has been dragged through the mud some more since then. On October 8, a white business executive was severely beaten by police while returning from a baseball game. Apparently he had stopped in a tavern for a few beers, and found he had to urinate. When he saw the cops coming, he ran — which they seemed to think was proof he was guilty of something. The picture of his face after the beating was a truly horrible sight, and undoubtedly left a big impression on the many white Milwaukee residents who before that time didn't see what Ernest Lacy's case had to do with them.

The police union held a rally for their supporters after the homicide charges were issued against the cops involved in the Lacy killing. Despite a massive publicity budget (in the thousands of dollars) only about 1,000 cops and friends showed up. That is only as big

as the smallest of three rallies held to protest the Lacy murder, which went as large as 10,000 people.

Mindy Brudno
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The real terrorists

I just received the November 6 copy of the *Militant*. I haven't read it as of yet, but was attracted to the boxed area on the front page concerning the armored car hold-up in Rockland County, New York.

I want to express my opinion concerning this matter — first and foremost, concerning the brothers and sisters of the Black Liberation Army, Black Panther Party, and the Republic of New Africa. The reason is because they are of African descent. And so am I. Whether you or anyone else know it or not, the people in this country of African descent have an ultimate understanding of terrorism. We have seen pregnant mothers tied upside down by a rope between two trees and their babies cut out of their wombs. We have seen strong young African men dehumanized and stripped of manhood and demoralized. We've seen our females taken into the big house or shacks by the ruling class slave masters for sexual adventure. And also all of our hope and desires

destroyed. We have witnessed lynchings, beatings, killings, and all forms of calamities forced upon us.

We have watched our leaders assassinated. We have witnessed all our contributions to this country and the world taken away and stolen and made nonexistent.

And study well what the great revolutionists themselves learned. These lessons are most important. Marx was not a professor, nor an interpreter or intellectual. He was a proletarian fighter.

A prisoner
Miami, Florida

No answers

Solidarity Day II. Unfortunately, it was nothing like Solidarity Day September 19, to which United Steelworkers Local 1010 sent 500 members.

This meeting of 250 members of Local 1010 and other unionists was sponsored by Local 1010. It was publicized as a follow-up to Solidarity Day, but featured a long list of Democratic Party speakers.

The high point of the evening came with the introduction of two PATCO members, who were given standing ovations.

But this was not the point of the meeting.

The "put-the-Democrats-back-in" strategy was pushed by speaker after speaker: Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher; a message from USWA District 31 Director Jack Parton; U.S. Representatives Adam Benjamin and Floyd Fithian; Ernie Jones, president of Indiana AFL-CIO; and others.

Only one voice was heard, although not from the podium, that presented a different strategy. Jesse Smith, a member of USWA Local 1010 is the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress for the First Congressional District. In a campaign statement distributed to the unionists he stated: "Solidarity Day showed that the labor movement needs a new strategy in order to effectively combat the attacks against us. We should be running our own candidates for office, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties, independent of big oil and big

steel. We should be organizing our own independent political party — a labor party.

"Such a party would speak for and fight in the interests of working people, like Solidarity does in Poland. It would present and fight for the program of the labor movement — jobs not war, restore the budget cuts, rehire the PATCO strikers, pass the ERA. Working people should run the country."

Fifty people signed a petition to help get Smith on the ballot.
Brenda Brdar
Gary, Indiana

Good response

If you matched Gloria Steinem with the World Series, the Utah Symphony, and the Utah Jazz for attendance in Salt Lake City, who would you bet would win? How about Steinem with 3,000 at University of Utah? That's what happened October 23 when she returned to cap the ninth annual Women's Resource Center Conference at the University of Utah. Six years ago the response was the same; according to Steinem, the response in every so-called conservative and apathetic community across the nation is the same. There is a thirst for feminist ideas in this country.

In case there's any doubt about what people applauded for two-and-a-half hours, Steinem's talk centered on the centrality of reproductive freedom in the fight for women's equality, a fight her cohorts in the leadership of the women's movement are not exactly leading. Steinem was crystal clear on the antiracist and anti-ruling rich implications of reproductive choice for women. Her talk was against militarism and against securing the claims of multinational corporations overseas with the blood of youth.

