

Reagan's 'new federalism' spells deeper social cuts



Right: the real state of the union. Jobless workers, many of them from auto industry, line up for unemployment checks in Dearborn, Michigan.

BY WILLIAM GOTTlieb

On January 26 President Reagan gave his State of the Union address against the backdrop of the worst recession for working people since the Great Depression.

He offered no proposals to combat unemployment. Instead he promised to eliminate 75,000 more federal jobs.

Reagan's program consists essentially of five points: continued cuts in social spending, shifting the cost of social services to private organizations and charities, tax breaks for big business, deregulation of business, and a huge military build-up.

The drive to cut social spending is being carried out in part under the smoke-screen of the "new federalism." The idea is to shift the responsibility of administering many social programs from the federal government to state and local governments over the next decade. He proposed beginning by shifting the Aid to Families with Dependent Children and the food stamp program to state authorities.

By doing this Reagan wants to achieve two things: establish the principle that it is not the federal government's responsibility to deal with problems like hunger in America, and second, shift the actual burden of making cuts onto state and local governments.

In his speech Reagan did all he could to encourage state authorities to slash the programs that he so tenderly entrusts to their care. "Virtually every American who shops in a local supermarket is aware of the daily abuses that take place in the food stamp program," the well-fed millionaire president declared.

Charity and 'volunteer spirit'

The president not only proposed shifting welfare responsibilities from Washington to the states, but called on private individuals, charities, and corporations to take on a greater share of the responsibility.

"Three hundred eighty-five thousand corporations and private organizations are already working on social programs ranging from drug rehabilitation to job training, and thousands more Americans have written us asking how they can help. The volunteer spirit is still alive and well in America," he said.

Reagan went even further, giving a boost to private education by reaffirming his plans to abolish the federal Department of Education.

It is false to think that private organizations can replace government-supported education and social programs. Profit-seeking corporations won't do so because it simply is not profitable. Private charities do not have anywhere near the resources to undertake the gigantic job that is required.

Reagan did not modify his programs for huge tax giveaways to big business and the rich. Nor did he back down from his plans to spend more than a trillion dollars on beefing up the military.

Reagan tried hard to scrape up some evidence that the economic situation in the United States is actually improving. "Already," he proclaimed, "interest rates are down to 15.75 percent, but they must still go lower. Inflation is down from 12.4 percent to 8.9 percent."

Continued on Page 2

U.S. is still on a collision course with Central American revolutions

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

For nearly three months now, defenders of the right of the peoples of Latin America to control their own affairs have been on an emergency campaign against U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

This campaign was launched in early November, after leaks to the press by the Reagan administration revealed that the U.S. government was considering everything from a naval blockade of Cuba to an outright invasion of that country, on the pretext of Cuba's alleged intervention in the Salvadoran civil war. Similar threats were also leveled against the revolutionary governments of Grenada and Nicaragua.

From the end of October until right before the Christmas holidays, every few days brought new official statements or carefully planted leaks from top administration figures reiterating the threats.

At the same time, the U.S. government reorganized its military command structure in Central America and the Caribbean. It conducted military maneuvers that included a practice invasion of Grenada and a provocative joint exercise with the Honduran navy just outside Nicaragua's territorial waters.

A change in Reagan's line?

Since mid-December, however, reports about U.S. threats against the revolutionary governments and struggles in Central America and the Caribbean have been much less prominent.

The *New York Times* — one of the most influential U.S. big-business dailies — recently printed a series of articles emphasizing the degree of popular support for the Nicaraguan revolution. It also described the important role capitalist forces continue to play in that country's economic life. The message was that Reagan should switch tactics on Nicaragua, relying more on economic and diplomatic pressure than military

threats.

A January 9 editorial that accompanied the series stressed the opinion of Nicaraguan capitalist leader Alfonso Robelo, who told *Times* reporter Warren Hoge, "All this verbal aggressiveness doesn't help our case at all."

Arguing that "the direction of Nicaragua's revolution . . . is still ambiguous," the editors of the *Times* recommend that "a touch of nuance may be worth more than a ton of menace" in trying to influence events in that country.

Report reveals that Pentagon waged chemical war in Laos

BY HARRY RING

The people of Laos were victims of a massive chemical war waged against them by the U.S. government.

Previously secret documents, pried loose from the Pentagon, establish that in the mid-1960s the U.S. Air Force engaged in a wholesale spraying of Laos with Agent Orange and other poisonous herbicides. These same chemicals were also used in Vietnam.

This was while Washington was waging its war in Vietnam, and also working to thwart the victory of the independence movement in Laos.

In one seven-month period, ending in June 1966, 200,000 gallons of deadly herbicides were dumped on the Laotian countryside.

Vietnam veterans exposed to these chemicals have made documented claims that, in addition to destroying food crops, these chemicals cause major afflictions, including liver damage, nervous disorders, birth defects in their children, and cancer.

It was as part of their effort to force the government to properly consider their claims of health damage that the National Veterans Task Force on

Does the quieter tone in the capitalist news media mean that the war danger has receded, that the statements by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and others were just empty "jawboning," or that the U.S. rulers have changed their minds?

'Press covert action'

Such a conclusion would be extremely dangerous and totally unwarranted.

First of all, Washington is stepping up

Continued on Page 8

Agent Orange went to court and obtained the present Pentagon document under the Freedom of Information Act. They were joined by a coalition of veterans, environmental, and religious groups.

The herbicidal war was initiated in Vietnam when the very first U.S. "advisers" were being sent in. President John F. Kennedy officially approved the poison chemical plan on November 30, 1961.

Initially, the Pentagon report discloses, then Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara considered trying to disguise the poison spraying as an operation of the South Vietnamese dictatorship.

The January 25, 1981, *New York Times* reported that McNamara couldn't recall putting forward such a plan. The former war secretary assured that "many of us were environmentalists and would have been concerned" about the entire project.

The report, officially dubbed "Operation Ranch Hand," also discloses that the Pentagon smuggled the spray compounds into Vietnam in direct viola-

Continued on Page 2

'New federalism' spells more social cuts

Continued from Page 1

He neglected to point out that the 15.75 percent rate is what the biggest and richest corporations pay the banks. Workers and working farmers have to pay considerably more for loans.

It is true that inflation and interest rates usually decline to some extent during recessions. But the important fact is that both the present inflation and especially interest rates are at levels rarely seen even during economic booms of the past, not to speak of periods of recession and mass unemployment.

What did Reagan propose to do about the sharp rise in Black unemployment? The president explained, "We are proposing legislation for an experimental effort to improve and develop our depressed urban areas in the 1980s and 1990s. This legislation will permit states and localities to apply to the federal government for designation as urban enterprise zones. A broad range of special economic incentives in the zones will help attract new business, new jobs, new opportunity to America's inner cities and rural towns."

Instead of a massive, federally-financed public works program that would give top priority to building new schools, hospitals, and parks in the Black community, businessmen and landlords are to be given a free hand.

Blacks, women get short end of stick

Reagan declared that "we must and shall see that those basic laws that guarantee equal rights are preserved and, when necessary, strengthened." Why then did he recently restore tax exemptions to private schools that discriminate against Blacks and Latinos?

"Our concern for equal rights for women is firm and unshakable," he added. But the only achievement he could point to on women's rights was his appointment of the anti-abortion, pro-death penalty Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court.

Reagan asserted he would "seek transformation of our legal system, which overly protects the rights of criminals." This means new attacks on the rights of workers, especially Blacks and Latinos, more cops; and fewer rights in the courtroom.

Reagan made clear that he is not interested in pursuing real criminals, like the bosses who allow workers to be maimed and killed in their factories, the criminals who pollute the air, and those who use monopoly power to raise fuel prices, rents, and phone rates.

"There were 23,000 fewer pages in the Federal Register, which lists new regulations, than there were in 1980," Reagan boasted.

gan boasted.

One of the fruits of Reagan's deregulation is the death of an average of one miner every workday since December 3.

Foreign policy

Reagan said little about foreign policy, promising to give a speech on this subject soon. But what he did say confirmed the ominous course of the administration. He slandered both Cuba and Libya for promoting "terrorism," in order to justify the military build-up in the Caribbean and the Middle East.

Reagan made full use of the military crackdown in Poland as a pretext for imposing sanctions and economic warfare in general against the Soviet Union, Poland, and other workers states. He took advantage of the fact that all the major

television networks were broadcasting his speech live to promote the so-called Solidarity with the People of Poland Day on January 30. This underlines the fact that this action, vigorously supported by the officialdom of the AFL-CIO and some European unions, is totally part of the anticommunist campaign the imperialists are waging around Poland.

He also hailed the March 21 international day of support for Afghanistan that has been called by the European Parliament. This will be another occasion for stepping up anticommunist propaganda.

The Democratic National Committee bought time on national TV to present its rebuttal immediately after Reagan's speech. While the Democrats exposed a few of the horrible effects of unemployment

ment they offered no proposals to deal with it. Their pitch was aimed simply to take advantage of the widespread disgust with Reagan's record in order to get more Democrats elected next November.

Reagan's speech came close to the truth when he said, "Some will say our mission is to save free enterprise. Well, I say we must save free enterprise so that together we can save America."

Free the corporations from taxes, safety and pollution regulations, from paying decent wages, from providing work for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities and women, and from all other restrictions on the search for higher profits. That indeed is the essence of the program that Reagan presented in his State of the Union address.

Reveal Pentagon waged chemical war in Laos

Continued from Page 1

tion of the 1954 Geneva accords.

The United States had officially pledged to uphold the provisions of that agreement, which included creation of an International Control Commission to inspect all military equipment entering South Vietnam.

Fredrick Nolting, then U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, proposed that the deadly chemicals be shipped in as "civilian cargo."

However, it was decided that a large sea shipment could not escape scrutiny, and military aircraft were used to secretly fly in 15,000 pounds of Agent Blue and 20,000 gallons of Agents Pink and Green. These are herbicides that are similar to Agent Orange.

Nolting told the *Times* he could not remember wanting to disguise the chemicals as civilian cargo.

He is currently at the University of Virginia, teaching a course on ethics in government.

Recently, Washington has been trying to promote the idea that the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Laos are using poisonous chemicals — "yellow rain" — in Kampuchea, Afghanistan, and Laos. The principal "evidence" produced so far has been a few samples from Kampuchea and Laos. The dubious circumstances under which these were obtained have created widespread skepticism among scientists regarding their authenticity.

