

THE MILITANT

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

SOLIDARITY

- Against Reagan's cuts
- Against the draft, war
- For Black, women's rights
- For a labor party



Striking air traffic controllers march in New York Labor Day parade

Militant/Lou Howort

General Haig & germ warfare

Secretary of State Alexander Haig came to West Berlin to deliver a September 13 speech in support of the Pentagon arms buildup. He was met by 80,000 Berliners demonstrating against U.S. policy.

Police in West Berlin described it as the biggest demonstration there since the Vietnam War.

But Haig, a former general, believes that the best defense is a good offense. To turn attention away from the U.S. arms build-up, he leveled the charge that "the Soviet Union and its allies have been using lethal chemical weapons in Laos, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan." Such weapons, Haig pointed out, are banned by the 1925 Geneva Protocol.

He conveniently neglected to note that while the Soviets signed the treaty in 1925, the U.S. government only got around to it in 1975. And even then, a half century late, President Gerald Ford stipulated that Washington, unlike other signers, interpreted the treaty to mean that herbicides and so-called "riot-control agents," both widely used by U.S. forces in Vietnam, were not covered.

What hypocrisy for Haig, who helped implement the widespread use of Agent Orange, napalm, and tear and nausea gases in Vietnam, to now point an accusing finger at the Soviet Union.

On May 21, Congress voted \$20 million to build a new nerve gas factory in Arkansas. The Pentagon already plans to spend \$2.47 billion for chemical weapons over the next five years. And according to the May 24 *New York Times*, "a panel of the Defense Science Board recommends that this figure be increased by a factor of three or four."



We should remember that the U.S. government has admitted using bacteriological weapons against Cuba on a number of occasions. It introduced a virus to destroy Cuba's coffee crop in 1968. It seeded clouds with chemicals in 1969 and 1970 to try to ruin the country's sugar harvest, and in 1977 it introduced a virus that caused an outbreak of African swine fever.

What evidence did Haig provide for his claim that the Soviets are using the germ warfare weapons? (The Soviets adamantly denied the charge). Questioned after his Berlin speech, Haig refused to give any details about "physical evidence."

But the next day, the State Department held a news conference. The sum total of the evidence for Haig's charge was a single "leaf and stem sample" supposedly found in Kampuchea by forces trying to return the murderous Pol Pot regime to power there.

This single leaf and stem, provided by Pol Pot, was then subjected to what State Department officials described as "a very unique analysis method," one that is not yet patented!

The State Department also provided a panel of experts to answer questions. But the *Washington Post* noted that "in an unusual display of secrecy, the government refused to tell reporters, even on a not-for-publication basis, the identity or agency affiliations of those who were answering the questions at the briefing."

In a September 15 editorial, the *Washington Post* acknowledged that "the track record of this and recent administrations makes it inevitable that these allegations will be treated skeptically in many quarters."

This is the administration that brought us the now totally discredited "White Paper" on El Salvador. Its latest concoction doesn't appear to be any more reliable.

Diablo Canyon

As we went to press, some 5,000 protesters were encamped at the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant in California. They are demanding cancellation of slated "low power" testing of the plant.

The protesters are there for good reason. Three Mile Island made it clear that no nuclear plant is safe. And Diablo Canyon sits like a super-bomb but three miles from an active earthquake fault.

For a decade, Californians have tried to block construction of the plant. They have lobbied, gone to court, and organized demonstrations involving tens of thousands. The Abalone Alliance, an organizer of the present protest, is a coalition of sixty antinuclear and environmental groups.

Despite this popular protest, Pacific Gas & Electric, the giant utility monopoly that owns Diablo Canyon, has stubbornly pushed ahead—with the support of a compliant Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Democratic and Republican politicians have been of no help. California Governor Jerry Brown, for instance, initially postured as an opponent of the project. But with the present protest he deployed the National Guard to ensure law "enforcement."

That's in addition to the 100 Pinkerton "security" cops hired by PG&E. For target practice, the Pinkertons have been pumping bullets into silhouettes of human bodies.

The initial propaganda argument for the plant was that it would provide cheap power. Originally estimated to cost \$315 million, the figure has already reached \$2.3 billion.

As with the safety issue, PG&E is unconcerned. It will simply pass on the cost to its customers.



Reception after D.C. rally

The Young Socialist Alliance invites you to a reception after September 19 rally

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About this newspaper . . .

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

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

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

In recent weeks we've been working to help prepare for the Solidarity Day March on Washington—to help bring out as many people as possible.

Like you, we're marching because the Reagan administration has given us no choice.

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

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

We support the idea of a labor party based on our

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

If you agree, you should be a member of the SWP.

To find out more about the party, read *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Building a Party of Socialist Workers*, a book of reports and documents of the SWP.

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The Militant

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About those 'cuts' in arms spending

By William Gottlieb

Headlines have recently been talking about cuts in military spending. Does this mean that the plans of the Reagan administration to sharply increase war spending have been scrapped?

Not at all.

The only thing that is being discussed is a slowdown in the rate of increase in war spending. And even these "cuts" are very slight.

The Reagan administration had previously planned to spend \$652 billion for war in fiscal years 1982-84, \$34.7 billion more than Carter had asked.

Reagan has now agreed to reduce this by a mere \$13 billion; that is, by less than 2 percent. This still leaves a net increase of almost \$22 billion over Carter's already inflated war budget.

The scope of Reagan's arms buildup has even begun to concern Wall Street. No banker really thinks it is possible to have this kind of arms buildup and still balance the federal budget by 1984, as Reagan has promised. Estimates for the budget deficit in 1984 are about \$65 billion.

With interest rates already at levels unprecedented in the history of capital-

ism, continued huge federal deficits can mean only one of two things.

Either the demand for credit by the Pentagon will cause credit to dry up elsewhere in the economy, leading to serious depression; or huge amounts of paper money will have to be printed, resulting in far worse inflation.

David Stockman, Reagan's budget director, reportedly favors a slightly greater reduction in the rate of increase in war spending—some \$20-30 billion dollars during the years 1982-84—in light of the dangerous situation in capitalist financial markets.

Reagan, however, is determined not to have a little thing like the danger of financial disaster interfere with the war drive.

The warlords of the Pentagon are jubilant. Referring to Reagan's Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who opposed any slowdown in the arms buildup, one military officer said, "We know that he's not just a fighter but that he's a winner."

However, the bosses' politicians in Congress are getting uneasy. How can they justify a war buildup of these proportions—at least a 7 percent annual increase after inflation—and at the same

If we eliminated war budget . . .

An idea of the cost of war spending to the American people is conveyed by the accompanying table below.

In fiscal year 1982, Reagan is asking for a total budget of \$704.8 billion. Reagan claims that the deficit (the difference between the revenues that the government takes in and the money it spends) will be \$42.5 billion. However, given the current assumptions of the budget office, the deficit comes to about \$65 billion.

The table assumes a \$65 billion deficit for fiscal year 1982. Carter's budgetary requests for four areas of social spending are listed in the first column. In the second column, the reduced amounts that Reagan is planning to spend are listed.

The third column shows that, if the \$188.1 billion war budget is eliminated and the budget further reduced by \$65 billion to eliminate the deficit, there would be \$123.1 billion extra to spend on social programs. This \$123.1 billion is divided evenly among the four areas of social spending listed in the table.

	Carter	Reagan	Balanced budget without war spending (in billions of dollars)
Community and regional development	\$ 9.1	\$ 8.5	\$ 39.3
Education, training, employment, social services	\$34.5	\$26.9	\$ 57.7
Health	\$74.6	\$73.8	\$104.6
Veterans benefits and services	\$24.5	\$24.0	\$ 54.8

time push ahead with dismantling the social programs won by working people over the last 50 years? According to Peter V. Domenici, Republican Senator from New Mexico, "A majority of the Congress are looking for larger cuts" in the speed of the war buildup. There is no indication, however, that they intend to do anything about it.

But, you may ask, how can we halt military spending? Don't we need defense?

We have to realize that this government is not our government. It is the bosses' government. Far from defending working people, the government is pursuing antilabor policies at home and around the world.

The war in Vietnam was a war

against the workers and peasants of Vietnam. It was paid for in our money and our blood. The war in El Salvador that is being orchestrated by the Reagan administration is a war against the labor movement and peasants of El Salvador. It is also a war against the interests of American workers.

Solidarity—the unity of all workers against the bosses—is impossible unless we demand not one penny for war spending by this government.

We certainly do need to defend ourselves, against the bosses and their Reagan government. But this defense can only come through our own organizations, our unions, and through our solidarity with working people around the world.

September 19 in Britain

At the same time as we protest Reagan's vicious policies in Washington, thousands of trade unionists in Britain will be demonstrating September 19 in Birmingham against unemployment.

The protest, called by the British Labour Party, is one of a series of demonstrations held in recent months in cities most affected by the unemployment caused by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's economic policies.

Birmingham, one of England's central industrial areas, has a 14 percent unemployment rate.

At the last march, the slogan that dominated union banners was "Jobs

not bombs." That can be expected on September 19 as well.

The action comes right after the 113th annual conference of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), representing 11 million workers in Britain.

The TUC adopted a resolution calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament, opposition to the cruise missile and neutron bomb, and demanding the removal of U.S. bases from Britain.

Referring to the plight of British youth who have recently taken to the streets to protest Thatcher's brutal disregard for their lives, the TUC conference was held under the banner "Fight against youth unemployment."

Solidarity Day contingents

Contingents in the Solidarity Day march will assemble at the Washington Monument at 10:00 a.m. In addition to the trade unions, other participating groups have been designated assembly points for the action.

A youth contingent, organized by opponents of the draft, Reagan's war moves, education cuts, and nuclear power, will assemble at Fifteenth Street and Constitution Avenue, on the north slope of the Monument. The contingent has been scheduled by the AFL-CIO to march between the Machinists and American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees contingents.

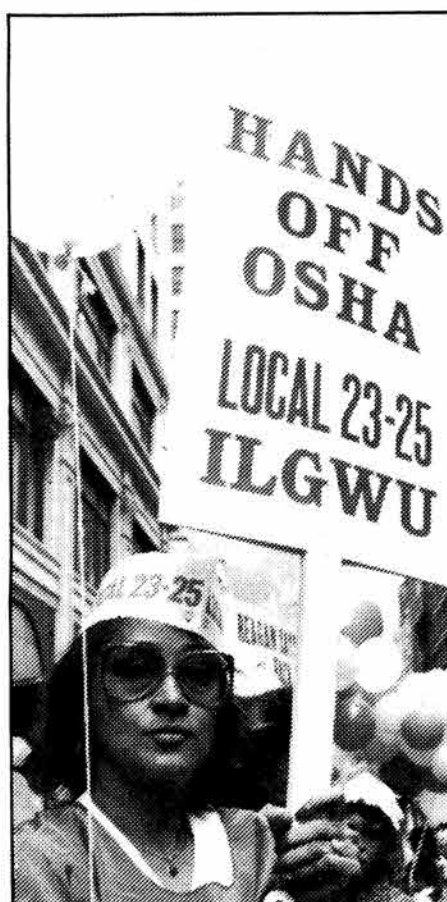
The contingent of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El

Salvador will gather at the northeast corner of the Lincoln Memorial.

The National Organization for Women's contingent will assemble on Seventeenth Street, between Constitution Avenue and E Street, on the west side of the Ellipse. NOW will hold an open house throughout the day at their national headquarters, at 425 Thirteenth Street, N.W.

The National Black Independent Political Party contingent will assemble on Seventeenth Street, south of Constitution Avenue, at the east end of the Reflecting Pool.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women will have a hospitality suite at the Shoreham Hotel, 2500 Calvert Street, N.W., after the rally.



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Hidden facts about Social Security system

By William Gottlieb

For decades millions of retired workers have depended on Social Security benefits to help them survive. Now the Reagan administration and Congress are beginning to take away those benefits piece by piece.

Where did Social Security come from? Who pays for it?

The Social Security system dates back to the 1930s. Before then there was no Social Security in this country.

The militant fight waged by workers in the 1930s finally forced the administration of Franklin Roosevelt to institute a Social Security program. Through the years it has been expanded. It now includes benefits for disability and hospital care as well as the basic old age insurance.

Social Security is vital for millions in this country. It is also far from adequate. Individual retirement benefits are only around \$550 a month at most. Not much, but it helps.

Where does the Social Security system get its funding?

A certain percentage is deducted from the gross wages—that is, wages before income taxes are taken out—of every worker covered by Social Security. The employer matches this.

The amount deducted has risen through the years. In 1979 the tax rate was 6.13 percent. It is now 6.65 percent and is scheduled to rise to 6.70 percent in 1982. By the end of the decade it is expected to rise to 7.65 percent.

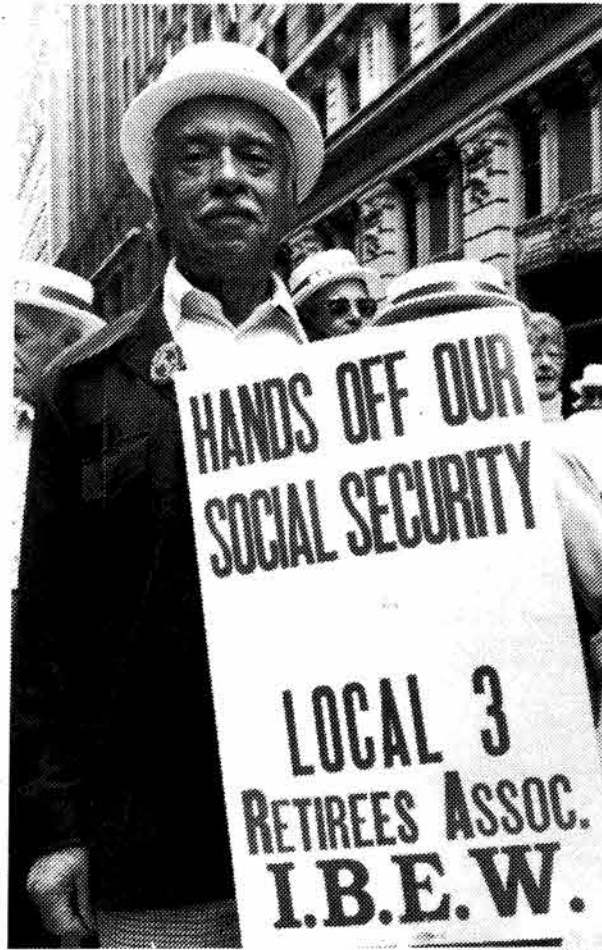
If a worker this year has a gross weekly wage of \$400 a week, \$26.60 is deducted each week for Social Security. The employer also pays \$26.60.

The total—\$53.20—is deposited in three separate Social Security funds. The Old-Age and Survivors Insurance fund (OASI), the heart of the system, receives \$37.60; the Disability Insurance fund (DI) gets \$5.20; and the Hospital Insurance fund (Medicare) receives \$14.40.

The benefits that are paid out in a given year are paid from Social Security taxes collected during that year. In most countries the central government contributes a certain amount of money to the Social Security system, but in this country the government makes no such contribution.

The three Social Security funds keep a certain reserve in case payments to beneficiaries exceed social security tax receipts in a given year. These reserve funds are invested in government bonds. This means that they are lent to the U.S. Treasury.

The Social Security funds are administered by the secretaries of the Treasury, Labor, and Health and Human Resources. We, the beneficiaries, have no



voice in the administration of the funds.

The Social Security tax is a regressive one, taking a disproportionate amount from the lowest paid workers. That's because everyone pays a fixed percentage of their gross wages or salaries in Social Security taxes.

Moreover, once a person has earned a certain amount they don't have to pay any further Social Security taxes on earnings above that level. In 1981 no Social Security taxes had to be paid on wages or salaries above \$29,700. This means that people who earn salaries greatly exceeding \$29,700—like corporate executives—pay a far lower rate of Social Security taxes than workers who earn \$29,700 or less.

For example, in 1981 a worker who grosses \$20,000 a year will pay \$1,330 in Social Security taxes, the 6.65% rate. A business executive with a gross salary of \$100,000 will pay \$1,975.05 or only a 1.98% rate.

The amount of Social Security tax employers pay is determined by the number of workers they have on their payroll and the wages they pay them. The level of their profits has nothing to do with it.

The weight of the Social Security tax thereby falls on the shoulders of workers, not the bosses or the rich.

Actually the bookkeeping operations of the Social Security system obscure its real nature. They enable the bosses and the Reagans to confuse the real issues.

Social Security is actually part of our wages—paid in the form of an insurance policy as opposed to immediate cash payments.

The portion of the tax paid by the employers also comes out of us—it's part of the profits the bosses make on our labor.

The capitalist economy in the United States and the world is in the midst of a prolonged crisis. The bosses, through the Reagan administration, are trying to increase their profits by lowering wages and social benefits. They say this will solve the economic crisis. This is what is called "supply side" economics.

It isn't solving the capitalist crisis, but the bosses and Reagan are pushing ahead with "supply side" economics anyway because they are greedy for profits. Inasmuch as Social Security is part of our wages it is fair game in this union-busting, wage-lowering drive.

The bosses are also always trying to break the solidarity of the working class, to pit one group of workers against another. Since the principle of Social Security reflects the principle of solidarity of the working class, the rich have always hated it.

They now claim that the Social Security system is threatened with bankruptcy. The only choices are to either raise Social Security taxes on people now working, or cut benefits.

In this way Reagan and the bosses hope to pit young workers against the old.

It is the responsibility of the bosses and the corporations to see to it that Social Security is paid in full.

Far from being cut, benefits should be greatly increased. Social Security should provide retired workers with a totally adequate income to live on. They earned it.

Instead of cutting down on the cost of living adjustments—as Reagan and Congress are doing—the cost of living adjustments should compensate for every penny increase in inflation.

There's plenty of money for this. We could start with the war budget—which is being increased by some 28 percent while Social Security is being cut.

A government that steals Social Security from old people to build more bombs has nothing but contempt for all humanity. It was the solidarity of working people that won Social Security for Americans in the first place—it's working people who will have to run this society in order to guarantee full economic and social security for all.

Socialist condemns attack on undocumented workers

By Regina Dotson

HOUSTON—Laura Moorhead, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here, denounced the Reagan administration's support for a Texas law that denies free education for children of undocumented workers.

The 1975 law permits Texas schools to charge these children tuition or to refuse them admission altogether. It is currently being challenged before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Under the Carter administration, the Justice Department took the position that such a law was unconstitutional,

declaring it stemmed from a "long history of exploitation of Mexican immigrants."

On September 8, the Justice Department announced it was changing this stand and had no legal "interest" in the fight to overturn the reactionary law. The state of Texas's main legal argument before the Supreme Court is that undocumented workers are not legally "persons" and not entitled to any rights.

Moorhead, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1742, told the press, "This is another example of the Reagan program of 'states' rights.' He's all for states' rights when it means laws and

practices discriminating against undocumented workers, Blacks, women or unions.

"This outrageous law affects thousands of children whose only crime is that their parents were born in another country."

"Undocumented workers are already denied welfare, Medicare, food stamps, and unemployment compensation."

The Justice Department decision, the socialist explained, "says a lot about what the Democrats and Republicans think of education in general."

"Denying children of undocumented workers an education is just one of their

attacks. Both the Justice Department and Congress are also going after bus-ing for desegregation, and bilingual education."

"And Reagan's new budget cuts billions from needed school funds. Most outrageous is his decision to slash school lunches to the bone, to the point of serving ketchup and pickle relish as 'vegetables!'"

Moorhead urged all civil rights groups and the labor movement as a whole to join with forces trying to overturn the Texas law against schools for undocumented children.

10,000 rally for Philadelphia teachers

By Haskell Berman

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Ten thousand people turned out September 14 for a militant demonstration in support of the teachers' strike here.

The rally, called by the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, surrounded city hall for more than two hours.

The strike began September 8 after city officials announced plans to dismiss 3,500 teachers, a direct violation of the no-layoff clause in the contract negotiat-

ed last year. The city is also refusing to pay a 10 percent wage increase agreed to in the contract.

Hundreds of parents and teachers picketed at the school board building on September 8. Many on the line compared the city's moves to Reagan's attempts to bust the air controllers union.

Later that day, the city obtained an injunction against mass picketing. On September 9, 209 teachers were arrested on the picket line.

At the support rally, John Murray, president of the teacher's union, told the crowd, "if we allow the city government to walk out on a contract, any contract we negotiate in the future will have no meaning."

The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers is the third-largest teachers union in the country. The contract the city is attempting to break was won by the union last year after a fifteen-day strike.

The teachers, who held firm during a ninety-day strike in 1971, are determined to stay out as long as it takes to get their contract honored.

Another rally speaker who was warmly received by the crowd was Robert Livingston, president of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization at the Philadelphia International Airport. His speech met with cheers of "Strike, strike."

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Why are air controllers on strike?



Militant/Lou Howort

By Priscilla Schenk

"You can't handle the volume of traffic we're handling and training at the same time and say that safety has not been hurt. That's what's happening. Let's face it: If you are working with one-third the work force in a particular facility and trying to train at the same time, something's got to give someplace."

These are the words of a supervisor who has been working in one of the nation's air control towers during the PATCO strike. And it's pretty convincing. Without the 12,000 striking air traffic controllers, the skies are not safe.

The Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) is asking for a decent contract—a shorter workweek, reduced number of years to retirement, a wage increase. But the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has refused to negotiate on any point. Instead it is putting the lives and safety of air travelers in the balance.

Shorter workweek

One of PATCO's central demands is for a thirty-two-hour workweek. As Gregory Pardlo, president of PATCO Local 238 at Newark International Airport, explained:

"Controllers in other countries seem to have recognized the stress of working

a controller forty hours a week. They recognized it in France, in Canada, in Germany, in England. They work less than forty hours. Let me remind you that the controllers in the U.S. work five times the traffic of any other country. Five times."

Early retirement

PATCO is also asking for earlier retirement. Because of the stress of the air controllers' jobs, they suffer medical disorders at a much higher rate than for the average working population. Nine out of ten controllers don't last to retirement.

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

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

The controllers union tried since February to get the FAA to negotiate on its contract demands. From March to August they worked without a contract.

Then they voted to walk out. The FAA claims it doesn't need the PATCO workers to keep the airlines running.

"The assumption," Pardlo said, "is that the system can be rebuilt with supervisors, military controllers, trainees, and scabs working ten hours a day, six days a week, sometimes seven."

"The air traffic control system could be rebuilt in forty-eight hours. All it would take would be for Drew Lewis [head of FAA] to offer Robert Poli [president of PATCO] a fair and equitable contract."

Right to strike

Along with the lies the government and its press spread about PATCO's "unfair" demands, it also claims the union does not have the right to strike. Air controllers, says Reagan, signed an "oath" not to strike. So he fired all 12,000 PATCO workers.

