

THE MILITANT

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

SOLIDARITY DAY Giant step for labor

PAGES 2, 3-5



WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 19—Half a million people at AFL-CIO demonstration protest Reagan administration attacks.

Militant/Alan Martin

Solidarity Day: only the beginning

"Solidarity Day—Only the Beginning."

That was a popular and important slogan at the historic Washington demonstration September 19.

Solidarity Day laid a powerful foundation for the fight to defeat the Reagan administration's naked attacks against working people.

The giant demonstration told the world that the ranks of American labor are united in their opposition to this offensive, and that they have important allies in the fight.

Tens of thousands of workers, speaking for millions more, projected their demands at the demonstration—opposition to union-busting, to attempts to drive down wages and scrap health and safety regulations, to high unemployment, and to increased military expenses.

There was also another important ingredient. It was expressed in the big placards carried at the head of the parade. They declared: "We Are One—AFL-CIO"; "We Are One—NAACP"; "We Are One—NOW".

The demonstration jointly supported the principal demands of each of these organizations. Labor is for ratification of the ERA. It declared its opposition to scuttling the Voting Rights Act and other gains of the civil rights movement. And all the participating groups support labor's demands.

The big question now is, how do we realize these demands? Where do we go from here?

A number of answers have been offered. This paper argues that what's needed is for the union movement and its allies to begin building their own party—a solidarity party, a labor party.

Others say, "No. The thing to do is give the Democrats more strength. Work hard in '82 to put more Democrats in Congress. Pave the way for the Democrats to take back the White House in '84."

Will that solve our problems?

Those who argue for more support to the Democrats seem to forget that one reason Reagan was elected president was because so many people were totally fed up with Carter.

And the problem was not just with the millionaire peanut vendor. Look at the sickening spectacle in Congress today. Democrat after Democrat voting for Reagan's program. If it wasn't for Democratic support, Reagan couldn't be training his guns on Social Security; cutting back on education, housing, medical care, and food stamps; and stealing lunch out of the mouths of school children.

And pouring billions in giveaways into the coffers of the banks and corporations.

The Democrats may quibble on this or that minor point, but when the cutback vote comes they're "aye" to "aye" with the Republicans.

And it's the cooperation of the two parties that makes possible the escalation of U.S. military aid to the dictatorship in El Salvador and the mounting attacks on democratic rights at home.

Political action is needed, for sure. But to work, it has to be a whole new ball game.

The key is organized labor.

A lot of anti-labor propaganda myths were destroyed by the giant march on Washington. "Joe Sixpack," the "average worker"—as one recent *New York Times* contributor put it—is fat and satisfied, all for Reagan.

Solidarity Day answered that slander. Given a meaningful call, a broadly representative cross-section of labor poured out for the demonstration. Marching down Constitution Avenue in a seemingly endless stream, they demonstrated a will and capacity to fight for what's needed.

And much needs to be done. The system we live under is in crisis.

Despite their incredible wealth and power, the bankers and monopolies are in trouble. True, not our kind of trouble. Their problem is where their next billion is coming from.

In country after country—from Central America to Africa, from Iran to Indochina—people long and profitably exploited by U.S. business are fighting for independence from them.

And foreign capital is giving U.S. business a run for its markets.

Today, American capitalists can safeguard their profits only by taking more and more out of the hides of working people in this country and around the world. They have to drive down real wages, cut back on hard won conditions, scrap health and safety controls, restrict democratic rights, and increase the military budget.

They can't "afford" an ERA that would help women win equal wages and spur their drive for full equality. Or civil rights legislation that gives Black people a lever in the fight for their rights.

How do they get away with ramming through their reactionary program?

The answer is political. Big business owns and controls not one, but two parties. Can there be any question today that both the Republicans and Democrats march to their tune?

That's why it's coming down on us the way it is. If we're to fight back effectively, we have to take a lesson from them. Build our own party. One that we control and can give a mandate to. We can do that with a labor party.

Some say it's more realistic to "reform" the Democrats. But history has already proven that's a pipedream. Labor officials, Black officials, and others, have been trying that for forty-five years at least. And things get worse every

year.

For good reason. The hard fact is that the game is fixed. Parties that are committed to put profits before people cannot meet the needs of the people.

But, some in the labor movement argue, we can't go it alone.

That's true. But we don't have to. Solidarity Day made that clear. The spirit of unity that prevailed in Washington was not just among union brothers and sisters. There was also the strong, visible sense of solidarity between the unionists and the other participants in the demonstration.

A labor-led coalition could build a party that would really be something new. Not a sickly echo of the Democrats, but a party that would be the polar opposite of what Reagan and Carter have come to represent.

A labor party would aim its fire at the greedy. It would work to rebuild America, not speed its decay. The people who so desperately need jobs would be provided useful work—building the homes, schools, hospitals, transit systems and the many other things we need.

The cost of financing such a program? No sweat.

For openers, a labor party would fight to end the arms buildup whose sole purpose is to defend the employers' interests around the world. Take the tens of billions being spent for weapons and allocate them for peace and progress.

The whole system of taxation could be reversed by a simple rule of thumb—tax the rich, not the poor.

Start with the bankers and their 20 percent interest rates. Take a real bite from the oil bandits and their \$1.50-a-gallon gas. Go after the phone and utility profiteers, the wealthy manufacturing corporations, the food monopolists and all the other vultures.

The fight for such a program by a labor party would pose the creation of a new kind of government in this country—a working people's government. We need that. The problem today is that we have a government that rules in the interest of the employers. We need a government that will represent, with the same zeal, all the oppressed and exploited—those who work in the mines, mills, manufacturing plants, and offices; those who keep the transportation and communication running; and the working farmers who produce our food and fiber.

On Solidarity Day, the nation's capital was engulfed by a sea of working people. Our bodies, our voices, our banners represented the mightiest force in this nation.

Solidarity Day was only the beginning of change. If we strive to find the means to build a new party—a labor party—we will change the face of American politics into what it should be.

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If You Like This Paper...



Washington's out to prove women 'inferior'

Part two of Margaret Jayko's series about Reagan's war on women's rights. **Page 14.**

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in editorials.

Half million in historic labor march

September 19 was an historic day. Half a million people answered the AFL-CIO's call to march on Washington to protest the Reagan administration's attacks on working people in this country.

Unionists, and thousands of marchers from civil rights groups, senior citizens, antiwar, and women's organizations traveled to Washington from every corner of the country.

The demonstration was among the largest in the history of the United States. Its size topped that of such historic marches on Washington as the one for civil rights in August 1963, and the anti-Vietnam War moratorium in November 1969.

The demonstration came close to equaling the huge antiwar demonstration of April 24, 1971, the largest march on Washington ever held.

The immense turnout far surpassed even the most optimistic forecasts by AFL-CIO officials. A large proportion of the marchers were Black and women.

The following story was compiled from reports by staff writers and readers of the 'Militant.'

By Vivian Sahner

Boarding the buses early September 19 marked the end of another fifty-hour work week for 300 members of United Auto Workers Local 980. Second shift was on the job till 4:00 a.m. They just had time to grab a quick breakfast and change into their local's Solidarity Day T-shirts before the trip from Metuchen Ford plant in New Jersey to Washington.

But spirits ran high. Everyone had a message for Ronald Reagan. And, for once, Ford had to throw in the towel on Saturday overtime—Local 980 had other plans for the day.

Their buses pulled out onto the New Jersey Turnpike, joining a growing stream of buses headed for the demonstration.

Traffic got heavier as 27,000 members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City filled one bus after another.

Buses backed up at toll booths along the way. Riders with the hospital workers in Local 1199 cheered as an International Union of Electrical Workers bus with a "Support PATCO" sign pulled alongside.

Steelworkers and NAACP

Steelworkers came from Chicago, Gary, and Baltimore. NAACP buses from Cleveland; Detroit, Kentucky, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Electricians from Massachusetts, Georgia, and Kentucky.

Five buses came from Burlington, Vermont, a town that hit the news after the recent election of a socialist mayor, Bernard Sanders. In case anyone hadn't heard, Burlington marchers were decked out in T-shirts that boasted, "The People's Republic of Burlington." One sported a button, "As Burlington goes, so goes France."

And buses rolled into D.C. from the South. Ironworkers from Florida. Communications Workers from Atlanta. Machinists from South Carolina.

Members of United Furniture Workers Local 282 in Memphis, Tennessee brought four buses, fifteen cars, and

two vans. The unionists—most of them Black women—each carried their own handprinted sign. "Don't spend my rent on your budget," one demanded.

Company officials called it "the largest charter movement in Greyhound's history." Buses, including hundreds of school buses, from Montreal to Dallas—more than 5,000 in all—brought marchers to the demonstration. Thousands more arrived on twelve labor trains.

Honored PATCO lines

Unionists went to remarkable lengths to get to the march while honoring the picket lines of PATCO, the air controllers union.

In Iowa, delegates at the state AFL-CIO convention held their last session at 6:30 a.m. on September 18. Then made the long bus trip to Washington.

Four AFSCME members from Pueblo, Colorado, drove thirty-eight hours each way for the march.

Fifty unionists from Seattle carpooled to Vancouver, flew to Toronto in the hands of safe, union air traffic controllers in Canada, and then took a ten-hour bus trip to D.C.

"There's no way we were going to cross the picket line," Roger Yockey, an official of the Retail Store Employees Union, told the press. "I'm wiped out . . . but it was well worth it for this historical event."

By 10:00 a.m., thousands of demonstrators were pouring off buses and into the D.C. subway system, headed for the Washington Monument. Hundreds of Communications Workers were on hand to show the way.

Choruses of "Solidarity Forever" rang throughout the stations and subway cars. The subway trip was free for all—the \$65,000 tab picked up by the AFL-CIO.

The Washington Monument was a sight to behold.

Sea of green, yellow, blue

A sea of green where an estimated 60,000 AFSCME members gathered under a dirigible-shaped balloon so big it took six people to hold it down.

A sea of blue where 50,000 Machinists in union caps gathered for the march. Yellow where the NAACP donned "Solidarity Day" visors.

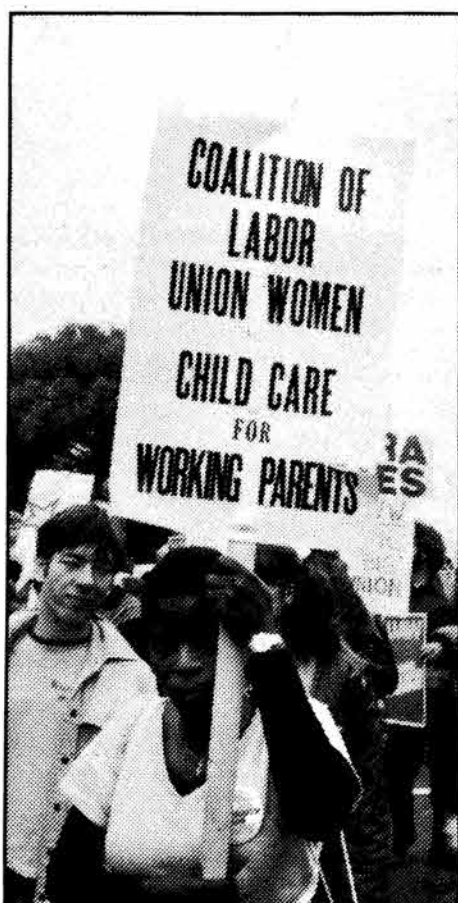
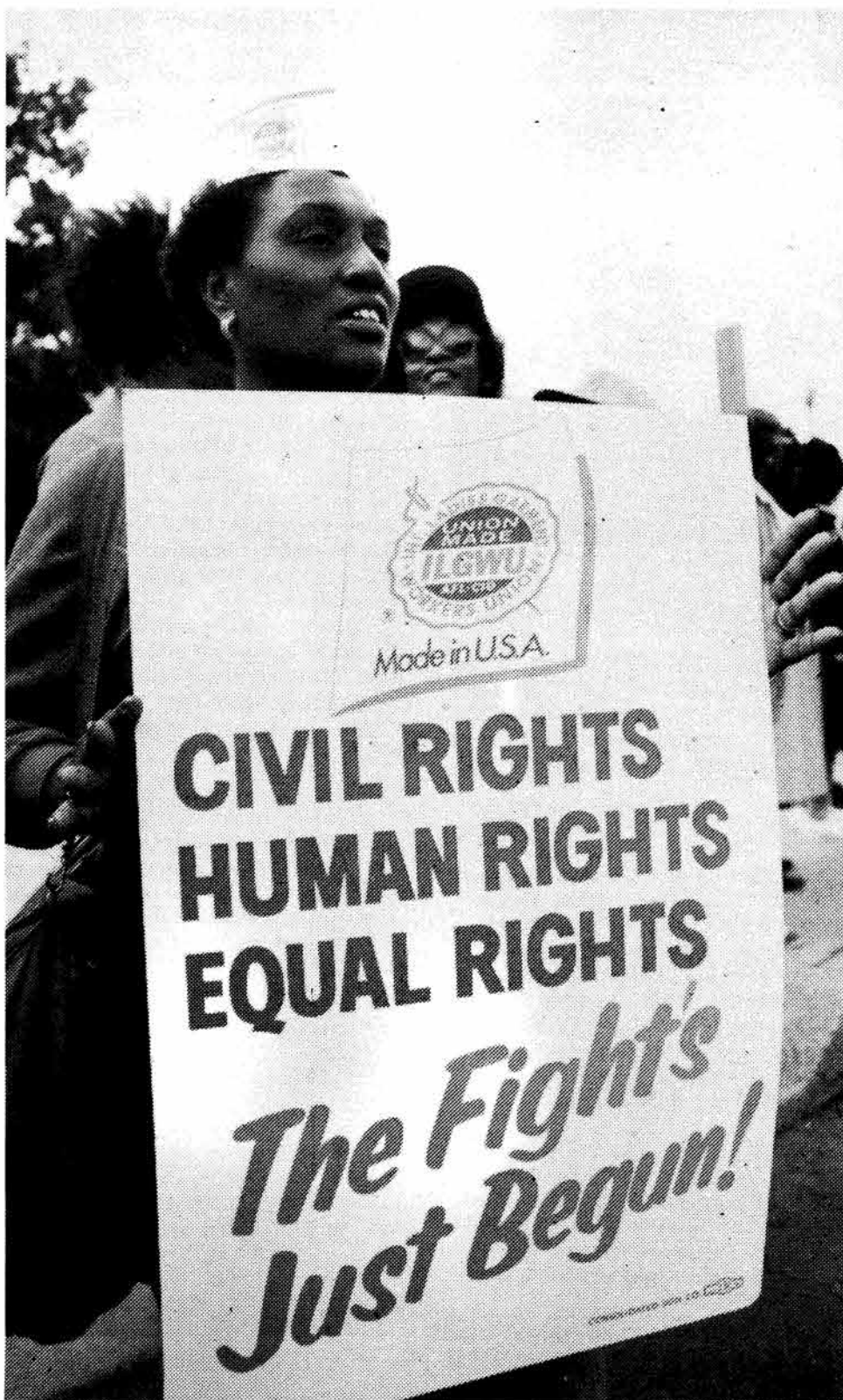
The United Food and Commercial Workers met under a flock of red balloons.

Members of the National Organization for Women walked throughout the crowd distributing thousands of green-and-white "ERA YES" signs. Marchers from every contingent grabbed them up. It was the most widely carried sign of the day—one reflection of the sweeping support for women's rights expressed at the march.

Buttons, T-shirts, and placards of every imaginable size, shape and color were on hand.

"Defend Social Security." "Reagonomics: New hope for the hard-core rich." "Stockman had a student loan." "CWA says: Save the PATCO 12,000." "Senior Power: Use it or lose it." From Milwaukee, "Justice for Ernie Lacy." "UAW District 65: Save Salvadoran unionists, stop military aid."

Continued on next page



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...march

Continued from preceding page

A handwritten sign said, "If Reagan is the answer, then it must have been a silly question." Another said, simply, "Ronald Reagan is evil."

* * *

At 9:00 a.m., Ossie Davis strode onto the Monument grounds stage and welcomed everyone to the demonstration. Blacklisted during the McCarthy period, Davis introduced fellow blacklisted entertainer Pete Seeger, and Linda Lav-in—"Alice" of the popular television se-

For reports on Solidarity Day rallies in other cities, see page 13.

ries—who told the crowd, "Reagan can kiss my grits." Hundreds in the crowd sang along with the labor songs.

They must be insane

A group of young Black singers from New York City, called Serious Business, brought up a subject that was on many minds. "Going to war," they sang, "What are we fighting for? They must be insane, if they think we'll fall for that again." The crowd around the stage broke into applause.