Until 1970, Laos had been targeted by the U.S. military principally as a means of hitting at Vietnamese guerrillas who sought sanctuary there or obtained military supplies through

Laos.

In 1970, U.S. bombing was sharply escalated in an attempt to block the victory of liberation forces led by the Pathet Lao. By 1973, more than 3 million tons of bombs were dropped on this nation of 3.2 million people — one of the most savage saturation attacks in history.

In addition, some 30,000 CIA-led mercenary troops, organized in neighboring Thailand, invaded the country.

Protest attack on Ala. socialists

BY BOB BRUCE

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — Leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), National Organization for Women (NOW), American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and Young Socialist Alliance held a news conference at Pathfinder Bookstore here January 26 to denounce two attacks on the socialist bookstore that have taken place in less than a week.

On the night of January 21 a large front window was completely smashed and a tape recorder and \$50 in cash were stolen. Just a few days earlier two other display windows had been destroyed and a bullet fired into the store, which also serves as the headquarters for the Birmingham Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The news conference, widely covered by television, radio, and the daily press, was part of a stepped-up defense of democratic rights launched by the SWP and YSA in response to the escalated violence.

None of this worked, and by 1975 the Pathet Lao had established itself as the nation's government.

Today, Washington continues to support right-wing guerrilla forces against the Laotian government, just as it supports the ousted butcher Pol Pot against the Kampuchean government, and just as it tries to starve out Vietnam with economic weapons.

Nolting surely has a lot of material for his course on ethics in government.

lence.

Rev. Abraham Woods, Jr., president of Birmingham SCLC, said he had come "to deplore a cowardly act." He added that Black people suffered the most from such terrorism.

Michael Wilson read a statement from the Birmingham NOW Executive Board condemning the attacks. She said NOW was calling on Birmingham authorities to "ensure liberty of opinion and expression" for all.

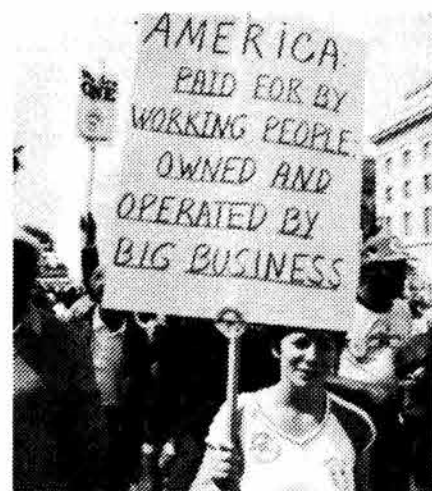
Steven Palmer of the ACLU said the heart of the constitution is attacked by the vandalism against the bookstore.

Martin Boyers of the Young Socialist Alliance stated that right-wing violence of this type finds its inspiration in the Reagan administration's assault against working people.

The clear purpose of the attacks is political intimidation, Boyers said, "But we will not be intimidated. Our bookstore will remain open and our public activities will continue here."

An introductory offer to the 'Militant'

12 weeks for only \$3



Unemployment. The recession. Racism. The threat of war.

You read about these things in your local dailies. But do these papers ever explain why such things exist, or how they can be ended? Do they ever report on what people are doing to fight unemployment, the recession, racism, and the threat

of war?

The answer is no. The reason is that these papers are owned and controlled by the same capitalists who cause unemployment and recession, and who profit from racism and war.

Now, for the next twelve weeks, you can read what socialists have to say about this.

- The real aims of Reagan's economic austerity program. And what working people can do to fight back.

- How the policies of the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, encourage racism. And how groups like the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the National Black Independent Political Party are organizing against the two-party monopoly of American politics.

- What steps the revolutionary governments in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada have taken to end unemployment and racism. And why their example makes these countries prime targets of the U.S.

war drive.

- Why a workers government in the United States is the only solution to recessions, unemployment, racism, and the threat of war.

Three dollars doesn't buy much these days. Right now, though, it'll get you twelve weeks of news and ideas you won't find anywhere else.

Subscribe. It's worth it.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$3 for twelve weeks of the *Militant* (new readers only)
- ☐ Six months/\$15
- ☐ One year/\$24

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to: The *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The Militant

Closing news date: January 27, 1982

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

NANCY ROSENSTOCK

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Steve Bride, Fred Feldman, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Suzanne Haig, Margaret Jayko, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Stu Singer.

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

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

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

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Ga. marchers sign for fired unionists

Back victims of gov't frame-up

BY TOM FISKE

ATLANTA — Response to a petitioning effort at three major demonstrations here this month indicated working people enthusiastically endorse the fight of union workers to regain their jobs at Lockheed-Georgia in Marietta and McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis.

Among those signing petitions in support of the fired members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) were Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, state Rep. Tyrone Brooks of Atlanta, and fifteen trade union officials. The latter included Paul Morris, president of IAM District 46; and James Williford, vice-president of IAM Lodge 1699 in Albany, Georgia.

In all, 246 people — more than half of them unionists — signed the petitions at three demonstrations held here over a four-day period, beginning with a January 15 march commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King.

Among the more than 500 people participating in this march were veterans of the civil rights movement. They understood that the government campaign against the fifteen fired workers at Lockheed, and the three at McDonnell Douglas, were part of the same offensive that led to FBI harassment and disruption of the civil rights movement led by Dr. King.

The case of the fifteen fired Lockheed workers — fourteen of whom were members of the Socialist Workers Party — is well known to Atlantans. The campaign of police-assisted surveillance of these workers and their union was well documented in the local news media. The story was retold during the 1981 mayoral campaign of Andreé Kahlmorgen, one of the fired workers.

The Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas defense effort continued on Saturday, January 16, as more than 1,200 unionists throughout Georgia marched on the state capital for Georgia Solidarity Day.

Carrying multicolored banners and singing union songs, the marchers demanded improved workers' compensation and unemployment benefits, defeat of Reagan's economic crusade against the poor, and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Despite the pro-Democratic Party stance of some of the labor leadership, the independent militancy of the workers themselves prevailed. This was evidenced by the strong turnout, despite a week of snow and freezing rain.

Time and time again, workers nodded knowingly when told of how the fired Lockheed workers were singled out because of their activism in the Machinists union. They understood that the firing of the Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas workers was aimed at discouraging others from taking an active role in their union.

They saw themselves as victims of the antiworker campaign being waged by the bosses and led by the White House, and were eager to support other workers being victimized by the same attacks.

"This is beginning to happen all the time," said one woman who had been fired from a garment factory here because of her activity in the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. The woman now is back on the job, thanks to her union's efforts to fight the dismissal.

The demonstrators could not have failed to notice the absence of key Democratic leaders invited to attend the rally, including Governor George Busbee, Lieutenant Governor Zell Miller, and Mayor Young (who was elected last year with strong support from organized labor).

The state AFL-CIO already has announced plans to wage active political campaigns for such Democratic "friends

of labor" this year.

The protests continued January 18, with a march to the state capital by 500 men and women in support of the ERA.

Again, the demonstrators eagerly signed petitions in support of the fired workers, understanding the connection between the fight for women's rights and the fight for the right of workers to organize on the job.

Georgia remains one of the least union-organized states in the nation, and two days after the ERA rally, the proposed constitutional amendment was defeated in the Georgia House, 116 to 57, with many of those who had promised to vote for the ERA turning their backs on women's rights at the decisive moment.

Tenneco shipyard targets socialist

BY CRAIG SALINGER

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — Steelworkers Local 8888 is fighting to defend a union activist who was fired by the Tenneco Shipyard because of his union activities and pro-labor ideas.

David Keil, a pipefitter at the shipyard for over a year, was fired on January 18. The company claims that it fired him because it "received information that he had falsified" his job application. This is a standard pretext used by employers to victimize militant unionists.

Local 8888 has filed a grievance challenging the firing.

Keil is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, and has been deeply involved in union activities. He helped build the September 19 Solidarity Day demonstration. He worked on a Local 8888 committee to raise money and support for the striking air traffic controllers. During his final week in the yard, he helped build the Martin Luther King Day march on Washington among his co-workers and fellow union members.

Keil is the victim of a stepped-up company/government campaign to weaken the union movement by getting rid of militant unionists. Socialist union members are a special target of this anti-union drive.

Last fall, the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a Pentagon spy agency, began an investigation of Eli Green, who is a socialist, a member of the National Black Independent Political Par-



In 1979, workers at Tenneco shipyard battled employers and Virginia state troopers for right to be represented by Steelworkers union.



Militant/Dick McBride

At three demonstrations in Atlanta, January 15-18, petitions were circulated for members of the International Association of Machinists at Lockheed-Georgia in Atlanta and McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis, who were fired for their union activities and political ideas. Above, supporters of the victimized workers at January 16 Solidarity Day rally in Atlanta.

ty, and a union activist at the shipyard.

Green's co-workers were called in and grilled by DIS agents about his political views. Agents visited his mother, friends, and relatives in Georgia, as well as neighbors and a former roommate in Newport News. Green himself was interrogated by DIS agents for over three hours.

Unionists at plants around the country have been targeted by similar victimizations and firings.

Keil has also been the target of a DIS investigation, which paved the way for his firing.

Workers at Tenneco have long experience with company/government union-busting tactics. Three years ago, they

won the right to be represented by the United Steelworkers of America, fighting against both the shipyard and Virginia Governor John Dalton and his state troopers and dogs.

Keil's firing has already provoked a response from his co-workers in the yard. A pipefitter in Keil's department told the *Militant*, "It was the topic of discussion the night David was sent home. A number of workers wanted to know what Keil plans to do to fight back." Many workers expressed their support.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is publicizing Keil's case and raising money and support by circulating a petition and a fact sheet, and by setting up tables at the gates of the shipyard.

National defense effort is needed to stop harassment of unionists

BY MATTHEW HERRESHOFF

The employers and the government are on a national campaign to victimize union activists and force them out of industry. In plants in at least eight cities around the country, socialist workers and other union activists have been singled out because of their union activities and their political views.

The spearhead of this company/government campaign is the firing of fifteen members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Lockheed-Georgia, and the firing and harassment of three machinists at McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis.

In both cases, investigations into the activities and views of these machinists began when company spies reported on their participation in union meetings.

In both cases, company agents took their information about these machinists to in-plant representatives of the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a Pentagon anti-union political police agency. At Lockheed, the company also collaborated with the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and the Cobb County Sheriff.

Similar victimizations are taking place at the Tenneco Shipyard in Newport News, Virginia; General Dynamics in San Diego, California, and Groton, Connecticut; another Lockheed plant in Sunnyvale, California; and Bendix in Kansas City, Missouri.