"But," Pardlo explained, "can you tell me that in a free country a free man does not have the right to withhold his services for what he feels is just remuneration?"

"Collective bargaining, to have any meaning, must contain the ability of the

workers to withhold their services. Without that, it is simply collective begging."

The air controllers have put their jobs, homes, and security on the line. And the stakes go beyond their own contract battle.

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

Unionists across the country have expressed their support for PATCO at picket lines and rallies. But a lot more solidarity is needed. Reagan is out to starve the PATCO strikers and bust their union.

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

"The solution, as I see it, is unionism. Every union member, everyone who believes in unionism, must come to the forefront now; must begin to show themselves and be counted."

Can they put you in jail for not paying a bill?

By Connie Allen

Behind on your bills? So was Edwina Jones.

Jones is twenty-one, Black, and has three children. Her husband is a heavy equipment operator. They live in Miami.

Last year she owed \$274 on a dentist bill.

Now she's in jail.

When the dentist, Dr. Harvey Satz, didn't get his \$274 he asked his lawyer to take care of it. The lawyer filed suit against Jones for the money, which was part of her \$1470 bill that wasn't covered by insurance.

Several court hearings were set, but Jones didn't go. Number one, she didn't have any money. Number two, she figured no judge is going to rule in favor of a young Black woman hit with too many bills.

Sure enough, Judge Thomas O'Connell sent the cops after her last December and ordered her to go

to the lawyer's office to give sworn testimony and to bring her tax records. Or else, he said, he'd put her in jail.

Her debt was no longer \$274. It was almost three times that, \$750. The additional \$476 was interest on the bill and court costs!

Jones didn't go to the lawyer's office. She said she thought "they might want me to pay something and I didn't have it."

Judge O'Connell ordered her arrest.

He set bail at \$750—the amount she supposedly owes. Jones was jailed August 26 because she didn't have the money. August 27 O'Connell sentences her to fifteen days in jail—for contempt of court.

When Jones was sentenced, she began to cry, asking, "How am I going to see about my kids?"

O'Connell's reply was "You'll have to see about that some other way."

Burglars raid Baltimore Solidarity Day office

By Geoff Mirelowitz

Baltimore—The offices of the Solidarity Day Committee here were broken into the night of September 10. The committee, which is housed in St. John's Church, is coordinating community buses donated by the Machinists and American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) unions for the September 19 march on Washington. Some seventy to one hundred buses were being filled by the group.

"Everything with names and phone numbers was taken," Rachael Wohl, the committee's publicity director told the *Militant*. "All the paper work was carefully gone through."

The break in was clearly aimed at intimidating and disrupting the Solidarity Day offices. A file of 200 people's names, whose organizations were contacted about the free buses, was taken. So were lists of the office volunteers.

Lists of individuals who signed up for bus seats were taken. A calendar of meetings where the committee planned to leaflet or speak about the September 19 march was removed from the wall.

A stack of signed Solidarity Day petitions—petitions that are being circulated by the national AFL-CIO—was also taken.

The cops, who took an hour to arrive at the ransacked office, refused to take fingerprints claiming that staff members had "disturbed the crime scene."

"This was no ordinary break in," Howard Nash, pastor of the St. John's Church told the *Baltimore Sun*, "This event is an entirely different category. They [the burglars] removed all the work they [the Solidarity Day Committee] had done."

Linda Thompson, the September 19 community liaison for AFSCME Council 92, told the *Militant*, "People involved in the civil rights movement and antiwar movement have seen this before and then saw it come to light later that there was police and the FBI involved."

Committee spokesperson Dennis Livingston said the responsibility for the break in was with "somebody who wants to stop this march and who sees it as a threat to the Reagan Administration."

Polish workers union—first convention

By Martin Koppel

GDANSK—To thunderous applause, Lech Walesa proclaimed: "I hereby open our Congress—the First National Congress of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union, Solidarity."

"We are here," continued the president of Solidarity, "at the will of those who elected us—the working people of all Poland. Each of us separately does not count for much. Taken together, we all count for as much as the strength of those millions of people who constitute Solidarity. It is they, they alone, whom we want to remain faithful to during the present debates."

As Walesa uttered these words, 100,000 Soviet troops, accompanied by tanks, planes, and warships were beginning an eight-day series of military maneuvers near the Polish border and in the Baltic Sea.

Even more ominously, the Soviet authorities began to stage gatherings in factories in Leningrad and other cities to denounce Solidarity, accusing it of plotting "counterrevolution." Such "spontaneous" rallies are designed to turn Soviet workers against their brothers and sisters in Poland and could help serve as political cover for a possible intervention.

'There is no turning back'

But these attempts at intimidation did not seem to fluster the 892 delegates assembled at the congress. As the union president said in his opening address: "There is no turning back from the road we opened in August. . . . Solidarity is a fact and it shall stay whether you like it or not."

The hundreds of delegates, chosen from their regions in democratic elections over the past three months, arrived from every corner of Poland: Szczecin, Poznan, Katowice, Lublin, Olsztyn, Krakow, Warsaw, Rzeszow, Radom, Bydgoszcz.

The congress, held in the spacious Olivia sports hall on the outskirts of Gdansk, was professionally run. Teams of interpreters translated the proceedings into five different languages for foreign observers.

Delegates and observers were supplied with stacks of documents and countless other congress materials. A

special congress newspaper, *Glos Wolny* (Free Voice), appeared daily, along with an English edition.

Enormous speakers set up outside enabled crowds of local residents to listen to the entire proceedings.

This historic event was held in Gdansk, scene of the strike in August 1980 at the Lenin Shipyard that sparked a vast working class upheaval, leading to the formation of the first mass trade union in any of the bureaucratized workers states.

The first part of the Solidarity congress, originally scheduled from September 5-7, and extended another three days, discussed amendments to the union's charter, heard initial discussion on proposals for a program of activities and demands, and elected commissions and working groups to lay the groundwork for the second part, to be held from September 26 to October 3.

At this second session the delegates will adopt a program, as well as a plan for national economic reform and for workers' self-management. They will also elect a new leadership body.

During the interim period, delegates will go back to their regions to report on and discuss with the membership the various proposals presented before the first session.

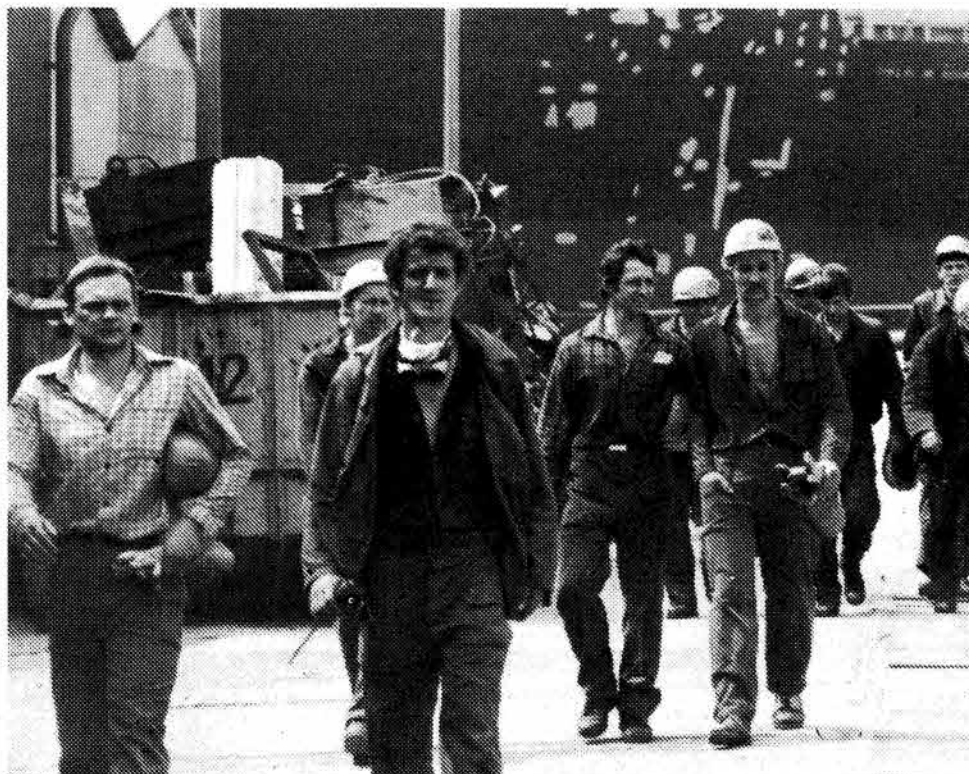
'A revolution accomplished'

Andrzej Celinski reported for the National Coordinating Commission (KKP) on the union's first year of activity.

"It is no exaggeration to say," stated the report, "that a revolution has been accomplished in Poland, the main force of which is Solidarity." It explained that the economic crisis had obscured the fact that Poland had become a very different country since Solidarity's creation.

The report described the history of the fledgling union, a history of constant conflicts and repeated agreements with the authorities. Despite serious threats to its existence and to the future of Poland itself, Solidarity had been able to consolidate itself as a permanent feature in the country's life. Now it needed to safeguard its gains by ratifying them legally through laws in the Sejm (parliament).

The union leadership stated that Po-



Gdansk workers leaving Lenin Shipyard

Intercontinental Press/Ernest Harsch

land faced the threat of economic catastrophe due to the mismanagement and policies of the government, dating from well before the strikes in July-August 1980. The most critical problems were food, housing, transportation, and inflation.

Solidarity was prepared to participate with the government in plans for economic recovery as long as families with the lowest incomes were protected and mass unemployment was avoided.

On international relations, the union maintained contact with a number of foreign trade unions. It was committed to peace and good relations with neighbors, but on the basis of equality, respect for the independence of all nations, and the international solidarity of the working class.

"Above all," the KKP report concluded, "we have to remember that society has granted Solidarity enormous trust and sees in our union a guarantor of the renewal of the country's social life and protection of the highest national interests."

Celinski's report was followed by discussion. The main point, echoed by delegates several times during the congress, was that Solidarity's greatest achievement was its survival and consolidation after one year of existence.

The point on the agenda dealing with the union charter led to a considerable amount of discussion around various proposals concerning the structure and election of the national leadership body, the KKP. It was clear that the assembly wanted to ensure a democratically elected body responsible to its ranks.

During the latter half of the congress, the discussion made a dramatic shift from more procedural and organizational questions to some of the vital social issues facing Poland.

Workers' self-management

In a resolution passed with only one dissenting vote, Solidarity called on the government to hold a nationwide referendum on workers' self-management of industry. Most delegates seemed to

Continued on page 8

The fight for socialism: here and in Poland

By Suzanne Haig

Workers in the United States and around the world have drawn tremendous inspiration from the struggle of the Polish workers.

Those of us living under governments serving the interests of big business are feeling the brunt of Reagan's budget cuts, the brutality of Margaret Thatcher's austerity program in Britain, the lash of South Africa's racist policies. All of us, like the Poles, are victims of attempts to make workers pay for the deepening economic crisis.

But there is more to our admiration and identification with the Polish workers than their resistance to injustice.

They are fighting for something.

The direction of their struggle goes beyond the immediate problems of Poland. It points toward the creation of a society where workers and farmers, the producers, can be the masters of their fate.

This is relevant to all workers, whether we live in Poland, the Soviet Union, the United States, El Salvador, or South Africa.

The Polish workers' fight and ours in the United States are linked together in a historical chain of international working-class struggles.

These struggles include the battles for the right to organize into trade unions;

for the eight-hour work day; an end to child labor; for the right of the propertyless and women to vote; for the abolition of slavery and serfdom; for the right of public education, unemployment insurance, and Social Security; for the right to form our own political parties, such as the Labour Party in Britain.

And they incorporate the successful overturn of capitalism by workers in Russia, Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba.

The common denominator in all these working-class battles is the fight to advance the interests of our class and its allies, to take control over our destiny, and to move society forward to a higher level.

How does this history of struggle relate to what the Polish workers are fighting for today?

In Poland, due to earlier battles, the factories and enterprises are not owned by individual bosses, as in the United States. Poland has a nationalized, planned economy.

Production is not carried out for private profit, as it is here. Prices and production are not determined through the blind process of the market, or by representatives of big oil companies and banks meeting together in private clubs.

While the Polish people no longer have a capitalist class, they do not yet

control economic planning and the government apparatus. That is controlled by privileged, corrupt, self-serving bureaucrats.

Polish workers surely do not want to return to a society like ours, where an obscene gap exists between rich and poor. Where government gives billions to the war machine while cutting already meager benefits to the poor and elderly.

The Poles want to move forward in their revolution, to take control out of the hands of these bureaucrats and put it into the hands of the workers.

The Polish people are fighting for total democracy—socialism—the right of the workers and farmers to make all the major decisions affecting the economy and the direction of the society.

They want to make what is written in their constitution a reality: that the factories belong to the people and that they be managed in the interests of the workers.

That is the meaning of the current self-management movement, or workers' control, which is sweeping the factories and mines in Poland.

Through these self-management committees, workers are fighting to select industrial managers and set economic policies having to do with hours of work, prices, production, safety, investment, and employment.

Hardly a program General Motors would approve of!

Some Solidarity leaders have also raised the idea of a national body of these workers' councils.

Such a body, according to an article in a Solidarity inter-regional weekly paper, "would fulfill the function of the real ownership of the means of production: it will determine the main direction of development of the national economy and of social policy."

No, Polish workers are not fighting to return their factories, mines, banks, and railroads to billionaire families like the Rockefellers, Mellons, and DuPonts.

And American workers are also becoming painfully aware of what it means for the quality of our lives to be at the mercy of these billionaire bosses.

Polish working people are already a giant step ahead of us in the common fight for a humane society. Their demands for workers' control, access to the media, control over the distribution of food, for example, are based on their earlier gains in abolishing capitalism.

In our fight against big business and its government, working people here are coming to realize—with the help of the Polish upsurge—that we, too, will not be free until we take the economic and political power out of the hands of the employers and put it squarely into our hands.

Young Socialists visit Cuba

'I never felt so free in my life'

By Harry Ring

In mid-August, the Young Socialist Alliance organized a visit to Cuba. It was a one-week no-frills, low-cost tour, making it more practical for young people to go.

In an interview after their return, two of the socialists described the visit, which they agreed was a huge success.

Verónica Cruz, twenty-three, a New York garment worker, is city election campaign manager for the YSA. Alan Benjamin, twenty-seven, is active in the YSA and in the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Both are fluent in Spanish.

They said there were 100 people on the tour. About sixty-five were members of the YSA. Many were industrial workers. A number were high school and college students. Three were in grammar school. One of these was eight and two were twelve. They, too, came because they wanted to learn about Cuba, and their parents agreed.

About a third of the tour members spoke Spanish, including about two dozen Latinos, mainly Dominican and Puerto Rican. Eight people came from New Zealand, Britain, and Canada.

In Cuba they split up into two groups, staying at beach resorts just outside Havana.

This proved especially fortunate, Verónica and Alan explained, because August is the main vacation month in Cuba. There were a lot of workers and students at the same beach resorts, and they had lots of discussion, plus partying.

Initially, Alan commented, some of the people on the tour, especially those who were not members of the YSA, were wary. "They wanted to know if everything would be guided tours, would we just be taken from here to there?"

But it turned out that they had at least half the time to themselves. "I think that was the best part of it," Alan said, "Meeting Cubans, talking on the beach, going to people's homes, attending the carnival that was going on when

we were there. We even went to two local plays with people we met.

"Some of the people on the tour really didn't know what to expect," Verónica added. "I think a lot of them were amazed at the amount of democracy in Cuba. And especially the equality for Black people. I know how I felt. When I go back to Puerto Rico, in some ways it's better than here. Everybody's Puerto Rican, your color isn't a problem. But in Cuba, I never felt so free in my life."

Alan added, "The Black people on the tour, especially, were struck by the fact that Black people in Cuba are able to do anything, seeing Black factory managers, high-ranking military and diplomatic people, public officials."

Verónica told of a Black couple whose two children were born since the revolution. Both are in college, which is free. Before the revolution, they told Verónica, they wouldn't have been able to go to school.

Verónica went on to describe a Black woman who was manager of a state farm they visited. "I asked her what she did before the revolution. She said, 'Well, I was a maid.'"

Both agreed that Cuba's system of free medical care for all was an especially big point for people there. Verónica described meeting a woman on the beach who described a major operation her young son had just been through. "Before the revolution," the woman said, "my child would have died."

Particularly striking to the visitors was the high level of political awareness among Cuban youth.

A future for youth

"They're conscious, they know what's going on," Verónica said. "I was with one group, I don't think any of them was older than me. One woman started telling me about the block committees, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. How the new militia works, how people are selected to be members of the party there. Then she told me she had just got back from militia practice. I



Young Cubans enjoy ride in life-size model train at Lenin Park near Havana. Roberto Kopec/Perspectiva Mundial

asked her how old she was. She said, 'Sixteen.'"

Alan said, "We talked a lot to people about what it's like to be young in Cuba, to be a student. One woman came there from Chile. Her father had been killed after the Pinochet coup. She said it's wonderful being in Cuba because there's such a sense of purpose."

"People are studying, she said, not just to study but to build their nation, to promote internationalism by sending technicians to Nicaragua, doctors to Angola."

Alan said he was also struck by the level of education. "I hadn't learned half of what high schoolers do in math and physics. It seems much more advanced."

Tour members were also impressed by the realistic attitude of people they talked with. There was no hesitation to discuss problems that remain to be solved—the housing shortage, the further development of their industry, various shortages. "But with all of this," Alan observed, "they feel they've solved many problems since the revolution and that they'll be solving more."

Of the organized tours they made, a visit to a Havana garment factory was particularly interesting since several of the tour members are garment workers.

Factory conditions

They found the Cuban factory quite different from the shops they work in.

Built before the revolution, it employs about 600 workers, mostly women. The traditional division of labor still exists, with women operating the sewing machines and men doing such jobs as cutting. But, they noted, there was one woman cutter, something no one had seen here.

Unlike here, women get paid maternity leaves. If there's a problem of safety with a machine, they just stop working on it, not wait for protracted negotiations and a management decision.

The workers seemed much more relaxed and talked with one another more while they worked. One reason is they don't have the same ferocious piece-work system of pay as here. They do have a bonus system, which gives added pay to those who go over average production. Those who go below standards will draw less, but everyone's assured a living wage.

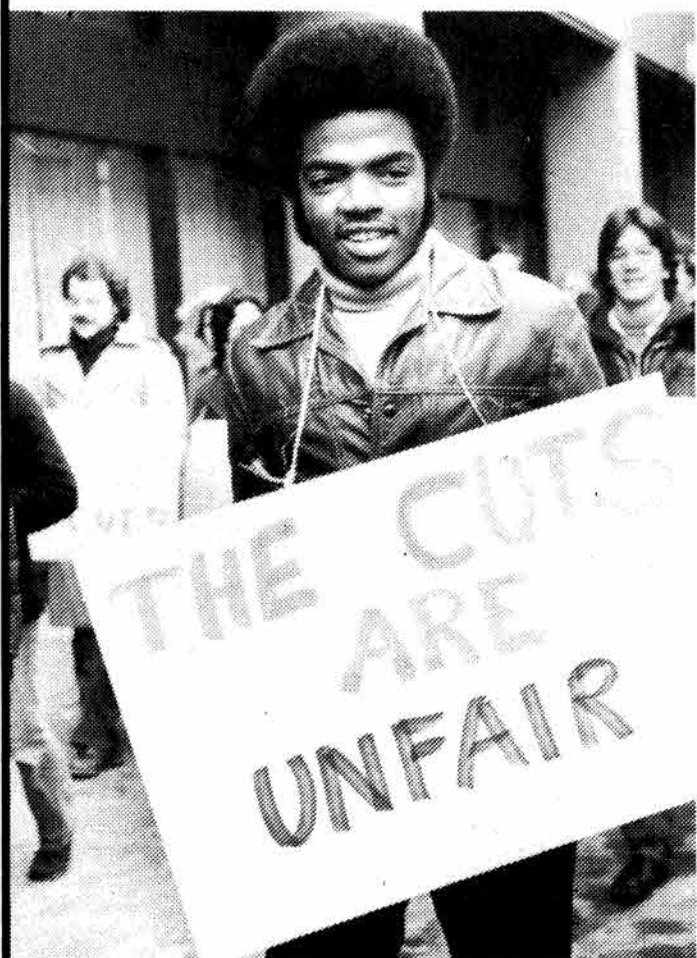
One worker's right the visitors were impressed with is that if a doctor states a person's job is too hard physically, a transfer must be made. This cannot be, however, with any less pay.

One worker said that it is getting harder to recruit new workers for the shop. The young women, she said, prefer to go to the university and learn a profession.

Alan and Verónica were both confident the YSA would be organizing more such tours.

"Cuba was like a shot of energy," Verónica said. "For me it made real what I've read in books. It's possible to make a revolution. Cuba is doing it, and we can do it here."

Young socialists plan 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.

The YSA believes that the root cause of these problems is the capitalist system, which places the profits of a handful of rich bankers and businessmen ahead of the needs of the majority of the people who work for a living.

We need to reorganize our society on the basis of rational planning for human needs, not the profit-gouging desires of the super-rich.

A socialist society—that's what the Young Socialist Alliance is fighting for today. Why don't you join us?

The YSA invites you to attend our twenty-first National Convention, to be held December 31 through January 3 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

There is no better way to learn about the YSA than by attending the convention. To find out more about how you can attend, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see listings on page twenty-three) or fill out and mail the coupon below.

Clip and send to:

YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station, N.Y. 10003

- ☐ Send me more information about the YSA and the YSA convention.
- ☐ I want to attend the YSA convention.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$2.00 for a one year subscription to the *Young Socialist*.
- ☐ I want to join the YSA.

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Visit Cuba

There will be a one-week tour of Cuba—November 22-29—visiting Havana and Pinar del Rio province. It will focus on learning about unions and working conditions in Cuba. The complete cost, including round-trip air fare from Miami, is \$610. For information write Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, or phone (212) 242-5530.

N.Y. meeting calls for defense of Grenada

By Don Davis

NEW YORK—An urgent campaign to defend Grenada against U.S. threats was called for at a solidarity meeting September 12 at Medgar Evers College here in Brooklyn.

Grenada, a small, majority Black island in the Caribbean, overthrew a pro-U.S. regime in March 1979. Its new revolutionary government has been harshly attacked by Washington ever since.

The Socialist Workers Party campaign and Medgar Evers Student Government Association co-sponsored the meeting, which drew more than 100 persons, including many students from the mostly Black campus.

The speakers pointed to the serious threat represented by the U.S. military's recent practice invasion of a supposedly fictitious Caribbean island—but one whose description fitted Grenada to a "T."