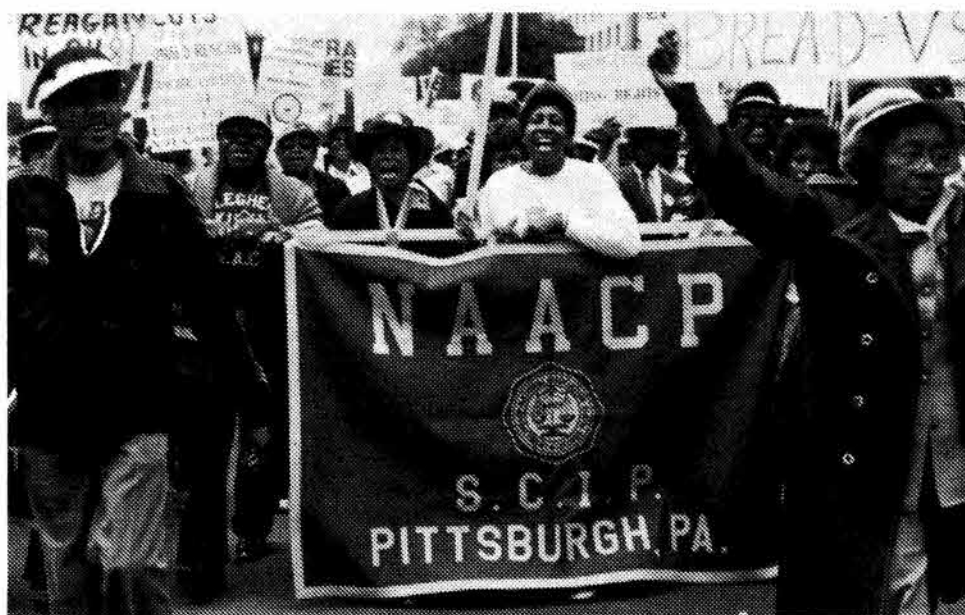
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A group of American Federation of Government Employees diligently practiced "2,4,6,8—Reagan better negotiate." A Black man leading the chant urged them on: "When we get out there we're going to be the finest thing on the street."

* * *

It was hard to count the number of Professional Air Traffic Controller Organization (PATCO) members there. Most put the figure at 6,000.

They were always surrounded by well wishers. And PATCO members were constantly on the move, zipping around



Militant/Alan Martin

selling shirts, selling buttons, explaining their strike to the crowd.

At the center of the PATCO contingent, a loudspeaker blared a mocking recording of government attempts to replace the striking air controllers. "If you can score high on Space Invaders—we have a job for you. . . ."

Wherever the PATCO members went, they were greeted with chants of "PATCO, PATCO," and "Strike, strike." Demonstrators walked over to have their picture taken with them.

* * *

One group of UAW members carried a black coffin marked, "We want to retire at 62." Later, they walked through the crowd, filling the coffin with donations for the air controllers.

* * *

All morning long, hundreds filed on to the monument grounds. By noon, the crowd had swollen to several hundred thousand.

One D.C. cop on Constitution Avenue turned to watch the crowd step off. Staring at the hundreds of Ironworkers assigned to marshal the parade, he

whistled, "I've never seen so many people in my life."

And they were still coming. At the rally three hours later, AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Thomas Donahue announced that buses were still backed up on the highways leading into the capital.

* * *

A truck crammed with media people proceeded up Constitution Avenue, snapping photos at the rally speakers who led the march. Behind a huge "Solidarity Day" banner marched Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO; Eleanor Smeal, president of NOW; Coretta Scott King; League of United Latin American Citizens President Tony Bonilla; Benjamin Hooks, president of the NAACP; and others.

AFSCME—the largest contingent—was given front place honors on the parade. "We're bad, we know it—we've got the union to show it," they shouted.

Then came the Machinists, behind a banner that stretched across the street: "Jobs not Bombs."

Opposition to the draft and Reagan's war moves—shown most clearly in the

Machinists contingent and the groups that marched with them—permeated the whole demonstration.

Antiwar crowd

"Reagan. We won't go to war. No," said one sign.

"Stop the draft."

Machinists Lodge 1784 and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador had a joint banner that read, "U.S. hands off El Salvador."

Black members of Operating Engineers Local 304 from Michigan carried signs reading, "Build roads, not neutron bombs."

UAW District 65 distributed placards that said, "Make jobs, not war."

A railworker from Florida held a handwritten sign: "War No, Jobs Yes." The Progressive Student Network carried a banner: "Money for tuition, not ammunition."

A small group of senior citizens sat on the side of the march route holding up a sign: "No to neutron bombs."

An official AFL-CIO banner read, "Our mandate: more books, less arsenals."

* * *

The antiwar sentiment even spread to the Port-A-Johns. Someone posted a handlettered leaflet to read while you were waiting in line. "A question of logic: If we have enough atomic weapons to destroy the world completely, why do we need anything else?"

* * *

One of the striking air controllers, James Staluum from Virginia, was interviewed on television. He explained that he had been a Marine during the Vietnam war. "If the government called for me to serve in the armed forces today," he said, "I'd stampede for Canada."

Voting Rights Act

Behind the Machinists, marched
Continued on page 10

Puerto Rico: electrical workers lead fightback

By Nelson Gonzalez

SAN JUAN—The U.S. government's devastating budget cuts and their catastrophic effects in Puerto Rico have provoked a massive response from nearly every sector of the island's population.

In this U.S. colony, the Reagan offensive is being implemented by Governor Carlos Romero Barceló leader of the New Progressive Party (PNP), which favors making Puerto Rico a state.

As a result, a series of confrontations have broken out between the PNP administration and the labor movement and its allies.

The most decisive of the struggles taking place is that of the Puerto Rican electrical workers.

On August 20, the Union of Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers (UTIER)—6,700 strong, among the most combative of Puerto Rican workers—mounted the picket lines in a strike provoked by the state-run Electrical Energy Authority (AEE).

In the more than thirty-five bargaining sessions that began last March, the AEE made initial wage offers of a zero increase in wages, then offered a three-percent hourly increase every year for three years, and then made a third offer of a forty-dollar monthly increase for each year of a two-year contract.

With inflation at an annual rate of 15 percent, these ridiculous offers by the AEE were calculated to provoke the strike.

In what has become an increasingly bitter test of strength, the government has responded with a campaign of slander, intimidation, and red-baiting. It is using the press and radio to brand the union as communist-dominated and terrorist, and to create the impression that a few scabs within the union represent a bona-fide "back-to-work" movement.

The police have also arrested several strike leaders for allegedly committing sabotage.

In response to this strike-break campaign, the union leadership called for a mass picket at the AEE's central headquarters in San Juan on September 17. More than 3,000 union members and supporters turned out.

The picketers then marched through the streets of San Juan. The sympathetic and enthusiastic response they received was clear proof of the public support that the strikers have.

A regional assembly of thousands of UTIER workers, held immediately after the march, outlined plans to further strengthen the strike. This was further testimony to the combativity and high morale of the strikers.

Despite being involved in a very critical strike, the UTIER leadership is utilizing its strength and resources to play a critical leadership role in mobilizing the rest of the Puerto Rican population against other government attacks.

"For the first time in the history of the Puerto Rican labor movement, a labor union—the UTIER—is championing the demands of broader sectors of the population," was how one chapter president described UTIER's current involvement in the various struggles.

When the AEE announced several months ago that it would raise electrical rates and force consumers to pay nearly 70 percent more in electric bills, more than fifty civic, religious, labor, and other organizations joined together to organize a march of over 20,000 people at the governor's residence in San Juan in protest.

At the heart of this organizing effort was the leadership and membership of the UTIER. The UTIER workers were in the forefront, countering government

propaganda about alleged AEE deficits caused by wages paid to the workers. They exposed the tremendous profits generated by the AEE exclusively for its shareholders, one of the largest of which is the Rockefeller-owned Chase Manhattan Bank in New York.

When the population of Aguada mobilized by the thousands to protest the projected installation of a coal-fired electric plant, which would have presented an environmental hazard and was totally unnecessary given Puerto Rico's underutilization of its present electric power, again it was the UTIER that spearheaded this struggle.

During the week of September 13, under the intense pressure of continual mobilizations, the government conceded that the plant wasn't needed and canceled the project. This represented a tremendous victory for all consumers, as well as for the UTIER workers.

On another front, 5,000 students voted on September 3 to strike against a tripling of university tuition fees and other cuts in financial aid. Since that time, there have been continuous mobilizations involving thousands of students.

In an effort to deflect the impact of student organizing efforts, the university administration adopted a declaration making it illegal to hold meetings, marches, and other activities on campus. In response to this, the students called for a student assembly on the morning of September 22.

In many of these actions, the UTIER has sent representatives in support of the students. One of the most important questions currently being addressed in the union is the need for more solidarity between workers and students.

In a campaign to reach out to other sectors of the population, Committees of Support for the UTIER, composed of

unionists, students, consumers, etc., are functioning in many parts of the island. They are attempting to create links between other struggles taking place and the strike.

Linking sections of the Puerto Rican labor movement with broader social struggles comes at a time when the economic crisis has precipitated anew a heated debate around the most explosive question in Puerto Rican politics. That is the question of Puerto Rico's relationship to the United States.

Given the direction of the labor movement in increasing confrontation with imperialist-imposed budget cuts, the conditions are being rapidly created for a resurgent independence movement linked with a radicalized labor movement. This would represent the biggest challenge yet to U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico.

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At the rally: 'I am somebody!'

By Suzanne Haig

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Opposition to the budget cuts. Support for civil rights and the Equal Rights Amendment. Solidarity with the striking air controllers.

Clearly, speakers at the Solidarity Day rally who referred to these demands—which appeared on tens of thousands of banners and picket signs—were the best received by the crowd assembled on the mall in front of the capitol building September 19.

The strikers of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization have been unscrupulously maligned by the big-business press. But on Solidarity Day, Steve Wallaert, president of PATCO Local 291 in Norfolk, Virginia, was the most popular speaker.

Continuously throughout his speech, the crowd applauded, whistled, and cheered. Shouts of "Strike, strike, strike" went on long after he had finished.

"I have become embittered," he said, "by an administration that wants to hand over the environment to business because there is no profit in clean water and clean air."

"That professes to remove government from the backs of the people, yet wants constitutional amendments that tell women what they can or cannot do."

"That holds up the no-strike oath for all to see, while conveniently forgetting its own pledges."

"I am angry at this administration and any administration that sees public employees as less than full citizens by denying them rights available to employees in the private sector."

"I am angry at being chained, shackled, and jailed because my employer would not negotiate the issues important to my survival as a worker. We all have needs that must be addressed. Freedom from poverty, sickness, unsafe working conditions. Freedom from products that injure, maim, or kill."

"An environment that will support us, our children, and our children's children. Equal rights for all, and dignity for all."

"Where are the leaders who can see ahead rather than looking to the past, and still believe we must make life better rather than concentrating on means to destroy life?"

"I think of PATCO as a large family whose members care for each other. Today, gathered here, is a larger family, an extended family. A family of unionists and organizations who care about what is happening. Who don't want to see decades of work wiped out by a stroke of a pen."

"We have made a difference here today. We are knocking on the door. I hope someone is listening."

"Without the support of all you unionists, this would be a much more difficult struggle," Wallaert said of the PATCO strike.

"What I said on August 3 remains true today. We are on strike and we will remain on strike until Bob Poli [PATCO national president] says go back to work."

From 1963 to 1981

"Eighteen years ago, hundreds of thousands of Black and white Americans marched on this city seeking an end to segregation, discrimination, injustice, and economic inequality."

"Today, we come back to our nation's capital to say to Americans that Jefferson's creed and Martin's dream have been deferred too long."

So stated Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. He was referring to the most popular theme at the demonstration: the historical connection between Solidarity Day and the civil rights movement.

"We shall not stand idly by while America's working poor, the children of the poor, the Black youth of our cities, the elderly and those who labor in our nation's factories, fields, and offices are sacrificed in the name of fighting inflation," Hooks continued.

"We come to fight those who will turn



the clock back on the civil rights decision of 1954 and the affirmative action of the 1960's.

"We're not going to let anybody make us move back."

"We're saying to those who are trying to use \$1,000 cowboy boots while our children don't have any shoes at all, 'Well, no, we won't go.'"

"To those who want to turn us back to the days of the robber barons, we're saying, 'Well, no, we won't go.'"

"To those who want to take care of the greedy and bring back the days of the yellow-dog contract and the lockouts and injunctions and equal work for unequal pay, we're crying out, 'Well, no, we won't go.'"

Three times during the rally program, the crowd burst out in spontaneous, sustained chants after a speaker had finished. This was one of those times.

To Hooks's call, demonstrators answered, "Hell, no, we won't go. Hell, no, we won't go."

The crowd erupted into loud applause and cheers when Stevie Wonder was introduced. The well-known entertainer initiated the call for Martin Luther King Day in Washington, D.C., last January.

Antiwar crowd

Before the action, rally organizers had explained that the focus of the march and rally was to be the budget cuts and domestic issues.

But many speakers at the rally also raised questions about U.S. foreign policy, and were among the best received.

Benjamin Hooks stated, "A nation that will flirt with apartheid and discrimination in South Africa can only weaken our moral authority, and that is a clear and present danger."

Loud cheers greeted Steve Wallaert when he said, "I have become embittered by an administration that refuses to make cuts in defense. The strongest military in the world is worth nothing if its people are starving in the streets."

"Our mandate," said AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland, counterposing labor's program to Reagan's, is for "more school houses and less jails, more books and less arsenals. . . ."

'ERA, ERA!'

To big cheers, National Organization for Women President Eleanor Smeal blasted the Moral Majority and stated, "Those who profit from denying women their rights also get profit from denying trade unionists their rights, Blacks their rights, and the minorities their rights."

Following Smeal's speech, the pro-women's rights crowd chanted, "ERA, ERA, ERA!" as though they would never stop.

Joyce Miller, president of the Coali-

tion of Labor Union Women, also addressed the needs of women.

"Mr. President," she said, "I want to tell you about the real America as it is for millions of working women. This is not a Hollywood version of the family with 'wifey' at home, and 'daddy' at the office, and sister at school."

"In the real America, mom and dad both work, and with increasing frequency, mom's salary is the sole source of support for the family."

"One way you can get government off our backs, Mr. President, is to keep it out of our bedrooms. If the members of Congress who are concerned about the well being of our fetuses would only be as concerned about our poor babies once they were born. . . ."

Must carry on fight

Sam Church, president of the United Mine Workers, stated that if necessary the unions would wage battle. "The American worker has fought for over a century to improve his or her lot. The struggles were not easy. The battles were long and costly. Many great men and women dedicated and gave their lives to this cause. Can we do less?"

Other speakers included Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto

Workers; Coretta Scott King; Tony Bonilla; president of United Latin American Citizens.

No Democratic or Republican politicians were invited to speak at the rally. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH, evoked the awakening class consciousness of the demonstrators.

"This is the beginning of a major resistance movement," he said. "It cannot just stop here in America. This is a worldwide movement. Workers in America must be concerned about workers in Poland. Workers in America must be concerned about workers in South Africa."

"We have the power. We cannot bow to Reagan. We must stand. We must resist."

"We must not turn on each other. We must turn to each other. Black and white and brown. Male and female."

Jackson asked the crowd to join him in chanting: "I am somebody. Respect me. Protect me. Never neglect me. I want to work. I need to work. Pay me for the work I do. I am somebody."

Joining with Jackson, the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, both Black and white, had fused this well-known statement of Black pride with working-class pride and solidarity.

Militant/Lou Howort

National Black party brings spirited contingent

By Malik Miah

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Chanting "We're fired up, we won't take it no more," one hundred members of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) marched in the Solidarity Day demonstration.

The NBIPP contingents were quite spirited. Among the chants were: "We want J-O-Bs, so we can E-A-T"; "Who's gonna stop the cuts, say, we're gonna stop the cuts"; and "U.S. out of El Salvador, U.S. out of South Africa."

One NBIPP contingent was led by the Rev. Ben Chavis, a national party spokesperson. The two national chairpersons of the party, Ron Daniels and Elsa Brown, marched in the other contingent.

There were two large party banners. One had the party emblem and listed the party's general objectives. The second read: "Break with the Democratic and Republican Parties!!! Fight for Union Democracy!!! Build the N.B.I.P.P."

Most of the marchers were from Washington. However, there were a sprinkling of activists from the

Midwest and East Coast. One sister from Detroit said she was here because the struggle of Black workers for jobs, justice and equality was also the fight of the trade unions.

Rev. Chavis explained that NBIPP's participation in Sept. 19 was a way to let tens of thousands of Black workers learn about the party and what it stands for.

The night before, a public forum on "Black Workers and the 1980s" was sponsored by the D.C. NBIPP chapter and the party's national Workers Commission. About forty-five people attended.

Rox Pelles of Durham, North Carolina, the party's national co-convenor of the Black Workers Commission, pointed out that NBIPP's program for Black workers was in the interests of all workers. She noted, "This system is not designed to help Black workers, the poor and working people." In fact, the fight to achieve our demands, she said, means "we must do so as part of the fight against the total socio-economic system."

Welcome to new readers

'Militant' well received on Solidarity Day

By Harry Ring

Welcome.