The employers in these plants use their contracts with the Pentagon as an excuse to subject workers to "investigations" by the Defense Investigative Service. Under the guise of granting security clearances to work on Pentagon projects, DIS investigates and keeps files on millions of unionists. Aided by the FBI

and other spy agencies, DIS collaborates with Pentagon contractors to identify union militants and find pretexts to fire them.

Once this precedent is set, the employers and their government will extend it to every industry.

A national defense effort by the labor movement and all supporters of civil liberties is needed to fight this company/government campaign against the unions. This is the only way to stop the victimizations of union activists, and the intervention of company and government police agencies in unions.

IAM Lodge 837B in St. Louis has filed a grievance against the harassment and firings of the workers at McDonnell Douglas. This move by the union has won broad support in the St. Louis labor movement.

In Atlanta, the fifteen fired machinists are filing a lawsuit against Lockheed and the government to win back their jobs, stop any further spying and victimizations, and win back pay and damages.

Public protests are needed to help these machinists win back their jobs and to stop the Pentagon and the bosses from further victimizations.

If you would like to contribute, to circulate petitions, to distribute fact sheets, or to have a Lockheed or McDonnell Douglas worker speak to your union or other organization, send in the coupon below.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

Harrisburg union hears debate on need for a labor party

BY PAUL MAILHOT

HARRISBURG — Should labor continue throwing its support behind the Democratic Party or build an independent party of labor? This question was the topic of a panel discussion organized for a state-wide meeting of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union (PSSU — affiliate of Service Employees International Union) Local 668, representing 8,000 social service workers in seven chapters. Attending the dinner and discussion on January 16, were PSSU's newly elected state-wide chapter officers, staff, job stewards, and the Executive Board. Altogether sixty people were present.

Panel participants were David Wilderman, legislative representative for the PSSU; Marty Friend, president of the Allegheny chapter; and Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania. Sojourner is a Harrisburg resident and a member of United Steelworkers of America, Local 1688.

Mouseland, a short film distributed by the Canadian New Democratic Party, was shown first, and greeted with enthusiasm. The film delivers a strong message for the necessity of a labor party.

Marty Friend, the first speaker, argued that very little can be accomplished through the Democratic Party, because it is controlled by big business interests. He said unionists should concentrate on shop issues, developing the organization and consciousness of workers through struggles and issues at the workplace. He also argued that a labor party would be just another vote-getting machine.

David Wilderman spoke in favor of working inside the Democratic Party. "Structurally, the Democratic Party is made up of many different groups, such as Blacks, women, religious people, and union people. It has a labor-oriented program. The problem is that it has a poor execution of that program."

He raised concerns that a labor party today would look and act like the AFL-CIO Executive Board.

Sojourner described the miserable record of the Democratic Party and explained that it represents big business, bankers, and landlords, not working people. She proposed that labor break from the Democratic Party and form its own independent party.

At the conclusion of her presentation, PSSU members responded with prolonged applause. Several people from the audience volunteered to work on the 1982 socialist campaign in Pennsylvania.

In addition to Sojourner, the party is running Mark Zola for governor and Cathy Emminizer for U.S. Senate. A news conference held by the candidates January 18 was widely covered in the media.

The following are excerpts from Katherine Sojourner's presentation to the January 16 meeting in Harrisburg.

On Solidarity Day, we saw labor demonstrate a tremendous will and capacity to fight for what is needed. After the massive labor march, Lane Kirkland asked, "Now, what do we do for an encore?"

We did not have to wait long for his answer — Solidarity II — the AFL-CIO's call for a "march to the polls in November to elect Democrats."

I disagree strongly, and say we have to fight to get our unions off this course. Would we tell our members to vote for the boss to be shop steward? No, we wouldn't. But year after year our unions urge us to pull the lever for the boss's party. We pour millions into it, and we do not have a *single voice* who speaks for us in Washington, D.C.

Telling unionists to work in the Democratic Party undermines our ability to have a strategy for social change. The majority of people don't vote — up to 80 percent don't vote in the primaries. But what Kirkland proposes to do is beg people to come back — to say we *know* the Democrats have joined hands with the Republicans to throw us out of work, help crush PATCO, create enormous unemployment, lower our wages, increase attacks on women and Blacks, *but*, let's give it another chance.

The majority in the U.S. House of Representatives is *not* Republican, it's Democrat. Democrats are nearly one half of the U.S. Senate. But in December when Reagan wanted more money for the war budget, the Democrats in the Senate gave him more than he asked for! Reagan could not have turned his guns on the American people without the Democratic Party.

Both of their parties have declared war on two fronts — a giant military budget aimed at reversing the nerve of those foreigners who want to run their own countries — and war on our rights, our unions, our real income, and our hopes and dreams. U.S. Steel will close entire plants, throw thousands out of

work, and reinvest \$6.5 billion in oil, and we will hear nary a peep from the friends of labor.

Is this idea of a labor party wild and unrealistic? That's what some people thought about building mass industrial unions in the 1930s. But the idea swept the country like wildfire. The powerful unions in the 1930s reached out to the jobless, the women, Blacks, and gave them *hope*. They were something you could believe in. The union movement had fire and the eloquence, passion, and authority to speak for millions, a power and fire that was defused over the years as it was channeled into the Democratic Party instead of being kept on an independent course.

People today need something to believe in. What could a labor party do? Organize solidarity with PATCO — no more loneliness on the picket line. Denounce the profiteers throughout the halls of Congress. Vigorously fight plant shutdowns. If big business can't run them, nationalize them! Fight for the billions wasted on weapons and nuclear power to put people back to work rebuilding America. Fight to give children all the healthy things they *want* to eat for lunch. Fight for laws against racism



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Katherine Sojourner

and sexism. And as it grew in size and influence, a labor party would pose the question of a society run by working people from top to bottom — a workers' government.

Millions today are looking for hope. Take the idea of a labor party into your local. Tell people the truth about the Democratic Party. Run a brother or sister from your union for public office.

As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, I will use my campaign to speak out at every opportunity for the labor party. Just as our grandparents and great grandparents changed history by building mass industrial unions in this country, we have a chance to start a movement that will change the face of history by building a labor party.

Mason hits Reagan's hypocrisy on Poland

The following statement was released to the news media January 14 by Mel Mason, socialist city councilman in Seaside, California. Mason launched his independent campaign for governor a few weeks ago.

As a candidate for governor of California, I believe the interests of working people in this state, and everywhere, lie with the Polish workers and farmers. I condemn the imposition of martial law, the arrests, and the detention of workers' leaders by the Polish government.

Contrary to the claims by Reagan and other U.S. government officials, however, the Polish workers are *not* fighting to abolish communism. The Polish workers are fighting to democratically control their economy and their society. They are fighting to move forward to the establishment of socialist democracy, not backward to capitalist exploitation.

While falsely posing as a friend of the Polish workers, Reagan fires striking air controllers, cuts back social spending, and passes antilabor laws here in this country. While claiming to champion democracy and to be against violence, Reagan continues to pour military aid into murderous dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala. He has deepened U.S. involvement in El Salvador by bringing pro-government troops to train at Fort Bragg. He continues to threaten mil-

itary action against the peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. And he has just restored registration for the draft.

Reagan's sympathy with the Polish workers is phony from start to finish. Cynically claiming support for their plight, he immediately cut off all food shipments to Poland. This action could only have the effect of increasing the hardship of the Polish people.

The real enemy of the Polish workers and farmers is the same enemy of working people everywhere — the same enemy we confront here everyday. That enemy is imperialism.

Imperialist economic policies account for the massive unemployment we are facing, the continuing plant closures, and the U.S. government offensive against all the social gains won by women, Blacks, other minorities, and the labor movement in previous decades.

And imperialist economic pressure squeezed Poland to the point where the economic crisis became intolerable. Imperialist governments and banks

have Poland indebted to the tune of \$27 billion.

The Solidarity union movement in Poland has been an inspiration to working people everywhere. The struggle for workers democracy in Poland has been one of the most powerful refutations of the capitalists' lie that socialism is inconceivable without bureaucratic repression.

The attempt by the bureaucratic rulers in Poland and the Soviet Union to crush this movement only aids the U.S. rulers' anti-Soviet propaganda machine. It also weakens the security of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other workers states against the permanent imperialist threats. These bureaucratic rulers are obstacles to the fight for real workers democracy.

In my campaign for governor, I plan to continue telling the truth about what the Polish workers are struggling for. This is the kind of solidarity we owe our brothers and sisters in Poland — and not that from false friends in the Reagan administration and elsewhere.

Campaign winds up in New Orleans

BY RONALD REPPS

NEW ORLEANS — February 6 is the date of the mayoral election here.

Six candidates are in the race and despite the supposedly "non-partisan" character of the elections, three are clearly running as Democrats.

Rashaad Ali is the Socialist Workers Party candidate.

The Democratic Party candidates have been mainly talking about more cops, more taxes, and less jobs. Their campaign slogan could well be "What's good for big business is good for New Orleans."

Ali has been actively counterposing his proposal for a government of working people that would put human needs before private profits.

On January 21, Ali participated in a debate with four other candidates or their representatives at John McDonogh High School, whose student body is largely Black.

The main thing on these young people's minds was unemployment, especially the question of summer jobs.

Ali explained that the money in Washington's war budget could be used to fund a massive and much-

needed public works program that would provide jobs for all.

The other candidates all propose give-aways to big business as a way to "trickle-down" some jobs.

The only one who got enthusiastic applause was Ali. The other candidates only elicited some polite clapping.

Another big question was police brutality.

Last year, cops gunned down four Blacks in cold blood. The officers involved were all let off scot-free.

Ali called for putting the killers in jail and getting the cops out of the Black community. He called for replacing them with a patrol force elected and controlled by the community.

In a mock election after the debate, Ali came in third. The current Mayor Ernest Morial came in first, partly as a result of pressure put on students by teachers to vote for the mayor and to not "waste their vote" on Ali.

But the real winner was clear to everybody during and after the debate as the students repeatedly broke out into chants of "Ali! Ali! Ali!"



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Mel Mason

A look at Grenada's new health care

Involvement in mass organizations is key to meeting needs of the people

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

Dorcas Braveboy is one of a growing number of Grenadians who have come home to the revolution.

On Christmas Eve I spoke with her at the Ministry of Health in St. George's, Grenada, where six months ago she became the Permanent Secretary of Health. Later, with a group of North American and European visitors, we toured the General Hospital of St. George's.