Ryan Wright, president of the student government, said the U.S. hostility to Grenada's revolution was a continuation of U.S. interference in the Caribbean.

A native of Jamaica, he pointed to the U.S. campaign against the Michael Manley government in his country which led to economic crisis and Manley's defeat in the 1980 elections in Jamaica.

Wright asked the audience to support "the legitimate efforts of popular Caribbean governments" and "that we demand an end to all U.S. and NATO military operations in the Caribbean and all the Third World."

Also speaking were Diane Wang, Socialist Workers candidate for New York city council president, who showed slides of her trip to Grenada, and SWP mayoral candidate Wells Todd, who presented slides of Cuba.

Both contrasted the advances they saw in health care, education, and housing in Grenada and Cuba to the decay of similar services in New York City.

The audience responded with an ovation when Wang reported that a landlord in Grenada can be fined or jailed for failing to make necessary repairs or charging excessive rent.

And there was a sympathetic chuckle when Todd recounted his astonishment on boarding a Cuban bus and finding that the fare was only five cents—and that anyone who didn't have change rode free.

Wang pointed to laws in Grenada guaranteeing women two months paid time off when they have children and equal pay for equal work.

There are now more free university scholarships being offered to Grenadan students than there are applicants, she said. And when Grenada's government intervenes in a strike it is on the side of the union, unlike the practice of the U.S. government.

With this in mind, she said, "The

Grenadan Revolution doesn't just matter to the 100,000 people there, or the 60,000 Grenadans in Brooklyn."

If you are Black, a woman, a student, a trade unionist, "or just any kind of person tired of things getting worse and worse," she said, "this is your revolution."

Wang and Todd both emphasized the need for unions, churches, and student and community groups to organize meetings to get out the truth about Grenada, to counter the propaganda campaign being orchestrated by the Reagan administration.

They pointed out that a group from

the National Black United Front had just returned from a tour of Grenada and urged people to attend any report-back meetings organized by NBUF.

Wang reported that, in the face of the thinly disguised U.S. threats, more than 20 percent of Grenada's population—including many women—have volunteered for the militia.

She said the Grenadans are determined to repel any attack, just as the Cubans crushed a U.S.-sponsored invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961.

But, she said, "We have a responsibility to make sure that those troops never leave these shores to get there."

On the ballot!



Militant Walter Lippmann

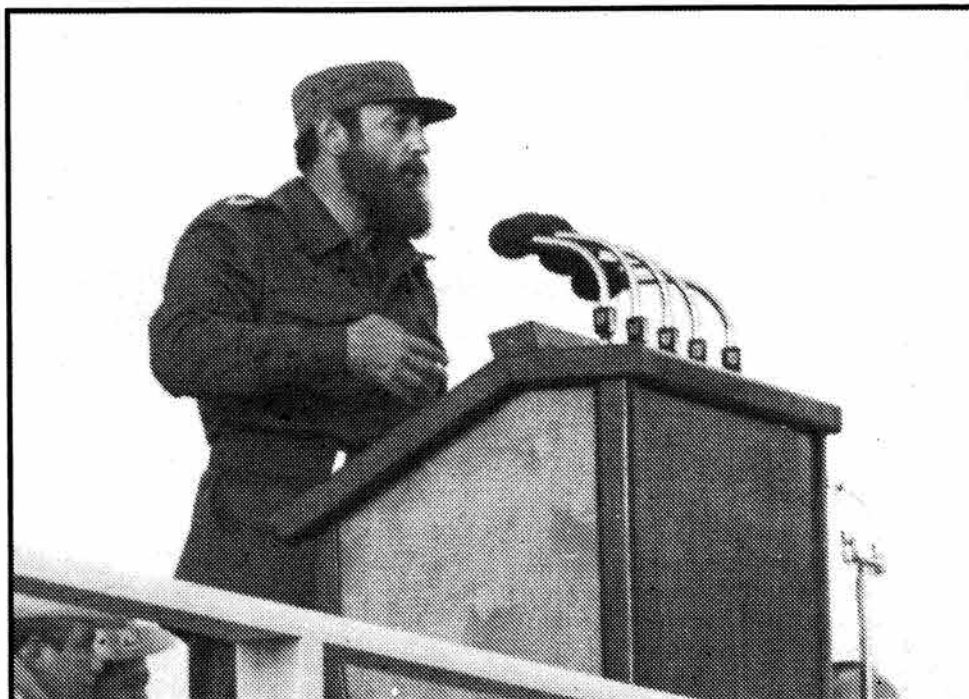
WELLS TODD

NEW YORK—Socialist Workers Party candidates have been certified for a spot on the ballot for the November 3 New York City elections.

City officials certified the socialist slate after the SWP surpassed the requirement of 7,500 signatures by submitting petitions with 17,537 signatures on September 8.

Three city council candidates on the socialist slate are awaiting certification, pending the outcome of a challenge to gerrymandered voting districts.

—D.D.



Fidel Castro Speeches

Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Since 1975, Cuba's foreign policy has deeply affected the course of world politics. Few of Castro's speeches are readily accessible in English. What does exist in print generally dates back to the 1960s or even earlier. This book represents a step toward filling that gap. "Cuba in Angola" by Gabriel García

Márquez, a noted Latin American author, is included as an appendix. It is the most complete account yet written of the Cuban role in Angola.

391 pp., \$7.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage.

...Poland Solidarity convention

Continued from page 6

share the view of Zbigniew Janas, from the Ursus tractor plant near Warsaw, that "our only hope is for self-management to put the economy in order," since the government is incapable of doing so.

Zbigniew Kowalewski, a delegate from Lodz, described workers' self-management to me as "the passing of power in the factory to the workers. The self-management body should make the basic decisions on the running of the enterprise. The manager of the enterprise

should be elected and subject to recall."

In fact, self-management organizing committees have already sprung up spontaneously in countless enterprises. According to one estimate by the Polish Economics Society, there now exist 14,000 self-management organs, accounting for 60 to 70 percent of all factories in Poland.

Because of such popular sentiment for self-management, even the government has come out with a proposal on it.

The main difference between Solidar-

ity's and the government's proposals is that the union wants to guarantee the right of workers to elect their own manager, something the authorities reject.

Solidarity, in its resolution, stated that if the government adopts an inadequate law on self-management, "we will boycott it and undertake the activities implementing the reforms in our own way."

A second major resolution expressed support for workers in other Eastern European countries who might seek to form their own independent unions. "As the first independent union of Eastern Europe, we deeply feel a sense of community and, contrary to the lies spread in your country, we are the authentic representatives of the working class in Poland. Our aim is to struggle for better living standards for all working people.

"We support those of you who have decided to enter the difficult road of struggle for free and independent unions. We trust that our representatives can meet soon to exchange experiences."

A roar of approval from the assembly followed the near-unanimous vote in favor of this statement. This is the first time that Solidarity has addressed itself to workers in other workers states.

The response from the Polish government was immediate and predictable. A statement by the party read on national television that night attacked the resolution as an "attempt at interference in the internal affairs of other states." The Soviet government also stepped up its denunciations of the union.

Another important resolution called for elections, free from party control, to

the Sejm and to the local People's Councils. National elections are scheduled for 1984 and the local elections for early next year.

The congress called for an unlimited number of candidates, to be nominated by any citizens' group or political organization. It demanded that the union have the right to send representatives to the polling places and that elections be held by secret ballot.

In addition, throughout the congress a number of other demands were made: that citizens be allowed to keep their passports for foreign travel until expiration, that history books be rewritten to tell the truth, that May 3 be restored as a national holiday to mark the adoption of Poland's 1791 Constitution, that the government allow Solidarity to double the circulation of its weekly national newspaper to one million.

At the close of the first part of the congress the delegates parted and began to return to their home regions, taking back to their fellow members the important decisions and proposals made in the Olivia hall. Now begins several weeks of discussion in every factory, mine, office, and union hall across Poland, preceding the second phase of the congress.

It is clear that, as a resolution passed at the Solidarity congress expressed it, "We are living a great moment and the fate of the nation is being decided upon now. A new Poland is being built on the banks of the Vistula. We are not only a trade union, but a social movement of conscious citizens aimed at working for the independence of Poland."

From Intercontinental Press

Find out what's happening in Poland

'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor' carries week-to-week news on Poland, documents from the Solidarity movement, on-the-spot coverage from 'IP' correspondents.

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Is there a Soviet threat in Africa?

Reply to apartheid apologist

By Suzanne Haig

Mr. K. Riruako expresses concern with a June 12 *Militant* article stating that working people in the United States are "not interested in lining up with racist South Africa to turn back the struggle in southern Africa."

Riruako, a member of the Council of Ministers—the South African government's puppet in Namibia—suggests that if the American people had information regarding the so-called Soviet threat to the area, they would want to line up with the racist South African regime against the struggles in southern Africa.

Soviet 'terrorism'?

What is at stake in Namibia? Is it the threat of Soviet "terrorism" and "expansionism" as claimed by Mr. Riruako, the South African regime, and the Reagan administration?

No. The Soviet threat is a smoke-screen. What is happening in Namibia is a massive struggle by the Black majority against colonial domination by the white minority government of South Africa. This anticolonial struggle has gone on unrelentingly since Germany first seized the land in 1890.

The Namibian people are fighting to end the plundering of their land—rich in diamonds, uranium, and other vital minerals—by South African, U.S., Canadian, British, German, and French multinational corporations.

They want an end to the brutal, racist system of apartheid, which means the forced segregation of Blacks, the denial of virtually every political right, and discrimination on all levels.

They want to put a stop to the exploitation of their labor, which brings superprofits to the foreign corporations.

SWAPO leads struggle

The independence struggle in Namibia is led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is recognized by the United Nations and most nations as the "sole, authentic representative" of the Namibian people. It has been accorded observer status in the UN.

Contrary to Riruako's contention that SWAPO is trying to "take over" Namibia, the liberation movement is fighting to take back the country from the ruthless occupiers who "took over" Namibia from the Germans during World War I.

Since 1966, the UN has declared South Africa's occupation of Namibia illegal and has called upon it to withdraw. Instead South Africa has built up its occupation army to 60,000 troops.

With the refusal of the racist regime to yield to international pressure, SWAPO, in 1966, was forced to launch an armed struggle in its fight for independence, just as the American people in the eighteenth century took up arms against their British oppressors when all diplomatic channels were exhausted.

Three years ago South Africa and SWAPO agreed to a UN plan for a ceasefire to be followed by UN-supervised elections. But the South African regime, with Washington's approval, has backed out of the UN plan, preferring to try to militarily crush SWAPO and install its own puppet groups, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

The South African racists know that in a UN-sponsored election, SWAPO would win.

A few examples will make it clear who the real terrorists in Namibia are.

Who are the terrorists?

Right now, using Namibia as a springboard, the South African government is carrying out a ruthless invasion of Angola, trying to wipe out SWAPO freedom fighters and weaken the Angolan government, one of SWAPO's main supporters.

According to the July-August news bulletin of the International Defence and Aid Fund in London, people in the northern part of Namibia are "being forced to leave their villages as a result of army and police action."

The soldiers just "come to the civilians and start beating them up, asking why they do not shoot the SWAPO people," according to a letter in the Namibian *Windhoek Observer*.

In one attack in Otshandi, "a pregnant woman died after being raped by five South African soldiers," according

Protest rugby tour, Sept. 22

Thousands of people protested in New Zealand against the tour there of the South African rugby team.

In Auckland, helmeted cops charged into demonstrators with wooden sticks and tear gas, injuring forty-three persons, as the Springboks played in their last match against the New Zealand team.

The next country in which the Springboks will play is the United States.

Despite requests from sixty-five political, labor, and civil rights leaders, and from Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, President Reagan has refused to cancel the South African games.

This is the first national sports team from South Africa to tour major cities in this country in three years. It comes at a time when the Reagan administration has announced

its intention to strengthen ties with South Africa, despite the apartheid regime's growing international isolation.

A national demonstration has been called for September 22 in Albany, where the team is scheduled to play. The protest is called by SART (Stop Apartheid Rugby Tour).

Speakers at the rally include: Rep. Shirley Chisholm; Dennis Brutus, a Black South African poet; Dr. Richard Lapchick of SART; and others.

Assembly is at the state capitol building at 5 p.m. After a short rally, people will march to Blecker Stadium. A rally and entertainment will be held in the Swinburne Park area adjacent to the stadium, while the games are played.

For more information call the NAACP office at (518) 462-1823.

Letter to Militant



Government of
South West Africa/Namibia



July 23, 1981

Cindy Jaquith, Editor
The Militant
14 Charles Lane
New York, NY 10014

Dear Ms. Jaquith:

The *Militant* of June 12, 1981 contained an interesting editorial titled "U.S.-South Africa Alliance out in open" referring to South West Africa/Namibia. Most Americans have very little information about the national security interest the U.S. has in Namibia.

Although Namibia has a population of only one million persons in a desert land twice the size of California, it has the largest uranium mine in the world, plus vast resources of diamonds, copper, zinc and other strategic minerals. Walvis Bay on Namibia's southwest coast is the only deep water port between Cape Town and Luanda, Angola 1,500 miles to the north which is useable by Soviet nuclear submarines to bisect the oil lifeline from the Persian Gulf.

For some years a Soviet-sponsored terrorist organization known as SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) has been conducting a guerrilla campaign from sanctuaries in Marxist Angola to take over Namibia. The United Nations, which U.S. taxpayers support with \$600 million a year, uses some of its budget to finance SWAPO. To this extent, Americans are financing their own destruction. Congress should prohibit U.N. use of American tax dollars to finance terrorism.

Sincerely,

Mr. K. Riruako, Member
Council of Ministers

to the news bulletin. People have been arrested, towns plundered, and inhabitants killed.

Martial law, mass arrests, torture, and floggings are frequently used against the Black population in Namibia and white supporters of the liberation movement. The Terrorism Act provides for the death penalty and allows the police to arrest any person suspected of being or aiding a "terrorist." If detained, a person has no recourse to the courts.

Calling freedom fighters terrorists is not new.

Same as Zimbabwe

Robert Mugabe, now the prime minister of Zimbabwe, and his organization, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), along with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), were also labeled "communist"-backed terrorists by the governments of South Africa, Britain, and the U.S. when they were forced to resort to armed struggle in the fight for Black majority rule.

When the population finally won the right to vote for their own government, they overwhelmingly elected representatives from these two organizations.

This popular movement is what the government of P.W. Botha really fears and why it resorts to name calling. Like Zimbabwe and Angola, a free Namibia will inspire the Black liberation movement throughout the continent, including South Africa.

SWAPO has right to aid

What about the charge that SWAPO receives support from the Soviet Union?

This is true. SWAPO has stated it receives arms from Moscow as well as aid from the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned movement, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Norway, and Finland.

As SWAPO president Sam Nujoma explained, "We are fighting to liberate the oppressed people of Namibia from racist South Africa and its illegal administration of our country, and in achieving that objective we will collaborate with peace-loving nations anywhere in the world."

The charges against SWAPO are similar to those made against Angola for having invited Cuban troops and Soviet advisers there to defend the country against invasions by South Africa.

Now the apartheid regime claims it has a right to invade Angola because of Soviet expansion in the area!

If the South African rulers are so concerned about Cuban troops in Angola or Soviet aid to SWAPO, there is a very simple solution. Stop invading Angola. Get out of Namibia and allow the Namibians to choose their own government.

Fidel Castro has pointed to the double standard of the imperialist powers:

"The Yankee imperialists practice solidarity with reaction, the bourgeoisie, and fascism. Hundreds of thousands of U.S. soldiers and military specialists are in Western Europe, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran [under the shah], South Korea . . . and scores of other countries. Why is it that imperialists are allowed to cooperate among themselves but revolutionaries aren't?"

"Our military specialists in Africa and other parts of the world have been requested by sovereign governments. The United States, however, has tens of thousands of soldiers in Panama against the will of that people."

And Fidel could have added that South Africa has 60,000 troops in Namibia against the Namibian people's will.

Is it in the interest of working people in the U.S. to line up with Washington in support of South Africa and against SWAPO?

The exploitation and the systematic repression of the Black majority in southern Africa serves the interests of the big corporations.

These are the same corporations that are discriminating against Blacks, Latinos, and women in the U.S.; that are instituting speedup and unsafe working conditions; that are laying off workers; that are getting the red carpet treatment from the Reagan administration while our social services are flushed down the drain.

If we, or our sons, husbands, and loved ones are drafted and sent to fight in a war, it will be to defend these same corporations against freedom fighters like SWAPO or the workers and peasants of El Salvador.

No. Our interests do not lie with Reagan's support to the South African oppressors. Our interests lie 100 percent with the Black masses who are fighting against the same kind of people and the same kind of policies that we are marching against on Solidarity Day, September 19, in Washington, D.C.

Demand a halt to FBI disruption

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—A major legal brief has been filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in their suit against the federal government.

It asks for a permanent injunction barring the FBI, CIA, INS, and other government agencies from spying on or disrupting the socialist organizations for their political activities.

The brief asks for a ruling that various thought-control laws, such as the Smith Act, cannot be used as weapons to interfere with the socialists' expression of their beliefs or their activities.

The court is also asked to declare as unconstitutional "on its face" the Voorhis Act, a reactionary statute used to discourage people in this country from cooperating in political activity with people in other countries. A similar demand is put forward with respect to the sections of the Immigration Act that discriminate against foreign-born people on the basis of their political affiliations.

The brief asks for \$70 million in damages for the decades of illegal activity directed against the SWP by the government.

When the suit was filed in 1973, \$26 million in damages was asked. But in the course of protracted pretrial procedures, documentation was disclosed establishing that illegal practices directed against the socialists were far more extensive than originally assumed. The damage claim was raised to \$40 million.

Now, on the basis of added evidence that emerged in the three-month trial ending in June, the \$70 million claim has been made.

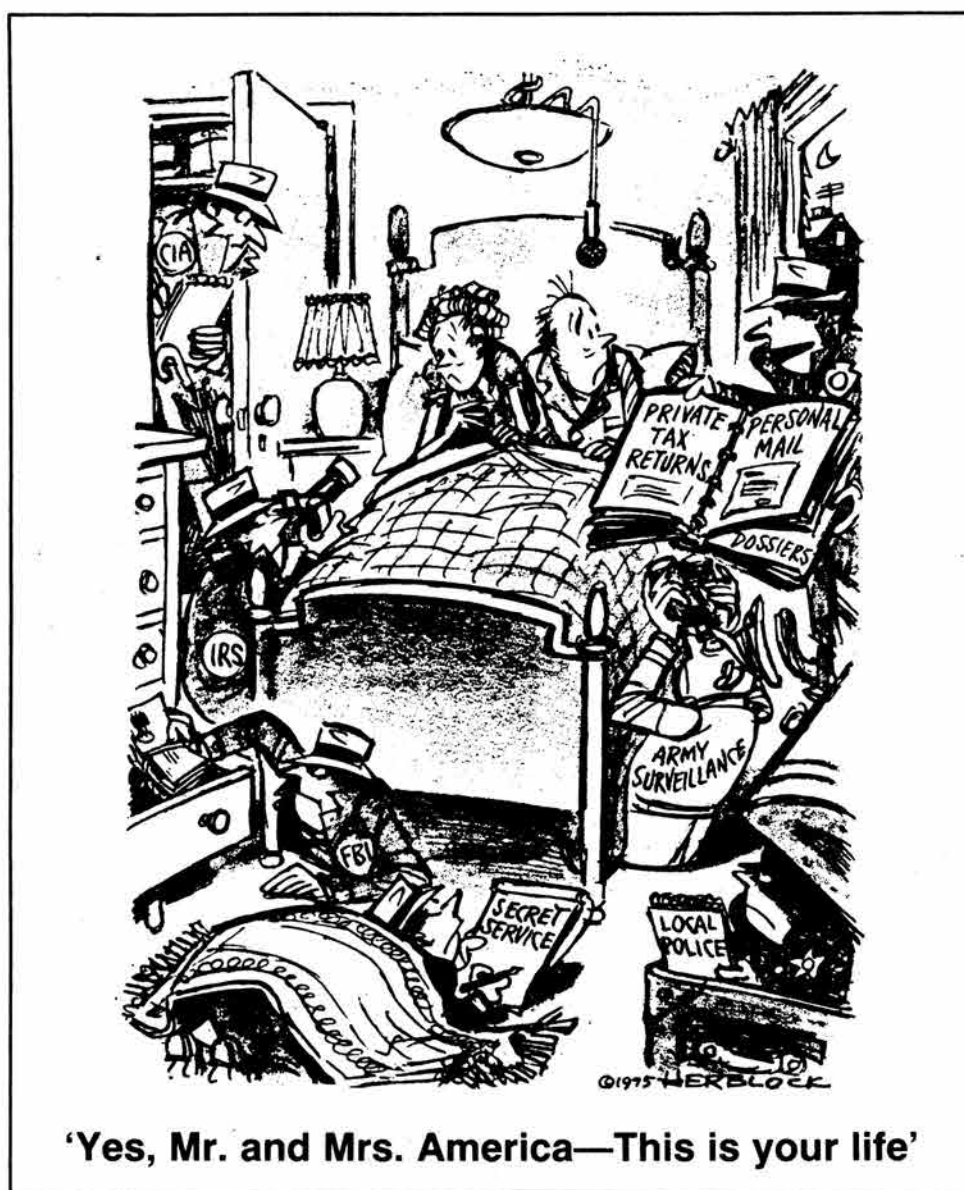
The book-length brief submitted to presiding Judge Thomas P. Griesa analyzes the voluminous evidence in the trial. It cites numerous legal precedents supporting its claims for injunctive relief and damages, and sharply poses the profound constitutional issues at stake in this historic trial.

Secret documents that the government was forced to disclose as a result of the suit confirmed and added to disclosures of the past decade that the targets of the political cops include the organized labor movement, the women's movement, Black and Latino rights fighters, and many more.

Equal rights

The brief argues that the socialists are entitled to absolute constitutional guarantees in expressing their revolutionary ideas and in their political activity to realize those ideas. The Bill of Rights, the socialists declare, applies as fully to those who favor abolition of capitalism as to those who seek its perpetuation.

The brief explains exactly what the views of the socialists are and how they propose to achieve them. It unambiguously declares the party's solidarity with the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadan revolutions; its opposition to U.S. foreign policy; and its belief that capitalism cannot be reformed out of existence piecemeal.



'Yes, Mr. and Mrs. America—This is your life'

At the same time, it reiterates its rebuttal of the frameup charge that socialists favor violence as a means of achieving a new society. It also defends the right of working people to defend themselves against capitalist-inspired violence intended to thwart majority will.

Extensive evidence is cited establishing that the practice of victimizing political dissidents, as currently practiced, began some four decades ago under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, with the late J. Edgar Hoover as the executor of this policy.