Welcome to the more than 2,000 Solidarity Day demonstrators who bought trial subscriptions to our paper.

Welcome to the 1,500 in Washington and the hundreds more who took subscriptions at rallies in the West.

We hope you liked your first issue and that you'll like the three additional ones that you'll be receiving in the mail. We hope you'll like them enough to become regular subscribers.

And, along with the welcomes, a salute to the members of the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and others who did such an outstanding job of selling the *Militant* on Solidarity Day.

It takes effort to build the circulation of a socialist paper and our supporters went all out.

Recently we decided to hold a circulation drive this fall for subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, our Spanish-language biweekly. Initially, we set our sights on gaining between 7,500 and 8,000 new readers. We decided Solidarity Day would be a wonderful opportunity to launch the drive.

It really was.

With the final tally still incomplete, more than 1,500 Washington demonstrators bought introductory subscriptions. Another 1,400 bought single copies and we hope many of them will decide to become subscribers.

During the circulation drive, we will be offering a twelve-week introductory subscription for \$3. On Solidarity Day, we had a real special—four weeks for \$1.

Proportionately, sales results in the West were as encouraging as those in Washington.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

At the San Francisco Solidarity Day rally, 136 participants bought introductory subscriptions, plus 178 people who bought single copies.

At the Los Angeles rally, 137 subscriptions were sold, along with 115 single copies.

In San Diego, seventy-two people bought subscriptions and another ninety-four single copies.

Forty-eight subscriptions were sold at the Denver rally, plus eighty-three single copies.

In Tucson, it was twenty-one subscriptions and fifty-five singles.

In Washington, more than 500 of the subscriptions were sold from tables set up by Pathfinder Press which offered books and pamphlets on socialism, international issues, the labor movement, Black and women's liberation and other political subjects.

Those results were also excellent, with more than \$1,000 of books and

pamphlets sold.

Books and pamphlets by and about Malcolm X were the combined lead items on the tables.

But the best selling single item was the pamphlet, *Poland: Workers in Revolt*. One hundred and six copies were sold.

Militant salespeople were all over the place. Our circulation office had carefully organized to ensure a maximum sale. The paper went to press early to get it to the various cities the day before the big event.

That enabled people to sell on buses and trains en route to Washington. One result: Of the 1,100 passengers on the labor train from Boston, sixty bought subscriptions.

On two of the buses from Atlanta, supporters obtained thirty-one subscriptions.

Six energetic *Militant* boosters from Pittsburgh and Harrisburg went out to the huge Breezewood, Pennsylvania bus and truck stop. They were there from 2 a.m. to 6 a.m. meeting the hundreds of buses that stopped on the way to D.C. The result: ninety-two subscriptions and 100 single copies sold.

In Washington, the *Militant* salespeople fanned out. One group went to the Pentagon area where buses were letting people off to take the city subway, which the AFL-CIO had rented for the day, into the demonstration.

In an hour-and-a-half, seventy subscriptions and 100 single copies were sold.

The same thing was done at the RFK stadium parking lot, with similar results.

A young transit worker from New York rode the D.C. subway all day and

sold eighty-five papers.

People bought the *Militant* for a variety of reasons. An encouraging number were interested in the paper's exposition of the need for a labor party. Others were attracted by our support to the air controllers strike.

Coverage of the Black and women's liberation movements won new readers. Several sales people reported that articles on civil rights and the women's rights fight attracted the interest of white males, as well as that of Blacks and women.

A good number of people decided they wanted the paper because of our special report from the Solidarity convention in Poland.

One member of the *Militant* circulation staff observed that numerous people would leaf through it page by page and then decide to buy. Its varied content seemed to be a strong selling point.

Many people responded positively to the idea that the *Militant* is a "biased" paper which tells the workers' side of the story.

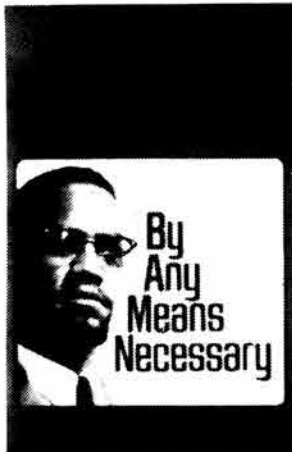
Subscriptions were obtained from people who live all over, reflecting the geographical spread of the demonstration itself. In addition to many from the major cities, we now have trial subscribers in Frankfort, Indiana; Conneaut and Bryan, Ohio; Bean Station, Tennessee; Sylvester, Georgia; and Eight Mile, Alabama.

And Solidarity Day gained a subscriber from Mexico City, one from Montreal, and one from Surinam in South America.

We welcome all our new readers. We hope you will like our paper and want to receive it regularly.

And pass it around.

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by Malcolm X, 32 pp, \$.75

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by Malcolm X, 184 pp, \$3.95

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Ed. by Barnes and Clark, 346 pp, \$7.95

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by Harry Ring, 24 pp, \$.35

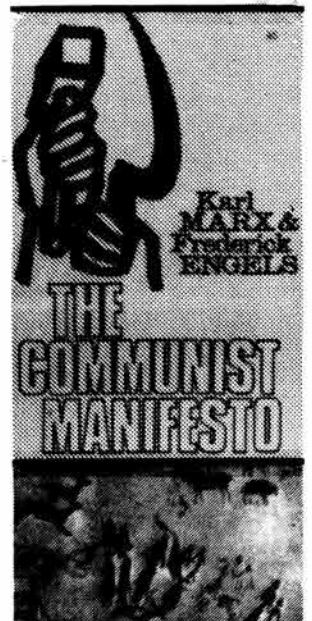
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Sexism and Science
Evelyn Reed



Haig at UN: No aid for poor countries

By Fred Murphy

Secretary of State Alexander Haig addressed the opening session of the UN General Assembly on September 21 to outline what he claimed was a "new strategy for growth" for the poor nations of the world.

Such a strategy would certainly be welcome. Hunger and malnutrition affect 570 million people in the underdeveloped countries. The number of adults who cannot read and write tops 800 million. Some 1.5 billion human beings lack regular access to medical care. These are only a few of the immense problems that result from the backward economic conditions in the Third World.

What did Haig have to offer? He presented a set of "principles," "to guide us through these austere and difficult times."

First, Haig said, "development is facilitated by an open international trading system." This was his way of saying that U.S. corporations don't want any tariff barriers put in the way of their exports. And efforts like that of the petroleum-producing countries to gain better prices for raw materials are not viewed with favor by Washington either.

Economic growth "is best achieved through reliance on incentives for individual economic performance," Haig said. In other words, there should be more government handouts to private business.

Also, "a certain measure of security and political stability" is essential for development. This means keep the workers on a tight leash, and no nation-

alizations of foreign property.

To assure such "stability," Haig went on, the Reagan administration is "committed to maintain and, where possible, to increase programs essential to deter international aggression and to provide the domestic security necessary to carry out sound economic programs."

Haig may have had El Salvador in mind. But in that country the economy is at the point of collapse despite the tens of millions of dollars worth of aid Washington has poured in to prop up the bloodstained junta against its own people.

All this Haig speak was really a smoke-screen for Washington's rejection of any "strategy for growth that depends on a massive increase in the transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries"—which Haig termed "simply unrealistic."

Thus the secretary of state declared in advance that there will be no concessions offered to the poor countries when Reagan attends a summit conference in Cancún, Mexico, next month.

Many governments of underdeveloped countries have been pressing for what they call "a New International Economic Order," in which more equal trade relations would be established and far larger funds for economic development would be made available to the Third World.

Some concrete proposals along these lines were presented to the United Nations two years ago by Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Addressing the General Assembly in his capacity as chairman of

the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, Castro said on October 12, 1979, that what the poor countries really needed was "an additional contribution of not less than \$300 billion. . . ."

To finance such a vast undertaking, the Cuban leader said, would require "that a substantial part of the resources now devoted to arms, particularly by the major powers, be used for economic and social development."

Haig, who represents a government that has long been the world's biggest arms producer and supplier, of course finds such proposals "unrealistic."

Haig claimed that "private initiatives" will "promote better resource allocation and more rapid economic growth." After waiting for the past 100 years for the private profit system to produce economic growth, the peoples of the poor countries can be excused for skepticism about this point.

Fidel Castro refuted Haig's approach in his 1979 speech. He explained that "the investments required by the developing countries are enormous, and they need them primarily, and with practically no exception, in those branches of production that yield low profits and therefore do not appeal to private foreign lenders or investors."

Castro cited three key areas where this is the case: agriculture for food production, industrialization, and "attention to human beings, who should be the protagonists and goal of all development efforts." In the latter category Castro pointed to the vast gains his own country has made in education and

health care by putting human needs above private profits.

The experience of underdeveloped countries with "private initiatives" in agriculture especially has been nothing short of catastrophic. In country after country, wealthy landowners have turned away from food production in order to plant cash crops for export. This has led to increasing malnutrition and in some cases to famine and outright starvation.

In the famine-stricken countries of sub-Saharan Africa, where millions died of starvation in the late 1960s and early 1970s, agricultural exports actually increased during the same period.

Haig's "new strategy for growth" is not new, nor will it foster development in the poor countries. It is a very old recipe for colonial and imperialist plunder that will only worsen the dire situation of the underdeveloped nations.

Fidel Castro's proposals were far more realistic. In a speech to a congress of economists in Havana last April, he pointed to the only way they can be truly realized:

"If the decisive power of a state and a society is not in the hands of the great majority of workers, none of these prerequisites for development will materialize. The kind of socioeconomic policy we need can only be the result of a political leadership representing the most genuine interests of the working people. . . ."

"Political power must go from the hands of a few to the hands of the creative majorities."

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.

Meeting with FSLN leaders to highlight Nicaraguan tour

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours has announced the full itinerary for its November 7-15 trip to Nicaragua. The trip includes a talk by P. Xavier Gorostiaga, a leading economist for the Ministry of Planning; as well as a rally commemorating Carlos Fonseca Amador, cofounder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Fonseca was killed by Somoza's National Guard on November 7, 1976.

Meetings with a member of the Junta for National Reconstruction; Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture; Moisés Hassán, minister of construction; and Miguel Vigil, minister of housing, have been scheduled.

Visitors will tour a child care center, hospital, refugee camp, and the Center for Popular Education. In addition there will be tours through a clothing factory, state dairy farm and a metal fabricating plant.

\$750 includes: eight days, round trip airfare from Miami, hotels, three meals a day, all transfers and guide service. Deadline is October 5. Space is still available. For more information call Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, (212) 242-5530, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Foreign-born student fights deportation



MOJGAN HARIRI-VIJEH

Militant Salm Kolis

By Steve Bride

A hearing has been set for October 15 to determine whether the government can deport a foreign-born student simply because it doesn't like her ideas.

The student is Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service says it wants her out of the country because her student visa expired.

In fact, the INS is after Hariri-Vijeh because she is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Her case, which goes before INS Judge Joan Arrowsmith in Baltimore, has won backing from such prominent individuals as Rep. John Conyers and British Member of Parliament Tony Benn.

Supporters of Hariri-Vijeh plan a news conference and picket line for the day of the hearing, at Baltimore's federal building.

Hariri-Vijeh's visa to attend Morgan State College in Baltimore lapsed at the

end of 1978. She did not renew, she says, "due to the anti-Iranian hysteria whipped up in this country after the fall of the U.S.-backed shah."

Despite this hysteria, and the mass roundup of Iranians that accompanied it, the INS showed no interest in Hariri-Vijeh until February 23, 1981. That was two weeks after she joined the YSA.

At that time, Hariri-Vijeh was visited by INS agents, who confiscated her Iranian passport. Later, however, INS officials indicated they would be interested in any information she might provide on Iranian "troublemakers" in this country. The assumption being things would go easier for her if she did.

She decided to fight instead. With the aid of attorney Shelley Davis of the Political Rights Defense Fund, evidence was compiled proving selective political prosecution on the part of the government.

A hearing to reinstate Hariri-Vijeh's visa, slated for July 7, was postponed, giving her time to enlist additional supporters.

These now include journalist I. F. Stone, Rep. Parren Mitchell, Camille Bell of the Atlanta Committee to Stop Children's Murders, Phillip Berrigan, Baltimore City Councilwoman Mary Pat Clark, and the Morgan State student government.

The student body president at Morgan State, where Hariri-Vijeh is still a full-time student, will be among those at the October 15 news conference.

Additional support is needed, however, if Hariri-Vijeh is to win her right to attend school in the United States.

Telegrams protesting the threat to deport her can be sent to:

Immigration and Naturalization Service,

Garmatz Federal Building,
100 S. Hanover,
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Copies of these should be sent to:
Political Rights Defense Fund,
2913 Greenmount Ave.,
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

Petitions supporting her case can be obtained at the Baltimore office of PRDF.

What the Socialist Workers Party stands for

Brief from historic lawsuit against FBI spying

Last spring, in a New York federal court, three months of testimony were heard in a landmark suit. The defendants were the U.S. government and its various political police agencies, including the FBI and CIA. The plaintiffs were the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The two organizations had filed suit to put a halt to years of illegal victimization by various government agencies. Trial testimony confirmed that the socialists had committed no crime but were targeted solely on the basis of their political ideas. They suffered illegal surveillance, disruption, burglaries, infiltration, public slander and more.

The suit was brought as a means of combatting these unconstitutional dirty tricks which are used not only against socialists, but also against the labor movement, the women's and civil rights forces, and other movements for social progress.

The socialists are seeking \$70 million in damages, an injunction to halt these practices, and voiding of several federal statutes used to undermine the Bill of Rights.

Following the courtroom testimony, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance submitted a legal brief summarizing the facts of the case and arguing its merits. The government will also submit briefs prior to the judge's decision in the case.

We present here a section of the SWP brief describing what the party stands for and the activity it engages in to achieve its goals.

Parts of the text with quotation marks are from the testimony of leaders of the party.

Additional material from the brief, and articles about it, will appear in coming issues of the 'Militant'.

I. FACTS RELATING TO THE NATURE, GOALS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SWP AND YSA

The Socialist Workers Party is a Marxist political party that traces its roots back to 1928. In that year, James P. Cannon and other leaders were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for criticizing the policies of Stalin and for supporting [Leon] Trotsky's efforts to continue the policies of Lenin. The Cannon group launched the *Militant* newspaper, which has been published continuously since then and is today the newspaper that expresses the views of the SWP. The SWP itself was founded in 1938.

The stated goal of the SWP since its founding has been the establishment of a workers and farmers government in place of the existing government, which the SWP terms "capitalist." The function of this new government would be to organize the transition from capitalism to socialism. The SWP advocates a society in which the basic means of production (the factories, mills, mines, railroads) are under "the common ownership of the people," and production is organized not on the basis of private profit, but on the basis of social needs.

The SWP is an unincorporated association, with headquarters in New York City. It has branches in cities around the country. Its members, in their majority, are workers in basic industry, and are active members of labor unions. SWP members are also active participants in a wide variety of other organizations and coalitions.

Young Socialist Alliance

The Young Socialist Alliance, which was founded in 1960, has chapters in sixty cities. Its members are young workers in industries such as coal mining, steel and rail; as well as high school and college students. The YSA is an independent, self-financing organization which has the same political views as the SWP. No decisions of the SWP are binding on the YSA. The YSA supports the activities of the SWP, including campaign for its candidates for public office. The SWP and YSA advocate a revolutionary

change in this country. Their views on the necessity for such a change, and their basic ideas about how it will come about, have not changed in any substantial way during the more than forty years since the SWP was founded. A brief summary of those views, and the activities that the plaintiffs are and have been involved in, establishes the necessary framework for evaluating the conflicting claims of the plaintiffs and defendants.

A. The Plaintiffs' Revolutionary Marxist Views

The plaintiffs' views are based on the fundamental doctrines of Marxism. They believe that the "motive force in history" is the conflict between social classes over the share each class will get of the wealth produced by human labor. In the United States today, this takes the form of the conflict between the owners of big capital, who are a tiny minority of the population (the Rockefellers, DuPonts, etc.) and the working class, which makes up the great majority. By the term "working class," the plaintiffs mean "anyone who works for a living, whose income doesn't come primarily from ownership of . . . stocks or bonds or real estate. That would be the great majority of people. It would include what is popularly called blue collar workers [and] what is popularly called white collar workers. We consider working farmers to be working people in this sense."

According to plaintiffs' views, the capitalists try to hold down the workers' share of what their labor produces to the minimum possible amount, and appropriate the rest to expand their holdings and their wealth. At the same time, the workers strive to increase their share of what they produce to improve their standard of living. This conflict "gives rise to an unending clash between the capitalist[s] and the working class in contemporary society. . . ."