Grenada has made big advances in providing health care for the whole country and Braveboy has taken on heavy responsibilities for pushing these advances forward still further.

Four hundred years of British colonialism and two decades of tyranny under the Gairy dictatorship had left Grenada with not only a devastated economy, but also almost without any social services at all. Education and health care for the people were a last priority for Gairy.

Extreme poverty, unsanitary living conditions, lack of running water, and poor diet increased the spread of disease. Medicines, beds, linens, equipment, as well as trained personnel were extremely scarce.

The country's one general hospital used to be referred to in grim humor as the "fourth branch of La Qua's and Sons Funeral Agency." Gairy and his clique had private physicians and flew to Barbados, Trinidad, or America if they needed hospital care.

Free health care

Now, less than three years since the popular insurrection led by the New Jewel Movement ousted Gairy, there are striking changes in this situation. Health care is free to all — although those with money can still find private physicians and even a private wing of the general hospital. Thirty-three clinics function around the country, with a full time district midwife in each, along with a public health nurse. District medical officers, — doctors responsible for four or five clinics in one district — visit the clinic at least once a week. On other days specialists, obstetricians, gynecologists, dentists, and the like visit the clinics. All speciality services are also free.

There is a new eye clinic in St. George's which is equipped and staffed to perform the most delicate of eye operations. And there is a psychiatric clinic. In addition the general hospital has been considerably upgraded. An immunization program was established to vaccinate all the children. Health education programs are being stepped up.

A pilot project of primary health care is being carried out now in the Parish of St. David's, the only parish (or district) to lack a major town, will soon be extended to the island as a whole.

But as Braveboy explained it, none of these initial steps came easily. And she is impatient for more rapid progress in the future. She sees the key to this advancement as being the democratic participation of the people themselves. She agrees with Maurice Bishop, Grenada's prime minister and minister of health, when he said at the Grenada Solidarity Conference last November:

"In Grenada, structures have grown up and are developing daily to ensure the real participation of people, a continuous, day-by-day process, not a seasonal exercise which changes nothing. Our democratic process is our strongest weapon for change, for development, for the improvement of life in our country."

This is what her own involvement in the revolution has shown.

Time to come home

When the March 1979 insurrection took place Braveboy was working as a nurse in Trinidad. One of the main points of the New Jewel Movement's program had long been for "health care based on need," as its 1974 ten-point program stated. So she was excited

about the possibilities for change in her special field, as well as in overall change for Grenada.

"I think just about everybody wanted to come home to see what was happening, to look at the change, to see how we fit in and what we could do," she recalls.

She had been away for nine years, first to study in Britain where she became a qualified nurse and teacher, and then to work in Trinidad. At the time of the March revolution she was six months pregnant. She stayed in Trinidad only long enough to give birth and then came to Grenada with her family.

"I spent a few days and had a look around. Then I realized that this was in fact the time to come home."

She started working at the general hospital as a nurse. But she soon became frustrated. "I realized that there were a lot of things that prevented you from doing what you really wanted to do, what you felt you could have done," she says.

She believes that Grenada inherited a lot of bureaucratic practices from centuries of British colonialism.

"When the revolution took place more or less all the civil servants were left in their jobs to carry on. Now, I think you realize that after a revolution people sit up and start working. For a while they are more conscientious in their jobs. Then some realize — well, with the new government nobody is bothering you, and they start lapsing back into their old ways."

'We can't wait'

This situation certainly applied to the Health Ministry, she says. "Not much was getting done. A lot of people would be saying that they were applying to come back, to get back into nursing, and that they were getting no encouragement or no response at all."

"It's very difficult in a country with very little resources to have a very large budget to go into a Ministry of Health which is in the true economic sense non-productive. Like in any other productive setting you have to show some results. And the only results that you can show in the Ministry of Health is improved health care for the people. Not only for a few people, but for as many as possible."

"That is what we are saying here — improved health care for all. That is



Dorcas Braveboy returned to Grenada following the revolution with many ideas for improving health care. She is now the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Health.

what the World Health Organization stands for — better health care for all by the year 2000. We are saying that we can't wait until the year 2000. That means you have to have the trained personnel.

"You need the people with the specialties to make sure that the people get the improved health care. You have to motivate people to come back to give their services."

"There were a lot of things that could have been done at no extra cost that were not done."

"I think that after a revolution there is a struggle as well," Braveboy concludes.

As a woman of tremendous energy and initiative, she had lots of suggestions for the Ministry of Health. When they weren't acted upon at the time, she left nursing and went into teaching.

She became involved in the teacher training program that had just been set up. This National In-Service Teacher Education Program (NISTEP) enables Grenada to train elementary teachers at the same time as they work teaching. The teachers spend one day a week and all holidays in classes. In three years

they are fully qualified. The program arose out of the immediate need for large numbers of qualified teachers as the new Grenada put a priority on education.

"Everybody was very interested to find out what this whole NISTEP approach to teaching was. Well, I decided that I didn't only want to find out, I wanted to experience it. So I started teaching in a primary school to get into the program. I did that for about six months."

Mass organizations

"At the same time I was involved in all my groups."

Dorcas Braveboy's groups are the new mass organizations. She became active in the National Women's Organization (NWO) as soon as she arrived back in 1979. In addition she joined her local New Jewel Movement's party support group and the militia. She also plays a lively role in the parish council meetings.

When she moved to Westerhall in St. David's Parish in 1980, she discovered that there was no NWO group in her area. She raised this problem with Phyllis Coard, president of the NWO, who responded, "Well, sister, go ahead and form one." So she did. And her direct way of tackling problems helped inspire more and more women in her parish to become active in supporting the revolution. In her local party support group she helped in panel discussions and film showings as well as many community projects such as cleaning the drains and the clean up campaign to prevent the Dengue fever.

When she became involved in the militia she noticed that not enough women were involved in this effort to defend the country. So she campaigned to recruit women to the militia.

Braveboy says that her experience in the mass organizations makes it possible for her to carry out her responsibilities as Permanent Secretary of Health. It was also this experience and the understanding that it is the organized energy of the masses that is changing Grenada that led Maurice Bishop and others to decide to propose she take on the job.

'O.K., you do it'

"It was thought that my suggestions were possible and since I was the one so bold as to make the suggestions, that then I should go in there and implement them."

"It was quite a jolt because you think of things that should be done and probably one or two ways of doing them, but you are not thinking that you are the one who is going to do it. So you are not giving too much planning to the implementation."

Continued on Page 17

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial/ Young Socialist Tours invites you to visit

CUBA NICARAGUA GRENADA

Cuba

- Rail Tour — February 14-21, 1982 — eight days, \$610
- Mining Tour — February 14-21, 1982 — eight days, \$610
- Workers Democracy/May Day Tour — April 18-May 2, 1982 — fifteen days, \$960
- May Day Tour — April 25-May 2, 1982 — eight days, \$640
- Youth Economy Tour — August 8-15, 1982 — eight days, \$425
- Solidarity Tour — November 21-28, 1982 — eight days, \$650

Nicaragua

- Nicaragua and Cuba Tour — July 17-31, 1982 — fifteen days, \$1150
- Winter Economy Tour — February 20-28, 1982 — eight days, \$650
- Fall Economy Tour — December 4-11, 1982 — eight days, \$650

Grenada

- Third Anniversary Tour — March 12-19, 1982 — eight days, economy hotel, \$775 first class hotel, \$925 (from New York)
- Fall Economy Tour — October 29-November 5, 1982 — eight days, \$725 (from New York)

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

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours
410 West Street, New York, NY 10014
(212) 242-5530

Farmers group holds national convention

Condemns policies of Republicans, Democrats

BY TONY DUTROW

ST. LOUIS, Mo. — Several unwashed farm tractors were parked defiantly next to luxury cars waiting for valet service in front of the Chase-Park Plaza Hotel, the site of the third national convention of the American Agricultural Movement (AAM). This striking contrast was not coincidental. The theme of the convention, held here January 8-10, was "A Time for Action." It was designed to bring to the attention of the government and corporations that "American Ag" will not stand idly by and let over 600,000 family farms, this year alone, fall victim to the government's policies.

According to convention organizers, 2,500 farmers registered from farming regions throughout the country. A sea of red AAM jackets and caps, so visible during the "tractorcades" of 1980, packed the huge auditorium where the first session took place. From the jackets one could see that AAM members came in large numbers from Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Iowa, Illinois and Minnesota. Others came from as far away as Alabama, Georgia, and other southern states.

At the first session, Marvin Meek, national chairman of the AAM, traced the problems of American farmers to the

doorsteps of the White House and Congress. Both the Democratic administration of James Carter and the Reagan administration have carried out anti-farmer policies, he said.

Meek had nothing good to say about Reagan's 1981 farm bill. He said, "The farm bill just passed by the Reagan administration shows they're going to set us aside and that's not the set-aside we wanted," referring to AAM's demand for a 25 percent reduction in land cultivated until farmers achieve higher prices for their produce.

Meek singled out U.S. foreign policy, which uses food as a weapon. He said it is one example of how both the Democrats and Republicans have hurt the farmers. He pointed out that huge grain merchants like Cargill were unaffected by the grain embargo on the USSR, while it did serve to push more farmers out of business.

Half-jokingly, Meek threatened to form his own party. He said, "I'm going to start my own party, the Agricultural Party."

"In addition to AAM's number one goal of fighting for 100 percent of parity," he said, a major priority will be to tap AAM's resources and launch a political action committee. A public relations firm will be hired to organize the com-

mittee and its lobbying efforts in Washington.

One objective of the new political action committee, according to Meek, will be to bring together farmers, labor unions, small business, and consumers to fight the government's policies, which are designed to serve the food industry giants.

The high point of the session came when Wayne Cryts stepped up to the podium. Farmers jumped to their feet to applaud the popular AAM leader.

Won respect in farm protest

Cryts earned this respect by leading a protest of thousands of farmers early last year in Ristine, Missouri. Cryts, who leads a chapter of the AAM in Puxico, Missouri, and his supporters fought the FBI, federal marshals, local police, a federal bankruptcy judge, and the grain monopolies. As crowds of farmers swelled around Cryts, FBI agents and other police agencies stood helplessly by as truckloads of Cryts's soybeans were peacefully removed from a bankrupt grain elevator.

Previous speakers at the convention had downplayed the usefulness of tractorcades and other visible protests by farmers. Some advocated solely "conventional political action perspectives" as the way to fight back.