The FBI was directed to "investigate" individuals who might not be "loyal" to the country, and might be a threat to "national security." Since these terms have never been legally defined, it opened wide the door for witch-hunting.

This was compounded by the inclusion of "subversives." In the present trial, not one single government witness could offer a coherent—not to speak of legal—definition of the word.

But one thing is clear: "subversion" deals not with criminal acts, but with ideas and activities that are supposed to be protected by the U.S. Constitution.

Perhaps symbolic of this, the first document in the FBI's "internal security" file on the SWP consists of a publicly circulated political program of the party and a resolution of the Fourth International, to which the party was then formally affiliated.

But the four decades of "investigation" consisted of a lot more than filing copies of party papers, leaflets, etc.

Paid informers

Paid government informers infiltrated the party. Without warrants, telephones were tapped at party offices and people's homes. Microphones were planted to record private conversations, mail was read, trash was pawed through, offices and homes were burglarized to copy or steal membership lists and party documents.

The purpose of this illegal activity was not simply to be more fully informed about the party. The true purpose, as the brief establishes, has been

"to prevent the Party from carrying out its political activities."

The testimony of Raymond Wannall is cited. A former ranking official in the FBI's Intelligence Division, he told the court that an essential goal of a "counterintelligence" operation like the one directed against the SWP is "to take measures necessary to assure they won't attain their objectives."

The goal, he reiterated, is "to prevent their being successful by instituting disruptive practices or any other legal [!] means permissible."

In the disruption campaign, many individuals were harassed and victimized. FBI agents visited their landlords, neighbors, and employers. Many lost their jobs. Some, born abroad, faced deportation threats.

None of this was done because any crime had been committed or was being considered. To the contrary, the government's objection was that the SWP insisted on engaging in legal activity.

A 1961 memo from J. Edgar Hoover, justifying the campaign against the SWP, states: "The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line . . . through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South. . . ."

Indeed, attempts to disrupt SWP election campaigns were an important focus of the FBI's dirty tricks campaign against the party. Candidates were harassed, poison-pen items were planted in the commercial media smearing them, and there were other dirty tricks as well.

Due process

A cornerstone of the Bill of Rights is the guarantee of "due process of law"; that is, no one can be convicted of a crime without first ensuring that the legal rights of the charged person are fully respected. That includes the right to trial, to counsel, to confront accusers, etc.

In the government drive against the SWP, due process was trampled on.

In forty years of investigation, the party was never accused of a single crime; yet a decision was made to try to destroy it by any means necessary.

The decision was made arbitrarily by the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other political police agencies that don't like what the SWP stands for.

After making their own indictment, they proceeded as prosecutor, judge, and jury. They then tried to carry out the sentence. All of this in deepest secrecy.

And, the brief adds, it was done at no small expense to taxpayers. It records that from 1960 to 1976, just the money paid to informers totalled \$1.68 million.

The permanent injunction is sought to put an end to these sinister practices.

A basic challenge is also laid down to the government's claim that the executive branch has unrestricted powers in areas that the president claims involve the "national security." It poses, and then answers, the following questions: "Are the federal defendants constitutionally authorized to undertake 'preventive' measures against opposition political organizations of the kind shown by this trial record? Is the Executive immune to the strictures of the Fourth Amendment when it carries out investigations under the 'national security' rubric? Does the President have the power to authorize a decades-long investigation of the kind shown in this case where there is no basis for a reasonable belief that the targeted groups are engaging in criminal activity?"

Broad challenge

The brief challenges as violations of the Bill of Rights each of the specific techniques used by the FBI against the socialists, including burglaries, warrantless wiretaps, disruption operations, and so on. But it doesn't stop there. It goes on to argue that the *entire* government operation against the SWP and YSA has been "invalid on constitutional grounds." Thus, the injunction it asks for would bar not only specific illegal acts, but *all* government spying, investigation, disruption, or harassment of the SWP and YSA or any of their members.

In the brief, which is close to 600 pages long, all the evidence wrested from the government's secret files during eight years of battling in this case has been summarized. The history of the FBI campaign to disrupt the SWP is traced from its origins in the years prior to World War II to the "end" of the investigation in 1976, when the phony "guidelines" to control the FBI were issued.

Views explained

In addition, the views and activities of the SWP and the YSA are presented in considerable detail, based on the testimony of dozens of SWP and YSA members who took the stand at the trial. The brief presents the ideas of the socialists on such topics as revolution, democracy, totalitarianism, terrorism, socialism, and internationalism. The brief takes up the socialists' views on such diverse subjects as whether the Russian Revolution had the support of the majority of the people, and the significance of the institutionalization of People's Power in Cuba—all topics that were the subject of debate with the government at the trial itself.

In addition, the government's slanderous accusations, based on cooked-up FBI reports and the lying testimony of stool-pigeons, is rebutted in detail.

The government's answer to the SWP and YSA brief is due in October. Judge Griesa has scheduled arguments on the briefs in court for November 9.

In future issues, we will review the key parts of the socialists' brief, and analyze the answers to it as they are offered by the Reagan administration.

You can help

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the Socialist Workers Party suit, is in urgent need of funds. Your contribution, large or small, will be appreciated.

Name
City State Zip

Send to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station,
New York, N.Y. 10003

By Vivian Sahner

Come all of you good workers, good news to you I'll tell; Of how the good old union has come in here to dwell.

Which side are you on, which side are you on?

Which side are you on, which side are you on?

Don't scab for the bosses, don't listen to their lies; Us poor folks haven't got a chance unless we organize.

"Which side are you on" is one of the best known labor songs in this country, written during a bloody battle to organize the coal mines of Harlan, Kentucky in 1931.

Today—big business tells us—things are different.

"The adversarial spirit that grew out of the bitter organizing battles of the 1930s" is as out of date as "snap brimmed hats and pegged trousers," said the Labor Day edition of the *Daily News*.

Today we need "a new spirit of cooperation between management and labor—an understanding that production and pay, profits and jobs are all tied together," they say.

A Labor Day article in the *New York Times* sang the same refrain.

Called "A Working Model," the article by Robert Zager says, "In growing numbers, American workers are voting for a new, more mature brand of unionism. . . they sense that they stand to gain more from helping employers prosper than they do from destroying them."

What's the "model" union he points to? The United Auto Workers.

It's indeed an example that deserves close scrutiny by working people in this country.

The fruits of this "more mature brand of unionism" came home when Chrysler began to sink.

'We'll all sink together'

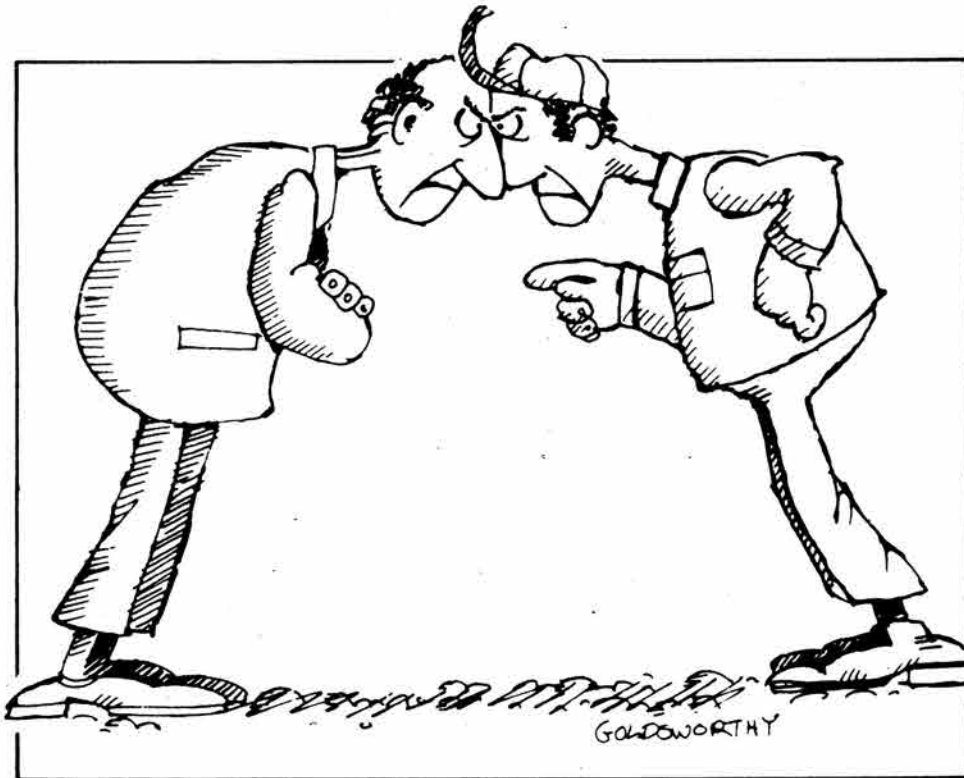
By 1979 Chrysler was in deep trouble. The rich stockholders did two things.

They went to their pals in Congress and asked for \$1.5 billion of our tax money to help them out. They got it.

They also turned to the officials of the UAW. You've got to help us out, they cried, or we'll all sink together.

Vivian Sahner was a member of United Auto Workers Local 980 and worked at the Metuchen Ford Assembly Plant in Edison, New Jersey, before joining the Militant staff.

Can we all pull together?



Douglas Fraser, president of the Auto Workers, was put on the Chrysler Board of Directors. Supposedly this was to protect the union's interests while both sides pulled together to save Chrysler. But as a board member, Fraser urged workers to give up one round of concessions after another.

In November 1979, for the first time in their forty-two history, Chrysler workers settled for a contract not equivalent to those with Ford and G.M. They gave up more than \$400 million in wages and benefits.

In January 1980 the contract was reopened. Another \$200 million in wages was cut, along with seventeen paid personal holidays.

Then in January, 1981, the UAW officials agreed to another \$622 million cut

in wages and benefits—another \$9,600 chopped from each worker's pay by the end of the contract in 1982.

Forty-one percent of Chrysler workers, tired of this robbery, voted against the last round of givebacks.

The total UAW concessions to Chrysler amounts to nearly \$1.1 billion! Were jobs saved?

No. The lower wages and layoffs went hand in hand.

Then came the pink slips

In November 1979 there were 130,000 Chrysler workers. By February 1981 there were 65,000 at work and 45,000 on indefinite layoff.

And the company?

Top officials made a big hoopla of giving up their fleet of private jets. And Lee

Iacocca, Chrysler's chairman, voluntarily cut his pay to \$1 in 1979. He "limped by" on payments from his thousands of dollars in stock holdings.

This spring things looked temporarily brighter at Chrysler.

Iacocca's salary zoomed back to \$324,000 a year. The Chrysler Board, with Fraser, also managed to scrape together a \$500,000 bonus payment for him.

And the workers? Chrysler doled out a \$50 bonus to those left.

Our pals!

A dead end

The UAW officials, of course, are not the only ones who argue that working with management is the solution to our problems.

Officials in the rubber workers union, rail unions, teachers union, meatcutters, and others have told their membership that giveback agreements are necessary.

In the March 7 *AFL-CIO News*, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland announced the rejuvenation of the Labor-Management Group.

Kirkland heads the body along with Clifton Garvin, chairman of Exxon. Other notables on the team are representatives from Dupont, General Motors, General Electric, and Citicorp, one of the world's largest banks.

This body meets behind closed doors to discuss "mutual interests" between unions and big business. It's called "diplomatic craftsmanship."

This idea of a partnership of interests has led to one defeat after another for working people in this country. It's a dead end.

How can it be turned around?

The first step is to decide who is on our side and who isn't.

These bloodsucking companies have never been team players with the unions. They all cry poverty at contract time. They never hesitate to toss workers out on the street in a slowdown. Each day, on the shop floor, management tries to chip away at the contract agreement. They fight every safety rule for the sake of bigger profits, even if it means our fingers, or lungs, or lives.

On the other side stand union members and the rest of the working class—the majority in this country.

Our side's been taking all the blows recently. But we have the strength to fight back. The UAW has close to a million members. The AFL-CIO has close to 15 million members.

What are some of the things our unions should be doing today?

Shorter work week

Our unions should fight for a shorter work week, with no cut in pay, to make jobs available to all.

If Chrysler sinks, the plants should be nationalized and run by the unions to produce goods to benefit all working people.

Our unions can play a central role in blocking government attacks on the working people in this country. The UAW, along with the rest of the union movement, is making a positive contribution by building and participating in the September 19 march on Washington.

Unfortunately, today these union officials still support the Democratic and Republican parties which are shoving through this anti-working class program.

Two sides of same coin

Their cooperation with big business and the two parties that represent the rich are two sides of the same coin. This strategy puts these labor officials in a camp with interests that are the polar opposite to the needs of working people in this country.

We need our own party, a labor party based on the unions.

One section of the UAW has been able to break out of the capitalist party trap. In Canada members of the UAW have joined the New Democratic Party, a party that's based on the unions, running labor candidates.

It's an idea we should consider here.

Are imports taking our jobs?

By William Gottlieb

Economic stagnation, combined with increasing automation and overtime, has led to a considerable jump in unemployment in recent years. The loss of jobs has been especially severe in the auto industry.

What can be done to protect jobs?

The officials of the United Auto Workers (UAW) have argued that what is needed is a restriction on car imports. They have launched a "Buy American" campaign. This they say will save the jobs of American workers.

Unfortunately this approach to the problem of unemployment is dead wrong. It can only weaken the union movement.

Why is this so?

The auto companies tell workers times are bad because foreign cars are flooding the U.S. market. But did you know that the Japanese auto company Toyo Kogyo, which makes the Mazda, is owned 25 percent by Ford? Or that the Japanese auto company Isuzu is 34 percent owned by General Motors?

Between 1980 and 1984 General Motors plans to invest over \$8 billion abroad. GM is building plants in Canada, Austria, Spain, France, West Germany, Belgium, Northern Ireland, Portugal, Brazil, and Australia.

The approach of the bosses is best expressed by Ford President Donald E. Petersen. "The car of the future," Petersen

said, "will be a 'world car' not only because of common design wherever it's sold, but also because it often will be built where it's sold, from parts that will come from many countries. . . . Ultimately, the distinction between imports and domestic vehicles could very well become meaningless."

The "world car" that Petersen talks about will enable the auto companies to shift production from one country to another in the event of strikes. The bargaining position of the bosses will be greatly strengthened unless there is close international cooperation among auto workers.

But isn't it true that the success of Japanese cars in world markets is taking jobs away from American workers?

It is true that the Japanese bosses have taken more of the world auto market in recent years. But it is no less true that GM has been taking a larger slice of the market from Chrysler and Ford.

Does this mean that Ford and Chrysler workers should try to build a boycott of GM cars? Should GM workers then build a counter-boycott of Ford and Chrysler products?

Such an approach would quickly destroy the UAW. It is exactly that kind of attitude that had to be overcome in the 1930s when the UAW was built.

The Japanese, West European and American auto bosses are competing with each other over who can take the

most out of the hide of the world working class. If the Japanese bosses are at the moment winning this inter-boss fight it makes no sense for us to unite with the Henry Fords so that they can exploit us more.

If the truth be told, the whole idea of the "Buy American" campaign comes from the bosses. It is their way of convincing us that we must accept lower wages, greater speed up, and more forced overtime.

The "Buy American" campaign is the opposite of the concept of *solidarity*.

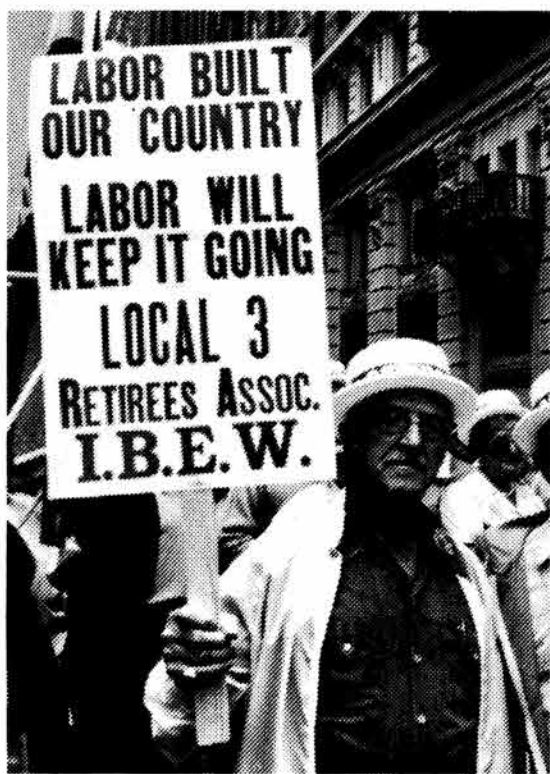
Solidarity is really a very simple idea. It means that the *entire* working class must stand together against the bosses. As long as we, the workers, are divided the bosses will always be stronger. But once we achieve solidarity nothing can stop us.

That's the power of the historic Solidarity Day march on Washington. It unites workers from every U.S. industry and brings together Black, white, young, and old.

But solidarity cannot stop at national boundaries. It cannot just include American and Canadian workers.

We must stretch out our hands to the Japanese worker, the German worker, the Polish worker, and especially the superexploited Brazilian, Salvadoran, and South African workers. If we don't do this, the word "solidarity" has no meaning.

The winners will be the bosses.



Photos on these three pages are from New York City Labor Day March and were taken by Militant photographer Lou Howort.

By Nelson Blackstock

If you are among those marching in Washington on Solidarity Day, this is for you.

If you're marching in another city—or if you wanted to march but couldn't make it—then read on. It's for you, too.

This article will make a proposal that will probably be new to you—although some people in the labor movement are already talking about it.

The proposal is this: that the unions launch a new political party—a labor party.

Before going into why such a party is needed—what it would stand for and how it can come into being—let's first look at what's happening in this country today.

Some big changes are taking place. We need to understand what they are and what they mean for us.

Let's begin with a question. Why did you decide to come to Washington? Chances are it's because your union local heard about the march, and you decided to send some people to let your voices be heard. Or maybe your NAACP chapter sponsored a bus. Or your NOW chapter.

And chances are you've never marched on Washington before. That's a sign of the changes.

Solidarity Day was called by the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO traces its history back one hundred years. Never in all that time has it called a march like this. That, too, is a sign of the times.

Back in January, Ronald Reagan took office as president of the United States. This marked a turning point.

Reagan soon submitted his budget. It included some far-reaching measures that will affect the lives of all of us. Congress—Democrats and Republicans alike—overwhelmingly passed it. (See page 14 for a breakdown on some of the items in the budget.)

A new ball game for labor

For labor, it's a new ball game.

"Labor leaders say their stock in Washington is at its lowest ebb since before the New Deal," *Newsweek* wrote in its Labor Day issue.

Reagan's move to break the air controllers' strike and bust their union is one glaring example.

This new situation led Lane Kirkland and other top leaders of the AFL-CIO to call Solidarity Day.

Reagan is the symbol of our problem. But the problem runs deeper than Reagan.

Reagan is putting into motion policies agreed to by the capitalist class—the big businessmen, bankers, and millionaires.

The capitalists have big problems of their own. Their system is in crisis.

The bottom line for capitalism is just what the term "bottom line" means: profit. The capitalists are scrambling to boost their profits.

Their master plan is to make us pay for their crisis—to raise their profits by lowering your wage on the job, as well as your "social wage." Your social wage is that part of the wealth you produce that comes back in the form of useful social services: education, health, food stamps, social security, welfare.

The capitalists can only do this by weakening the organizations standing in the way of their plans—es-

pecially the industrial unions.

The capitalist crisis did not just begin. It's been building for several years. But it's getting worse.

The capitalists are using the Reagan election to push harder in driving down the living standards of the American people. And to step up their moves against people fighting for freedom in other countries.

This crisis affects almost everything. It affects what we are told we can expect from our lives today, tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow.

Remember what they promised?

Sometimes it's hard to grasp just how much things have changed. You may remember that only a few years ago we were told we could look forward to a bright, peaceful future. Remember the visions of modern, clean cities? There would be sleek, new mass transit. We could expect more free leisure time. A safe and secure retirement.

Racism, it was said, would be a thing of the past. A war on poverty was going to end poverty in our lifetimes. The cities would be rebuilt. Unemployment would be wiped out. There would be new hospitals. And inexpensive, or free, medical care for all.

The Equal Rights Amendment was on its way to early ratification.

But that's all changed. They do not promise that things are going to get better anymore. Today, they tell us things are going to get worse. And they are getting worse.

They're getting ready to resume the draft. Spending billions more for arms. This can only be for one thing: to prepare for war. They even came up with hideous new weapons, such as the neutron bomb.

Busing to end segregation is not only stalled, it's being rolled back. The Ku Klux Klan murders people in broad daylight in front of television and walks away free.

Public transportation is decaying. Social Security is in danger. Hospitals are being closed, not opened. More people are threatened with poverty as unemployment grows and social services are cut.

Meager benefits for people who need them most—food stamps and welfare—are being slashed. Standards for school lunch programs, in effect for thirty-five years, are lowered.

Every day we take a cut in pay as inflation runs rampant—fueled by the massive spending on weapons of war.

We're told that entire sections of the country are simply doomed to decay and mass unemployment.

What has changed?

What has changed? Is it that you and people like you decided these things will happen? Is it that there are not enough people willing to work? Have the natural resources dried up?

No. The problem is capitalism. The capitalist system is in crisis.

One of the major causes is the growing competition from capitalists abroad. That's cutting into profits made by U.S. capitalists.

Their answer to this crisis is to make us pay for it. They want to grab an even larger share of the social wealth to make up for their losses.

All the talk about things getting worse is aimed at making us passively accept our fate. They openly talk about the need to "lower expectations."

They want to "restructure the economy" at our expense. They close older industrial plants, throwing thousands out of work for good and laying off others. They admit that half of Black youth are unemployed, and say not much can be done about it.

They cook up Chrysler bailouts in which the public treasury is openly looted by big business. Workers are told they have to take lower wages or be thrown out of work.

Reagan's tax plan tells the story. He billed it as a tax cut for everybody. But, if you looked at the details, you saw it was a fake. The modest cuts in the lower brackets were more than made up for by a rise in social security and other taxes.

On the other hand, for those who make \$50,000 or more, it's a bonanza.

What can we do?

Can anything be done about all this? Is it really true that you and your children after you have nothing to look forward to but growing misery? Is there any alternative to what the capitalists and the capitalist politicians are offering?

Fortunately, there is. But we can't look to them for the answers. We have to look to ourselves.

We have to look to our own class to find solutions. Solutions based not on profit—but on human need.

There are two classes, and they have diametrically opposed interests.

Here's one way to look at it. Who does it benefit to shut down a steel mill?