Profit drive & war

It is the capitalists' drive for profits, the SWP and YSA believe, that is also the fundamental cause today of such social phenomena as war, racial oppression and discrimination against women. The Marxist view is that the contradictions within

society that produce these problems are inherent in the capitalist form of property relations, and that the needs of the working people cannot be met under the capitalist system. It is therefore necessary to abolish private ownership of the "productive wealth" of society. "Productive wealth" is the accumulated wealth, the product of the labor of past generations, that is necessary for the production of basic goods. The plaintiffs do not propose to abolish private ownership of either personal belongings such as homes, cars and clothing; or of farms or businesses of small proprietors.

The plaintiff organizations are in favor of, and campaign for, a number of immediate steps to improve the conditions of working people in the United States today. However, they do not believe that socialism can be achieved, or the fundamental problems created by the capitalist system can be solved by reforming capitalism in a gradual way, step by step. Theirs is a "revolutionary approach, that it is necessary to dismantle the capitalist . . . social structure and replace it with a socialist social structure." Likewise, they believe the existing governmental institutions, such as the army, the police, the courts, Congress and the federal bureaucracy, will have to be dismantled and replaced with new institutions suited to the needs of the new society.

The Marxist view is that such a radical restructuring of society cannot be achieved by relying on, or collaborating with, "capitalist parties," the Democratic and Republican parties, which are committed to the maintenance of the capitalist system. On the basis of these beliefs, the SWP and YSA reject "reformism" as a viable strategy and believe that socialist revolution is necessary.

B. The Activities of the Plaintiff Organizations

SWP and YSA members are active members of the union movement, where they participate in union activities, encourage their unions and fellow union members to get involved in "the big social and political questions of the day", circulate SWP and YSA literature, and discuss their point of view with their co-workers. Members of the SWP and YSA belong to industrial unions such as the United Mine Workers, United Steelworkers, United Autoworkers and the International Association of Machinists. They urge the union movement to launch an independent labor party based on the trade unions, and to end their support of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Members of the plaintiff organizations are also active in the Black and Latino movements, participating in the movements for school desegregation, in support of affirmative action plans, and on other issues. The SWP and YSA support and participate in Black organizations such as the National Black Independent Political Party. This party "stands for the promotion of the interests of Black people and building an independent political vehicle to make sure that those issues and concerns of Black people are addressed in the political arena."

SWP and YSA members are involved in the movement for women's rights. They also encourage the union movement to take up the questions raised by the women's liberation movement, and in particular to support such issues as the proposed Equal Rights Amendment and the right to abortion.

The SWP and YSA were active in the movement against the war in Vietnam. Fred Halstead, who was a leader of the antiwar movement and is a member of the National Committee of the SWP, testified that the position of the SWP was to demand of the government the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Vietnam.

Halstead testified that the SWP "built the move-

Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying and disruption has already exposed many FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising money for this historic lawsuit.

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ment wherever we could. We advocated that it carry out activities of as broad a nature as possible, reaching out to as many people as possible and particularly to the working people and the GLs. . . . We advocated that the demonstrations that were carried out be carried out peacefully and in an orderly fashion and be as large as possible."

Rights of GLs

The SWP and YSA also encouraged GLs to "exercise their rights as citizen soldiers" to oppose the war, to speak out against it, to participate in demonstrations, and to generally let their views on the war be known.

The SWP and YSA will, in the event of U.S. military intervention in a country such as El Salvador, "do to the best of our ability the same thing we did during the war against Vietnam: take the same stance of political opposition and act in the same way." The plaintiffs further explained at trial that they would "be politically opposed to any war by the United States against the Soviet Union." In the event of such a war, "we would abide by the laws of the United States, including the Constitution, and we would make use of and urge others to make use of the provisions in the Constitution which allow citizens to differ with their government and to express their differences through redress of grievance, demonstrations, free speech, publications, et cetera."

A major activity of the plaintiff organizations is the publication and distribution of a wide variety of socialist pamphlets, books and periodicals. These are distributed all over the country and in many places overseas.

rights, those in the labor movement who are fighting for their rights"; to present basic socialist ideas; and to take advantage of the opportunity "to go out and have [a] way of actually talking to thousands and thousands of American people, to know what they actually are thinking, not just to hustle votes but to talk, exchange views, ask the American people what they think about the issues, whether they are inclined to go to war in El Salvador, whether they are inclined to be in favor of the cutbacks [in the budget], things like that."

At trial, the defendants sought to denigrate the plaintiffs' participation in elections as not serious. However, the defendants offered no evidence to contradict the plaintiffs' testimony that they energetically and consistently campaign in the elections, and that this electoral activity constitutes a significant part of the activities of the SWP and YSA.

International developments

The plaintiff organizations consider it essential for Marxists in the United States to act on and be knowledgeable about international developments, particularly as they relate to the policies of the United States government and the interests of working people in the United States.

Members of the SWP and YSA are active participants in coalitions and movements in the United States that arise in connection with developments in other countries. For example, the SWP and YSA were active in the early 1960s in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, an organization whose goal was to mobilize support for the Cuban Revolution and oppose any steps by the United States government to overthrow

pate in international conferences on such subjects as nuclear power, women's rights, opposition to war and solidarity with struggles for national independence. The SWP and YSA encourage their members to travel to different countries, to meet with socialists in other countries, exchange information and views with them, and to inform themselves about developments in those countries. In recent years SWP and YSA members have frequently traveled to Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, as well as to other countries.

It is also a practice of the plaintiff organizations to invite socialists from other countries to attend conferences and conventions held by the SWP and YSA in this country; international visitors are generally present at YSA and SWP national conferences. Plaintiffs consider such exchange of information and ideas on an international level to be essential to formulating policies to be put forward in their election campaigns, to collect information for publication in the *Militant* and other publications, and to develop informed opinions about events in the world.

Fourth International

The SWP maintains a close relationship with the Fourth International. Plaintiffs consider themselves, in a political sense, to be part of the Fourth International, although the SWP felt compelled by the passage of the Voorhis Act in 1940 to disaffiliate from the Fourth International and has not been an affiliated section since then. It is because of the onerous registration requirements of the Act, and only because of those requirements, that the SWP is not affiliated to the Fourth International.

The SWP considers itself to be an "internationalist" party and is in agreement with the basic principles on which the Fourth International was founded. In the viewpoint of the plaintiffs, the 1940 disaffiliation "made no change in our political relationship with the Fourth International." What changed as a result of the disaffiliation was that thereafter the SWP paid no dues, directly or indirectly, to the Fourth International, and that its representatives could and did cast only "consultative" or "fraternal" votes, as distinct from "decisive" votes at meetings of the Fourth International.

The political and organizational relationship between the plaintiff organizations and the Fourth International has not changed in any substantial way since 1940 when the SWP disaffiliated. The SWP and YSA send delegations to meetings and congresses, publish discussion bulletins containing resolutions and articles that are part of the deliberations of the Fourth International, and generally play a prominent role in the political discussions and debates that take place within the Fourth International. The SWP has often had one or more party leaders resident on a more or less full-time basis in Europe to participate in the week-to-week meetings of the various bodies of the Fourth International. SWP leaders are also elected as fraternal or consultative members of Fourth International leadership bodies.

The decisions of the Fourth International are not binding on the national sections (affiliated parties) of the Fourth International in the sense of determining priorities, policies or political positions to be adopted by those parties. This long-standing policy was recodified once again at the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International.

The SWP is of the opinion that this is the correct relationship between the national sections and the Fourth International. Since the SWP is not an affiliated section, even if this policy were to be changed, the decisions of the Fourth International would still not determine the policies or actions of the SWP. The SWP and YSA have often taken public positions that were at variance with the positions adopted by the majority of delegates at World Congresses of the Fourth International.

The SWP gives consideration to the opinions of the Fourth International and circulates its written positions to the SWP membership, but "we make our own decisions and adopt our own positions." There is no indication of any kind in the record that the SWP, YSA or any of their members have ever adopted a position or undertaken any activity as the result of directives or instructions from the Fourth International. In the FBI's own words, "positions and objectives of the FI [Fourth International] are not controlling on the SWP (which does on occasion adopt a firm minority position against the FI decisions)."

In addition to the Fourth International and its affiliated parties, the plaintiffs maintain contacts with other revolutionary organizations internationally. Representatives of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua and the New Jewel Movement in Grenada have attended conferences of the SWP and the YSA, and members of the SWP and the YSA have met with leaders of these parties. The SWP and YSA also consider the Cuban Communist Party to be "a sister party" in the political sense, although there are no organizational relations between the plaintiffs and the Cuban Communist Party.



Socialist Workers Party banner at September 19 Solidarity Day March.

Militant/Fred Murphy

The SWP has consistently nominated and run candidates for elective office. The party has run "thousands" of candidates over the years, and has run in every presidential race since 1948. In addition to nominating candidates for federal offices, the party participates in campaigns for state, county and municipal offices. Mel Mason, a member of the SWP, was recently elected to the City Council in Seaside, California. This, however, is the only instance of an SWP member being elected to public office. In general, the votes recorded for the candidates of the SWP remain quite small. In addition to running its own candidates, the SWP has endorsed independent Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and labor candidates for public office.

Purpose of election campaigns

One of the principle activities of the SWP and YSA is campaigning for socialist candidates. A major part of party resources go into distributing campaign literature, organizing speaking tours for candidates and other election activity. This includes extensive efforts to win places on the ballot through petitioning as well as litigation to protect the party's right to appear on the ballot.

Plaintiff Jack Barnes explained that the purposes of this election campaigning are: to present a working-class alternative to the bipartisan foreign and domestic policies of the Democratic and Republican parties; to give voice in the political arena to "the interests of those who often are kept off platforms, those Americans who are in movements like the movement against nuclear power, or [for] civil rights or women's

the government headed by Fidel Castro.

SWP and YSA members have also been active in the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), a group set up in this country to help defend political prisoners in Latin America. They have actively worked to win support for dissidents who have been jailed or harassed in Eastern Europe.

The SWP and YSA have participated, along with organizations such as the World Council of Churches, the Steelworkers union, and others in an effort to send material aid to Nicaragua to make possible the literacy campaign carried out by the Sandinista government there. Materials sent included pencils, paper, rulers and used eyeglasses.

Members of the plaintiff organizations also partici-

<p>THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION LEON TROTSKY</p> <p><small>WITH INTRODUCTION BY TORY ESSAY JOSEPH HANSEN AND GEORGE NOVACK</small></p>	<p>The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution</p> <p>Includes useful material by Trotsky on the application of the transitional approach, and introductory essays by George Novack and Joseph Hansen.</p> <p>269 pages, \$4.95</p> <p>Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.</p>
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Solidarity Day, September 19: th

...march

Continued from page 4

thousands of NAACP members from across the country. Signs identified chapters from Cleveland; Pittsburgh; Atlanta; Duluth, Minnesota; Lynchburg, Virginia; Passaic, Camden, and Jersey City, New Jersey; New York; Kentucky.

Signs supporting the Voting Rights Act were prominent in the NAACP contingent. They were also carried throughout the demonstration.

Other Black groups also marched, including a spirited contingent from the National Black Independent Political Party (see story, page 5).

There were some marchers with the red, black, and green Black nationalist flag. And thousands of residents of

D.C.—a city that is over 80 percent Black—lined the sidewalks to watch the event.

Construction workers.

Tens of thousands of construction workers marched—electricians, painters, ironworkers, operating engineers. These overwhelmingly white, male unions have been among the most conservative in the country.

Eleven years ago, officials in the building trades unions organized pro-war rallies and physical attacks on peace demonstrations, and they have been in the forefront of opposition to affirmative action.

On September 19, however, the construction workers carried a banner for the ERA, and signs against Reagan's budget cuts and for civil rights.

Thousands of teachers marched under the banner of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association. Their signs emphasized the need to stop education cutbacks.

* * *

Close to 30,000 auto workers joined the demonstration. The UAW printed up signs for its members, including one that said, "Stop the imports." Most marchers passed over that sign to pick up ones that read "Defend Civil Rights" or "ERA yes, Ron. no."

* * *

There were thousands of steelworkers. Alice Peurla, president of Steelworkers Local 65, explained, "We're here to tell Reagan that we will

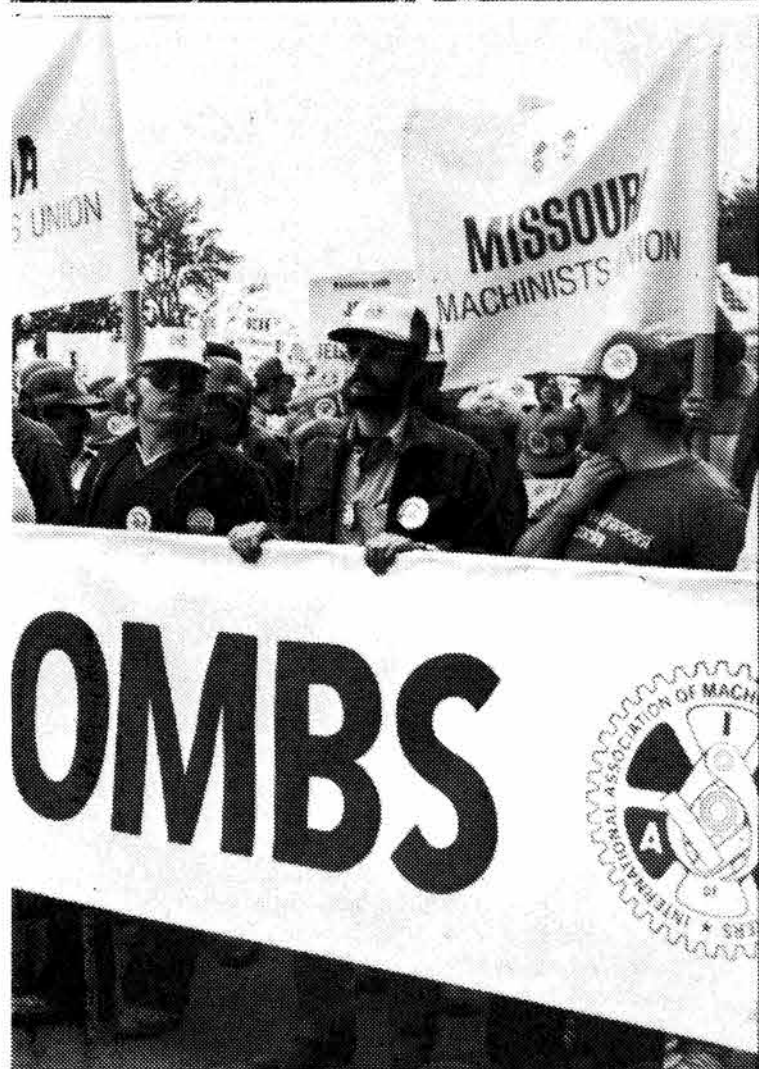
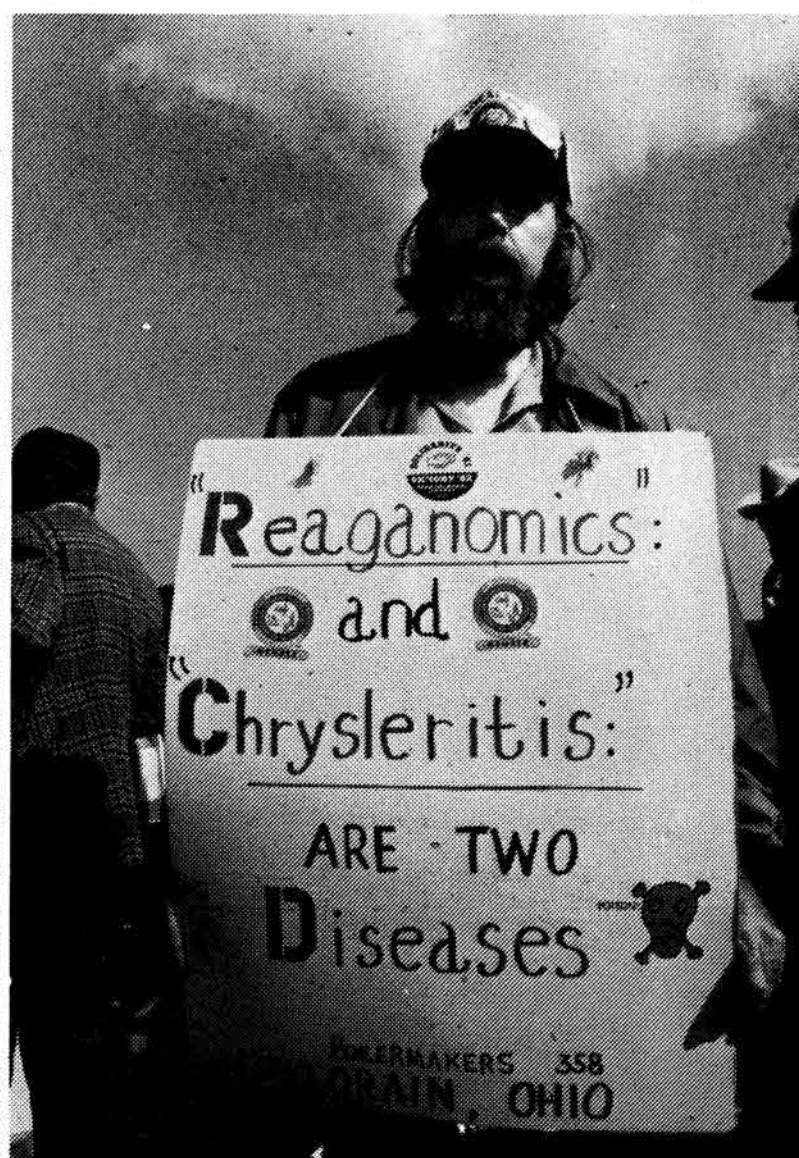
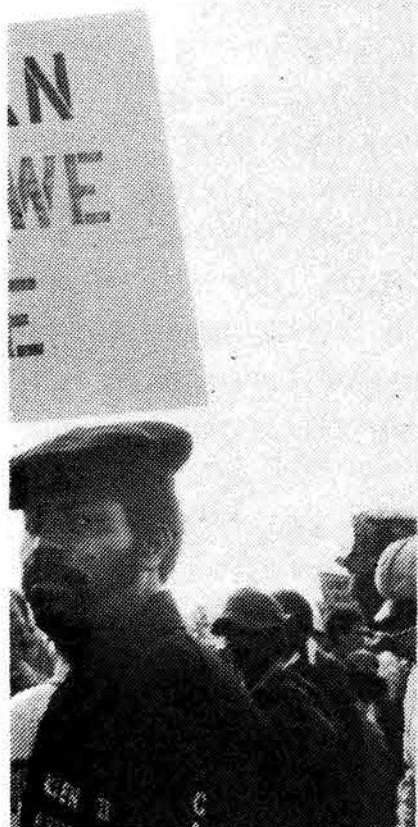
not stand by idly while he takes away the gains that we've struggled for decades to get."