Cryts spoke about the need to "take action in the countryside. If we can channel this desperation we can win. If we don't we will lose." While Cryts supported an AAM political action committee, he said, "I ask you at the grassroots to keep on top of those speaking for us." If the policies pursued are not in the farmer's interest, he said, "then first place we stop with our tractors will be at their front door." Cryts urged the delegates to take up the fight against the problems farmers are having right now as the best way to build the AAM.

Special presentations were made to the convention promoting a range of solutions to farmer's problems. One urged production of alcohol from food grains (to so-called yellow gold movement). Another advocated a return to the gold standard to supposedly increase the value of farm products.

Many farmers, however, question these schemes that, like the snake-oil peddlers of the past, offer false hopes for the desperate farmer of today.

I talked to a Kansas wheat farmer who told me about some of his problems. "I have 2,400 acres under cultivation. I haven't made a profit in the last couple of years because of high interest rates, inflation, fuel bills, and the like — and I don't even hire any labor."

'About 10 percent own their land'

I asked him about the debt situation of farmers in his area. "In my region only about 10 percent of the farmers actually own all of their land. I feel real sorry for the young ones just getting into the business — they'll never own theirs."

Martin Anderson, a socialist coal miner from Illinois, got into a lively discussion with several Illinois farmers.

One told him he trucked food from across the state to striking Illinois coal miners in 1981, and during the long 1977-78 strike had trucked food to miners in West Virginia.

Another Illinois farmer joined the discussion and added his comments, shaking his head. "You guys are in big trouble, too."

A young farmer from Galatia, Illinois, told Anderson that many of his friends are coal miners. He said, "My family is split on the issue, though." His father agreed to lease minerals rights to the hated Kerr-McGee Corporation which, against militant union objection, is attempting to build a non-union mine in Galatia.

Attracted by Anderson's Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization

support button on his union hat, an Oklahoma farmer stopped to say, "Reagan lied to those fellows. I support them 100 percent."

Moratorium on loan payments

Many resolutions reflecting the willingness of farmers to fight back were passed by the convention.

One called for a moratorium on payments to loans from the Farmers Home Administration to prevent massive farm foreclosures. The fight for a moratorium will include the organizing of "foreclosure committees" on the local level to back the farmers up. This will continue, the resolution says, until farmers have won 100 percent parity.

Adding a humorous note, a resolution was adopted "commending budget director David Stockman for his honesty" about Reagan's economic program that appeared in an *Atlantic Monthly* article last year.

Considered one of the most important resolutions, the AAM voted to launch a campaign for a 25 percent set-aside of cultivated farmland. That is, to take 25 percent of farmland out of production until farmers win fair prices.

Marvin Meek was re-elected national chairman of the AAM. Although Wayne Cryts was nominated to that office, he declined. Cryts will be a national board member and will be going on a national speaking tour for the AAM.

Two pamphlets available on farmers' fight

Two inexpensive publications about the policies of the government and the food industry giants were recommended by the AAM to convention participants. They are *The Loss of Our Family Farms* and *One Man With Courage*.

The first, written by Mark Ritchie, documents how giant merchandizing and processing corporations like Cargill, Ralston Purina, Del Monte, Quaker Oats, and Pillsbury conspired with the federal government to force prices down. It describes how they weaken and lower farm price supports designed to compensate for lost income thus forcing millions of farmers out of business.

This booklet argues that Farmer-Labor parties of the 1930s and 1940s temporarily stayed the hands of the corporations and the antifarm policies of the government. Since that time a central aim of government policy has been to divide labor from the farmers.

The author points to the need for farmers and workers to renew their ties and fight together to reverse government policies.

The second pamphlet tells the story of Wayne Cryts and the February 1981 grain action in Ristine, Missouri. It is presented in documentary style and includes many photographs.

The Loss of Our Family Farms can be ordered from The Center for Rural Studies, 2305 Irving Ave. So., Minneapolis, Minnesota 55405 or the U.S. Farmers Association, Box 496, Hampton, Iowa 50441. The cost is \$2.00 for one to five copies; and \$1.50 for more than five copies, plus postage.

One Man With Courage is available from American Agriculture News, P.O. Box 100, Iredell, Texas 76649. The cost is one to five, \$2.50; six to ten, \$2; eleven or more, \$1.50 (post paid).

Marxism and Working Farmers

An Education for Socialists bulletin

To order, send \$2.50, plus \$.75 postage to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



Mass rally last February in Missouri backed farmer Wayne Cryts as he repossessed soybean crop. Cryts urged farmers at recent American Agricultural Movement convention to 'take action in countryside' to protect their rights.

Awards to Nicaraguan workers

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

MANAGUA — The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) held its first annual Evaluation Conference here January 14, and the heroes were sixty workers who had invented ways to overcome the shortage of spare parts in Nicaragua.

The spares are in short supply because the country lacks foreign exchange earnings to buy them with, and because U.S. firms are carrying out a government-sponsored boycott.

One worker's ingenuity saved \$500,000 while another saved several million córdobas (ten córdobas equal US\$1).

Before a crowd of 4,000 CST members, each worker marched up to the platform to receive a certificate as the worker's name and factory were read out.

"José García Montoya, Metasa!" And the workers from Metasa, a metal fabricating plant, stood up and cheered while their José took his award.

This was repeated forty-nine times for workers from twenty-five plants. Some awards went to workers where the union isn't affiliated to the CST; for instance, Plásticos Modernos and Fabritex, which belong to the Communist Party-led CAUS.

Meanwhile, ten large, overstuffed stacks were brought up to the platform. CST leader Lucio Jiménez announced that ten workers had been selected as "outstanding," and that each would receive a sack full of goodies for their families and themselves — as well as a weekend at the beach.

This brought an extra measure of applause. The first winner could barely drag his sack back to his seat.

But what really set the crowd off was the announcement that five "vanguard" workers would get not only a sack, but a trip to "the sister republic of Cuba." At this, there was loud cheering and stomping of feet on the wooden tiers of the Plaza de Toros.



Left: Nicaraguan Rural Workers Association (ATC), seen here at rally last year, helped expose nonuse of land by previous owners. Right: head of peasant cooperative in Tola receives land title from FSLN leaders Luis Carrión (center) and Daniel Ortega.

Nicaragua's new stage of agrarian reform

Gov't hands over 22,000 acres of unused land to peasants and cooperatives

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

TOLA, Nicaragua — "Empty lands into workers' hands" and "Agrarian reform: historic commitment of the FSLN" were the two most popular placards at a ceremony in this small Nicaraguan town December 11.

At the event, leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) gave peasant cooperatives "agrarian reform titles" to land that had previously been confiscated from big landowners. A number of such ceremonies have been held around the country in the implementation of the second stage of Nicaragua's agrarian reform, announced last July 19.

"This is one of the greatest victories we could possibly win," Agostino Alfaro Flores told me at Tola. His cooperative received title to 300 manzanas (1 manzana = 1.73 acres) of land that used to belong to a family of the oligarchy. None of the campesinos in Alfaro's cooperative has ever owned land before.

When I asked Alfaro how old he was, he said, "I'm seventy — I have seventy years of struggle behind me." His family collaborated with the FSLN during the war against Somoza, and a twenty-five-year-old son was killed fighting on the eastern front.

"Most of us worked with the FSLN, from about 1976 on," said a member of another peasant cooperative, which received title to 400 manzanas. "We worked as messengers or helped them move arms, or provided them with shelter and food." Another campesino, Aurélio Suárez, estimated that he went to jail sixty times during the years of the Somoza dictatorship.

Landlords have no conscience

The December 11 ceremony commemorated the third anniversary of the death in battle of guerrilla priest Gaspar García Laviana, who was the parish priest in Tola before he went into the mountains with the FSLN.

Moisés Prudente Acevedo, a campesino who worked with the priest, said that before turning to armed opposition, García first tried to use moral arguments to convince the landlords to treat peasants more humanely. "He appealed to their consciences, but it was like talking to a stone."

The first agrarian reform titles were awarded October 17 in the interior town of Wiwilí. Among the 4,000 campesinos who attended — some of whom had to travel several days to get to Wiwilí — were not only those who had fought alongside the FSLN but even some who had collaborated with Augusto César Sandino half a century ago.

Provisions of law

The new agrarian reform law is regarded here as one of the most impor-

tant accomplishments of 1981 in Nicaragua. Under the first phase of agrarian reform, which began as soon as the Sandinistas took power, the lands of Somoza and his top collaborators were confiscated. These large units of production are run as state farms, rather than being split up into small individual holdings.

The 1981 law gives the government the right to confiscate and turn over to peasant cooperatives the property of all landowners with holdings of more than 500 manzanas in the western half of the country, or more than 1,000 manzanas in the eastern half, whenever this land is not being fully used. The law also puts strict limits on the renting of land, and gives the government the right to take over areas it declares "agrarian reform zones" for the purpose of development.

Minister of Agricultural Development Jaime Wheelock has explained that the scope of the law makes it perhaps the most radical of all the measures enacted by the Sandinista government. "Nothing will be automatically changed as a result of this law," Wheelock said, "but everything is potentially affected."

'This is terrific'

At the Tola ceremony, in addition to giving out titles to previously confiscated land, Wheelock also announced new expropriations of various local holdings totaling some 13,000 manzanas. As he read off the name of each expropriated landlord, the crowd cheered and clapped.

One landowner must have been particularly unpopular among the people standing near me, because I heard shouts of "This is terrific!" and "It's about time."

"We are going to take away more land," Wheelock promised the crowd of campesinos, "but it is going to be done with justice, with fairness, against those who have usurped the land, stolen it, who have so much land they do not even know how much they have."

Local agrarian reform councils have been set up in the different provinces and detailed studies made to determine which lands are subject to confiscation and which peasants need land and are in a position to farm it productively.

The councils, which include leaders of the Rural Workers Association (ATC) and the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), collected this data for three months before the first land titles were awarded.

In the province of León, to give one example, they reported that three families owned a total of 54,340 manzanas, while 11,211 peasant families altogether owned 15,980 manzanas.

Preference in the award of agrarian reform titles is given to cooperatives of landless and near-landless peasants

who have already demonstrated a certain level of organization and experience. The cooperatives produce basic food crops, predominantly maize, rice, and beans. In turning over the titles, the government also makes a commitment to work closely with the cooperatives in providing necessary credit, technical assistance, and marketing.