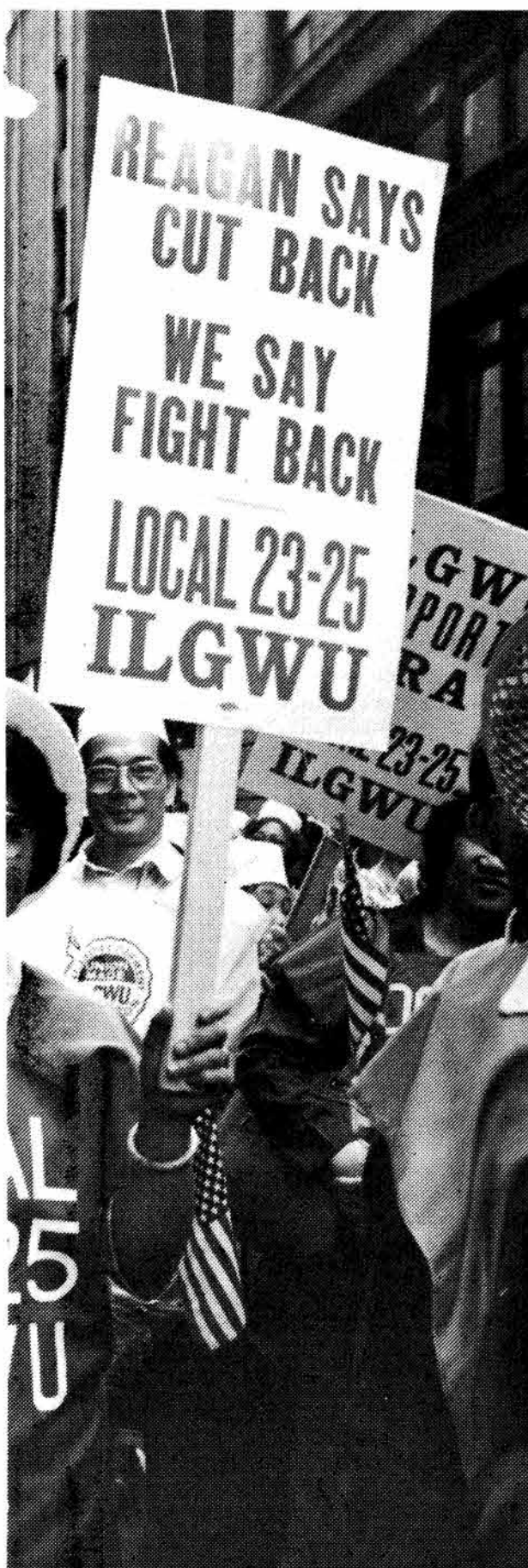
It doesn't benefit you. It certainly doesn't benefit the workers being thrown out of a job. It doesn't be-



AFTER SOLID

WHERE GO FROM

We need 'solidarity' —a labor



SOLIDARITY DAY

DO WE MARCH HERE?

ed a
'party'
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'Since the 1980 elections, a swell of sentiment has been surfacing around the country to establish a third political party. Some labor leaders and members see the nearly 55 percent of the eligible voters who either refused to vote in the last presidential election or who voted for a third candidate as a base for building such a progressive or labor party.'

'Machinist,' April 1981

Magazine of the International Association of Machinists

Labor should 'seriously discuss with poor people, Blacks, and perhaps farmers the idea of forming a national labor political party.'

'The main support will come from people on a local level who are extremely frustrated by their inability to effect any change.'

Anthony Mazzocchi

Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Health and Safety Director

nefit the users of the steel—the people who would use the cars, subway trains, bridges, or hospitals made from steel.

But it does benefit the capitalists, who are only in business to make money. They don't hesitate to throw people out of a job if it's needed to secure their investment.

Who benefits from U.S. backing of the regime in El Salvador? Not the workers and farmers there, who're fighting to get rid of a brutal dictatorship.

Not you, if you get drafted to go fight and die.

The only ones who gain are the people in this country who have investments there and around the world.

Who benefits when the capitalists cut out affirmative action?

Not Blacks who stay in the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs. And remain the last hired and first fired.

Not women or their families when they are pushed back into jobs paying half what a man makes.

Not white workers, although the boss will tell them it does.

Only the boss benefits. He's able to drive down the wages of all workers. He makes more profits. And it helps him promote racism and sexism—which he always tries to use to keep all of us divided.

Political answers needed

As it now stands, workers have trade unions—at least a good number do, including the big majority in basic industry. But unions can only do so much. Unions fight for better wages and working conditions. They do this shop by shop, and industry by industry. With the individual capitalists and their managers involved.

But our problems today are less and less open to solution on that level alone. They have to be solved on the government level.

We need political solutions. Political in the broadest sense of the term.

Even things that could once be fought out on the trade union level now require political answers. It's getting harder and harder to win at the bargaining table. And what is won can be snatched away by the courts or Congress.

Look at the air controllers' strike. They were fired by the president. Congress made it illegal for them to strike. It's true they're government workers, but when push comes to shove, unions will almost always find themselves up against the government.

Remember the big coal miners strike in 1978, when Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley Act? Or the injunctions that bosses routinely go into court to get to break strikes?

Think of the basic questions that are decided on a government level: Taxes—who shall be taxed and how much. War. Equal rights for Blacks, women. Bilingual education.

Solidarity Day itself points to the source of our problems and the nature of the solutions.

Where did we march? Washington, the seat of government. The focus is on Reagan and his policies.

Solidarity Day points the way forward in another way. The AFL-CIO did not decide to march alone. Here's what Lane Kirkland said in his Labor Day message:

"We will be joined by our allies in the civil rights and women's movements, in the environmental and consumer movements. We will march with senior citizens, religious groups, and dozens of other organizations, large and small, representing people of serious purpose from every corner of the nation."

A labor party would have to be started by the unions. But it wouldn't be just a "union party." It would be a party of solidarity—of all who came together for this march.

Okay, you agree labor has to get into politics. But you're asking, isn't labor already involved in politics? Doesn't your union have a political action committee? Don't they endorse candidates?

Yes. It's true labor is involved in politics. But in the wrong way. For decades, labor has, by and large, sup-

ported candidates of a capitalist party, the Democrats.

For years, this policy seemed to work. To many it actually looked like the Democrats were producing.

But this was because the capitalists were in good enough shape. They could afford to grant certain concessions.

Nothing was ever given freely. It all came in response to struggles by unions, the civil rights movement, or others.

The concessions included such things as Social Security, civil rights laws, legal abortion.

While labor had no party, the capitalists had two. The Republicans were normally the more open voice of big business. The Democrats assumed the role of responding to mass pressure.

Democrats—a capitalist party

Maybe you don't think of the Democratic Party as a "capitalist party." That's part of the secret of its effectiveness for the capitalists—the reason it's able to draw in and tame potential opposition.

The Democratic Party is like a facade, a front. The welcome mat, it seems, is always out.

But behind the scenes the rich capitalists and their hired hands get the final say. The ground rules are: what's good for the system—to keep it propped up and running. Some might disagree on how to go about this. But there can be no disagreement on the basic framework.

And given the framework of capitalist politics today—their shift to the right—it's said that the Democrats sound like Republicans. And they do. If maintaining the present set-up is your aim, the choices of how to do it become fewer and fewer.

The Democrats control the House of Representatives and almost half the Senate. Yet, Reagan's proposals—the most reactionary measures of such a sweeping character in decades—sailed through.

The Democrats have joined the Republicans in trying to take back what they claimed to have given us during the New Deal and in the 1960s.

In fact, the broad outlines of Reagan's policies were laid out under the Democrat Carter. They're both

Continued on next page



For further reading

The idea that labor needs its own party is not new. A series of books by veteran Teamster organizer and Socialist Workers Party leader Farrell Dobbs traces the history of labor's struggle for political power.

Revolutionary Continuity
221 pp., paper \$5.45

Teamster Rebellion
192 pp., paper \$4.95

Teamster Power
256 pp., \$4.95

Teamster Politics
256 pp., \$4.95

Teamster Bureaucracy
304 pp., \$4.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Continued from preceding page

headed in the same direction. It's just a matter of how fast.

In light of Solidarity Day, perhaps you're wondering if the top AFL-CIO officials have changed their mind on the Democratic Party. They haven't. While this march is an indication of the pressures they're under, they remain wedded to the Democratic Party. In fact, after the Reagan victory Lane Kirkland took steps to deepen AFL-CIO involvement in the Democratic Party.

There'll be no answers from the Democrats. They must come from labor.

Only labor can find a solution to the crisis of society. And they will be solutions on labor's terms, not the capitalists'.

What are some of the things a labor party would stand for?

- No war. No draft. Pursue a foreign policy of peace and cooperation with people around the world—rather than a policy of backing dictators and promoting war.
- Eliminate the war budget. Put the money to use for human needs.
- Jobs for all. Reduce the workweek—with no cut in pay—to spread available work around.
- Equal rights for Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos.
- Equal rights for women. Safe, legal abortion.
- For a clean and safe environment. Stop nuclear power.
- End political spying and harassment.
- For a secure retirement.
- Free, quality medical care.

Maybe a labor party sounds like a good idea to you. But you're wondering if it's realistic. But is the alternative realistic? Is it realistic to continue to support

the bosses' candidates while things get worse and worse?

It wasn't until the 1930s that the big unions in basic industry were organized—auto, steel, rubber, the bulk of the coal miners.

Until then, a lot of people said the idea of industrial unions was a good one. But it just wasn't realistic, at least in this country.

There's a saying, "Nothing can stop an idea whose time has come."

Once the concept of a labor party begins to take hold with even a section of American workers, they'll see that it gets going.

It's a concept with the potential of inspiring millions. Both inside unions and outside.

It's a whole new framework. It says, yes, we can do it. We don't have to sit back and rely on the bosses.

All the questions we face—plant shutdowns, racism, war—are political questions. They're class questions.

The employers want to keep us divided. Employed against unemployed. White against Black. Male against female. Americans against the people around the world.

We need our own party that unites us, a party of solidarity with everyone in our class.

A labor party would do that. It would unite us against the companies that are shutting down plants. It would unite us against discrimination in any form. It would unite us with our sisters and brothers around the world—in El Salvador, Cuba, Poland, Vietnam, Japan, Britain, and Ireland.

The labor party strategy involves more than a new party structure. It is a whole new way of looking at things. It means breaking out of the limitations of the capitalist framework in looking for answers.

In reality, our unions are headed for catastrophe if they continue as they have been. They need this framework to even begin to defend themselves from the take-back demands of the bosses.

The union officialdom is locked into the framework dictated by the capitalists.

An example of where this leads is the settlement United Auto Workers officials made with Chrysler. In answer to the boss's plea that he is broke, the union agreed to take a pay cut. But where does this end? What's to stop him from coming back next year and claiming he's still broke and demanding a new pay cut? We could wind up having to pay him to go to work.

Chrysler brings in robots and then thousands are laid off as the employers modernize at our expense. We need to fight for a different solution—for a shorter work week so we can benefit from the advances we made possible.

In Conrail, the union officials agreed to a settlement accepting mass layoffs and cutbacks in service.

Rail workers, instead, need to demand that the railroads be nationalized and run in the interest of society. This demand would appeal to millions who need to ride the trains and to farmers who need to ship their produce cheaply.

In steel, top union officials have meekly accepted the capitalist's right to shut plants and throw thousands out of work. We should demand the company books be opened up so we can see what the real situation is.

Similarly, rather than just going along with capitalist unemployment—their right to condemn millions to joblessness and misery—we need to fight for a crash program of jobs. To build schools, hospitals, housing, things we desperately need.

The billions wasted on war need to be put to work for human needs.

To keep up with inflation we need cost of living adjustment clauses in all union contracts.

Social security benefits, too, need to be geared to inflation.

New surge of confidence

The idea of relying on our own strength is a powerful one.

Think of the Polish workers. Not so long ago, a lot of people were telling them, no, you can't do it. You're too weak. You'll be crushed.

But once they got a sense of their own power, it seemed they could move mountains. Workers around the world were inspired. Even the name Solidarity Day comes from them.

It will be the same with workers and their allies here. Once they get a taste of the power they really have, there'll be no stopping them. They make the country run. Why shouldn't they run the country?

Things that once seemed too difficult, will become easier to fight for. Things like organizing the unorganized. Organizing the South. Seeing that the ERA finally gets passed.

Millions of Blacks will rally to such a party and be its best fighters.

Some Blacks today have already taken the lead in setting an example of independent political action.

After years of discussions in the Black community about such a step, some farsighted Black leaders have now established the National Black Independent Political Party. (For more information, see the article on page 15.)

They set up the party in response to the same pressure now bearing down on the unions. The Black party is developing a program in the interest of all workers.

How will a labor party get started?

One thing is certain. It won't happen everywhere at the same time. Somebody has to take the lead. It could be one union running a candidate in a local election. That might just get the ball rolling.

If you're convinced of the idea, then talk it up with people you know. Spread the word.

You should also find out more about the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. They include people like you—workers from many unions, Blacks, Latinos, women activists—who are among those favoring the labor party proposal.

The SWP is a small party, but it runs candidates for public office. They offer the labor party perspective as the way forward.

You can become an active part of the fight for a labor party by joining the SWP or YSA.



THE LOSERS

What Washington Took Back



FROM SOCIAL SECURITY — Minimum benefits of \$122 lost for three million elderly people; elimination of \$255 lump-sum death benefits in many cases; loss of benefits for dependents beyond high school.

— \$ 11 billion



FROM UNEMPLOYMENT AID & TRA — Elimination of 13-week unemployment assistance extensions, except in states with high unemployment rates. Sharply reduced TRA benefits (to unemployment compensation level) and elimination of 26-week extension.

— \$ 3 billion



FROM MEDICARE — A 25% hike in Medicare patient fees, and a \$52 increase in hospital payments by elderly patients.

— \$ 4 billion



FROM FOOD STAMPS — One million working poor and families of strikers eliminated from eligibility.

— \$ 6 billion



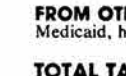
FROM PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS — All jobs eliminated under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program.

— \$ 16 billion



FROM EDUCATION — Reduction in school aid; severe cuts in school-lunch programs; and curtailment of college student tuition loan program, making it harder to qualify and boosting interest rates.

— \$ 10 billion



FROM OTHERS — Cuts in funding for housing, aid to the handicapped, health care, Medicaid, highways, airports, mass transit, and other social programs.

— \$164 billion

TOTAL TAKEAWAYS BETWEEN NOW AND 1984

—\$214 billion

PLUS the Reagan Administration's actions to cripple consumer product safety, Occupational Safety and Health, environmental protection, and other programs; these are indirect take-backs on which it's difficult to place a dollar amount.

THE WINNERS

What Washington Gave Away

TO BIG OIL — A 50% cut in the "windfall profits" tax on newly discovered oil, plus tax credits to oil royalty owners.

+ \$3.3 billion

TO WEALTHY TAXPAYERS — The 6% of Americans who make \$50,000 or more will get a third of the total tax rate cuts. Example: next year, a couple with two children will save only \$228 on a \$20,000 income, but would save \$2,137 on a \$100,000 income.

+ \$55 billion

TO INVESTORS — A cut in the top rate on long-term capital gains from 28% to 20%, retroactive to last June.

+ \$600 million

TO PRIVATE CORPORATIONS — Depreciation speedups under which government absorbs costs of buildings, equipment, and vehicles, giving especially big tax breaks to utilities and big oil.

+ \$55.8 billion

TO FOREIGN-INCOME EARNERS — Phased-in exclusion from taxes of \$95,000 for those working overseas by 1986, plus special deductions.

+ \$1.5 billion

TO ESTATES — Raising the combined limit on estates and gifts subject to tax from \$175,000 to \$600,000.

+ \$3 billion

TO OTHERS — Tax giveaways to corporations, employers, and others able to take advantage of certain deductions.

+ \$14.3 billion

TOTAL GIVEAWAYS BETWEEN NOW AND 1984 (including additional individual cuts plus cumulative tax cuts of \$152.6 billion).

+ \$286.1 billion

PLUS an extra \$55 billion in the federal budget for the Pentagon — one of the few agencies to get a real increase in the budget. Lack of competitive bidding on defense contracts costs taxpayers an estimated additional \$10 billion each year.



UAW Solidarity/Coulter

Black party points way for workers

By Malik Miah

A new political party is marching with us in Washington on Solidarity Day.

It's called the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

The Black leaders who formed the NBIPP joined together in order to educate and mobilize Blacks against the system responsible for their oppression. That's the party's number one task.

But the new party has something to say to every worker—not just Blacks. They should listen carefully to what the NBIPP is saying.

At its founding congress in Chicago in August, the party adopted a charter, or program. Here are some of the things the NBIPP stands for:

Jobs for all; a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to end unemployment; an end to racist hiring practices; stronger affirmative action programs; a massive public works program to create more jobs; and job training programs. (See portions of the program printed below.)

The NBIPP is for an end to plant closings, repeal of all antilabor legislation, and repeal of so-called right-to-work laws.

The NBIPP is for federally funded health programs and full Social Security benefits. It supports the rights of the elderly and children.

It is for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and full equality in job opportunities and equal pay for women.

It is against racist cop and Ku Klux Klan violence. It calls for the abolition of the FBI and CIA.

The Democrats and Republicans have pursued a foreign policy that can only lead to war. The NBIPP has an alternative. It supports the oppressed peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. It supports the hunger strikers in Ireland.

The NBIPP opposes the huge war budget and Reagan's cuts in social services. It opposes new Vietnams and draft registration.

These positions are all pro-labor. In fact, unions have adopted some of these stands. The September 19 Solidarity Day called by the AFL-CIO raises many of these issues.

But the NBIPP also says something new. It takes a step beyond what the labor movement has thus far done.

"The National Black Independent Political Party aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order," its charter says, "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 capitalism."

"Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours. They have consistently used power and government to create policies for Black economic underdevelopment, political exploitation and cultural destruction. Their policies reveal

contempt for the interests of Black people, and have existed solely for the maintenance of the existing political and socio-economic system."

Here is a program that clearly names the enemy—capitalism—and labels the Democratic and Republican parties for what they are: instruments to maintain "the existing political and socio-economic system."

"We should observe both the Democratic and Republican parties as serving only the interests of the ruling class; therefore, they are diametrically opposed to the interests of African and poor people," the charter adds.

Based on this reality, the NBIPP was founded as a party independent of the two capitalist parties and rejects supporting them.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland says we need to get more Democrats elected in 1982 and a Democrat in the White House in 1984. But we have a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives right now—furiously cutting away social benefits. And we had a Democrat in the White House not so long ago—Carter—whose policies raised unemployment.

The challenge facing the labor movement is to come to grips with the need to break out of the Democratic-Republican party stranglehold and build an independent party, as the NBIPP is doing.

The NBIPP sets an example for the trade union movement in both its policy of independent political action and in the program it has developed.

A labor party would give the unions a vehicle for taking its program to working people. And for electing labor representatives to office.

NBIPP is beginning to educate the Black community on the need to think socially and act politically. It is educating, even as a small political vanguard, on what road forward for Blacks and labor.

The unions need to follow this example.

A mass labor party would need a program like NBIPP's to attract Blacks and other workers. It would need to include in its leadership Black workers. They are now leading the first step forward in independent working-class political action in years.

NBIPP thus breaks the political ground for labor to build its own party. It is not a competitor. A labor party and the NBIPP will have the same objectives to stop the common enemy—capitalism—and form a government representing workers and the oppressed.

Mass demonstrations like the AFL-CIO Solidarity Day march throw up obstacles to the bosses' attacks.

However, running independent labor and Black candidates (one of the goals of NBIPP) is the step that must be taken to directly challenge the racist, antilabor parties now in office. It is the only way to effectively challenge the power of the rich and to mobilize the power of workers against the attacks coming down.

'A job is a human right,' says NBIPP

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 the charter in full.

Last week's 'Militant' published the Platform section of the charter.

This week we are reprinting the first two sections of the party Program, on Jobs and Income, and Education.

JOBS AND INCOME

Millions of unemployed able-bodied men and women desperately looking for work must be regarded as an intolerable situation. In the United States this deplorable condition is aggravated by chronic inflation.

We believe that everyone who is willing and able to work should have a job, commensurate with their skills and expertise, at a decent livable wage to ensure an adequate standard of living. We believe that full employment and the right to a job is a basic human right. It is clear that both the Democratic and Republican parties have abandoned this principle and have no intentions of implementing any program designed to achieve the goal of full employment. We believe that the U.S. with a \$2-trillion Gross National Product is a country rich enough to provide adequate income security to anyone unable to work due to illness, disability or other circumstances beyond their control.

We believe that Black people should have equal employment opportunities.

THEREFORE WE DEMAND:

- Massive employment programs specifically targeted at the Black community, to alleviate the disproportionate levels of unemployment among our people, and especially among Black youth.
- A decent job under safe and sanitary conditions for all who are willing and able to work.
- Equal pay for equal work for Black people.
- An end to all racist and sexist hiring practices, and racial, sexual and age discrimination on the job.
- Free and low-cost education and training for job opportunities for all our people.
- Special job training, job creation and employment programs for Black youth at equal pay levels afforded to other workers.

forded to other workers.

- An end to plant closings and runaway shops.
- Full unemployment compensation for all who are laid off and unemployed.
- Increased funding and improved administration for social security and other income maintenance programs for those unable to work.
- And end to "right to work" labor laws.

TO ACHIEVE AND REALIZE THE ABOVE THE PARTY WILL:

- Develop independent economic cooperative job training and employment programs in the Black community.
- Organize Black community support for economic and legislative initiatives to achieve the above at the local, state and federal level.

EDUCATION

We believe that access to free and public, non-racist, non-sexist and quality education at all levels for our people, is a basic human right. We believe that educational institutions and education should transmit and promote literacy, cultural and social values as well as humane understanding, respect and friendship among all races, people and nations. We believe that education should allow and encourage Black adults, children and youth to fully develop their human personality. Education must assure acquisition of scientific training and academic skills, so that our



NBIPP

What the Black party stands for

people can be productive in a highly technological world and contribute to and actively participate in the struggle for Black liberation. We believe that education should foster a thorough and comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the history and culture of people of African descent and the contributions we have made to world civilization. We believe that ultimately, the primary responsibility for the construction of Black educational and cultural institutions rests with Black people.

THEREFORE WE DEMAND:

- A massive national program to help finance the rebuilding and revitalization of the racist, decaying and bankrupt public school system in the United States.
- Tuition-free education and open admissions in all institutions of higher learning as well as special technical and professional schools.
- An end to racism and racist practices in all U.S. educational institutions and the immediate and full implementation and enforcement of laws and policies to achieve this.
- Mandatory inclusion in the curriculum from pre-school to college of studies in the life and culture of Black people.
- Full financial support by the federal government for Black colleges and universities, commensurate with the tax dollars now given to Harvard, Yale, University of California and other institutions of higher education.
- An end to all legal, political and administrative efforts to destroy Black colleges and universities, including the use of merger and enrollment schemes designed to achieve this end.