Signs in Spanish were sprinkled throughout the crowd. Many Latinos marched in the contingents of garment workers, electrical workers, and municipal employees. There was a marcher with a sign demanding independence for Puerto Rico. Another group of people marched with signs reading, "Latinos claim jobs, justice, equality."

* * *

Antinuke protesters from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, stood along the route with a huge banner that read, "Keep TMI shut down." Contingent after contingent roared approval as they marched by.

PATCO was cheered all the way up



Militant photos by Nelson Blackstock, Osborne Hart, Lou Howort, and Fred Murphy

The changing face of U.S. politics

Constitution Avenue. Signs throughout the crowd said, "Right to strike, only in 'oland" and "Fly the unfriendly skies of Reagan."

PATCO members broke off a chant of "Strike, strike" to applaud when a group carrying a banner joined them in the march: "We Have the Right to Strike against Government Union-Busting: Committee to Defend the NASSCO 'three."

Motivation for disabled

Another contingent that drew loud applause was the hundreds of disabled people who marched or rode in wheelchairs behind a banner that read "Disabled citizens support Solidarity against social program cuts."

When they arrived at the rally site, demonstrators stood up to receive them.

Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a member of the Solidarity Day advisory board, welcomed the rally crowd. "We're here," he said, "to fulfill the dream that Martin Luther King had."

Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, spoke next. He wound up his remarks by leading the crowd—Black and white—in "I am somebody." When he stepped from the stage, union marshals, members of the Seafarers and Ironworkers, rushed over to shake his hand.

Civil rights theme

For thousands there, the 1963 march on Washington for civil rights suddenly became their demonstration. A commit-

ment to defend Black rights, combined with a new appreciation for the civil rights movement. Recognition of that struggle as part of the heritage of working people in this country.

Coretta Scott King told the crowd, "It was a little more than eighteen years ago that Martin Luther King, Jr. stood before a crowd much like this and shook the conscience of America."

"In a very real sense," she said, "Solidarity Day is a continuation of the great march on Washington, the latest step in our long journey toward fulfilling the American dream of freedom, justice, and equality."

'We Shall Overcome'

These speeches, along with those by Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP and Vernon Jordan of the Urban League, set

the spirit of solidarity at the rally. The crowd shouted "Strike, strike" when Steve Wallaert of PATCO spoke. The photo of Wallaert being led away to jail in chains has come to symbolize the Reagan administration's attitude toward labor.

A chant of "ERA, ERA" rang out when NOW president Eleanor Smeal ended her remarks.

The rally concluded with everyone singing "We Shall Overcome."

"If this march doesn't work," John Patterson from Steelworkers Local 1842 in Pittsburgh said as he headed for his bus, "we'll be back again."

It was like the Machinists' banner said. "Solidarity Day—Just the beginning."

'Toward the goal of democratic rights'



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 first two sections of the party Program, on Jobs and Income, and Education.

This week we are reprinting the sections on Health Care, Political Equality, Economic Development, and Repression.

HEALTH CARE

We believe that the right to free, comprehensive and quality mental and physical health care from cradle to grave is a basic human right. The Democratic and Republican parties regard this as an unachievable goal even though their members of Congress have their health care paid for fully from the taxpayers' dollars. We believe that the emphasis on health care should be shifted from profit making and curative to preventive, and based on human need. We believe that Black people should equally participate in the administration and delivery of quality medical services within the health care system.

THEREFORE WE DEMAND:

- A national comprehensive health care service program to make quality health care free and available to all who need it regardless of social status or income.
- The transformation of the health care system in the United States from a profit making and curative oriented institution to a preventive one.
- The allocation of government funds to provide support to organizations and individuals who wish to develop and promote preventive health care programs and facilities.
- Increased funding and support for new health and medical professional schools for training of Blacks in the health field.

TO ACHIEVE AND REALIZE THE ABOVE THE PARTY WILL:

- Organize to establish Black controlled and operated physical health care centers and programs, utilizing the skills and resources of Black health care workers and professionals, to provide adequate nutritional and health-hygiene education, advice and medical services to our people.
- Work to improve the economic, physical and social environment of our communities in order to lessen the physical and mental pressures placed upon the masses of our people.
- Support progressive legislative initiatives which will accomplish the above such as the Dellums bill,

which would establish a national health service which embodies the principle of the right to health care as a human right.

- Support affirmative action programs and work to increase funding to ensure the education, training and employment of Black people in all aspects and components of the health profession.
- Organize a fight at the local, state and federal levels to achieve our demands.



NBIPP

What the Black party stands for

- Work to secure financial resources for Black health care institutions, medical colleges and programs to educate, train and employ Black health workers.

POLITICAL EQUALITY AND VOTING RIGHTS

Much of the history of racist oppression in the U.S. centers around the denial of the right to vote and denial of full representation in government at all levels. Both Republican and Democratic parties have been collaborators in this policy of denial.

We believe that Black people have the right to be represented in and take full part in the affairs and administration of government towards the goal of democratic rights, social transformation, and self-determination. We believe the right of people to take part in the government under which they live to be a basic human right. We believe that Black people should be afforded full voting rights and privileges. We believe that Black people should have political equality.

THEREFORE WE DEMAND:

- The right to an internationally supervised plebiscite (election) so that Black people can exercise their national will and determine our relationship to these United States.
- An end to all racist legal and extralegal barriers which are designed to keep Black people out of elected and appointed positions at the federal, state and local level and deny Black people voting rights.
- Proportional representation for Black people at all levels of government.
- Majority rule for Black people where we are the majority of the population.
- An end to all pre-conditions to the right to vote, e.g. voter registration, residency requirements, and restrictions, etc., when their related administrative

'We believe freedom from repression and freedom from racist terror for Black people to be a basic human right. We believe that the police and federal intelligence agencies such as the FBI and CIA exist to carry out widespread acts of lawlessness and terror against Black and oppressed people in order to stop our struggle for freedom.'

concerns could be accomplished without limiting our right to vote.

- That adequate government resources be allocated to the electoral process in accordance with its priority in order to secure our basic human right to participate fully in this government, e.g. send people door to door to register voters as it does to take a census.

TO ACHIEVE THE ABOVE AND REALIZE OUR DEMANDS THE PARTY WILL:

- Work to support and enforce laws and policies designed to eliminate all barriers to Black representation in government at all levels.
- Support the continuance of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which we regard as an important gain in the struggle for democratic rights and proportional political representation.
- Organize and conduct voter education, registration and voting drives.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

We believe that Black people have a right to develop progressive, cooperative and independent economic development programs and institutions within their communities to ensure economic self-development and self-sufficiency. Such economic development schemes should serve the masses of Black people and should not practice economic exploitation of our people's labor. Moreover, they should not be institutions which would have profit and capital flowing into the hands of a privileged few among us, but rather ones which will benefit the development of the entire Black community; especially its poor and working strata. We believe that Black small business owners should have equal access to receive other forms of economic assistance, free from discrimination or adverse restrictive conditions. At the same time, we believe that Black businesses have a special responsibility to be accountable to the Black community by lending their financial resources and moral and political support to the struggle for Black liberation in the United States.

THEREFORE WE DEMAND:

- Full government funding, with no adverse restrictions or conditions attached, for economic programs and institutions designed in accordance with the above philosophy and objectives.
- An end to discrimination of all kinds against Black-owned and -operated small businesses so that they may have equal access to private and public support for economic development.

TO ACHIEVE AND REALIZE THE ABOVE THE PARTY WILL:

- Build and develop collective and co-operative economic institutions in the Black community.
- Work to build and develop progressive, independent economic programs and institutions within the Black community, in cooperation with Black-owned banks, insurance companies, law firms, credit

Continued on next page

Solidarity Day rallies in western states

In addition to the national demonstration in Washington September 19, there were also Solidarity Day demonstrations in a number of western cities.

The actions were kicked off Friday, September 18, when the Colorado AFL-CIO called a demonstration in Denver against Reagan and Vice-President Bush, who were there to address a Republican Party women's group. About 2,000 union members showed up for the early-evening protest. They came from Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah, as well as Colorado. The striking air controllers of PATCO had a large and well-received presence.

United Mine Workers members from Utah and Colorado were involved in the action. They all took off work on official union business. The UMW officially authorized miners to take off to participate in the Denver rally and the Washington rally the next day.

Below are reports on some of the other western rallies on September 19.

Los Angeles

By Doug Kihn

LOS ANGELES—Seventy-nine buses and thousands of cars brought together a spirited crowd of 8,500 protesters, angry at Reagan's budget cuts.

The rally was sponsored by the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO and the Greater Los Angeles Community Coalition, an Alliance composed of 127 labor and community organizations.

Over fifty labor organizations and thirty community groups were represented by banners, placards, and tee-shirts. The demonstrators carried signs in English, Spanish and Korean.

A contingent of 600-800 members of the International Association of Machinists marched into the rally site together chanting, "We've had enough!"

Another large union contingent was Local 660 of the Service Employees International Union. An anti-war contingent, composed mainly of Salvadorans, entered the rally site chanting, "Jobs not war. U.S. out of El Salvador."

Among the speakers attacking Reagan's budget cuts were California Governor Jerry Brown, Senator Alan Cranston, and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.

Los Angeles County AFL-CIO President Bill Robertson pointed to Reagan's attack on the air traffic controllers. The crowd booed Reagan loudly. When Robertson introduced Dave Evans, president of the Los Angeles PATCO local, people started chanting, "PATCO, PATCO, PATCO."

Actor Ed Asner spoke, calling for more support to the PATCO strikers.

San Diego

By Javier Bautista

SAN DIEGO—Solidarity Day in San Diego saw 1,500 to 2,000 people answer the call of the San Diego and Imperial counties AFL-CIO labor council, to protest the Reagan government's cutbacks and other reactionary policies. It was one of the biggest actions in a long time in San Diego.

Members of the Machinists union outnumbered other contingents, but there were numerous other unions marching, including the Carpenters, Communications Workers, Longshoremen, Social Workers, Government Employees, Plumbers, and Pipefitters. PATCO had a sizable contingent and they were well received.

Many other groups were involved, such as the Chicano Federation, NAACP, Gray Panthers, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, A. Philip Randolph Institute, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and handicapped groups.

San Francisco

By Judy Stranahan

SAN FRANCISCO—Over 5,000 trade unionists and supporters, representing some thirty-five unions and other organizations, assembled in Villancourt Square for a rally in support of the Solidarity Day march in Washington, D.C.

Two contingents of over 200 from Bay Area PATCO locals and over 500 members of the International Association of Machinists from throughout the Bay Area marched separately into the rally site from other locations. Several bus loads of unionists also came from the San Jose area.

John Henning, representing the California AFL-CIO, called for "ongoing and continuous demonstrations in every major city in the U.S. as the only way now to stop Reagan administration economic policies."

Several politicians spoke, including former vice president Walter Mondale

and San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein. Both were booed by large numbers of unionists continuously throughout their speeches.

A support rally was also held in Monterey, California. There some eighty people heard speakers blasting Reagan cutbacks. The speakers included Verna Carson, Western regional director of the NAACP and Seaside City Council member Mel Mason.

Tucson

By Eduardo H. Quintana

TUCSON—Teachers, Air Controllers, Postal Workers, Plumbers, Carpenters, Steel and Iron Workers took to the streets here to show Reagan has no mandate to make their lives miserable.

"The Reagan administration's economic program is an attempt to turn back the clock to the 1920s," proclaimed state AFL-CIO Secretary-treasurer Darwin Aycock.

The elderly and others "should not have to eat dog and cat food in order to survive during the life of this administration," Aycock said.

Many participants carried signs blasting Reagan's domestic policies, and also showing international solidarity: "Money for jobs not for war. U.S. out of El Salvador," said the banner of the Tucson Committee for Human Rights in Latin America.

There were between 2,000 and 3,000 people at the demonstration. "PATCO, PATCO, PATCO," people shouted many times throughout the rally. Bumper stickers were sold reading, "I support PATCO."

...what Black party stands for

Continued from preceding page

unions, supermarkets and others. Such programs will be aimed at fundamentally improving the quality of life for our people and will be targeted towards the poorest and neediest in our communities.

- To work to encourage Black-owned and -operated business and economic institutions to return a portion of their profits to the Black community in the form of financial assistance to programs and projects designed to benefit the masses of Black people.

- Organize to support legislative and economic initiatives at federal, state and local levels to achieve our demands.

- Obtain international financing for community projects in order to develop an independent source of investment funds.

REPRESSION AND RACIST TERROR

We believe that freedom from repression in all forms and freedom from racist terror for Black people to be a basic human right. We believe that all people have the right to be secure in their environment. We believe that the police and federal intelligence agencies such as the FBI and CIA exist to carry out widespread acts of lawlessness and terror against Black and oppressed people in order to stop our struggle for freedom. We believe that racist and anti-Black groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis often work hand in hand with the police and intelligence agencies, or objectively serve their interests through

their own acts of repression and racist terror. We believe that the various components of the racist judicial and criminal justice system in the U.S. serve to oppress Black people's basic rights and are designed to deny our dignity and human freedom.

THEREFORE WE DEMAND:

- That all acts of harassment and brutality by the police be stopped and that those who commit police crimes be brought to justice, prosecuted and punished.

- That the FBI and CIA be abolished, as they are incapable of being reformed to act justly.

- That the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis and other racist and anti-Black groups be outlawed, and their members be brought to justice, prosecuted and punished for their crimes against Black and other people.

- That all repressive legislation such as the death penalty be eliminated from the criminal statutes.

- That prisons be abolished and alternatives to cruelly punitive, torturous and degrading incarceration be developed and established.

- That racism and gross under-representation of Black and Third World people on the courts, juries, prison staff and other bodies in the criminal justice system be ended.

- Ratification of the U.N. Convention on Genocide aimed at preventing destruction of groups and at punishing those responsible.

TO ACHIEVE AND REALIZE THE ABOVE THE PARTY WILL:

- Organize and practice a variety of forms of self-defense, including the creation of community patrols and other necessary means to defend our people from attack and harassment.

- Organize community police control bodies to exercise control over the functions of the police and support legislation to achieve this end.

- Actively oppose all legislation and regulations aimed at giving intrusive powers to the police, FBI, CIA and other intelligence agencies.

- Support legislation at the local, state and federal level to outlaw the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis, and other hate groups.

- Work to abolish the death penalty, which is used in a discriminatory manner against Black and poor people.

- Organize Black legal professionals to aid in fighting to defend the rights of the Black community.

- Research, develop and organize alternatives to prison and incarceration.

- Support legislation to prevent the building of more prisons and call for a moratorium on prison reconstruction.

- Propose and support affirmative action programs for the inclusion of more Black and Third World people at all levels of the criminal justice system.

'We won't organize any Black to be a Democrat or a Republican'

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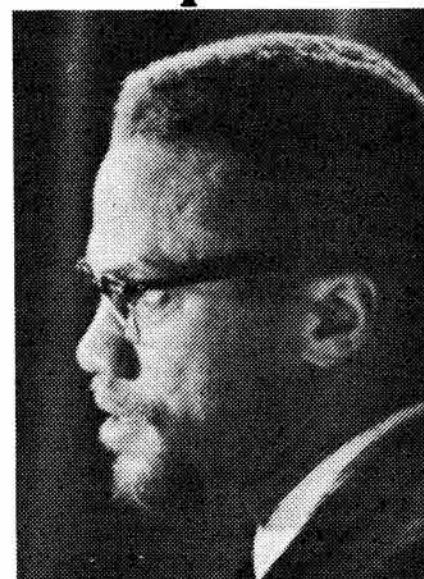
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ling.)