The problem was, at the end of Steinem's talk, you asked yourself, "So how do we get there?" There wasn't an answer. Steinem rides the Democratic bandwagon. She hasn't yet abandoned the needs of women to adulate over imperialist warfare for women or hanging judges who happen to be female. Despite her weakness at the punchline, I

feel Steinem's talk constituted a 3,000-strong protest meeting against Reagan's assault on women's rights. I'm sure 90 percent of those present would agree.

Sara Smith
Salt Lake City, Utah

Advance notice

Two weeks after Solidarity Day, 1,000 unionists, senior citizens, and students rallied at the Pennsylvania state capitol building in Harrisburg.

The protest was against plant closings and sky-high interest rates. The capitol rotunda was packed three stories high with workers holding picket signs: "Stop Plant Closings," "Save Our Jobs," "Stop the Loan Sharks." Plants have been closing in Pennsylvania at the rate of 900 a year. Over 400,000 are out of work here. But the sponsors of the rally October 6 didn't have any ideas about how to save jobs.

The state AFL-CIO and the Pennsylvania Public Interest Coalition called the rally to lobby for the "Employee Protection and Community Stabilization Act." If passed, some employers would be required to provide advance notice about a shutdown.

October 6 in the state capitol was like two different demonstrations in the same place at the same time. Workers had come from throughout the state who really wanted to do something about plant closings.

The leadership that organized this action made it clear to the politicians that all we were there for was to lobby for advance notice of losing our jobs.

The shorter work week, nationalization of industry — nothing like that was mentioned.

John Olmstead
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

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

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THE MILITANT

Canadian labor marches against Trudeau government

English Canadians, Québécois unite in protest

Non aux Coupures
dans les Services
PUBLICS
FÉDÉRAUX
et PROVINCIAUX
Pendant qu'on
Subventionne
Les Compagnies
à même notre Argent



Scene in front of Parliament Hill, Ottawa. Sign at left reads, 'No to cuts in federal and provincial public services while they subsidize the companies with our money.'

By Suzanne Haig

OTTAWA, Ontario — The largest demonstration in Canada's history took place here November 21, as some 100,000 trade unionists from both Quebec and English Canada braved snow and bitter cold to protest the economic policies of the Trudeau government.

Weather conditions were so bad that a bus carrying members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees overturned near Quebec City, killing two women.

The demonstration was initiated by the nearly three-million-member Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) to protest high interest rates for bank loans. It was also organized by the three major Quebec labor federations: the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ). The New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party), and women's, farmers, senior citizens, and native organizations helped build the action.

High interest rates, supposedly instituted to reduce inflation, have boosted it to 13 percent annually.

Between 40,000 and 100,000 homeowners risk losing their homes before Christmas, according to a government study, because mortgage payments are too high to pay. Farmers are also losing their farms, and tenants are being hit by enormous increases in rent and face zero vacancy rates by 1983.

High prices have brought sales of cars, homes, and appliances way down, resulting in massive layoffs.

"The only beneficiaries of these interest rates," CLC head Dennis McDermott pointed out at the rally, "are the banks themselves, as seen by their soaring profit rates."

The November 21 action was historic not just because of its immense size. For the first time unionists from both Quebec and English Canada were protesting together in nearly equal numbers. Louis Laberge president of the FTQ, and Dennis McDermott of the English Canadian CLC were cocha'rs of the rally, and speakers came from both nationalities.

Québécois unionists massed separate-

ly across the river from Ottawa, in Hull, which is in Quebec, and marched across the Interprovincial Bridge to Ottawa, which is in the province of Ontario.

This symbolized the fact that Quebec constitutes an oppressed nation within Canada. Forced against their will into confederation with the other provinces, the Québécois are held hostage to the federal government's discriminatory and repressive policies toward them.

Currently, Prime Minister Trudeau is attempting to pass a new constitution and so-called charter of rights, whose main purpose is to drive back the rising Québécois liberation movement and strip Quebec of many of its hard-won rights.