TO ACHIEVE AND REALIZE THE ABOVE THE PARTY WILL:

- Work to encourage, build and maintain independent Black educational institutions at all levels, consistent with an educational strategy designed for the liberation of the minds of our people.
- Establish alternative *freedom schools* to provide political and cultural education to our children and youth even as they attend public and private schools.
- Fight for community control of public schools in the Black community.
- Organize political pressure at the local, state and national level to achieve our demands.
- Fight for quality education for Black children and youth, utilizing all political, legal, economic and administrative means available to us and deemed necessary and appropriate.
- Organize a panel of educators, ministers, social scientists, parents, teachers and others knowledgeable in the field of education, to assume the responsibility of helping to restore literacy to Black people and to develop educational excellence among Black youth of the United States. The panel will provide advice and counsel to NBIPP and its local chapters in the development of an educational program.

(To be continued)

By Cliff Conner

According to a recent series of *New York Times* articles on world hunger, there's good news and bad news.

The good news, writes reporter Ann Crittenden, is that "for the last three decades global food production has steadily increased, slightly outstripping population growth. . . . This year, world grain production is expected to set historic records."

Sounds wonderful, but then comes the bad news: ". . . there are still more hungry people in the world than ever before—both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of total world population. . . . By most estimates, more than 500 million people—roughly one out of every nine—suffer from serious malnutrition today, compared with 100 million to 200 million—one out of every 14 to 25 people—in the 1950s."

What a paradox! The food supply per person has grown, but more and more people are going hungry. How can this be explained?

The most common reasons given are "the world can't produce enough food" or "there are too many people." But the facts cited above show both of these explanations to be false. "Virtually all the authorities on world hunger agree," Crittenden writes, "that the problem is due not to overpopulation or a lack of food availability."

Then what is the problem? Obviously the food that is being produced isn't getting to all of the people who need it.

In July, another *New York Times* article reported: "With the nation's corn now high as a cow's eye and a record wheat crop headed for the bin, a sense of malaise is apparent in the agricultural heartland." How can it be that good crops cause a "malaise"?

The problem lies in the capitalist economic system that controls the production and distribution of most of the world's food. The most important decisions affecting the lives of billions of people all over the globe are made on the basis of "supply and demand."

The "supply" of food is the amount that farmers grow. The "demand," however, is *not* a measure of how much food the world's population needs to eat; it is a measure of how much money people can afford to pay for food.

A record crop means that the supply of food goes up. That causes the price paid to the farmer (not the supermarket price) to go down. The effect is ruinous to farmers and if allowed to go far enough would paralyze food production completely. More small farmers would be driven to bankruptcy and the corporate agribusiness interests would divert their investments to more profitable areas.

How does the U.S. government avoid this ultimate crash? By deliberately restricting food production. In spite of all its "supply-side" economic mumbo-jumbo—and its claim to want to end government interference in the "natural" working of the free-market economy—the Reagan administration has decided to pay farmers upward of a billion dollars *not* to grow food next year.

On September 3, Agriculture Secretary John Block announced that he would order a 15 percent reduction in 1982 wheat planting.

Consider this: a third of the world's children die of malnutrition and related diseases before the age of five. *The amount of food that the U.S. government pays farmers not to grow would be enough to*

Why can't everyone have enough to eat?



adequately nourish those children. The deliberate restriction of food production is the crime of crimes in a hungry world.

But that is how a capitalist government attempts to manipulate supply and demand. It keeps the supply low in order to keep the price of food artificially high.

One of Reagan's stated economic goals is to lower the inflation rate. But a policy that restricts the food supply to keep prices high is deliberately inflationary. Reagan's budget calls for spending several billion of our tax dollars to raise the price we have to pay for food.

Furthermore, this is the same budget that sharply cuts back on the food stamp program that assists 22 million Americans and programs that provide lunches for school children.

Does the average farmer benefit from this policy? Not at all. Farmers proudly see themselves as providers of the basic means of human survival and

welfare. They're against having their production restricted. Yet as long as food production is subject to the whims of the "free market," their survival depends upon the government subsidies.

"Reagan lied to us," declared Tommy Kersey, state president of the American Agricultural Movement, at a tractorcade and rally in Lyons, Georgia, last May. "He's carrying out the biggest transfer of wealth this nation's ever seen—from the working man to the rich."

Rather than spending billions to *hold down* the food supply, why couldn't Reagan spend that money to *increase* the food supply so that nobody in this country or anywhere in the world would have to go hungry? That makes sense from the standpoint of human needs, but it does not satisfy capitalist "logic," because nobody can make a profit feeding people who can't afford to pay.

While it is true that American agriculture—if liberated from the shackles of the capitalist market—could feed the world, it is even more urgent for agriculture in Asian, African, and Latin American countries to achieve that liberation.

Imperialism has stunted and distorted the economies in these countries, leading to mass hunger in lands physically capable of feeding themselves. Wealthy landowners in these countries plant cash crops for export, further enriching themselves while their impoverished compatriots get hungrier.

During the early 1970s, widespread famine claimed millions of lives in the Sahel region of Africa. *Agricultural exports from the famine-stricken countries there actually increased* throughout that period.

In Colombia, landowners found they could earn *eighty times as much* growing carnations for export rather than growing corn or wheat for the local market. For Latin America as a whole over the ten-year period of 1964 to 1974, per capita production of export crops increased by 27 percent, while per capita production of staple crops decreased by ten percent.

That explains why world hunger is increasing even though agricultural productivity is rising. As long as resources are allocated and production decisions are made according to considerations of supply and demand, the hunger problem will continue to worsen.

Ann Crittenden notes that "this issue is especially acute in Central America and the Caribbean, where in the mid-1970s approximately half the agricultural land was used to produce cattle and crops for export or for a domestic elite, rather than basic staple foods. *The pattern changed after the revolution in Nicaragua, where the new government has put the old cotton plantations into bean production*" (emphasis added).

The Nicaraguan example points the way out of the dilemma of world hunger. While the U.S. government intervenes in the market economy to *preserve* scarcity, the Nicaraguan government moves in the opposite direction, to *diminish* scarcity by encouraging more, not less, food production.

In a word, the root cause of world hunger is *capitalism*.

The hunger problem can only be solved by the workers and small farmers themselves taking power out of the hands of the bankers, corporations, and landlords, and replacing the capitalist system of production for profit with a socialist system that meets human needs.

The dirtiest war

The following article on germ warfare comes from the August 9 issue of 'Granma,' the Cuban newspaper.

Cuba is currently a victim of this inhuman practice, hit by a wave of dengue fever which has afflicted 275,000 people and killed 113, including 81 children.

In a speech on July 26 Cuban leader Fidel Castro charged the U.S. government with introducing the epidemic into his country.

A fantastic accusation? Not really, when you read the history below of American use of bacteriological warfare.

By Yolanda Gómez

Although bacteriological warfare came into being in the Middle Ages, when armies would heap bodies contaminated by cholera and other diseases against the enemy's city walls, its

systematic and scientific use started in the 20th century in the laboratories of the Pentagon.

Earlier, U.S. settlers had used bacteriological warfare against the Indians, to whom they would give blankets and clothing that had been contaminated with smallpox, typhoid, yellow fever and other diseases. In some cases they succeeded in eliminating whole tribes.

In view of the alarm caused by use of bacteria and chemicals during World War I, several countries signed the 1925 Geneva protocol outlawing chemical and bacteriological warfare.

During the U.S. war against Vietnam, the Pentagon used chemical and bacteriological substances to destroy the people, animals and other natural resources of that country.

The scorched earth policy gave way to the use of defoliants, deadly gases and other substances, and Vietnam came to be used as a giant human laboratory for the Pentagon's experiments.

Outraged international public opinion put a serious obstacle in the way of the United States in its war against the people of Indochina, and in order to silence the international outcry President Richard Nixon pledged on November 25, 1969, to suspend all work on chemical and bacteriological warfare.

This decision was also a reply to the uproar resulting from the death of 6,000 sheep in a desert area near Salt Lake City, Utah, when a lethal gas leaked from a local research center.

However, in 1971, the Pentagon admitted that biological agents and toxic substances were stored in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, including bacteria causing yellow fever, bubonic plague, cholera, equine encephalomyelitis, syphilis and other diseases.

The existence of this stockpile only became known when the army said it was doing away with these in order to stockpile others.

In that period the magazine *Jeune Afrique* stated that U.S. diplomats in Lisbon and Luanda would be authorized to give the Portuguese colonialist forces then in Angola toxic chemicals to use against the guerrillas there.

In fact, in 1971, when the U.S. Government submitted the Geneva protocol to Congress for ratification, it went so far as to insist on retaining the right to use chemical and bacteriological weapons when necessary.

This was a clear warning that the United States will not stop short of using even the dirtiest of weapons: extermination by means of bacteria and chemical substances.

By Margaret Jayko

The following is based on a talk given in August at the thirty-first national convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

On September 19, hundreds of thousands of working people—women, Black people, Latinos, unionists, and youth—are going to be marching in the streets of Washington, D.C.

They will be demanding an end to the cuts in social services, the attacks on our rights, and the escalation of military preparations by the Reagan administration.

This demonstration has been called by the AFL-CIO but it's not only a union demonstration against the Reagan budget, as important as that would be.

The AFL-CIO has appealed to all the victims of the cutbacks to participate. Included in the demands of the demonstration are other key issues that are part of labor's fight and that facilitate reaching out to and mobilizing labor's allies.

One of these demands is passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

The national board of the National Organization for Women (NOW) has endorsed the march. So has the leadership of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Eleanor Smeal, the president of NOW, is on the advisory committee for the march.

'Solid feminist turnout'

The latest issue of the *National NOW Times*, NOW's official newspaper, contains an article about the march that includes a statement by Smeal: "We expect to see a solid feminist turnout for 'Solidarity

Reagan's war on women's rights Part I

Day.' Those of us who fight for women's equality and those of us in the labor movement have come to understand that we share many of the same goals and fight the same opposition. We will be in Washington to stand with labor to say that the Reagan budget cuts hit women hardest of all, that we are determined to have economic equality."

September 19 may be the largest demonstration in U.S. history supporting women's rights.

And it will certainly be the most important ERA action this fall.

Women will be bringing their banners.

"No cuts, no way; Ratify the ERA!"

"Money for daycare; Medicaid funds for abortions, not for war."

"No draft, no way; Ratify the ERA!"

The national convention of NOW in October and CLUW's national convention in November will certainly be influenced by the size and character of this action.

'Do you know the pay in San Jose?'

San Jose used to be known in some circles as "the feminist capital of the world" because the city has a woman mayor and a female majority on the city council and board of supervisors.

Now it's known that way around the world—for action taken against those very same politicians.

This summer, Local 101 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which organizes city workers there, went out on strike over the issue of equal pay for women for work of comparable value. They were also demanding an across-the-board pay increase.

And they won both.

Their settlement included \$1.5 million over a two-year period to reduce the significant wage gap that exists between predominantly female job categories and predominantly male ones.

Women all over the country, and the world, are looking to this strike as a model that they would like to emulate.

At a solidarity rally with the striking workers, a speaker from the California Nurses Association reported that 1,800 nurses in San Francisco were negotiating over the same issue.

The big-business media is trying as hard as it can to explain why this is a crazy idea, why the bosses and the government will never go for it.

Of course, that's true. You have to force them.

Margaret Jayko is a staff writer for the *'Militant'* and the Socialist Workers Party national women's liberation work director.

Why women are marching on Solidarity Day



Sign of the times—large number of women in striking air controllers contingent in New York Labor Day march. Militant/Lou Howort

Which is what the San Jose city workers did.

The San Jose strike was a political action. Not just because the workers were striking against the government of San Jose, but because of the issues involved and how the strike was explained and understood by the public and by the strikers themselves.

One of the typical leaflets the union put out to win support stated: "In many ways our fight is the first of what will become a movement for justice and equality for women and men segregated into dead-end, low-paying jobs. . . ."

Patt Curia, a striking librarian, explained: "Seventeen years ago we might have been defending the Blacks in the back of the bus. Today, this is where it is happening, right now in San Jose. The men? They have daughters who are going to face the same crap."

My favorite picket sign read: "If I hear the mayor say this is the feminist capital of the world just once more, I'll puke."

Dignity, equity, equality

William Callahan, the business agent for the striking local, told reporters, "The cause in San Jose is one of dignity, one of equity, one of equality. It's a very strong cause and one that will be won, both here and across the country."

One striking senior legal secretary explained, "We have lots of single women supporting families. Some of them don't like the idea of sacrificing themselves for the women of the world [by striking] but we happen to be the first."

So the strikers saw themselves as the vanguard of a social movement. They had obviously been deeply affected by the women's movement.

This was a women's battle and a union battle. You couldn't separate the two. It was a bread-and-butter

issue and a social and political one.

It helped to change the image many women have of the union movement as a selfish and sometimes corrupt job trust. It started to be seen as a crusade for the rights of the oppressed and exploited. Leading that kind of struggle strengthens the unions.

The San Jose strike was unique in that it was the first of its kind in the United States.

But it won't be the last. One indication of that is the fact that the postal workers in Canada just went back to work. A central issue in their thirty-eight-day strike was the demand for seventeen weeks paid maternity leave at 93 percent of take-home pay. And they won, too.

With more women in the workforce, with more attacks on all our rights and living standards, we are forced to fight shoulder to shoulder. The specific needs of women become the concern of the entire labor movement.

I hope these fighters send a contingent to Washington on September 19 with signs that show the way to San Jose.

'I survived National Secretaries Day'

On April 24, National Secretaries Day, two managers at the General Electric River Works plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, forced their secretary to go to lunch with them.

They then proceeded to sexually harass her, physically and verbally.

She reported her ordeal to the company, which did nothing about it. She then reported it to the union, Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers.

Hearing about the incident, and the company's in-

Continued on next page

'The livelihood and lives of

Continued from preceding page

tention to do nothing about it, 150 of her co-worker machinists walked off their jobs. Others threatened to follow suit.

The company responded by disciplining the workers who protested.

This was particularly galling because several workers had recently been fired for sexual harassment, but when it came to management there was a different standard.

So the workers went to their union to discuss the question of sexual harassment and what to do about the disciplinary actions against the workers.

As one unionist explained, "You know if a manager put his hands on any *man* he'd be out of here, but they seem to think they can put their hands all over any woman. We shouldn't tolerate it. They're nothing but male chauvinist pigs."

Other members pointed to the double standards that applied to management and workers.

The clear sentiment of the union meeting where this was discussed was that sexual harassment of women workers is intolerable, be it from managers directly or union members mistakenly playing the bosses' game.

On June 24, the union organized a picket line at the plant, in which 200 people participated. They were demanding the immediate firing of the managers.

After the picket, first-shift workers loaded into buses and cars and drove to the home of a General Electric spokesperson to protest.

The managers were transferred to other jobs and the union is still discussing what steps to take next.

This was an important educational experience for those workers. They discussed out and came to a better understanding of sexual harassment and how the bosses use it.

They took it up as a union issue.

They refused to allow the union to be divided men against women, production workers against office personnel.

They used union power to defend union members and to advance union control over working conditions.

Unions fight for women's rights

What is the significance of these developments?

Well, for one thing, they register the changes in this country since the new rise of the women's movement more than a decade ago.

Struggles by women for our rights are seen as necessary, important, progressive.

And women have become a powerful component of the social forces fighting to improve the economic and social conditions of everyone.

There's another side.

The organized labor movement is being brought into the struggle for women's rights not only as a supporter, but as an active participant in a battle whose goals and demands are more and more understood to be its own.

This indicates the direction in which the women's liberation movement must go, the alliances we must seek, if we are to defend what we've got, never mind move forward.

And these examples show that while women will organize and lead the fight to defend our gains and win new ones, we don't fight alone.

It is not just women who are under attack. The entire working class is being pushed back, and the entire class will have to begin to respond.

None of us—unionists, Blacks, women, or youth—will be able to hold our ground unless we stand and fight together.

The Reagan onslaught

What is this phenomenon called "Reaganism"?

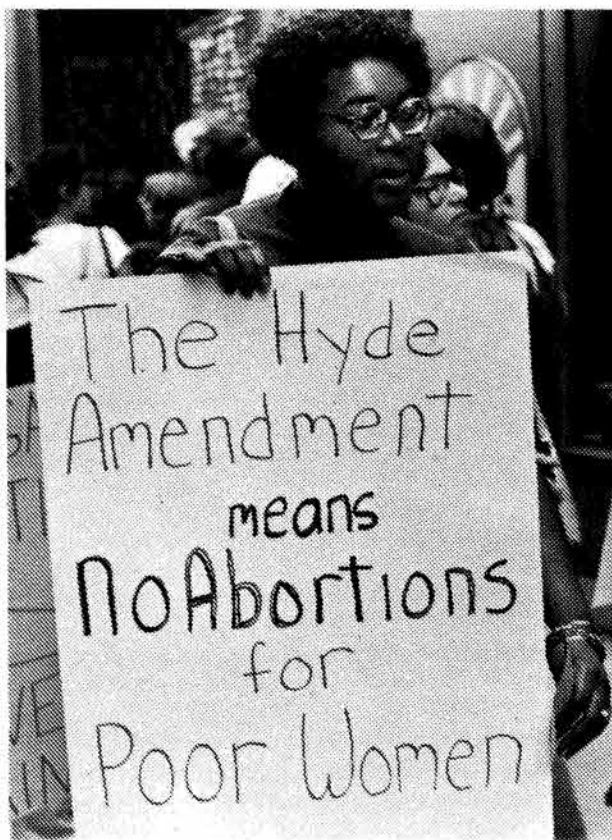
It is not a Republican Party aberration that began last January. It's a *bipartisan* drive to step up war preparations, to impose austerity measures on the working class, to weaken the unions, and to undermine democratic rights. No fundamental alternative to this course is being posed by any section of the two capitalist parties.

The aim is to reverse the crisis that the capitalist system is in, by dividing and pushing back the working class and its allies, at home and abroad.

The ruling rich who Reagan represents must boost their profit rates at our expense if their system based on private ownership and control of our natural resources and factories, mines, and mills is to survive.

The stakes are very high—for them and for us.

In order to accomplish their objectives, the rulers must utilize the divisions among working people that their system fosters.



Top: New York garment worker with ERA sign at Labor Day march. Middle: Since 1977, 18,000 women who sought Medicaid abortions had to carry their pregnancies to term or have illegal or self-induced abortions. Bottom: 'Homework is slavery in the family.' Secretary of Labor Donovan tried to knock down ban on homework in seven types of garment industries.

They direct their cruelest blows against the most oppressed layers—women, Blacks, Latinos, the unskilled and unorganized—in order to weaken and divide the working class. They foster racism and sexism to get some elbow room, which they use to prepare decisive blows against the strongest sectors of the working class.

The attacks on women's rights are also designed to let women know that we've been getting too uppity and we have to cut back "like everyone else."

The undisguised ruling-class drive against the rights of women, and the attempts to roll back the widespread support that exists for women's equality, is necessary to the employers' overall political and economic assault.

Keeping women in their "place" is fundamental to the system of private property.

And, therefore, the struggle of women for our liberation is a central component of the struggle of the working class to take control of the vast productive wealth of our society out of the hands of the tiny minority who now own it and put our resources to work meeting the needs of the majority.

Bipartisan attacks

In preparing this talk, I sat down and made a list of all the moves I knew had been made against women since this administration took office. One thing strikes you immediately—Reagan wasn't just out there on his own. Nor is the Republican Party solely responsible. The "loyal opposition" in the Democratic Party helped in every way possible. "Guns, not butter" had already been established under Carter. In many cases, Reagan simply continued programs and pushed through legislation that were begun under the Carter administration.

What's different with Reagan is the shift into high gear. Every week, every day, practically, it's some new move to keep the pressure on.

And this administration doesn't cover up its anti-women's rights policies with lip-service to the ERA, the way Carter did. Reagan is up front about the reactionary views and goals he's promoting.

Even a partial listing of recent government moves against women shows that the ruling class is dead serious about turning back the clock on women's rights. And going much further than many people believed possible.

An article last spring in the *New York Times*, entitled "Sisterhood Is Braced for the Reaganauts," voiced the opinion that "For the women's movement, which until the election of the new Administration seemed well on the way to becoming an accepted interest group, [that's what they think] these are hard times."

The article goes on to list some of the anti-woman positions of Reagan. Then it quotes Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW, saying that most women were "surprised by the degree of rollback—I don't think people ever thought by April they would be looking at such reactionary proposals."

And things look even worse in August.

The fact is that every right women have fought for is under attack. And rights are not just an abstract idea—the livelihood and lives of millions of women are at stake.

Abortion and reproductive rights

The focus of the lawmakers' fury has been on the most fundamental of all questions affecting a woman's life—the right to choose whether and when to have children. Opposition to legalized abortion, and reproductive choice in general, are clearly the cutting edge of the anti-woman drive.

This comes as no surprise.

Being able to control our own bodies is the fundamental precondition without which women's liberation is impossible.

In March, the Supreme Court upheld a Utah state law making it a crime for doctors to perform an abortion on a minor without notifying her parents first.

In May, Congress cut off federal Medicaid funding for abortions even in cases of rape and incest.

The Hyde Amendment, passed by Congress in 1976, had already cut off Medicaid funds for abortions except in cases of rape, incest, or when a woman's life is in danger.

On July 30, the House of Representatives voted to bar three million government workers and their dependents from using federal health insurance to pay for abortions, except when the woman's life is in danger.

Only a handful of states and the District of Columbia still make state funds for abortions available to women on Medicaid. In the years 1978 and 1979, almost 1.5 million women were unable to obtain abortions either because of lack of facilities or inability to pay.

Militant photos by Lou Howort, Donna Marie Gilligan, and Fred Murphy.

millions of women are at stake'

There's a bill before Congress to cut off federal funds to any institution performing abortions or teaching about them.

But already there is no place to obtain an abortion in eight out of ten counties in the United States. And abortion clinics have increasingly become targets of picket lines by right-wingers attempting to intimidate women coming to use their facilities.

The cutting off of government funds for abortion and other legal moves are steps toward the goal of reversing the Supreme Court's 1973 decision legalizing abortion.

By starting with moves that primarily affected women of oppressed nationalities and the most exploited layers of the working class—correctly calculating that many major women's organizations would not come to their defense—the rulers took advantage of and maximized every division within the women's movement along race and class lines. The tactic has been to whittle away the support among tax-burdened working people for a woman's right to choose.

Opinion polls show that while the overwhelming majority of the American people support legalized abortion, a lesser number support Medicaid funding for abortions.