By Margaret Jayko

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

The drive to roll back the rights and expectations of women takes place to a significant degree in a war of ideas. To convince us to accept less, the rulers have to change the way we *think* about ourselves as well.

Why do they place such importance on this?

The fact of the matter is that women *have* come a long way since the days of the late fifties and early sixties, and it's a problem for those who want to push us back.

In preparing this talk, I read some of the stuff that Betty Friedan wrote in the early sixties, which had a profound effect on many women who read it then. Since I never lived through the experiences she describes in her book *The Feminine Mystique*, I wanted to get a better idea of how things were back then, and how much they have changed.

It's dramatic.

Things *are* different with women today—in education, in the work force, in the home, in all aspects of society.

The biggest change, of course, which most of the others flow from, is that most women will work outside the home at some time in their lives.

The changes in the everyday lives of women are reflected, though belatedly and in a partial manner, in people's consciousness about women.

A different view of future

Young women in the United States today have a very different view of what the future should hold for us than did our mothers and grandmothers.

Despite the depth of the current social and economic crisis and its impact on women, despite the bleak future that most young people know is in the cards for us—we expect that we ought to have many more options before us than previous generations did.

We're living in the times of "Rosie the Riveter," "Nine-to-Five," legal abortion, and birth control; when most women have jobs outside the home, when unions march for the ERA, when there are women's sports, and women are elected to public office.

Women today look different, dress different, and feel different than our foremothers.

We've rejected, to some degree or another, consciously or not so consciously, many of the stereotypes about women being passive, meek, serving others but never themselves; sex objects who shouldn't enjoy sex; people without ideas; people who are mothers, grandmothers, wives, or girlfriends, but not much on

Reagan's war on women's rights Part II

their own.

We're more confident, independent, aggressive, questioning, angry, combative.

And we even have our own movement.

All this has had a profound impact on the consciousness of men as well—how they view themselves, women, jobs, their families.

Today, most people in the United States support the ERA, legal abortion, funding for daycare centers, and equal pay for equal work.

And there's a growing acceptance of women in "non-traditional" jobs—longshorewomen, railroad firepeople, women engineers, women steelworkers, coal miners, and machinists.

Never in the history of this class-divided society have people's ideas about women been changing so rapidly.

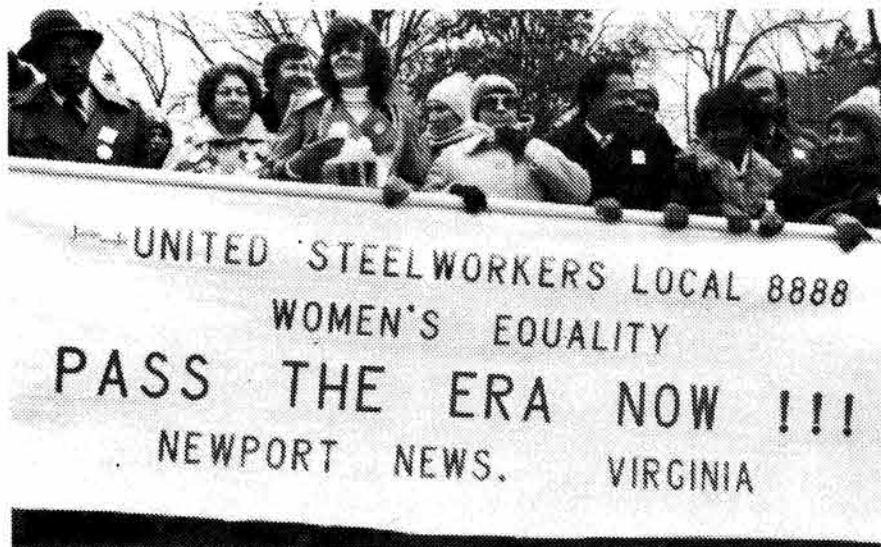
Never has the falsehood and *irrationality* of all the justifications for the second-class status of women been clearer.

The rise of the women's movement is based, in part, on the increasing recognition that there is a contradiction between the oppression of women and the needs of the majority of men and women. There seems to be no good reason for women to be less than equal partners with men.

This is a very radical—potentially explosive and revolutionary—change in consciousness.

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

Washington's out to prove women are 'inferior'



Militant/Lou Howort

'There's a struggle going on for the hearts and minds of working people, and sections of the middle class, over fundamental questions of women's equality and our role in society.'

It also makes it more difficult to use divide-and-conquer tactics.

Can women do math?

So, the rulers have to dust off some of the ideological props that have fallen into disuse, and refurbish others that have been damaged.

They have to try to convince women and men that women really are inferior, despite all the evidence to the contrary.

They have to run more articles like the one in the *New York Times* about women's "genetic inferiority" in understanding math.

The owners of property are trying to reimpose *their* class views of women onto society. Sexism, like racism, is an indispensable prop of their profit system.

"Women's nature is fulfilled by childbearing. They can't be allowed to indulge in abortions. It's against nature."

"They should stay home with the children and stop taking men's jobs."

"If women were home, there'd be less juvenile crime and teenage promiscuity."

On and on . . . ad nauseum.

The bosses and their government push ahead with anti-woman legislation, court decisions, and on-the-job attacks; while on the ideological level they try to do a job on women—and men—to gain acceptance for these attacks.

To divide, confuse and demoralize the opposition.

And to lay the basis for future blows.

There's a struggle going on for the hearts and minds of working people, and sections of the middle class, over fundamental questions of women's equality and our role in society. It's part of the *class* polarization that's occurring in society as a whole.

On the one side, there are those who want to take us backwards: who want more racism and sexism, who want fewer unions, less social security, more wars. Forces like the KKK and the Moral Majority are encouraged and emboldened by the policies emanating from the White House and endorsed by both capitalist parties.

On the other side, there are those who want to go forward: who are against racism and sexism, who think working people deserve more social services and social security, who oppose all wars waged by Washington. Those forces represent the interests and aspirations of the great majority. Those fighting for Black rights, antidraft activists, coal miners, abortion rights people, air traffic controllers.

Most working people are somewhere in between. They tend to be moving more to the left as the ruling class moves to the right. But they are shaken up by

blows and defeats. There's mainly a lot of discussion and a lot of confusion.

The battle of ideas is part and parcel of the struggle between two classes with historically counterposed interests.

The women's movement, the union movement, and the Black movement must try to cut through the confusion: expose how the ruling class's interests are served by the government's propaganda; show how the real solutions to our problems must be sought by moving forward to a socialist society based on human needs, and not backward to barbarism.

Carter kicks it off . . .

This ideological duel, the fight to roll back support for women's rights among working people in this country, was already well under way during Carter's election campaign in 1976. Both Carter and Ford were outspoken opponents of women's right to abortion.

It was with the support of many-things-in-life-are-unfair-Carter that the Hyde Amendment, which cut off Medicaid funds for abortion, went into effect.

And of course, it was good old pro-ERA Jimmy who proposed that women be registered for the draft.

Because he was concerned about women's rights?

Because he wanted to help get the ERA passed?

Not on your life.

What he wanted was to *sell* draft registration, to convince working people to go along with stepped-up preparations for war.

Anticipating a lot of opposition to the idea of reviving the draft, he wanted to try and shift the axis of the debate to whether women should be drafted, instead of should there be any registration or draft at all.

He wanted to give the draft and the military a progressive veneer, by associating them with the popular cause of women's equality.

He wanted to get women, who historically have been even more antiwar than men, to support his draft proposal.

By Evelyn Reed

Books

Woman's Evolution \$8.95
Problems of Women's Liberation \$2.45
Sexism and Science \$4.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014
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And he wanted to confuse and divide the forces that would be coming together to oppose registration. There's another side to it, as well.

Carter decided to seize the historic opportunity that presented itself—the chance to stab the women's movement, and the ERA, in the back by associating them with something as unpopular as war and the draft. He undermined support for the ERA and the women's movement by making them seem like champions of a new draft. The success of this campaign was greatly facilitated by the stance of some leaders of the women's movement, which I'll discuss a little later.

... Reagan picks up the ball

This ideological offensive against women's equality accelerated, broadened out, and intensified during the 1980 election campaign. And since Reagan's election, it's become even more openly reactionary.

You could see it in the burst of Congressional hearings last spring. There were hearings on busing, affirmative action, abortion, and sexual harassment of women workers. They were definitely not designed to allow all points of view to be heard.

I covered the first round of Senate hearings on the Human Life Bill for the *Militant*.

Their purpose was to attempt to divert the public discussion on abortion into an abstract debate around the pseudo-scientific question of when human life begins—as defined by those who oppose abortion.

The message was clear: the clump of cells in the film they showed is more important than the real, live women whose right to decide whether to bear a child these people are hell-bent on taking away.

The hearings were basically free advertisement for abortion foes. Some of the congressmen who presided over them excused themselves after the first day so they could preside over the hearings of the newly formed witch-hunting Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.

The biased nature of the first round of abortion rights hearings was so obvious that the senators were forced to schedule further hearings that included some pro-abortion rights people.

But, when all was said and done, the subcommittee voted to approve the bill.

Then there were the hearings on sexual harassment, where ERA opponent Phyllis Schlafly was invited to testify.

She explained: "When a woman walks across the room, she speaks with a universal body language that most men intuitively understand. Men hardly ever ask sexual favors of women from whom the certain answer is 'No.' Virtuous women are seldom accosted by unwelcome sexual propositions or familiarities, obscene talk or profane language."

'I'm here to work . . .'

There has also been a renewed barrage of newspaper articles about—or more accurately, against—women workers. Especially women breaking into nontraditional jobs on whatever level.

The *Wall Street Journal*, in particular, has taken to analyzing the impact on the executive suites of some women's faces in higher places.

For example, a headline in the April 4 issue warned: "Sexual tension: Some Men Find Office Is a Little Too Exciting With Women as Peers; Distraction, Anxiety Grows; Women Parry Advances, Struggle for Acceptance; I'm Here to Work, Not Flirt."

Another headline, in the June 20 issue, "subtly" summed up the *Journal's* point of view: "Maternity Leave: Firms Are Disrupted By Wave of Pregnancy At the Manager Level; After-30 Motherhood Snags Debenture Offer, Clouds Rating of TV News Show; Career Put on Slower Track."

The message: as long as women bear children they are not and cannot be equal to men. And the *Journal's* editors now try to make you believe this is based not on prejudice, but on "real-life experience." Very scientific and objective!

Then there are all the explanations of how unemployment figures are not really accurate because they're being padded with . . . women!

An article in the *New York Times* announced: "New Trends Among the Work Force Cloud Validity of Unemployment Rate."

What are these "new trends"?

Women and teenagers.

The article explains that women and teenagers—new workers who are coming into the work force—have less need of a job than other workers; and so, when they can't find a job, they're not really unemployed. Thus, they "artificially" inflate the unemployment statistics!

Another article "reasoned" that women are paid less than men because they have children at what turns out to be the crucial time for career advancement: between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five.

So, the author concludes, the main problem is not discrimination after all! If women didn't bear chil-



Woman construction worker. There's a growing acceptance among working people of women in 'non-traditional' jobs.

dren, they would be equal.

The depth of the ideological offensive can be seen in the fact that many liberal capitalist papers, congress-people, and even some who call themselves radicals, have backed off from support for the ERA, abortion rights, affirmative action, and federally funded day-care.

Using women to bring back draft

The Supreme Court decision upholding the constitutionality of the draft was a big blow to women's rights—and the rights of all working people—because it was another step by the ruling class to increase the militarization of American society and prepare for war.

But Carter's fake-out worked. Most people thought the Supreme Court was deciding a question of women's rights. A big step was taken toward reviving the draft while everyone was looking the other way.

An editorial in the *New York Times* pointed to how they are trying to use this unfortunate link-up: "No long-term military draft is likely to achieve public support unless it is perceived as fair, involving equal sacrifice." [emphasis added]

They state it quite badly: let's include women in order to sell the draft; and as a way of saying that, in these hard times, equal rights means equality of sacrifice.

That's not a very inspiring thing to fight for.

And that's exactly the point.

How can you convince women—and men—that women's equality is an evil to be fought against? Something that makes life worse, not better?

Answer: show that it means next time they'll draft our daughters as well as our sons.

If that's what you think the women's movement is fighting for, you're not likely to join in the fray!

One indication of the success of this ruling-class offensive is the fact that in the most recent Harris poll, support for the ERA was lower among 18 to 29-year-

olds (55%-41%) than among people 30 to 49 years old (58%-38%).

Teenage pregnancy

Another front on which the forces of reaction are waging their battle of ideas is that of sexual repression.

The Family Protection Act is a sweeping bill. It takes some of the main planks of the "Moral Majority's" platform and puts them into legislative form.

It includes proposals for:

- Reintroducing prayer into the schools.
- Outlawing federal funding for any groups or individuals who suggest that homosexuality is or might be acceptable;
- Banning federal funding for any educational materials that "tend to denigrate, diminish, or deny the role differences between the sexes as it (sic) has been historically understood in the United States."
- Attacking school desegregation, increasing "right-to-work" laws, and a number of other things.

The Teenage Chastity Act is now the law of the land. It was sponsored by Senator Jeremiah Denton.

He's famous for pulling up his shirt during the Senate "terrorism" hearings to show that he is so brave he doesn't wear a bullet-proof vest.

This bill establishes a \$30 million program to "promote chastity" among teenagers. It would try to prevent teenagers from having sex, and when teenagers become pregnant anyway, would "encourage" adoption instead of abortion.

It would promote chastity because, as one of the bill's supporters explained, "Saying 'no' is the best oral contraceptive one can take."

Besides its propaganda value, the legislative intent of the bill is to cut funding for groups like Planned Parenthood and programs providing teenagers with information concerning abortion, birth control, and sex education.

Under the guise of being "pro-family" the Teenage Chastity Act shifts onto the individual woman and her family the full weight of the social problems faced by the one million teenage women who get pregnant every year.

This society does not provide adequate sex education, birth control, or access to abortion for teenagers. But it has no room for teenage mothers—or their babies—either.

This is a utopian attempt to legislate sexuality into the mold that Denton and his ilk think it should fit into.

It's also part of broader attempts to curb the rebelliousness and dissatisfaction with the status quo that affect many young people.

The measure has passed with the support of the great "friend of women" Edward Kennedy.

Of course, just because it's a law, teenagers will not become celibate.

But passage of this legislation is part of the ideological battle to convince working people that all social and economic problems stem from their own personal weaknesses and failures—not from any inherent inequities in capitalist society.

* * *

Next week, in the final installment in this series, we'll take a look at the response of the leadership of the women's movement to the ideological and political offensive of the ruling class.

In particular, we'll discuss the ideas of feminist author Betty Friedan, and the leadership of the National Organization for Women.



Polish workers take step forward

By Ernest Harsch

The first national congress of Solidarity, held in Gdansk September 5-10, showed how far the Polish workers have come in just one year.

The union has clearly established itself as a powerful force. It has provided an example of what can be accomplished when workers form their own independent, democratic, and fighting organization, one that does not restrict itself to shop-floor issues but also addresses the big social, economic, and political questions that affect society as a whole.

It is the powerful attraction that this example holds for workers in other countries that has rulers around the world extremely worried. The bankers and businessmen on Wall Street are no less fearful than the bureaucrats who rule in Moscow that this example could spread.

Soviet threats

The Soviet response to Solidarity's congress was predictable: an escalation of slanders and threats.

As the congress was underway, 100,000 Soviet troops were carrying out military maneuvers near the Polish border and in the Baltic Sea, in what was reported to be the largest exercise of its kind in the region since World War II.

On September 10, the Soviet press agency, Tass, branded the Solidarity congress as "an antisocialist and anti-Soviet orgy." Repeating a favorite slander dating from the times of Stalin, Tass accused the Solidarity leaders of conspiring with "agents of imperialist secret services" to prepare for a "seizure of power." The union was charged with aiming to undermine "the basis of the Polish socialist state" and restore "the bourgeois system in Poland."

Of particular concern to Moscow was a statement adopted by Solidarity pledging support for worker activists in the rest of Eastern Europe who may also attempt to set up independent unions. Large factory meetings were organized in Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities, at which workers were asked to approve prepared statements condemning Solidarity. This was the first time Moscow had taken such a step, and marked a new stage in its efforts to turn Soviet workers against their brothers and sisters in Poland.

On September 10, *Rude Pravo*, the Czechoslovak Communist Party daily, likewise branded Solidarity's statement of support for workers in Eastern Europe as an "attempt at exporting counterrevolution."