The gigantic Quebec contingent was clearly the most militant and spirited. Auto workers, steelworkers, public employees, rail workers, and many others carried signs reading: "Y'a toujours une maudite limite!" (We've damn well had enough); "Le chômage ca profite aux boss!" (Unemployment profits the boss); and "Cont' le vol organisé des banques!" (Against the organized robbery of the banks).

As people marched across the bridge into Ottawa, they banged sticks against the railings and chanted in rhythm, "Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat!" (It is only the beginning, continue the struggle). The chant comes from the May 1968 revolt in France.

As they crossed into Ottawa, passing English Canadian workers who lined the streets to greet them, the Québécois burst into the labor song, "Solidarity Forever" — in French. English Canadians cheered and clasped hands with them. Then the contingents merged and marched through the streets to Parliament Hill, seat of the federal government, for the rally.

Best symbolizing the growing unity was the singing of "Solidarity Forever" by the giant crowd: half in English, half in French. As one Canadian English worker wearing a Quebec button put it, "Just because I don't speak French, doesn't mean I don't support them."

From English Canada came a broad representation of the labor movement.

Steelworkers from United Steelworkers of America District 6 in Ontario adjourned their convention in Niagara Falls to attend; and Dave Patterson, the recently elected, militant District 6 director, marched with the steel contingent.

Many members of Parliament from the New Democratic Party marched. There were NDP contingents from several areas and many workers carried NDP banners and wore NDP buttons. Steelworkers stood in front of the Parliament building shouting, "NDP, NDP, NDP."

Workers on strike for four months against Stelco in Montreal, Hamilton, and Edmonton marched behind their banner. This strike is one of the most important in Canada. Its results will be a pacesetter for many workers. At the march, strikers passed out a union leaf-

let in French and English asking for support and explaining the strike issues.

Some 1,400 of 2,400 workers from Admiral in Toronto, who have recently been laid off, also marched, carrying a coffin for Trudeau.

Though the heavily industrialized provinces of Ontario and Quebec were the most represented, people came from all over Canada.

In addition, there were several contingents of students, representatives from women's groups, and Haitians from Montreal.

Québécois speakers in particular referred to the anti-working-class character of the Trudeau government policies. CEQ President Robert Gaulin attacked the Trudeau government as "guilty of treason." It has "betrayed the people of Quebec and Canada to the benefit of the corporations and banks. . . . It is making the rich, richer and the poor, poorer.

Louis Laberge said this demonstration was only the beginning and called for more protests "as long as it takes to overthrow these policies.

"This is not a one-shot deal," he said, "but the beginning of the fight."

The economic attacks are causing English Canadian and Quebec unionists to think through what strategy is necessary to win their rights.

Jean-Pierre Marcellin, president of an International Association of Machinists local in Montreal, put it this way in an interview with the *Militant* on the way to Ottawa:

"Workers in Canada are facing a direct attack — not only on their standard of living, but also on all their hopes and aspirations. . . .

"The capitalists are very conscious. That's why they are creating a state of crisis — to put workers on the defensive, not the offensive. Workers are currently fighting as individuals, but I think, more and more, as the crisis deepens, they will try to organize themselves. This [today's action] is one of the first stages."

Gary labor conference: PATCO strike, nukes discussed

By Norton Sandler

GARY, Indiana — Over 400 people, mostly trade unionists, met here November 20-22 at the second National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment. Participants came from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Between seventy-five and one hundred of the participants and by far the most active contingent were members of the United Mine Workers of America.

About forty Black members of 1199 National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees and a similar number of steelworkers from the Gary area attended.

Among the speakers were Larry Phillips, international vice-president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Mike Olszanski, chairman, Environmental Committee, United Steelworkers, Local 1010;

Charles Hayes, national office of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and international vice-president and director Region 12, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union; Robert Muehlenkamp, executive vice-president for organization, 1199 National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; and Richard Hatcher, mayor of Gary.

The conference, sponsored by ten international unions and the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, provided a rich forum for discussing a number of key questions facing the working class. In workshops there were lively discussions on the dangers of nuclear power and arms, the significance of the European antimissile movement, the strike of air traffic controllers, and the U.S. war threats in the Caribbean and Central America. Next week's *Militant* will have further coverage of the conference.