Forced sterilization

The decrease in availability of abortion has been combined with the continuance of forced sterilization, which is also aimed disproportionately at Black women and Latinas.

A recent study showed that many states persist in ignoring federal regulations against forced or, what amounts to the same thing, uninformed sterilizations of women.

A number of bills now before Congress would make abortion outright illegal again.

The Human Life Amendment and the Human Life Bill would make a fetus a legal "person," thereby making abortion murder.

These bills could also be used to outlaw certain types of medical procedures and birth control methods.

Bills are being introduced on a state-by-state basis to have a mandatory waiting period and mandatory "informed consent" before a woman can have an abortion. The kind of "information" the patient would be subjected to includes photos of fetuses and lectures on how the "baby" looks at each stage of its development. These procedures boil down to giving abortion foes time to terrify women who are seeking abortions.

In addition to all the various legal moves, Reagan has appointed a number of abortion-rights foes to key federal posts.

The administration's choice for Surgeon General, C. Everett Koop, has been a board member of the National Right to Life Committee and Americans United for Life.

Marjory Mecklenburg is president of American Citizens Concerned for Life. She is awaiting clearance to be named head of the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs. The job of this office is supposed to be to give grants to aid teenage mothers and to counsel them on birth control.

Not if Mecklenburg has her way.

She believes that teenagers should be taught to "postpone sexual involvement" rather than to use contraceptives.

Health and Human Services Secretary Richard Schweiker—their boss—is opposed to legalized abortion, and sex education and birth control for teenagers.

Equal Rights Amendment

Of course, a woman's right to choose is not the only battlefield.

The deadline for ratification of the ERA is less than a year away—June 30, 1982.

Three more states must ratify for it to become part of the Constitution.

The last state to ratify ERA was Indiana in 1977. Since then, many states have voted down ratification. And some states are attempting to reverse ratification votes.

In January, the chief sponsor of the ERA in the Virginia General Assembly said she won't push for action on the ERA this year.

Basically the same thing happened in North Carolina.

And in Nevada, on January 22, ERA ratification was introduced and voted down in less than thirty seconds.

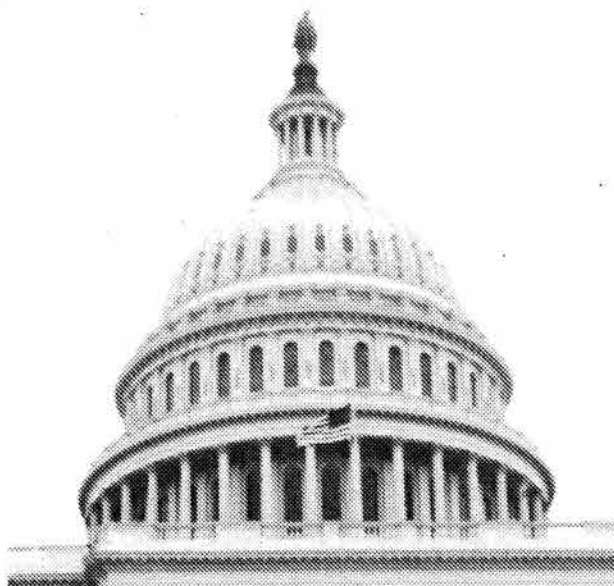
The amendment was prevented from being ratified by a slim margin in Illinois in 1980.

It's clear that the rulers have made up their minds—they are opposed to amending the Constitution to say that women are equal. There's a bipartisan campaign to prevent the ERA from being ratified.

They are against the ERA because its passage and the changes that followed would cut into corporate profits. And it would inspire women and others to continue to fight for their rights. It would also raise expectations just when the bosses and their government have declared war on our living standards and democratic rights.

The fact that there's majority sentiment in this country for the ERA means the fight will continue right up to the deadline.

But supporters of women's rights would simply be whistling in the dark if they refused to face the truth and explain and plan accordingly. The fate of the ERA will not be determined by majority will, nor by one or another action. The odds against ratification are now overwhelming.



Attacks on women are bipartisan.

It's important to face the basic fact that it would take a major change in the relationship of forces between the working class, which is today on the defensive in this country, and the rulers to wrest a major concession such as the ERA. And ten months is not much time for such a change to occur.

There is no doubt about it, the defeat of the ERA would put wind in the sails of all reactionary forces and would embolden them to press even harder against women's rights.

Affirmative action

Both on the job and in the schools the right of women and oppressed nationalities to preferential treatment to overcome the effects of past discrimination, and to win real equality, is also under fire.

The Reagan administration has let it be known that it is considering rescinding the presidential executive order that bans sex discrimination by companies receiving federal contracts.

Widespread layoffs during the 1980 recession, based on the strict application of "last hired, first fired," reduced the percentage of women employed in some industries and skilled jobs. In certain plants and worksites, women were eliminated completely—at least for the duration of the layoffs.

At the same time, in some industries that were less affected by the recession, such as coal, women continued to be hired in relatively large numbers.

But there is no doubt that the sexist and racist anti-affirmative-action vibes emanating from Washington have emboldened employers to cheat and renege on company-negotiated affirmative action plans for hiring, training, and upgrading women, Blacks, and Latinos.

Economic status of women

What is the real economic situation of women?

Today 60 percent of all women between the ages of sixteen and sixty-four are in the job market and make up 42.6 percent of the workforce.

Yet on the average women earn only fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by men. Average income for Black women is only 54 percent of that received by white men.

During periods of economic downturn, unemployment rates for women are substantially higher than for men and the discrepancy is even greater for Black women. In 1975, during that recession, the unemployment rate for men was 7.9 percent; for women, 9.3 percent; and for Black and other women of color, 14 percent.

Older women hoping to return to the labor force after years of child raising find most doors closed to them—except the lowest-paying, least-skilled occupations.

Few women workers enjoy paid maternity leaves or time off to care for sick children. They are often the

victims of sexual harassment by their bosses and foremen. When they go home from work they usually have a second job awaiting them in caring for family and home.

In addition, women workers face the same problems as all other workers—inflation, speed-up, deteriorating on-the-job health and safety conditions, plant shutdowns, increased job discipline, give-back contracts, and union-busting assaults, often carried out by hired firms that especially target women workers with their propaganda.

Industries with a predominantly female workforce, such as textile and garment, are among the lowest paid in the United States. The recent proposal by Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan to reintroduce widespread home labor in seven branches of the garment industry would significantly worsen the working conditions and increase the rate of exploitation for the largely female, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and immigrant labor force in this industry.

Because of the superexploitation of women workers and the exclusion from the labor market of large numbers who would like to work, women who must provide for themselves and their children are disproportionately concentrated at the bottom of the economic pile.

More than 67 percent of those living below the officially defined "poverty level" are women.

Most families with incomes of less than half the poverty level are headed by women.

One out of every two women can expect to be widowed by age sixty-five. One-third of those widows live below the poverty level.

Two-thirds of the households headed by women with children receive welfare benefits.

And in every one of those cases, the situation is worse for women of oppressed nationalities. Almost half of all families headed by Black and Hispanic females officially live in poverty.

Budget cuts

The recently approved bipartisan budget will be devastating to working people. And women will be among the hardest hit.

Day-care services will end for 120,000 children. This will swell the number of women forced onto unemployment and welfare rolls at the very time that welfare, unemployment benefits, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, rent subsidies, food stamps, Social Security, and Comprehensive Employment and Training funds are all being slashed.

Five hundred thousand women and children will be cut from maternal nutrition programs. School lunch programs are being reduced.

And there's lots more.

These cuts will lower the standard of living of the entire working class, and much of the increased burden will fall on women—despite the hypocritical pretense of concern for women and the family.

* * *

Next week, we'll take a look at the government and employer propaganda campaign to convince us that women aren't really equal to men.

(to be continued)

Two good pamphlets



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Nicaraguan government responds

Central America economic crisis

By Matilde Zimmermann

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—If you heard someone talking about the crisis in Central America, you would probably think of the military situation—the civil war in El Salvador and threats to peace in the rest of the region.

But there is also a deep economic crisis wracking the region. Over the last few weeks, this has forced several Central American countries, including Nicaragua, to take severe emergency measures.

Like most non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries, the nations of Central America have serious balance-of-payments deficits. The price of what they sell has always been less than the price of what they buy. This gap is growing. The prices of the agricultural products these countries export are unstable and in many cases have been falling. Meanwhile, the cost of imported oil and manufactured goods has been rising sharply.

Massive debt

In order to survive, these countries borrow money. The foreign debt of the Central American countries went up 63 percent from 1978 to 1980.

Many working-class and farming families in the United States know what a frightening experience it is to fall deeper and deeper into debt to the banks. What happens when a whole country finds itself in this situation? Costa Rica, for example, owes \$2.4 billion to 129 foreign banks.

On September 1, President Rodrigo Carazo announced a total moratorium on the payment of Costa Rica's foreign debt. Carazo admitted that even with \$300 million in loans coming from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the country simply could not make any payments on the principal of its staggering debt. He said \$60 million more was needed immediately for debt service and another \$60 million to bring in the coffee and rice crops.

Costa Rica was hard hit by last spring's dramatic drop in the price of coffee, the country's main cash crop and an important export of several other Central American nations as well.

The Costa Rican government at the same time sharply curtailed imports and imposed other austerity measures that will mean new sufferings for a working class already hit with growing unemployment, a wage freeze in face of galloping inflation, and a halt to all new housing construction.

At a meeting of Central American foreign ministry officials a week later, Carazo frankly summarized the IMF's recommendation for improving Costa Rica's economic standing: Hold off on building schools, roads, and hospitals. Tighten credit. And raise the level of unemployment.

The government of nearby Honduras sees no way out of its economic crisis except to beg desperately for IMF assistance. On September 8, Gen. Policarpo Paz García, the head of the Honduran military regime, announced a \$30 million cut in the public budget and warned that further cutbacks were coming.

Texaco

The economic crisis in Honduras is aggravated by the fact that Texaco, which has a monopoly on oil refining, is refusing to deliver any gasoline until it gets millions of dollars of retroactive payment for price increases that the government has declared illegal.

Nicaragua faces many of the same structural economic problems as other Central American countries. If anything, it has historically been even more brutally underdeveloped and overexploited than its neighbors.

Nicaragua suffered a devastating earthquake in 1972 and severe economic damage during the war of 1978-79. Nicaragua alone of the Central Amer-

ican countries has experienced an abrupt cutoff of U.S. economic aid. A process of decapitalization by businessmen opposed to the revolution has further weakened the economy.

A significant number of professionals and technicians have moved to the United States. Minister of Planning Henry Ruiz told a group of union leaders September 10, for instance, that a total of 400 agricultural experts have left the country. Ruiz suggested that some of the technicians could not adjust to the fact that workers did not call them "sir" anymore and had the right to question their recommendations.

The Nicaraguan government has responded to the crisis quite differently from Costa Rica or Honduras—to say nothing of El Salvador or Guatemala. Working people and small farmers here have to some extent been cushioned from the full effect of the international economic crisis by the social benefits won since the revolution: a massive literacy campaign, new schools and clinics, significant rent cuts, food subsidies, loans for farmers, improved working conditions, better wages, and more job security.

But Nicaragua's poverty, lack of infrastructure, low level of industrialization, and economic dependency are not problems that can be solved easily or quickly. In early July, Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega told trade-union delegates that the country could fall an additional \$100 million short of its 1981 foreign exchange projections.

State of emergency

On September 10, the Government of National Reconstruction invoked a "state of economic and social emergency," during which various activities are banned, such as price speculation and hoarding, the publication of false information designed to generate economic panic, the sabotage of production, illegal strikes and factory takeovers, and land occupations outside the framework of the agrarian reform law.

A series of austerity measures were announced, including a 5 percent cut in the current budget, a freeze on hiring in the state agencies, and a 10 percent cut in certain government subsidies. Not affected are subsidies for milk (which costs thirty cents a liter), public transportation (ten cents a ride), or any of the basic foodstuffs sold below cost because

of government price support. Nor will gas, water, or electric rates be allowed to rise.

Three new laws are designed to tighten control over the economy and save or generate foreign exchange. One imposes stiff penalties for various types of business fraud—tax evasion, double bookkeeping, corruption. The second raises import taxes on several categories of luxury goods manufactured outside Central America.

A third decree has temporarily closed the so-called parallel market, that is, the buying and selling of U.S. dollars on the street at more than the official rate of exchange. The parallel market will be allowed to reopen in a few weeks, but only in authorized offices and under tight control by the central banks. The uncontrolled parallel market has contributed to decapitalization, or capital flight, by giving the rich a way to obtain dollars they can stash in foreign bank accounts.

The approach of capitalist govern-

ments is always to try to make working people and the poor bear the brunt of an economic crisis. Such governments use violence and repression when necessary to keep workers from defending their standard of living. El Salvador is an extreme example of this, but the general approach is not peculiar to Central America.

Nicaragua is different. Workers here are not exempted from the emergency measures and will in some cases be asked to work harder and postpone wage increases or other improvements. But Nicaraguan workers and peasants have never known anything but austerity and sacrifice, and they will not find their lives greatly changed by the new laws.

The most striking thing about the emergency decrees just adopted here is that they represent a clear attempt to find measures that can actually ameliorate the critical economic situation without jeopardizing the standard of living of the poorer sectors of society.

From Intercontinental Press

Cuban exile group says it bombed Mexican consulates

NEW YORK—Omega 7, a right-wing Cuban-exile terrorist organization, has claimed responsibility for the September 12 bombings of the Mexican Consulate here and in Miami.

The blasts caused extensive damage but no injuries.

A third explosion, at the offices of *Replica* magazine in Miami, is as yet unattributed.

Although Omega 7 has yet to state its reasons for the attacks, they came two weeks after a joint declaration on El Salvador by the governments of Mexico and France.

The declaration recognizes the armed opposition to the Salvadoran military junta as "a representative political force." This is in contradiction to U.S. government policy, which seeks the military defeat of the guerrillas and the maintenance in power of the junta.

The Mexican government of José López Portillo has also enjoyed good relations with Cuba, and has repeatedly stated its opposition to any U.S. intervention in Central America and

the Caribbean.

The twin blasts also occurred less than four months after Mayor Edward Koch proclaimed a "Week of the Cuban Lover of Freedom" in New York. In a ceremony marking the occasion, Koch's office presented a scroll to José Tenreiro, whom police describe as "minister of information" for Omega 7.

The terrorists associated with Omega 7 were armed and trained by the CIA during the 1960s, and utilized by the U.S. government in its armed attacks on the Cuban revolution. More recently, they have carried out numerous bombings and assassinations without any interference from the police.

One year ago, on September 11, 1980, Omega 7 took credit for the murder of Cuban diplomatic Félix García Rodríguez, who was gunned down on a busy New York street in broad daylight. Apparently, official toleration of their terrorist actions has encouraged the Omega 7 goons to expand their operations.

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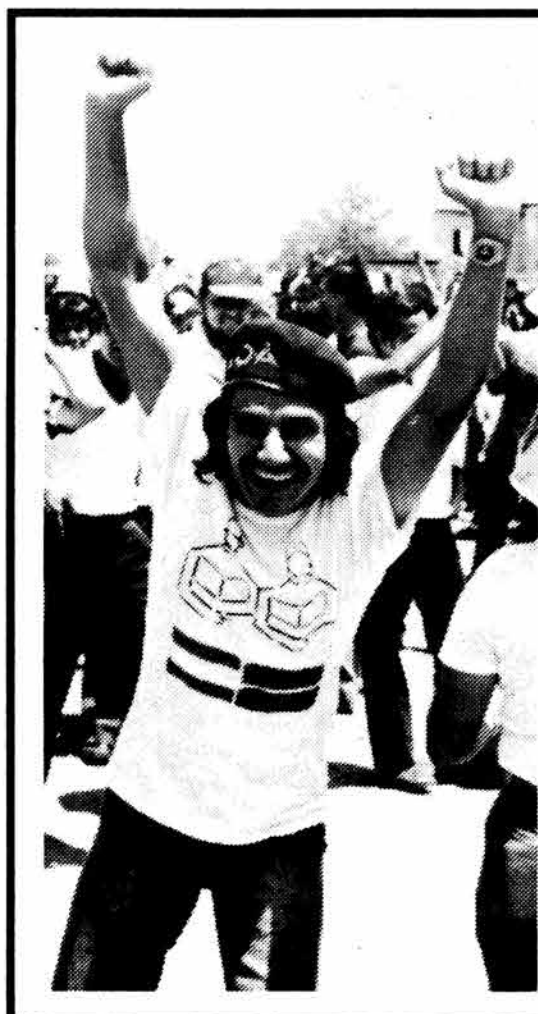
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(212) 242-5530



The 'crime wave' and who's riding it

On September 3, a program titled "Murder: Teenage Style" was broadcast nationally on "CBS Reports."

Filmed in Los Angeles County, the program led you to believe that ours is a society filled with young Black and Latino murderers.

Killers anywhere from twenty-five to eleven years old. Armed to the teeth with knives, handguns, rifles, shotguns. Ready to slash you. Set you on fire. Or put a bullet through your head at a moment's notice for no reason whatsoever.

It was a picture of "civilization" engulfed by a tidal wave of violent crime—crime largely committed

As I see it

ted by what the *Los Angeles Times* calls a "permanent underclass" of completely remorseless youth.

The message: these "beasts" can get any one of you at any time.

The program projected another message as well—if you want to protect yourself from the "beasts of the jungle," you better arm yourself and be prepared to shoot—even at eleven year olds.

The cameras switched to a firing range, where a crowd of whites—with one Black for effect—were training with pistols.

The show's moderator, Black reporter Ed Bradley, interviewed a white woman who had been training for a little over a year.

Why did she start? "Look at all the burglaries in Beverly Hills, look at all the murders. They're happening all the time," she said.

Bradley said most of these crimes are being committed by kids, and asked her if she could shoot an eleven year old.

She replied: "Well, at first all of us shook our heads—that's not going to be possible. But then . . . after you read of all the things that happen and you see some of the things on TV—the violence and so on—yes. If they were coming to kill you, you have to forget about the age . . ."

This show was not unusual. TV viewers are being bombarded with lurid reports of crime and violence every day.

If it's not the "chain snatcher" who will get you, it's the "mad slasher." "Beware of high-crime areas" (a code word for Black and Latino communities).

The "crime wave" propaganda is being used to justify big attacks on democratic rights under the guise of "law and order." The immediate target is Black and Latino youth, but all working people are endangered.

There's the call for more cops heard from officials in every city.

There's Reagan's new Justice Department task force on crime, which calls for spending \$2-\$4 billion to build new jails.

The task force is also urging more restrictions on bail, and "preventive detention" for "suspects."

Is there in fact a "crime wave?" Government figures are contradictory.

If you believe the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, between 1973 and 1979 the overall rate of reported crime went up by 33 percent, violent crime by 28 percent, and crime against property by 33 percent.

But the National Crime Survey, conducted by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the U.S. Bureau of Census, came up with different statistics. Sixty thousand households and 50,000 businesses were polled.

This survey showed an overall crime-rate increase of 5.9 percent per 100,000 people, an increase in the rate of violent crime of 6.1 percent, and an increase in the rate of crime against property of 5.9 percent.

From 1979 to 1980, the FBI says total crime went up 10 percent. But a little-publicized report by the National Crime Survey for that year found that overall crime declined. In fact, the survey found, crime had been declining for the last five years.

As for the impending crime wave led by youth, the Justice Department's latest study shows that while 23 percent of violent crimes are charged to young people, juvenile crime "is less serious in terms of weapons use, theft, financial losses and injuries than is adult crime."

What is increasing is police brutality and harassment, FBI surveillance, and government collusion with right-wing terror.

The rulers of this country want to convince workers that crime in the streets, not capitalism, is the cause of society's ills. To take our minds off the murderous cuts in the budget for things like food stamps and Social Security; or the criminal aid the Pentagon is giving to the butchers in El Salvador.

They don't want us to understand that the real crime in this society is class exploitation and racist oppression: unemployment, racist violence, at-

tacks on women's rights, war, and the draft.

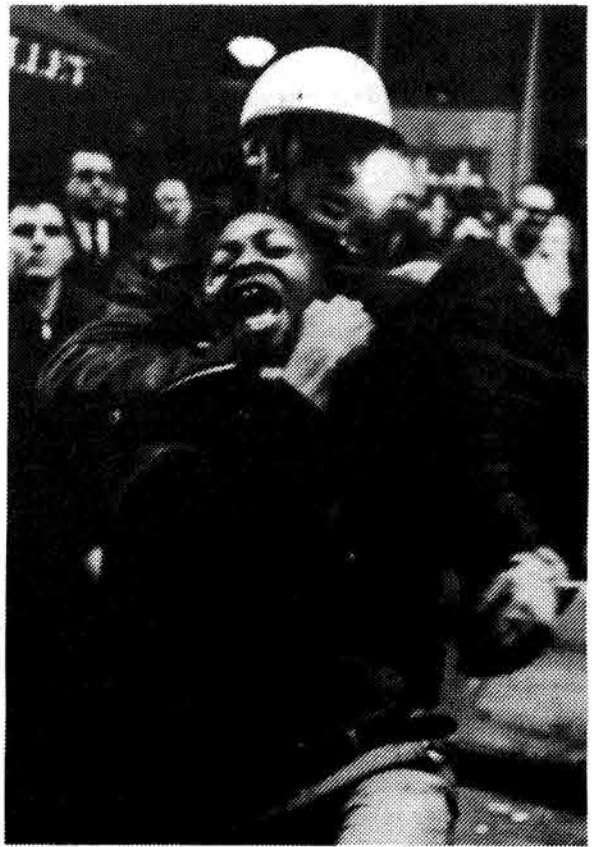
The real criminals are the tiny number of capitalists who rule this country and are waging a social war against working people, especially young Blacks and Latinos. Criminal landlords who freeze tenants to death every winter, criminal bosses who murder workers with speedup, poisonous chemicals, unsafe machinery.

These are the people responsible for the human misery that drives some individuals to commit desperate acts for survival. It's the victims of this capitalist greed who fill the overcrowded prisons, while the real criminals in the White House and corporate boardrooms go free.

To fight these criminals, the angry youth trapped in this social war need to become part of the fight for jobs, against the draft, against all the evils of this society.

These young workers need a fighting organization that is antiracist, antiwar, and anticapitalist. The Young Socialist Alliance offers such an alternative.