Romania, Hungary

Although there have not yet been any large-scale attempts by workers in other Eastern European countries to emulate Solidarity's example, the bureaucrats nevertheless have reason for concern. In recent years, there have been efforts in Romania, Hungary, and the Soviet Union itself to set up independent unions. In fact, one such group in the Soviet Union sent greetings to the Solidarity congress (see box).

The Soviet factory meetings also have more ominous implications. By portraying them as "spontaneous" outpourings of working class indignation at Solidarity, Moscow is trying to prepare the political ground for a possible military intervention into Poland.

The Hungarian Communist Party paper, *Nepszabadsag*, was more direct about such threats, writing in its September 13 issue about the growing "possibility" of "firm" action against "the opponents of social peace" in Poland.

The big-business press in the West, which in the past has lavished praise on Solidarity as part of its general anti-communist propaganda campaign, has also been growing more and more critical of the Polish workers' movement. The commentary on Solidarity's congress reflected some of the capitalists' real attitudes toward the union.

In a report on the congress in the September 13 *New York Times*, correspondent John Darnton stated, "The six-day session in Gdansk was heard round the world, with indignation and anger in the Soviet East and with admiration, but also anxiety, in the West."

A day earlier, an editorial in the *Times* counseled Solidarity to make "hard choices" and accept "reduced incomes and increased productivity"—words that could easily have come



First national congress of Solidarity

Militant/Martin Koppel

out of the mouth of a Polish government official.

'Get down to work'

A similar note was struck in an editorial in the September 11 *Washington Post*. "Solidarity cannot allow itself to be drawn into endless disputation on points of economic theory," the editors stated. Instead, they argued, it should "get down to work." They also expressed concern over Solidarity's statement of support for other Eastern European workers, questioning "what useful purpose" it served.

A report from Warsaw in the same paper on September 13 raised an alarm about the course of the Polish workers' revolution as a whole, noting that "there are eerie parallels between the events of the past year in Poland and the Russian Revolution of 1917."

Perhaps the most explicit criticism of the Solidarity conference appeared in an editorial in the September 12 *Economist*, the British business weekly. Under the headline "Solidarity, whoa!" the *Economist* characterized the decisions

of the congress as "bravery-cum-foolhardiness." It charged, "Simple-minded bravado . . . appears to be in the ascendant."

'Absurd demands'

At the same time, the *Economist* praised the policies of the Polish authorities: "The Polish government, under the sensible direction of General Jaruzelski, is trying to take a grip on the country. It has pushed through some huge and much-needed, though unpopular, price rises. It has refused to yield to some of Solidarity's absurder demands. . . ."

While advising Solidarity to show "more realism," the *Economist* reminded Jaruzelski, "In most countries, the best way to handle over-powerful trade unions is to ignore their demands and withstand their strikes."

That is the capitalists' prescription for their own countries. And increasingly, it is their answer to the Polish workers as well.

From Intercontinental Press

POLAND Workers in Revolt

By Dave Frankel
DeAnn Rathbun,
and Ernest Harsch

48 pp. \$1.25
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410
West Street, New York, N.Y.
10014 (Please include \$.75 postage)

Picket against Pol Pot

By Sandi Sherman

NEW YORK—In spite of a steady rainfall, thirty-five people picketed across from the United Nations on September 15 to demand that the UN seat the legitimate government of Kampuchea (Cambodia) and oust the Pol Pot forces who currently occupy Kampuchea's seat at the UN.

The picket was initiated by the Committee in Solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos to coincide with the opening session of the General Assembly. Co-sponsoring groups included the Association of Vietnamese Patriots, Caribbean People's Alliance, People's Anti-war Mobilization, U.S. Peace Council, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

The Pol Pot regime murdered some three million of the seven million Kampuchians before it was overthrown in 1979. Washington and Peking have joined efforts to keep the Pol Pot forces

in the UN Kampuchean seat, despite the fact that Pol Pot's gang has no support within Kampuchea. Elections held last May in Kampuchea showed overwhelming support for the current Heng Samrin government.

Chan Bun Han, a Kampuchean activist resident in this country, announced at the protest that the Heng Samrin government has formally notified Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the UN that they intend to send a delegation of four representatives of the Kampuchean government to participate in the 36th session of the UN General Assembly. The government has requested that Waldheim take the necessary measures for the granting of entry visas to New York for this delegation.

At the end of the weak UN assembly voted to keep the forces of Pol Pot in Kampuchea's seat. The Committee in Solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos will be planning further protest activities.

Soviet workers group hails Solidarity

[The following is the text of the greetings sent to the Solidarity congress from the Free Trade Union Organizing Committee in the Soviet Union. It was first published in the August 30 issue of AS, a Solidarity press agency bulletin, and was handed out at the congress. The translation from the Polish is by Intercontinental Press.]

We send these greetings to you from a country where the working class has hardly ever known independent trade unions that firmly and resolutely defend the interests of the masses of workers.

To us, the achievements of the Polish proletariat are like a dream. Our workers' movement has scarcely been born. But in the current turmoil of events and ideas, a small spark could be enough to engulf in flames all those who mercilessly exploit the enormous patience of the Russian people.

Your struggle for the common people of Poland is also our struggle. Everything that contributes to the demise of falsehoods and duplicity, everything that leads to the realizations of the workers' basic demands, also weakens our regime.

Poland will not be free as long as Russia is not free. Only democratic

changes, on the side of God, will allow you to build a free and prosperous country, independently of anyone.

How very much we would have liked to be among the guests at the congress, to represent the free Russian workers' movement. How very much we would have liked to deliver these greetings directly to you to show our unconditional support—not the kind of support given to you by our government.

For the moment, this is only a dream. But the day will come (and in this we must believe) when the Russian and Polish workers will sit shoulder to shoulder in a democratic and progressive gathering.

Solidarity is today an example for us. At the cost of persecution, blood, and suffering, the Polish workers have broken the shackles of the government-controlled trade union.

Our organization unites workers and intellectuals. Although today we are not many, we solemnly pledge before this congress to do everything possible in our country to support you, to get out the truth and expose the lies, and even, if necessary, to defend you by any means.

Long live the friendship of the Polish and Soviet peoples!

Long live the international solidarity of all working people!

May God help you in your historic efforts.

Black athlete slain: evidence points to cops

By Derrick Adams

LOS ANGELES—On the morning of June 2, Ron Settles, Cal State University football star and scholar, was stopped for a routine traffic violation.

Three hours later, he was pronounced dead in a police holding tank in the city of Signal Hill, near Long Beach.

Police claimed Settles, who was Black, was stopped for speeding and arrested after he became combative with officers. He became despondent over being jailed, they said, and committed suicide, hanging himself with a mattress cover in his cell.

But on September 2, a coroner's jury announced its five-to-four verdict: Settles "died at the hands of another."

The inquest lasted almost two weeks, focusing on the following questions:

Why was Ron Settles' face bruised?
Why would he refuse to make a phone call, as police claimed?

How could Settles hang himself with a mattress cover when there was no mattress cover in his cell?

Why would he fight with the police?

Why would he commit suicide? Settles was a young man with a bright future: the Dallas Cowboys had already expressed interest in signing him to a football contract.

What emerged at the coroner's inquest was a history of police brutality involving Settles' arresting officer, Jerry Lee Brown.

Brown had been fired from the Los Angeles Police Department. He was the arresting officer of Ruben Carillo, who died in 1979 as a result of being beaten by Brown. The Carillo family settled out of court for \$30,000.

Brown and five other policemen who assisted in the Settles arrest or were at

the station when he was brought in, took the Fifth Amendment at the coroner's inquest.

Witness Gloria Zabala, who was seated on a park bench fifteen feet from where Settles was arrested, testified that police officers placed guns to each side of Settles' head before he was handcuffed and taken to jail.

The Settles family has filed a \$50 million lawsuit against the city of Signal Hill. "We want to make sure this will not happen again," said Donnell Settles, Ron's father.

A September 11 demonstration demanding justice for Settles drew 500 people: Most were Black; most were students at Cal State's Long Beach campus, where Settles attended school.

Demonstrators marched in front of the Signal Hill police station, chanting, "What do we want? Justice! When do we want it? Now!" and "You call yourself protectors, but who are you protecting?"

Speakers at the march included Michael Zinzun of the Coalition Against Police Abuse; Amon Ra, a professor at Long Beach; and a representative of the L.A. National Black Independent Political Party.

The NBIPP speaker told the crowd, "What we need in the United States is political power, like people in Cuba and Grenada have power. That's real power. Therefore we can choose our own destiny. We can end police abuse."

At the end of the demonstration, demands were given to representatives of the police department, while the media stood by. Demands included the arrest of the six officers who invoked the Fifth at the Settles inquest, and that the city of Signal Hill honor the \$50 million damage claim by Settles' parents.

Affirmative action debate in Boston school crisis

By John Rees and David Walsh

BOSTON—The Boston School Committee has laid off nearly 1,000 teachers, closed 27 schools, and delayed a 7.5 percent teacher pay raise in the latest attack against public education here.

Public education has become the scapegoat of the city's fiscal crisis. The latest round of cutbacks were ordered after Mayor Kevin White froze the school budget at \$210 million.

The 6,500-member Boston Teachers Union considered a strike against the cutbacks, which violate their contract. But 1,000 teachers at a September 20 meeting voted three-to-two against the union executive committee strike recommendation.

The Black and Latino communities in Boston recognize the cutbacks as particularly directed against their children. Almost 60 percent of public school children are minorities, although they are less than 30 percent of the city's population.

The long desegregation fight in Boston is closely tied to the issue of the cutbacks now. U.S. District Court Judge Arthur Garrity ordered an affirmative-action hiring program for teachers in one of the victories of the desegregation fight. This has resulted in a gain where Black and minority teachers have gone from 5 percent to about 19 percent. An additional ruling by Garrity ordered that the percentage of minority teachers in the system could not be reduced by layoffs.

Without this affirmative action protection, the latest round of layoffs would have wiped out the gains in Black and

minority teachers of the last five years.

Some 710 of the 1,000 recently laid-off teachers were whites with tenure. Spurred on by the Seniority Caucus in the union, the leadership of the Boston Teachers Union is challenging the affirmative-action layoff protection in court.

Black teachers have demanded the union drop the suit.

Divisions over these issues are preventing a united fight in defense of public education and against the layoffs. The union's official stand against affirmative action has helped city officials drive a wedge between teachers and the Black community.

When the strike was suggested for this fall, many Black teachers and community activists expressed opposition to the strike and pledged to keep working and to keep the schools open in the Black community.

The Boston school crisis is propelled by the budget cutbacks affecting all public education throughout the country.

Mayor Kevin White says there is no money. School Committee Chairman John O'Bryant, who is Black, goes along with this.

But funding for the schools is available. Boston itself has more money. The city ended up with a surplus last year. Over \$100 million in property taxes were returned to big business under court orders. The passage in Massachusetts of Proposition 2½ is cutting their property taxes even further. And, of course, Boston is hurt by the federal budget cuts that take money away from education to pay for the giant military increases and tax breaks for the rich.

What's needed in Boston is to organize a fight by parents, teachers, and other unions in defense of public education: more schools, more and better-paid teachers. But the unity to conduct this fight can only be built on the basis of support for desegregation and affirmative action.

National Picket Line



Land of 'free press'?

CBS Radio refused to broadcast a Labor Day message taped by AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland over its national network, breaking a thirty-five year tradition.

The network withdrew its commitment to air the broadcast on September 4, claiming that the text dealt with "controversial issues of a political nature."

CBS has no qualms about carrying daily broadcasts from the Reagan Administration. But Kirkland's statement of opposition, and his announcement of the September 19 protest march in Washington, was deemed unfit for our ears.

In the September 12 *AFL-CIO News*, Kirkland blasted the network's decision. He compared the incident to the "current dispute in Poland between the Solidarity union and the government-controlled media."

Brown lung disease acknowledged

"The American Lung Association of North Carolina and the North Carolina Thoracic Society have acknowledged for the first time that byssinosis, or brown lung disease, exists in acute and chronic forms and may incapacitate textile workers," according to the August 29 *New York Times*.

The news will not be welcomed at the White House where government officials are busy looking for ways to eliminate the cotton dust restrictions which set a maximum allowable level in the mills.

It's estimated that 800,000 textile workers are exposed to cotton dust on the job, the chief cause of brown lung. The lung association and chest-disease specialists conclude that chronic byssinosis can occur after five or more years of work in a textile mill.

The statement, distributed August 27, is the most explicit comment by a state medical group on the cause, effect, and prevention of the disease.



"They wouldn't believe me! When I told them supervisor Frimly was in the hospital, they kept insisting, 'You're only saying that to make us feel good!'"

Union membership declines

Between 1978 and 1980 union membership in the United States dropped by 385,000 to 22,353,000, according to recent Labor Department figures.

This decline reduces the number of unionists to about 20.9 percent of the work force, compared to 22.3 percent in 1978 and 24.7 percent in 1970.

The largest membership loss was in the United Auto Workers, which lost 142,000 members from its 1978 total of 1,499,000 members, a 9.5 percent reduction.

Other unions showing declines during the two-year period were paperworkers, down 65,000; rubber workers, down 49,000; steelworkers, down 48,000; oil, chemical and atomic workers, down 26,000; and garment workers, down 25,000.

Unions that showed increases include the United Food and Commercial Workers, carpenters, communications workers, electrical workers, and service employees.

—Vivian Sahner

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

John Rees is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council. David Walsh is the SWP's candidate for Boston School Committee.

Learning About Socialism

Why higher wages don't cause inflation

The idea that wage increases cause prices to rise is at the heart of every "anti-inflation" plan put forward by the corporations, news media, and Democratic and Republican politicians.

However the government's own figures show that wages have lagged behind prices, not pushed prices up. For example, the average take-home pay of a married worker with three dependents rose from \$90.86 in 1967 to \$217.14 in April 1981, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That's a 139 percent increase. Sounds like a lot.

But prices measured by the Consumer Price Index rose 167 percent in the same period. In terms of 1967 dollars the worker's buying power was only \$81.39 in April 1981—less than fourteen years before.

Still, isn't it possible that even greater restraint on wages might at least slow down inflation?

Behind such logic is the assumption that the level of wages determines the price of commodities. There is another hidden assumption—that the rate of profit is fixed. In other words, the corporation can simply pass along any increase in wage costs through higher prices while reaping the same profit.

If this were true the capitalists would be quite indifferent to union activity. They would simply grant wage increases as requested and proceed to raise prices. There would hardly ever be strikes, since why would a corporation risk the loss of business through a strike if at no cost to itself it could grant higher wages. The long history of the bosses' attempts to smash unions indicates there is some error in this explanation.

If wages don't determine prices, what does? And what effect do wage increases have? The answers to these questions were discovered long ago by the early nineteenth century British economist David Ricardo.

The fact that Ricardo was a strong supporter of capitalism and no friend of the working class makes his argument all the more convincing.

Ricardo explained that when supply and demand cancel each other out (as they tend to do in the long run) the price of a commodity is determined by the amount of labor time needed to produce it. That's not only the time for final assembly of the product. It includes the labor time necessary to produce the raw materials and that portion of the machinery used up or worn out in the production process.

Now, if wages rise, what is the effect on the amount of labor time required to produce commodities? None at all.

What does happen is a shift in the division of the national income from the employers to the workers. Wages rise and profits fall. It is exactly this principle that is involved in every strike over wages.

The employers, on the other side, fight to keep wages down because that means higher profits for them—certainly not in order to give lower prices to the consumers.

It might be argued that a rise in wages would at least cause an increase in the prices of those commodities consumed by the workers because demand for these commodities would now exceed the supply.

This might happen but it would be a temporary effect.

If the higher demand for basic consumer goods led to higher prices, then the firms producing those commodities would make higher profits than those producing luxury goods for the bosses. The companies making goods for consumption by workers would therefore step up production; more companies would probably enter this field to take advantage of the

higher profits. As that happened, the supply of these goods would increase until it equaled demand or even (since production under capitalism is not socially planned) exceed demand. Prices would stabilize and then fall.

The opposite would happen with the companies producing goods for the rich. In response to lower demand and lower profits on these goods, production would decrease until supply no longer exceeded demand.

In the end, the prices would be the same as before. But the composition of production would now be different—more would be produced for the workers and less for the bosses. In reality, these temporary price movements would be very slight or would not occur at all because of the great amount of unused productive capacity that usually exists under capitalism.

The same analysis can be extended to taxes and social spending. If taxes on the rich are increased across the board and these revenues are used to finance social programs, the well-being of working people is increased at the expense of the bosses.

For example, if social security taxes paid by the employers were increased and the funds used to increase payments to the elderly and disabled, these people could purchase more commodities and the employers less. The market would shift productive resources toward meeting the needs of the elderly and disabled, away from producing commodities for the rich. Prices would not go up.

The reverse is also true. President Reagan's social security cuts in no way combat inflation. They are merely shifting production of commodities away from social security beneficiaries and toward consumption by the rich.