Law on cooperatives

Complementary to the new agrarian reform law is the Law on Agricultural Cooperatives, passed in September. It lays out a series of measures designed to promote the voluntary association of peasants with small and medium-sized holdings into service or production cooperatives, in order to make it easier to provide them with equipment and assistance and to maximize production.

One of the stated objectives of the law is "to encourage the participation of women through consciously integrating them into the economic and social life of the cooperative."

The new law on cooperatives makes it clear that the government will give preference to peasant cooperatives in allocating credit and technical assistance. Under Somoza, more than 90 percent of all agricultural credit, as well as other forms of support, went to the big growers of export crops like cotton, coffee, and sugar cane.

At the time of the revolution in 1979, landownership in Nicaragua was distributed extremely unevenly, as is the case in almost all of Latin America. More than 40 percent of all farmers owned or rented less than 10 manzanas of land, while only 200 landowners had holdings of more than 500 manzanas. About a quarter of all peasants owned no land of their own; they were sharecroppers or rented a few manzanas from a landlord.

When Somoza's lands were confiscated in 1979, many of these peasants expected that the prime land would be turned over to them. The leadership of the FSLN spent a lot of time explaining why these holdings, which included the most developed production units in the country, should be run as state farms rather than divided into tiny individual plots.

Action against decapitalization

In early 1981, pressure for land began to build again, but this time with a slightly different focus, and under the leadership of the Sandinista mass organizations in the countryside. It became clear that many of the big landowners whose property had not been nationalized in 1979 were refusing to invest or plant, laying off workers, decapitalizing their farms or even abandoning them.

The ATC and UNAG took the lead in

exposing this misuse or nonuse of the land and in organizing a series of militant demonstrations around the country. There was a new wave of land occupations.

The Ministry of Agricultural Development-Institute of Agrarian Reform (MIDINRA) was already stretched to the limit of its resources, trying to manage the 1,500 farms totaling some 1.2 million manzanas confiscated in 1979. At the same time, the cooperative movement among the peasantry, although never without its problems, had advanced in the two years since the revolution. These factors help explain why the second stage of Nicaragua's agrarian reform has a different emphasis than the first.

'Towards socialized labor'

Shortly after the new law went into effect, Jaime Wheelock explained the part agrarian reform plays in the social transformation taking place in Nicaragua.

"What is it that guarantees we will be able to carry out this transition?" Wheelock asked. "It is our ability to transform the relations of production. . . . If we want to transform Nicaraguan society, we have to begin in the countryside."

He then explained the two means through which the social and economic transformation would be carried out. "The first is the incorporation of production units and private lands with a certain level of capital investment into the state sector, and the consolidation of the state sector as a central axis for development."

"And the second is the conversion of an individualistic, primitive, and backward peasantry into an organized peasantry — or, to put it another way, into a member of the social layer we are building, which is a socialized peasantry. A peasantry which is in transition between capitalist or precapitalist relations toward forms of socialized labor."

From Intercontinental Press

From Pathfinder Nicaragua: An introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg, Managua correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*.

A clearly written description of pre-revolutionary Nicaragua, the insurrection, the far-reaching social measures taken by the Sandinista government and the U.S. government's response.

48 pp., \$95. Add \$7.75 for postage. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

U.S. set to collide with Central America

Continued from Page 1

its intervention in the region. The fact that the *Times* felt it necessary to publicly argue for a different course by the Reagan administration must be seen in that light.

According to a December 4 *Boston Globe* article, the U.S. National Security Council has decided to:

- Press covert action in Nicaragua and El Salvador to infiltrate hostile elements both to gain intelligence and to try to destabilize their effectiveness.

- Intensify public relations efforts at home and abroad to provide heretofore classified details on what the Soviets, Cubans and Nicaraguans are doing in Central America to create a climate of opinion in which stern action later might be supported.

- Instruct the Pentagon to work up very specific contingency plans on such things as quarantines, blockades and military exercises in the event of future events — such as the shipment of combat jets to Nicaragua — might call for consideration of a military response."

The article — written by William Beecher, a former Pentagon official during the Carter administration — was headlined "US rejects military options in Cuba, Nicaragua, for now," and was pitched to allay the alarm raised by earlier administration statements.

But everything in the article points to the fact that the U.S. government is still on a course toward direct confrontation with the revolutions in Latin America, whatever the precise timing and specific options being discussed in the White House and Pentagon.

"While no one will talk about the details of covert activities," Beecher said, some officials did give an "effective example of low-profile activity" of the kind the National Security Council decided to carry out. The example cited was "The covert supply of anti-aircraft and antitank missiles to Moslem insurgents in Afghanistan."

Such an "example" can only be read as a U.S. pledge to arm and supply the terrorist bands operating against Nicaragua. Since early December there have been a spate of reports in the U.S. press about Cuban and Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries training on U.S. territory.

The terrorist training camps are run with the blessings of the Reagan administration and in flagrant violation of U.S. neutrality laws. One of the bases in Florida — "Trax Base No. 1" — is named after the Guatemalan camp where Cuban counterrevolutionaries trained for the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

The Honduran connection

Meanwhile, in Nicaragua, there has been a marked escalation of counterrevolutionary violence, especially near the border with Honduras.

Beecher, citing unnamed "officials" and "sources," claims that "it is unlikely . . . that force would be used [by Washington], except in response to a serious provocation, such as delivery of a significant number of combat jets or tanks to Managua or an attack by Nicaragua against the forces of a neighbor." (Emphasis added.)

This last statement is extremely ominous for two reasons. First, there have been reports that former Somozaist National Guards have obtained Sandinista uniforms and are planning to stage a fake Nicaraguan invasion of Honduras to provoke a war between the two countries.

This charge was originally leveled by Sandinista leader Luis Carrion on November 4 and subsequently confirmed a few days later by a coalition of thirty labor, political, and religious groups in Honduras itself.

Second, at the beginning of January the Honduran government charged that Nicaraguan troops had crossed into Honduran territory December 26 and killed 200 Nicaraguan exiles there.

The Sandinista authorities denounced that accusation as "false and absurd." But this did not stop *Time* mag-

azine from reporting a version of the alleged incident as if it were incontrovertible fact in an article titled "A left-wing military buildup worries Washington" in its January 18 issue.

In fact, Honduras's own minister of justice, Carlos Mejia Arellano, had already acknowledged that the charges were baseless in a statement made on January 6 and reported by the Interpress news agency. Mejia said the claim that Nicaraguan troops had attacked refugee camps was "totally false" and that "there has not been a single problem or a single death" in the camps.

What is more, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees conducted a four-day fact-finding mission in Honduras and concluded that there was "no evidence of violence, fighting, or kidnapping," according to the commissioner's office in New York.

The truth, however, is not what the capitalist media is after. The February 1 issue of *Business Week* repeated the whole phony story, with further embellishments.

Anti-Sandinista 'uprisings'?

On December 20, John Wallach of the *San Francisco Examiner* reported on another variant of U.S. contingency plans leaked by the government. According to unnamed administration officials, a blockade would be difficult to justify unless "it was connected to some uprisings in Nicaragua . . . unless parts of Nicaragua were taken by anti-Sandinista guerrillas."

In the event of such an "uprising," Wallach was told, a blockade could be instituted on the pretext of preventing "outside intervention" in Nicaragua's internal affairs.

No doubt the *Wall Street Journal* had such possibilities in mind when it ran a January 21 article recalling a week of anti-Sandinista protests in the town of Bluefields in October 1980. Bluefields, on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, is in the most isolated and underdeveloped region in the country.

An article in the January 17 *New York Times* also took up "the strained relations" between the Black and Indian population of the Atlantic Coast and the government in Managua. These articles were designed to boost the claims of counterrevolutionaries operating from the Atlantic Coast of Honduras that they are leading a popular movement for independence of the area.

Escalation in El Salvador

In addition to running guns and providing training facilities for Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, Washington has also escalated its intervention in the Salvadoran civil war.

On December 15, while world attention was focused on the declaration of martial law in Poland, the Reagan administration announced that 1,000 Salvadoran troops and 500 to 600 officers would come to the United States for military training beginning January 9.

In addition, although major U.S. newspapers have failed to report this, top administration officials have explicitly reiterated the threats against Cuba, Nicaragua, and the revolutionary fighters in El Salvador.

On January 13 Thomas Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, spoke to the Pan American Society of New York. "El Salvador and Honduras are the countries that are most threatened," Enders said. "The militarization of Nicaragua threatens both."

The United States, Enders declared, "must communicate to Cuba that the costs of increasing its intervention in the region will be very high. We will not accept, nor do we think that the countries of the region will accept, that the future of the Caribbean basin be manipulated from Havana."

Although all major newspapers had access to this story — it was carried by the Associated Press wire — the only place where it appeared, as far as we know, was in the Spanish-language edition of the *Miami Herald* (from which

Enders's statements have been retranslated into English).

Behind the continuing U.S. threats of direct military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean is the rising revolutionary tide in the region.

Since 1959 the U.S. government has been working overtime to smash revolutionary Cuba. Washington has employed diplomatic isolation, economic blockade, sabotage, assassination plots against Fidel Castro, chemical and bacteriological warfare, and mercenary invasions to try to bring Cuba to its knees. In October 1962 it even brought the world to the brink of nuclear war in its efforts to overthrow the revolutionary government.

Above all else, the U.S. rulers sought to prevent "another Cuba," another deepgoing social revolution that would bring the workers and peasants to power in some other Latin American country.

The history of Latin America over the past twenty years is the history of merciless war carried out by Washington, and the servile dictators who do its bidding, to stop the workers and peasants from following Cuba's example. The U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 and the coup in Chile in 1973 are just two of the many U.S.-sponsored bloodbaths carried out in pursuit of this policy.

This unending counterrevolutionary war has been carried out by every U.S. administration since Eisenhower, "liberal" or "conservative," Democratic or Republican.

Despite everything Washington threw against it, however, the Cuban revolution not only survived but prospered. Cuba's working people enjoy the highest standard of living of any country in Latin America. And despite the merciless U.S. pressure, the Cuban people have never abandoned their commitment to build a better future free of poverty, exploitation, and oppression not only for themselves, but for working people in all of Latin America and throughout the world.

And today, the Cubans are no longer alone.

Revolutions in Nicaragua, Grenada

In 1979, two new "free territories of the Americas" were established when popular revolutions brought workers and peasants governments to power in Nicaragua and Grenada.

Together with the deep crisis of the world capitalist economy — which has demonstrated once again that working people can expect no improvement in their lot from a society that puts private profit above human needs — these two victories have unleashed a powerful mass upsurge that is shaking Central America and the Caribbean.