—Nelson González



What's Going On

ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

SUPPORT THE AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

HEAR ELLEN HAYWOOD, Socialist Workers candidate for city council. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA TUCSON

MEXICO: A PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE. Speakers: Representative of Revolutionary Workers Party of Mexico. Spanish with English translation. Fri., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. El Rio Neighborhood Center, 1390 W. Speedway Blvd. Donation: \$1. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-3880.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

DIABLO CANYON: WHAT WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Rudy Salinas, Health Services Business Agent, Service Employees International Union Local 660 and Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment; Nancy Berlin, member of board of directors of S. Cal. Alliance for Survival; Nancy Brown, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

SAN DIEGO

REAGAN ESCALATES MOVES TOWARD WAR. Speakers: Representatives from the Committee Against Registration and the Draft and Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

RALLY TO OPPOSE CHICAGO RED SQUAD SETTLEMENT. Speakers: Afeni Shakur; Louis Myers, National Conference of Black Lawyers; and others. Fri., Oct. 2, 7 p.m. YWCA, 37 S. Wabash. For more information call: (312) 939-0737.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

OPEN HOUSE FOR SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN. The socialist candidates John Rees and Dave Walsh will be there to discuss the meaning of the current elections, the fiscal crisis facing Boston and how these events relate to the historic labor march on Washington, D.C., Sept. 19. Tues., Sept. 22, 10 a.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., fourth floor. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

IS IT TIME FOR A NEW PARTY? Speakers: representative from Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Mel King, state representative; David Walsh, Socialist Workers candidate for school committee; Frank Mercier, president, Local 470, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Muntu Matsinela, New England regional representative, National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., Sept. 26, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., near Kenmore T. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

FILM: 'ROSIE THE RIVETER.' Sun., Sept. 27, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation \$3. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW YORK CAPITAL DISTRICT

SOUTHERN AFRICA: WHY DOES THE U.S. SUP-

PORT MILITARY RULE? Speaker: Suzanne Haig, Militant staff writer. Fri., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St., Schenectady. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

NEW YORK CITY

EL GRITO DE LARES: Commemoration of the independentist rebellion of September 23, 1868, at Lares, Puerto Rico, and the establishment of the first Puerto Rican Republic. Speakers: Puerto Rican nationalist hero Irving Flores Rodriguez; Professor Ana Celia Zentella; and Wilma Reverón Tio from the Office of International Information for the Independence of Puerto Rico. Sat., Sept. 26, 7 p.m., PS 41, 116 W. 11th St. (corner of 6th Ave.). Aup: Unity Committee for the Commemoration of the Grito de Lares.

RALLY FOR IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS. Speakers: James Connolly Brady, recently released from Long Kesh prison; Sean Flynn, recently elected to Belfast city council. Fri., Sept. 25, 8 p.m. Irish Institute, 326 W. 48th St. Aup: New York H-Block/Armagh Committee. For more information call (212) 436-4770 or 788-1990.

NORTH CAROLINA PIEDMONT

SEPTEMBER 19: LABOR'S RESPONSE TO REAGAN. Reports back from national D.C. demonstration in opposition to Reagan's economic and social policies. Fri., Sept. 25, 8 p.m. Speakers and location to be announced. Donation requested. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419 or visit Militant Bookstore, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem.

OHIO CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Linda Joyce, candidate for mayor; Amy Belvin, candidate for school board; Eric Friess, Central American Solidarity Committee; and others. Sat., Sept. 26, reception 5 p.m., dinner 6:30 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave.

Donation: \$6, rally and dinner, \$1.50 rally only. Aup: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

PENNSYLVANIA HARRISBURG

RALLY to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Pennsylvania State Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and the 9th anniversary of state ratification of the federal ERA. Sat., Sept. 26, 1 p.m. Harrisburg State Capitol. For more information call your local chapter of the National Organization for Women.

TEXAS SAN ANTONIO

REAGAN'S IMMIGRATION POLICY: AN ATTACK ON ALL WORKERS. Speaker: Rubén Sandoval, civil rights attorney. Fri., Sept. 25, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum and Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

WEST VIRGINIA CHARLESTON

HEAR THE TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS' SIDE: WHY WE HAD TO STRIKE. Speakers: Tony Battle, Local 218, W. Va. statewide strike coordinator; Socialist Workers Party representative. Chair: Rev. Jim Lewis. Sat., Sept. 26, 7 p.m. St. John's Episcopal Church, 1105 Quarrier St., Room 109. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-0869.

MORGANTOWN

SUPPORT THE AIR CONTROLLERS: Speakers: Dennis Oyler, president of Morgantown-Area Professional Air Traffic Controllers. Fri., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 957 University. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 291-5377.

How can we fight job elimination in steel?

The following column is by Geoff Mirelowitz, a member of United Steelworkers Local 2609 at the Sparrows Point Plant in Baltimore.

BALTIMORE—At the end of July over 300 steelworkers attended a rally to protest job elimination at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant. The rally was sponsored by United Steelworkers locals 2609 and 2610 and organized by 2609's Job Protection Committee.

Concern about jobs and job security has been building over the last year. By the summer of 1980, thousands of workers at the plant were on indefinite layoff. In the past few months some have returned to work but hundreds remain on the street.

The threat facing steelworkers here is not only periodic layoffs due to economic downturns. The steel companies are restructuring the industry to make it more "productive"—that is, profitable to them. To do this they are introducing new technology along with more speedup and job combinations. Their goal is more profitable steel production with fewer workers.

Recently, Bethlehem bought full-page ads in several national publications as well as the local press here to explain their modernization effort. Headlined "Mr. President, we're in steel to stay. And to prosper," Bethlehem took the opportunity to thank their friend in the White House for taking "steps to revive our economy and spur business investment. . . ."

These "steps," giant tax give-aways for big business and Reagan's relaxation of environmental and safety regulations, encouraged Bethlehem to launch a modernization program which they highlight in their ad.

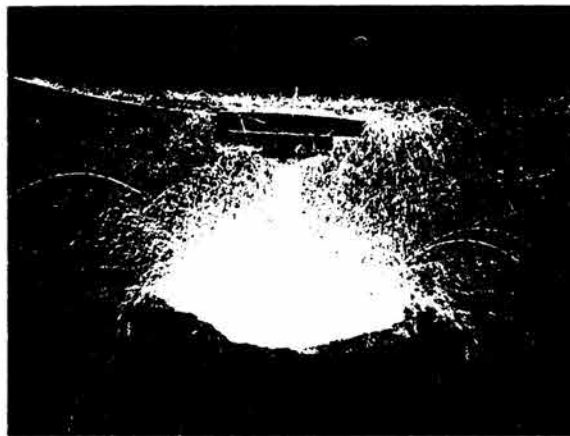
The modernization, the ad promises, "will result in . . . increased efficiency and productivity . . . and should provide improved job security for thousands of our employees."

Sounds great doesn't it? More efficiency, more productivity, and more job security for the Bethlehem "family." Unfortunately, that last sentence requires some reading between the lines. Bethlehem Steel employs 90,000 people. The ad doesn't promise job security for all of them, just for "thousands" of them.

Get the picture? More profits for Bethlehem and fewer jobs for us.

Most steelworkers are not opposed to new technology if it makes hard and dangerous work easier and safer. But, as coke oven grievance committee member Johnny Fair put it at the July rally, the new technology "was earned by the people who worked to give the company the ability to bring it in. Those people should benefit from it."

Mr. President, we're in steel to stay. And to prosper.



That's a Bethlehem commitment...

Joe Kotelchuck, president of Local 2610, cited the effect of other modernization steps at the Point. He pointed to the Basic Oxygen Furnace (BOF), the "L" blast furnace, and the new "A" coke oven battery. At the time they were built, each incorporated the most modern techniques and equipment into making steel. Each helped the company make more money. Each cost steelworkers jobs.

Paul Revelle, chairman of the Job Protection Committee, explained, "We're not trying to stop progress. We just have to have a say in modernization to protect our jobs and to make sure modernization makes the mills a safer and better place to work."

Revelle also summed up what has many steelworkers worried today when he said, "Ten years ago we had 24,000 jobs here. Now it's 16,000. In ten years we'll be down to 9-10,000."

Loss of jobs is not the only problem we face. Working conditions are deteriorating. In my own department, the pipe mill, speedup and forced overtime have become the norm. Since January, six-day weeks have been the regular schedule for many workers.

The company pays less and less attention to worker health and safety. Accidents are frequent occurrences and, more often than not, the victims are patched up and sent back to work.

This is what increased "productivity" is all about for Bethlehem Steel. It is simply a code word for increasing profits. It means getting more steel out per worker. It means health, safety, and working conditions are of little or no concern.

But, as many speakers at the steelworkers rally pointed out, the battle isn't over. It's just begun.

Several important proposals were raised at the

July rally that pointed in the direction of how to save jobs.

Johnny Fair suggested that the steelworkers begin to push for a thirty- or thirty-two-hour workweek with no reduction in pay. This would allow the work to be spread around and allow workers to enjoy some benefits of modernization.

"The companies can afford it," Fair said. He explained that the new "A" coke oven battery will nearly triple the value of each hour of work performed by each employee in the department. Fair also proposed early retirement particularly for coke oven workers who face cancerous fumes every day.

A shorter workweek is a good place to start in the fight to save our jobs. But to most workers this idea immediately leads to the question, "How do we get it?"

Reagan, along with both the Democrats and Republicans in Congress, have won the first round this spring in weakening programs won by the labor and civil rights movements. A shorter workweek is probably not the next point on their agenda.

If the labor movement is to put a shorter workweek and opposition to Reagan's budget cuts on the agenda, it will require a fight. It will require the sort of demonstrations, rallies, and strikes that originally won the eight-hour day and the other social programs which are under attack. The September 19 Solidarity Day is an important step in the right direction.

But it will take more. It will take the labor movement mobilizing our power and exercising it in politics.

David Wilson, director of USWA District 8, suggested to the rally that to respond to Reaganism we had to "get our own people elected." Paul Revelle took this idea one step further. We need a political party "of and for labor," he said. He contrasted this to the "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party who are "ready to pass a budget benefiting everybody except working people."

A labor party, Revelle said, "could pass legislation on thirty for forty and repeal 'right to work' laws. Such a party should be a goal of our union and the entire labor movement."

This proposal deserves more discussion both among steelworkers and among other workers as well. We have watched all spring as the Democrats and Republicans worked together to begin to dismantle fifty years of social programs that our unions fought for and won. These parties will do nothing to save our jobs. To the contrary, they will cooperate with our employers to pass more tax laws and other measures to increase profits while they eliminate jobs. To fight back we need to use the power of our unions on the job, in the streets, and in politics too.

The American Way of Life

Another cover-up of radiation hazards

CINCINNATI—When Robert L. Renner bought the building at 930 York Street here for his architect business, he had no idea that it was contaminated by radioactive dust—and had been for the last thirty years!

In 1951, Keleket X-Ray Corporation owned 930 York Street. There they constructed radiation detectors called dosimeters. They routinely tested their dosimeters with a radiation source, radium sulphate, which was normally kept in lead containers.

On July 24, 1951, Ed Kuerze, working part-time while he went to school on the GI Bill, began to test his dosimeter with the radium source. This required bringing the radium capsule up the lead container to a vent.

"That morning, I pumped the pump to bring the source up and what appeared like a puff of smoke came out the top of the tube," he explained.

"At first, it didn't occur to me what it was. It didn't take me long to realize it was the radium." The capsule had released its contents, spilling radium dust into the workroom.

"We tried to wash up in the Keleket washroom; they didn't have safety showers, as I recall," he said.

"There weren't any provisions, really, for cleaning up."

"One of the fellows was a member of the Y. He suggested we go down there and take a shower. We called a cab and went down. . . ."

Although Kuerze continued to do periodic work for Keleket afterwards, he never again entered 930 York Street.

But not because it was shut down.

"I felt I had enough exposure to the thing. I felt I had inhaled enough of it and had enough on my body that I just refused to be back in the building."

Subsequent tests by Argonne Laboratories revealed radioactive particles in Kuerze's body that persist to this day. Radium emits gamma radiation, which destroys cells and causes cancer.

Since July 24, 1951, 930 York Street has housed three different businesses. Employees have worked there and customers have shopped there without knowing the danger to them. But neither new occupants nor a fresh paint job has eliminated the radium dust. Thousands have been affected. No one knows to what degree.

Keleket Corporation knew of the contamination. They even classified it as an "explosion," took their

insurance company to court, and collected \$20,000. They kept using that building for several years, then sold it to some unsuspecting or ignorant businessman.

The city and the federal governments knew of this accident, but did nothing about it. A few people were monitored over the years, but no one has made public the results.

Of course, at that time, the federal government was doing its damndest to convince the American people that radiation was safe, an easily handled problem. That meant, and still means today, covering up the truth—radiation, even in small doses, causes cancer.

Even thirty years after the fact, the government drags its feet and passes the buck: "We're certainly going to look into it," said Pete Tedeschi, head of the radiation program at the Environmental Protection Agency regional office in Chicago. "If there's any way we can get over there and do it, we will."

Those who have walked through 930 York Street, those who have worked there, are victims of government coverup and collusion. Once again money has come before human lives.

—Robert Connolly

(Robert Connolly is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council of Cincinnati).

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Role model—An electric power industry spokesperson feels that the cost of cleaning up Three Mile Island should be passed on to consumers. It should be seen as a "research and development expense," he explained, a demonstration "of how to clean up a large spill. You couldn't find a better demonstration" for managing another nuclear accident.

Concerned, but not too much—A White House spokesperson assured they were "concerned" about the official 50 percent jobless rate among Black youth. However, he added, he did not expect there would be any new programs aimed at easing the problem.

The Big Apple—A book published in 1977 entitled *New York on \$500 a Day* has been reissued as *New York on \$1,000 a Day*. The revision was necessary. For instance, a modest suite at the Pierre which was available for \$200 a night then now costs \$420. A specialty bakeshop whose cakes ranged from \$25 to \$200 in '77 now sells them for \$60 to \$1,500.

Sounds reasonable—According to

official statistics, unemployment dropped in New York last month, but there was no increase in employment.

Like ham 'n eggs—Cartier, the jewelry folk, are entering the perfume market with a fragrance that will go for \$100 an ounce. A spokesperson explained, "Perfume is compatible with jewelry. You wear it in the same places."

What more could you ask—The Nuclear Regulatory Commission voted unanimously to grant a full power license to a nuclear plant in Daisy, Tennessee, even though it has a "troubled" history. A commission staff member reported that the company management appeared to have a change of heart about observing proper operating procedures.

Gift item—With a \$1,000 deposit, a Miami bank is offering a free jelly bean dispenser. If you include various four-letter words, it would make a nice conversation piece.

Housing situation improves—A while back Dick Nixon bought a house

in New York for \$750,000. Then the Nixons decided they preferred the country and bought a New Jersey cottage for \$1 million. Now, happily,

they've sold the New York place for \$2.6 million, leaving them enough ahead for Dick to consider a new tap recorder.



Letters

Social Security

About 200 angry senior citizens gathered at the federal building in Philadelphia September 2 to protest cuts in minimum social security benefits. They had called on their two senators (who had both voted for Reagan's cut-back budget) to appear and explain their position.

Senator Specter had difficulty making himself heard over disapproving remarks of the crowd. He said he would vote for restoration of the social security minimum when Congress reconvenes; but the crowd wasn't satisfied.

The next speaker was inaudible as senior citizens exchanged indignant comments with their neighbors. Senator Heinz didn't appear, but sent a message similar to that of Specter.

Comments were repeatedly made, both from the platform and from the crowd, that military spending wasn't being

cut and that corporations and their wealthy board members were still making good profits.

I showed the man next to me the front page headline of the day: "Philadelphia Teachers Approve Strike." He drew his companion's attention to it and they both nodded their heads and agreed: "Yes, we're all up against the same thing."

The Senior Citizen's Action Alliance, which called the rally, was urging everyone to get to Washington, D.C. on September 19—another contingent for Solidarity Day! *Eileen Gersh Philadelphia, Pa.*

Freeze on nuclear arms?

About 300 people attended an outdoor, anti-war, theatrical performance, followed by a march and candlelight vigil at the Federal Building in Seattle, in memory of the 200,000 civilians killed by the

atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945—two weeks after the Japanese had sued for peace.

The event was sponsored by Armistice, formerly Live Without Trident. They have begun petitioning for a global freeze on nuclear arms production.

However, for a freeze on nuclear arms production to be brought about, the problem must be approached from its source—the Pentagon and the U.S. State Department. The U.S. and its allies already stand way ahead of the Soviet Union in nuclear and conventional forces, contrary to the assertions of Secretary of State Haig, *et al.* The blame for originating and escalating the nuclear arms race falls on them, not on the Soviet Union or China.

The real threat to world peace comes from the U.S. and its allies—the ruthless, corrupt regimes in Central and South

America, Indochina, the Mideast, and South Africa. *Dean Peoples Seattle, Washington*

Letter from Attica

I want you to put this in your next paper for all of us in the Box at Attica. We are all going on a hunger strike because of the conditions in the Box and for a lot more things.

We can get no medical attention. We don't get a lot of food to eat. They feed us like babies, and we can buy no food from the store. So we decided to go on a hunger strike.

We in the Box at Attica just want you all out in the world to know what is happening to us at Attica.

Right now I need the *Militant* that you send me. When I got it I was glad because I didn't have anything to read at the time. It is very good for all of us in the Box. When I read it, I pass it on to

the next man so he can read it as well. Thanks for the paper again. *A prisoner Attica, New York*

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.*

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

If You Like This Paper, Look Us Up

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

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

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

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

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

THE MILITANT

'Reagan's turning back the clock on civil rights'

Seattle socialist speaks out for busing

by Tony Thomas

SEATTLE—On September 10, the Reagan administration filed papers in support of Washington State Initiative 50. The initiative's aim is to reinstitute school segregation in Seattle and other cities. It bans busing and assignment of students out of "neighborhood schools" for racial desegregation.

Passed in 1978 after a desegregation plan including busing was implemented here, Initiative 350 has been ruled unconstitutional by the Seattle federal district court and the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The courts cited the amendment's explicitly racist content. Originally, the Justice Department had backed the Seattle school district in overturning this measure.

Kevin Kellogg, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle, told the *Militant*, "Reagan is backing something that even the Justice Department says is racist. That shows why Blacks, Asians, Latinos, and the labor movement should be concerned about defending busing."

Kellogg, whose daughter is bused as part of the desegregation plan, said, "The record shows that without busing in this city there would be no desegregation. It took protests by Blacks and the threat of federal enforcement to win busing."

Roger Soder of the Urban League, who was involved in fighting for the desegregation decision, told the *Militant*, "Outside of Chicago, this is one of the most rigidly segregated cities in the North, to the extent that one of the boundary lines is the Lake Washington Ship Canal."

Soder said in the 1950s and early '60s "Blacks were picked up by the police if

they were north of the canal after dark." Now, he says, interest rates and prices of housing have made housing segregation worse.

Soder said if Initiative 350 were implemented, Seattle would go back to de facto segregation.

In 1978, before busing started, twenty-eight out of 113 Seattle schools had over 55 percent minority students, most of these with over 70 percent minorities. Minorities made up only 31 percent of the students at that time, so almost all of the eighty-five other schools were segregated white schools.

This was after more than ten years of "voluntary racial transfers," and after one year of "magnet school" programs. These two school programs are often counted as alternatives to desegregation through busing. In fact, the school board admitted that segregation grew after these programs were started.

In June 1977, four days after the American Civil Liberties Union, supported by the NAACP and the Urban League, threatened a desegregation suit, the city finally agreed to implement a full desegregation plan. This was hailed as "voluntary," but it came only after struggles against segregation by the Black community, including several school boycotts.

Larry Gossett of the Central Area Motivation Program, a major community center and agency in the Black community here, told the *Militant*, "The main force in getting this program was the Black community. We want our children to have more options, not just that they could be sitting next to white children. The people supporting Initiative 350," he said, "are racists. And Reagan's



Militant/Jon Hillson

support to it, like all his cutbacks, is nothing but a throwback to institutionalized racism."

Joe Simmons, an integration officer with the Seattle schools, said that the Seattle plan, which involves pairing schools in minority and white areas, had run smoothly and had expanded educational options for both whites and minorities.

Both Soder and Simmons report that there have been no disruptions since busing and desegregation began here in

1978. Test scores and other educational indicators have improved throughout the school system since that time.

"Reagan is trying to turn back the clock on what we have won in the desegregation of this city," said socialist Kevin Kellogg.

"Mobilizations by Black people, unionists, and other workers won us these rights," he continued. "And we need mobilizations to defend busing if we're going to keep the gains of desegregation."

El Salvador: what the war's about

By Nelson González

Right now a war is raging in the small Central American country of El Salvador.

Twenty-six thousand people have been killed in less than two years. Systematic terrorism by ultrarightist death squads, which operate in collusion with the military high command, have forced some 700,000 Salvadorans into exile—14 percent of the country's population. An even greater number of refugees has been created within the country by army massacres and indiscriminate destruction of peasant villages.

Those who speak out against these crimes are marked for death by the military junta and its agents. Among their victims was Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, gunned down while saying mass in the main cathedral in San Salvador.

In December, three Catholic nuns and a lay worker, all from the United States, were picked up by the army at a roadblock outside of San Salvador. Like thousands of Salvadorans, they were tortured, raped, and murdered.

What kind of government is it that has to use such methods against its own people?

The Salvadoran junta represents a corrupt oligarchy. Twenty families in El Salvador control more than 70 percent of the country's private banks, sugar mills, coffee production, and exports, as well as the television and newspapers.

In a country dominated by agriculture, the question of land is a matter of life and death. Sixty percent of the land in El Salvador is owned by 2 percent of the people, while 40 percent of the population is landless.

Only 16 percent of the work force is employed all year round. Average earnings come to \$450 a year.

The result of this exploitation and inequality is that 74 percent of the children under five years of age suffer from malnutrition. Half of them die before their first birthday.

Health care is not available for the vast majority, and neither is education. There are only three doctors for every 10,000 inhabitants, and 40 percent of the people in the cities and 60 percent of those in the countryside are illiterate.

Is it any wonder that the Salvadoran people have rebelled against these conditions?

But the U.S. government is backing

the oligarchy and its junta in their war against the Salvadoran workers and peasants. First President Carter and now President Reagan have sent massive amounts of deadly military hardware to the junta. As in the early years of the Vietnam War, U.S. advisors have been sent to El Salvador to bolster the junta's shaky forces.

The only ones who stand to gain from this intervention, here in the United States, are the multinational corporations that own most of Salvadoran industry. Exxon, International Basic Coffee Company, Westinghouse Electric, Alcoa, Texaco, U.S. Steel, and others rake in superprofits from the exploitation of Salvadoran workers.

If Reagan succeeds in dragging us into a war to defend the profits of the rich in El Salvador, it will be the working people who will pay the price in blood. And our standard of living is already being cut to ribbons while Reagan "rearms" America by taking the school lunches from the mouths of poor children.

The corporate profiteers who are attempting to break the Salvadoran people are the same enemy that working people face here at home.



Michael Philippot/Sygma/Village Voice