—Bill Gottlieb

What's Going On

ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

HEAR ELLEN HAYWOOD, Socialist Workers candidate for city council. Sat., Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

CUBA 1981. Report on Young Socialist Alliance Tour. Speakers: Cathy Gutekanst, on health care; Olie Bivins, on factory tours; and José Oikawa, on education. Sat., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call: (213) 225-3127.

OAKLAND

WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK: WHICH WAY FORWARD FOR N.O.W.? Speakers: Kay Waley, chairperson of ERA committee S.F. N.O.W.; Sylvia Weinstein, abortion rights committee and member of Socialist Workers Party; and others to be announced. Fri., Oct. 2, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call: (415) 763-3792.

SAN JOSE

IRISH FREEDOM STRUGGLE. Eyewitness account. Speakers: Seamus Gibney, Irish Northern Aid rep.; Traise Yamamoto, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. (just off the Alameda). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

POLISH WORKERS FIGHT TO CONTROL THEIR FACTORIES AND THEIR LIVES. Speaker: Ernest Harsch, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*, recently returned from Poland. Sun. Oct. 11, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. (just off the Alameda). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

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. Y.W.C.A. 37 S. Wabash. For more information call: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA GARY

SECOND NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR SAFE ENERGY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT. Conference organizers encourage all interested trade

unionists and safe-energy activists to attend. Nov. 20-22, 1981. Ausp: United Food and Commercial Workers, United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists, Graphic Arts International Union, Furniture Workers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Molders and Allied Workers, Woodworkers, and Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. For more information contact the Labor Committee, 1536 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, telephone (202) 265-7190.

MICHIGAN DETROIT

CANADIAN STEELWORKERS' STRIKE. Speaker: Richard DeGaetano, member, USWA Local 1005 at STELCO. Sun., Oct. 4, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA MESABI IRON RANGE

SOUTH AFRICA'S INVASION OF ANGOLA. Speaker: August Nimtz, Coordinator of African Studies Council, University of Minn. and co-convenor of National Black Independent Political Party. Fri., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. S., Virginia. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call: (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI ST. LOUIS

WHY ISRAEL INVADED LEBANON. Speaker: John Rosenberg, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. (near Skinker). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

SEPTEMBER 19 SOLIDARITY DAY: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? Slide show presentation and discussion. Sun., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. (near Skinker). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW YORK CAPITAL DISTRICT

SOUTHERN AFRICA: WHY DOES THE U.S. SUPPORT MINORITY RULE? Speaker: Suzanne Haig, Militant staff writer. Fri., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St., Schenectady. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO CINCINNATI

AN EVENING WITH THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR CITY COUNCIL. Speaker: Robert Connolly, candidate for Cincinnati city council, member United Steelworkers of America. Slide show of Sep-

tember 19 rally in Washington, wine and cheese party. Sat., Sept. 26, 8 p.m. 524 Riddle Rd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

HOW CAN WORKING PEOPLE ANSWER REAGAN'S OFFENSIVE? Speakers: Sarah Gardner, pres. of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Britt Robson, Citizens Party; Robert Connolly, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council; others. Sun., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON PORTLAND

WHAT'S BEHIND SOUTH AFRICA'S INVASION OF ANGOLA? Tony Thomas, coauthor of *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*. Sun., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call: (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS SAN ANTONIO

REPORT BACK FROM SOLIDARITY DAY. Slides and reports from Solidarity Day participants. Refreshments available. Sat., Oct. 3, 6 p.m. 337 W. Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: *Militant and Perspectiva Mundial*. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

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Letters

'Equal time' to be cut

The new chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Mark Fowler, has teamed up with CBS and other major radio and TV networks to repeal the "equal time and fairness doctrines" of the FCC. These laws have enabled the independent candidates for public office, and the public at-large to respond to capitalist politicians and editorial commentaries.

While many major news interview shows and regular news programs are exempt from the law, thousands of other shows aren't. Over the years the Socialist Workers Party has successfully won many equal time spots for their candidates, and enabled socialist candidates to participate in the campaign debates organized by TV and radio. As well, editorial commentaries, which up until now can be answered by socialists, unionists, civil rights activists, or anybody else, would be eliminated if Fowler's proposal goes through.

In his motivation for elimination of the laws, Mr. Fowler says that there was simply nothing in this age of mass communication and media diversity "to justify the burden of a fairness doctrine on free expression."

This attack on the FCC equal time provisions is but another part of the Reagan and

bi-partisan offensive aimed at taking away the rights of working people, lowering our living standards and trying to squelch the fightback.

Mark Friedman
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Abortion hearing

The first hearings on Pennsylvania's Abortion Control bills were held in Philadelphia on September 9. The City Hall room was packed, with people sitting in the aisles, standing four or five deep at the back and overflowing into the hallway.

Judging by the response to the speakers, supporters of abortion rights well outnumbered supporters of the bills, which would put formidable obstacles in the way of women wanting an abortion. In the morning session, speakers against the bills included spokespersons for Christian churches and the American Jewish Congress, as well as a member of a medical task force on teenagers.

At noon, while many people stayed at the hearings, hundreds more came to City Hall to demonstrate against the bills during their lunch hour. Among the signs was a striking graphic display by the Philadelphia Arts Squad on the theme: "Keep your hands out of my body."

Eileen Gersh
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Barbaro for Mayor?

My local, the legal services local of District 65 United Auto Workers, voted last week to support Frank Barbaro for mayor against Democratic incumbent Ed Koch. Barbaro's campaign puts him up, as his main slogan has it, as "the real Democrat."

My local set a precedent among New York's unions this year by inviting all the candidates to appear in person to present their views. Only Wells Todd, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, came by. He spoke to some fifty people.

Barbaro, who is trying to knock two of his Democratic opponents off the primary

ballot, got as far as the front door of the union but then excused himself saying an "emergency" had come up.

Barbaro's campaign manager, a former defense lawyer, filled in for him, apologizing for Barbaro's position on the police (he wants to hire 6,000 more), nukes (unclear), and citing the broad support Barbaro's campaign is getting from almost all the union leadership and important "minority" groups like the Black United Front.

If Barbaro has all this support then what do we need the Democrats for, Todd asked? We should start our own party he said, one that we form and that we control.

Since no labor party exists isn't Barbaro the practical alternative to Koch? Can't we build the movements for social change through the Democratic party? This was the axis of an hour discussion.

The delegates voted. A few agreed with Todd, a few abstained, but most thought Barbaro progressive, relative to Koch, who is widely despised, and voted for him.

People are not won to the idea of a class break with the Democratic party overnight. But I am sure a lot of sisters and brothers are thinking about it.

Michael Smith
New York, New York

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The Great Society

Philosophical—"Unfortunately, in underground mines there are always going to be accidents"—Sen. Harrison Schmitt (R-N.M.), initiator of the proposal to slash federal mine inspection budget by 50 percent.

Bon appetit—Montana wheat fields were sprayed with a pesticide so deadly that a quarter ounce will kill a person. Smaller doses produce brain damage, etc. With a high level of the stuff found among game fowl, officials considered closing the hunting season. Instead they recommended trimming the fat off birds and only eating one every other day.

Figures don't lie, but . . .—West German officials say nuclear reactors are safer than autos. According to their figures, people living in the area of a reactor have one chance in a quarter million of getting killed in a car crash, and only one in a hundred million of dying from radiation.

Political principles—Campaign strategists for Carter and Reagan agreed that Carter was considered the worst president yet, but Reagan was feared as a cold-hearted warmonger. So the strategy for Reagan included calling

his advocacy of military buildup "Reagan's Peace Plan" and referring to the arms race as the need to reestablish a "margin of safety."

Bright future—As increasing numbers of Americans reach sixty-five, Wall Street is getting interested in contact lens companies featuring lens implants in cataract cases. Research indicates that one out of every two people living beyond sixty-five will develop at least one cataract.

Situation normal . . .—During the recent New York power failure it took

many would be passengers a while to realize the trains weren't running. They simply assumed it was a normal subway breakdown.

Soft and snobby—Leather is in with the "beautiful people." Calvin Klein is featuring pullovers at \$520 and dresses for \$1,200. Another fashion house is plugging "Siam pants" [?] at \$1,000. And there's a snappy bolero blouse, \$620. Leather is lightweight and practical says one designer, who adds, "There is also the snob factor. It's expensive, it's luxurious . . ."



Harry Ring

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THE MILITANT

South Africa rugby tour hit by antiracist protests

By Melvin Chappell

ALBANY, New York—Nearly 1,500 opponents of racism came out into the streets here, September 22, defying freezing rain and ignoring the threats of violence that the media had been circulating for days. Their protest was aimed at the South African Springbok rugby team that was in Albany to play a match against the Eastern Rugby Union.

The Springbok team has been on a U.S. tour to soften the image of the racist regime in South Africa whose apartheid policies oppress 80 percent of the country's population, which is Black.

Cuba officials barred by U.S.

The U.S. government greets rugby players from apartheid South Africa with open arms. But Cuban officials, invited to speak at a trade seminar, didn't receive the same welcome.

Cuba, you see, has given its support to antiracist and pro-independence forces in Africa. Its troops helped the Angolan people drive back a 1975 invasion by the racist South African government.

Four Cuban officials were invited to speak at a trade symposium, "The U.S. and Cuba: Prospects for Dialogue." It is being organized by members of the House and Senate and academic figures, many of whom favor an end to the twenty-one-year-old trade embargo against Cuba.

A feature of the symposium is a public debate on the question "Should the United States Re-open Trade and Diplomatic Relations with Cuba?"

A State Department official said that under the Immigration and Naturalization Act the executive branch of the government can deny visas to guests on the grounds of "foreign policy." He said the U.S. government was opposed to "Cuban intervention in Central America, Africa, and elsewhere."

In short, the administration says: Racists welcome. Antiracists, keep out.

The Albany game was at first cancelled by Gov. Hugh Carey. He said that he had confidential information that a slated protest would lead to "imminent danger of riot."

The Eastern Rugby Union and the American Civil Liberties Union obtained a court order overturning Carey's ban.

The "threat" of violence was heavily promoted by the local press and by the cops when the game was rescheduled. Newspaper articles printed headlines that read: "Fear calls on stadium neighbors" and "Security Units gird for game."

The tension was heightened when a bomb went off in the building housing the office of the Eastern Rugby Union. This was in the early morning on the day of the match. Immediately afterward, four organizers of the anti-apartheid protest were arrested. They are still being held without bail for possession of weapons and marijuana.

The attempt to smear the planned demonstration as being violent prone was designed to discourage people from participating. The Albany cops even refused to give protection to the protesters.

Despite the smear campaign and the freezing rain, some 500 people turned out the evening of the game for a rally at the steps of the state capitol. Clara Satterfield, of the Albany NAACP, told the crowd: "Your participation in this demonstration shows to the entire world that we in Albany are willing to make a public statement about our position on those policies of the U.S. government that give validity to this regime in South Africa. A regime that has dedicated itself to maintaining white supremacy."

The representative of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), Manning Marable, pointed out that it's a lie to say sports has nothing to do with politics. He pointed to Carter's boycott of the Olympics to protest Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

Among the other speakers was Alan Mead, first regional vice-president of the Civil Service Employees Association.

At the end of the rally the protesters marched two miles to Blecker stadium

where the rugby match was to be held. With the chants of "Freedom yes! Apartheid no! The rugby tour has got to go," they marched through the rain with umbrellas, placards and a fifteen foot banner leading the way that declared: "Black Majority Rule in South Africa."

The march was later joined by a contingent of students from the State University of New York (SUNY).

When the marchers reached the stadium there was already a picket line of 100 people that had been in progress for several hours.

Albany City Alderman Nebraska Brace said the turnout was particularly impressive because of the uncertainty created by Carey's cancellation of the game and the court reversal.

Dennis Brutus, a Black South African fighting against a deportation order, told the crowd, "You are not only sending a message to the racists in Pretoria, you are also sending a message to the racists in Washington who support the racism in South Africa."

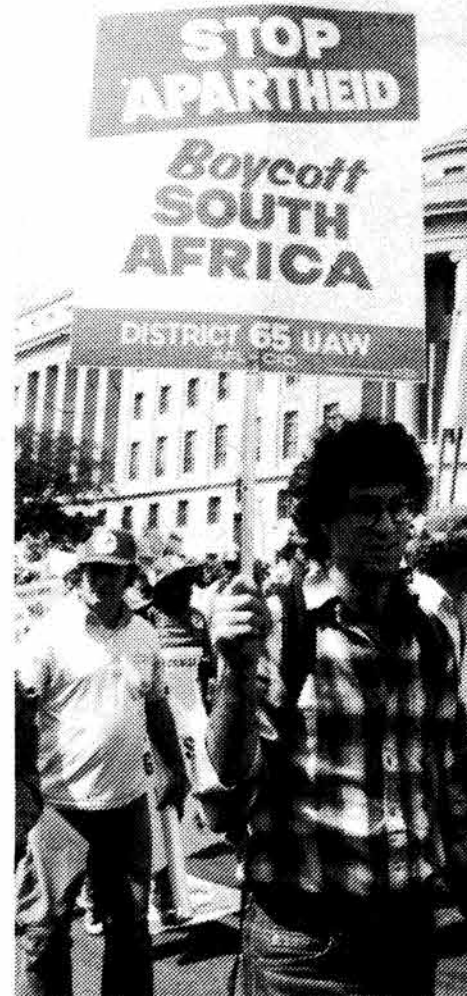
The other speakers included Rev. Brian O'Shaunessy, Adeyemi Bandele of the National Black United Front, and Elombe Braith of the NBIPP.

The noted folk singer Pete Seeger performed.

The rally was sponsored by the Capitol District Coalition Against Apartheid and the Stop Apartheid Rugby Tour (SART). Other participants included church groups, student organizations, Urban League, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Workers Party, Irish Coalition, Peace and Justice Commission of the Catholic Diocese, Vietnam Vets of America, Citizens Party, Communist Party, and many others.

Three days earlier, on September 19, the Midwest Rugby Union was forced to move the game between the Springboks and the Midwest All Stars team from the planned location in Chicago to a secret one in Racine, Wisconsin, following picketing, a protest of 400 in Chicago, and the decision by the city council not to have the game there.

But a busload of protesters found out the location anyway and picketed, along



Militant/Lou Howort

D.C. demonstrator echoes thousands of antiapartheid protestors here and abroad.

with residents who live near the field in the Black community.

Local city official Marvin Happel and Black community leader Joe Harris were arrested for walking onto the field to protest while the game was in progress.

Following the arrest, the Racine NAACP called a meeting of 500 to demand that charges be dropped.

The Springboks are scheduled to play one more match before leaving the country. The site of that match is also being kept secret.

Thousands say no to Diablo Canyon nuke

By Suzanne Haig

With utter disregard for the safety of area residents, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission voted unanimously September 21 to grant the Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG & E) a preliminary license to operate the first of two nuclear reactors at Diablo Canyon near San Luis Obispo, California.

The license allows the company to begin low-power testing of the reactor within two weeks, at up to 5 percent of its total capacity.

The decision was made despite the protests of thousands of area residents and antinuclear activists.

On September 20, more than 5,000 people from the area, some with babies, marched past the gates of the plant in support of an antinuclear blockade organized by the Abalone Alliance. Demonstrators waved banners and signs pro-

claiming "Locals against Diablo Canyon" and "Another family against Diablo Canyon."

Meanwhile, after eight days of protests by antinuclear activists from around the country, 1,453 people have been arrested as of September 22.

The protesters, who are seeking to blockade the plant to prevent it from opening, are being punished by state authorities because of their concern for the safety of the population.

Why are townspeople protesting? Why are activists risking arrest to keep Diablo Canyon shut down?

The plant sits two-and-a-half miles from the Hosgri earthquake fault, which is not only active, but is the largest branch of the massive San Andreas fault that runs half the length of California.

When the site was chosen in 1966, PG

& E denied its proximity to a fault line. Since then, documents have revealed the company and the NRC knew about the fault but kept it secret. Now they claim that the plant could withstand an earthquake of up to 7.5 on the Richter scale.

Can we believe them now? After their lies? After Three Mile Island?

Experts, moreover, have indicated that the Hosgri fault could produce an earthquake of 8.0 on the Richter scale.

The plant also has the same dangers besetting all reactors. The tons of radioactive wastes produced at Diablo Canyon would include extremely toxic elements like plutonium that must be isolated from humans for hundreds of thousands of years.

Plants like Diablo Canyon routinely release radiation into the air and water. The radiation penetrates into the body

and produces defective RNA and DNA in cells.

Physicians have found that radiation-caused cell mutations contribute to lowered life expectancy, decreased fertility, an increase in physical and mental disease, and an alarming increase in infant death rates.

But just as the Reagan administration has shown complete indifference when lowering the living standards of working people, Washington also is unconcerned about our safety. Big business's profits come first.

The administration wants to go ahead with licensing new plants and expanding the nuclear industry, regardless of the catastrophic dangers involved.

Opening Diablo Canyon will mean starting up still another ticking time bomb.