The U.S. government under Carter and Reagan has done everything it can to stop the New Jewel government in Grenada and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

gua from following a revolutionary course. But the U.S. attempts to bully, intimidate, blackmail, or buy off these revolutionary leaderships have been rebuffed.

Meanwhile, in El Salvador, the U.S.-backed junta faces a desperate situation. The freedom fighters of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) now control about one-fourth of the country. The most optimistic U.S. analysts say the war is, at best, stalemated. They warn that the guerrillas will eventually win if the stalemate is not broken.

In 1981, the junta launched forty offensives against the guerrillas, but none of these were successful in dealing the freedom fighters a major defeat. Among the largest of the junta's efforts was a December offensive in Morazan province, where the government claimed it had routed the guerrillas, captured their shortwave radio station, Radio Venceremos, and reasserted its control over the province.

But despite the junta's claims, Radio Venceremos resumed its daily transmissions at the end of December. By mid-January, it was reporting that FMLN forces had overwhelmed government troops and taken control of the entire town of Jocoaitique in Morazan province.

An article in the January 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that since the middle of last year the guerrillas have enlarged their zones of control, have established corridors linking the various fronts (effectively splitting the country in two), and have substantially increased their capacity to carry out nationally coordinated actions. The truth of this was seen on New Year's Day, when simultaneous guerrilla attacks on electrical installations in widely separated areas blacked out the entire country.

Civil war in Guatemala

Neighboring Guatemala is also in the midst of a full-scale civil war between liberation forces and the U.S.-backed military dictatorship there. While the Guatemalan army does not yet appear to be as hard-pressed as its Salvadoran counterpart, the liberation struggle is clearly gaining strength.

According to the January 25 issue of *Time*, "Guatemalan army analysts now estimate the guerrilla strength at 3,000 active fighters, plus as many as 30,000 untrained reserves and supporters."

A December 21 *U.S. News & World Report* article states that the guerrillas "harass and outfight" the government's troops. "What surprises Guatemalan experts," the article continues, "is that the insurgents are winning converts among the Indians" who make up close to half of the country's population.

"Even without the Indians, Guatemala's guerrillas have grown strong

Continued on next page



Guerrillas in liberated area of El Salvador's Morazan province. U.S.-backed junta is losing ground to freedom fighters.

Jose Lavanderos



Francisco Altschul of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front was keynote speaker at New York protest rally.

Rallies, demonstrations protest U.S. training of Salvadoran troops

National action called for March 27

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

Thousands of activists across the country participated in a variety of protests on January 22 called by the Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. The actions were in response to the call for an International Day in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, made at an international conference of solidarity activists in Mexico City in October.

Following up on these actions, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) has issued a call for the formation of a broad antiwar coalition to organize a national demonstration March 27 at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. A statewide demonstration for February 27 has also been called, at a conference of local solidarity activists in North Carolina, to build support for the national march.

The size and scope of the January 22 activities, and the call for a national demonstration by CISPES, attest to the seriousness with which the American solidarity movement views Washington's latest threats to militarily intervene in Central America and the Caribbean.

These threats include the unprecedented training of a full battalion of Salvadoran soldiers and officers on military bases in the United States. One thousand troops will receive ten weeks of training at Fort Bragg, and 500-600 officers are to receive sixteen weeks of training at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Successful protests in California

Twenty-five hundred activists turned out in San Francisco January 23 to demand that the training of the troops be halted. More than 170 Northern California organizations — representing church, labor, community, and political groups — responded to the call for the march and rally initiated by CISPES.

At the rally in San Francisco's Villan Court Plaza, Arnaldo Ramos, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR), told a cheering crowd, "We are winning the war."

He pointed to the recent antimissile demonstrations in Western Europe and noted, "A new antiwar movement is arising. We the people of El Salvador challenge the people of this country now, when your government is escalating its intervention in El Salvador, to escalate your protests to stop them."

At the rally, CISPES spokeswoman Mary Anne Buckley announced plans for a West Coast demonstration March 27, to coincide with the national action at Fort Bragg.

In Los Angeles, nearly 2,000 people, almost half of whom were Latinos — Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Chicanos, and others — participated in a similar protest. It was sponsored by the local CISPES chapter. Among the speakers was Chuck Sheehan, president of Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) Local 593 and PATCO labor coordinator in the Los Angeles-Orange County area.

When Sheehan compared the PATCO struggle to the struggle in Central America by saying, "The same enemy of

PATCO here at home is the same enemy of the Central American people," he received an enthusiastic ovation from the crowd.

1,000 turn out for New York rally

In New York, one thousand activists turned out for a solidarity rally at the Town Hall in Manhattan.

The meeting was chaired by Robert Cohen from the Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention. Speakers included William Ford, the brother of one of the missionaries slain in late 1980 in El Salvador; New York Congressman Theodore Weiss; and José Soler, representing Enio Carrión, president of the Hispanic Labor Committee.

Hope Patterson, former chair of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and a former member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Peace Council, presented an appeal for funds.

Also addressing the rally was Bianca Jagger, who recently returned from Honduras where she was part of a U.S. delegation investigating the plight of Salvadoran refugees along the Honduran border. She blasted the torture and killing of refugees at the hands of Salvadoran and Honduran troops with the collaboration of American advisers. She warned that an increase in U.S. military aid and intervention would regionalize the conflict and lead to "another Vietnam in Central America."

The keynote speaker at the rally was scheduled to be Rubén Zamora, a member of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR). However, he was prevented from entering the country by the U.S. immigration authorities, who would not issue him a visa. Speaking for Zamora was special representative of the FDR commission, Francisco Altschul.

In an inspiring and educational presentation, Altschul described the key events in the civil war in El Salvador during the past year. Beginning with the general offensive launched last January by the Frente Farabundo Martí de la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), the armed wing of the FDR, Altschul described the consolidation of the rebel army. He pointed to its widening control of territory, increasing combat effectiveness, and coordinated military actions.

He described the ruling junta's inability so far, despite massive amounts of U.S. military and economic assistance, to contain the liberation struggle.

Altschul asserted that "the present military junta owes its existence to the military assistance provided by the Reagan administration. It shows that both the junta and the Reagan administration are committed to a military solution of the Salvadoran conflict."

However, Altschul noted, "Far from defeating our forces, this approach is only going to prolong the war and the people's suffering."

Altschul indicated the willingness of the FDR-FMLN forces to look for a political solution, but made it crystal clear that "this position results from our present strength and our historical responsibilities. Our military advances are what permit our political advances."

Altschul ended by urging the audience to "continue with your efforts in order to stop the increasing military intervention of your country, and in order to unmask the electoral farce which the junta is desperately trying to implement . . . so that this year of 1982 may be the year of justice and peace for the Salvadoran people."

Other actions around the country included one at Fort Benning in Columbus, Georgia, on January 24. Nearly 250 activists marched and rallied in front of the fort. They presented military officers with a letter condemning the training of Salvadoran officers.

In St. Louis, the Greater St. Louis Solidarity Committee organized a picket of 350 on January 22 to confront Vice-President George Bush, who arrived to address a Missouri Republican Party fundraising dinner. He was greeted

with the chant, "Money for jobs, not for war! U.S. out of El Salvador!"

Numerous other activities were also organized in other cities.

At the end of January, the Reagan administration is supposed to certify to Congress that the junta is making progress in advancing human rights and economic stability, in order to continue providing military aid to the junta.

No one can doubt that, despite the massive documented repression that continues and an economy on the verge of collapse, Ronald Reagan will tell the world everything is fine in El Salvador.

Solidarity activists will have an opportunity to expose this hypocrisy of both the Congress and the Reagan administration by involving labor, Blacks, feminists, and community organizations in building the broadest possible response on March 27.



Demonstrators at Fort Benning, Georgia, present military official with letter denouncing the training of Salvadoran troops on U.S. bases.

Washington vs. Central America

Continued from previous page

enough to attack provincial population centers," the article complains.

Despite frequent victory proclamations by the Salvadoran and Guatemalan regimes, these rightist dictatorships have been losing ground over the past year. This has been true despite Reagan's efforts to beef up the Salvadoran regime in particular through massive infusions of economic and military aid, and despite the use of U.S. advisers to lead combat operations carried out by the junta's troops.

That the United States government has not yet carried out an invasion of El Salvador with its own troops, or sponsored an intervention by other Latin American dictatorships to help the Salvadoran military, is testimony to how much Washington fears the explosion of popular outrage — in the United States and throughout the world — that would surely follow any such step.

The political price Reagan would have to pay would be enormous, and this is a major factor being weighed in the White House and the Pentagon.

But from the point of view of the imperialists, even such a price is not too much if the alternative is an ever-increasing number of revolutionary governments in a region that the U.S. rulers consider their own backyard. Social revolutions that deprive U.S. corporations of "their" markets, "their" super-exploited workers, and "their" superprofits are something that U.S. imperialism cannot tolerate. The rulers in Washington will do everything in their power to prevent the spread of such revolutions.

There is no way of knowing the exact timing, options, forms of intervention, or pretexts that Washington will eventually use, and it is useless to speculate about that. But the official statements, unofficial leaks, and actions of the Reagan administration — and above all, the entire political context that these take place in — show that Washington is moving precisely toward such intervention. That is why it is essential to continue the campaign against U.S. intervention.

Poland's working class begins to reorganize

Regime unable to enforce 'normalization'

BY ERNEST HARSCH

A Warsaw television commentary on January 19 claimed that there was a "gradual normalization of life in Poland," a theme that has been repeated frequently since the imposition of martial law on December 13.

But many of the regime's own statements and actions contradict this picture, and show that the privileged bureaucracy that rules Poland is still a long way from its goal of stifling the militancy of the working class and reasserting its unchallenged authority.

On January 16, Jerzy Urban, a government spokesman, denied an earlier statement by Deputy Prime Minister Jerzy Ozdowski that martial law might be lifted within a matter of weeks.

Another deputy prime minister, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, indirectly acknowledged the extent of opposition the bureaucracy still faces when he explained why the authorities are not going to end martial law soon:

"We can't lift martial law today or tomorrow. We'd just return to the situation before the 13th, and this modern polonaise — the strike dance — would start anew.

In other words, the influence of Solidarity has not been broken among working people. This is the case despite thousands of jailings, the killing of at least seventeen protesters (according to the regime's figures), the suspension of most democratic rights, the firings of thousands of union activists, and a massive display of police and military might.

Bureaucracy in a jam

This reflects the bureaucracy's fundamental problem. It is confronted with a large industrial working class that has just gone through the most massive revolutionary upheaval in Polish history, a working class that has learned many important political lessons over the past year and a half and has gotten a sense of its own power.

That is something that the imposition of martial law alone cannot wipe out.

While the authorities have been able, for the moment, to put down large-scale protest strikes and demonstrations, they have not been successful in ending the workers' resistance. That has already begun to take other forms, through the organization of workers committees, the launching of work-to-rule actions in many large factories, the circulation of bulletins and other uncensored information, and so on.

This resistance presents a major obstacle to Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's "normalization" plans. It makes it much more difficult for the martial-law administration to try to divide or isolate the Solidarity leadership, or to ram through new economic policies that are against the workers' interests.

Numerous other problems beset the regime as well, and limit its room to maneuver.

Austerity plans

Not least of those is the disastrous state of the economy — a legacy of years of bureaucratic mismanagement. Poland's foreign debt now stands at \$28.5 billion, the vast bulk of it owed to imperialist governments and banks. Poland desperately needs new loans and credits to import the spare parts and raw materials needed to stave off a further decline in production, but it cannot get them unless it finds the money to meet

its repayment obligations.

Since the regime is incapable by its very nature of instituting the kind of economic reforms necessary to increase productivity — the institution of workers control and democratic participation in economic decision-making — the only alternative left to it is to impose severe austerity measures. The announcement that prices on some basic food items will go up on February 1 by between 200 and 400 percent is just one part of that austerity policy.

A front-page editorial in the January 20 *Trybuna Ludu*, the official daily of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Community Party), admitted that the authorities would have to pay an additional political price for such measures. "Price increases," it said, "have never been, are not and will not be popular or welcome."

On top of these problems, the PUWP itself has been weakened by a sharp internal crisis. Tens of thousands of rank-and-file members are resigning in disgust over the party leadership's blatantly antiworker policies. In many factories and offices, wastebaskets are being filled with membership cards. Other party members are being purged.

Solidarity 'caught by surprise'

The December 13 crackdown was a severe blow to the workers movement. Much of its initial impact was due to the element of surprise and the effectiveness of the communications blackout.

Zbigniew Bujak, the head of Solidarity's Warsaw regional chapter and one of the highest-ranking union leaders still at large, acknowledged in an interview in the January 16 *New York Times* that the imposition of martial law "caught us all by surprise."

As a consequence, the 10-million-member union was simply unprepared for the scope and speed of the crackdown. The cutoff of all telephone, telex, and postal communications; the imposition of rigid censorship; the sharp restrictions on travel within the country; and the simultaneous detention of a large majority of the union's national and regional leaderships made it extremely difficult for Solidarity to respond in an organized manner.

The ranks of the union nevertheless showed that they were willing to defend themselves as best they could. Within hours of Jaruzelski's declaration, workers in factories, shipyards, mines, and other workplaces had gone on strike and occupied their premises. The authorities themselves admitted that some 200 strikes were launched.

In two areas in particular — the northern port city of Gdansk and the southern Silesian coal-mining region — the protests led to sharp clashes with the police.

'It was a real war'

One account of the Gdansk strikes and demonstrations, by a young worker, provided a graphic picture of the level of resistance there — and the brutality of the police, especially the ZOMO, the motorized riot police. According to his account, which appeared in the January 15 *New York Times*, the Lenin Shipyard, where Solidarity was born, was occupied by workers within hours of the declaration of martial law.

"Many leaflets were being thrown to the crowd," he said. "Buses with workers pulled up. . . . A group of sold-

iers came to the gate and brought hot tea and coffee to the strikers. It was a nice gesture. The workers shared what they had with the soldiers."

The regular army was not subsequently used against the strikers. On December 16, which the worker called "the day of revenge against the working people," ZOMO and regular police attacked some 20,000 protesters. They fought back:

"A man called Maciej — I don't know his last name — shouted 'Hurray!' and we all charged the Zomo. The Zomo were hard pressed and fell back. People picked up the [tear gas] cannisters and threw them back at them. There were shouts of 'Gestapo!' and 'Murderers!' . . .

"At about six, a group broke off and hit the provincial police headquarters at Okoewa Street. They broke all the windows and siphoned gas out of the police cars. We wanted to use it against the armor. We put the gas in milk bottles. . . .

"It went on like this all evening. People constructed barricades and charged the Zomo. The Zomo charged with their batons. . . .

"[The next day] we heard a 6-year-old boy was wounded in the head the day before. He was hit by a gas cannister and he died in the hospital.

"The attacks were more fierce. The Zomo used the cobblestones we had been throwing at them and threw them at shop windows. We were being treated as a gang of hooligans. They wanted to blame us for looting. . . . People were very excited by the devastation of the property and they attacked the Zomo with their own hands. . . .

"Then the tanks came. They fired some kind of shells that made a terrible noise. We were frightened but we decided to stop them. Small groups attacked them from all sides. We used gasoline and when flames appeared on their engines they were withdrawn. It was incredible, so hard to describe. People just running all over the place. Flying fragments of exploding gas cannisters. It was a real war."

The Polish government subsequently admitted that nine demonstrators were killed in the street fighting in Gdansk.

Coal miners fight back

A somewhat similar situation developed at the Wujek coal mine in Katowice, according to a detailed account compiled by Solidarity activists (portions were summarized in the January 17 *Washington Post*, and parts of another eyewitness account in the January 5 *Le Monde*).

On December 14, the day after the declaration of martial law, the Wujek coal mine was occupied by some 3,000 miners, including some from other mines. The strikers had heard about brutal beatings of workers elsewhere and prepared to defend themselves. Guards were posted, and the blacksmith's shop began producing weapons: metal pikes, ax handles with chains on the ends, wire cables cut into segments.

On December 16, a column of tanks, followed by 2,000 ZOMO, advanced on the mine. The crowd of strike supporters outside, particularly women, attempted to stop the tanks by lying down in front of them. They were swept aside with water cannon.

The tanks broke through the gate, and strikers and ZOMO fought for several hours. The police opened fire on the



Polish regime has so far been unable to enforce martial law. Gdansk has been a center

miners, killing six on the spot. Two more later died in hospitals. According to the account that appeared in *Le Monde*, four ZOMO were also killed.

Workers carry out retreat

In general, however, the workers did not physically resist the police, or respond by attacking party or government buildings, as they did during the 1970 strikes. When confronted with massive police or military force, they decided to retreat and give up their occupations.

This no doubt flowed from a sober assessment of what the outcome would be if they engaged in direct physical confrontations. The police had guns and tanks; the workers did not. The government forces could be sent around the country at will and concentrate on particular enterprises; the strikers, cut off from workers in other cities, had no clear picture of the level of resistance in the rest of the country and could not coordinate their response.

Moreover, workers in Poland have learned important lessons from past struggles. As a result of their experience in the 1970 strikes, when scores of workers were gunned down in Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin, they have concluded that unorganized actions can be counterproductive.

Polish workers have shown that they are not afraid of confrontation. They simply want to be sure that the conditions are as favorable to their side as possible.

The authorities, for their own reasons, also were reluctant to crack down too brutally. They were afraid of provoking too great a response by the workers, and were still uncertain about the extent to which the regular army troops could be relied on. The last time regular troops were ordered to fire on workers in Poland, during the 1956 Poznan uprising, some units went over to the side of the demonstrators.

Workers committees

With the end of the protest strikes and demonstrations, workers went back to their jobs. But they did not give up their resistance.

In cities and factories around Poland, workers committees are being established. According to Zbigniew Bujak, Solidarity is in the process of reorganizing itself under the new conditions of repression. He said that he was already in contact with groups in Warsaw, Gdansk, Wroclaw, Lodz, and other regions.

Other Solidarity leaders who have evaded arrest include Bogden Lis, a former vice-chairman of the union; Alina Pinkowska, who played a major role in the Lenin Shipyard strike of August 1980; Bogdan Borusewicz, a leader of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) and the editor of *Robotnik* (The Worker); and Zbigniew Janas, the head



break the stand of Solidarity head Lech Walesa (left) and other union leaders. Right: workers gather at Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, several days after declaration of resistance to government.



of the Solidarity chapter at the militant Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw.

To counter the government's lies and efforts to keep working people in the dark about what is really going on in the country, these committees have been publishing numerous leaflets and bulletins.

Breaking the wall of silence

In a dispatch from Warsaw in the January 12 *Le Monde*, correspondent Bernard Guetta reported, "Rare before, clandestine leaflets are multiplying at a surprising rate in all corners of the country. Filled with information and accounts that are more or less well documented, these tracts, through their very existence, have broken the silence of the uniformed television announcers, of the few newspapers that have been authorized to reappear, and of the still-closed theater halls."

These leaflets have explained the kinds of activities that should be carried out to counter martial law: gathering information about those who have been detained, and providing assistance to their families; helping workers fired from their jobs for their union activities; organizing opposition to the signing of loyalty oaths that the authorities are demanding Solidarity activists put their names to; painting slogans and putting up posters; refusing to give the police or army any information whatsoever; working slowly and following all instructions in the factories to the letter.

One leaflet, signed by Bujak, Janas, and Wiktor Kulerski, the vice-chairman of Solidarity in the Warsaw region, also outlined measures to put social pressure on people who were collaborating with the martial-law authorities. "Do not meet, do not shake hands, do not talk with collaborators," it said. "Let them feel emptiness all around them."

A leaflet issued in Krakow, the center of the Malopolska region, declared, "The Malopolska regional leadership [of Solidarity] warns union members, youth, and all people of good will against the danger of terrorist attempts provoked by the Security Service. . . . Terrorism serves to compromise them in the eyes of society and creates the legal basis for government repression against all social and opposition movements."

According to *New York Times* correspondent John Darnton, Bujak said in his interview "that if liberalization over the next few months did not return to the level that existed before the crackdown, the underground would grow quickly. Its activities, he said, would include distributing leaflets and conducting demonstrations and other protest actions."

'We are like flowers'

In the factories themselves, the workers' resistance has often taken the form of work slowdowns or work-to-rule

campaigns.

According to a Polish television report, the Ursus tractor factory produced 90 tractor engines on December 30, compared to 230 during a normal work day. One worker at the FSO automobile factory northwest of Warsaw estimated that only 10 cars were being built each day, compared to 350 normally.

In some cases, these production slowdowns have been caused by a lack of raw materials or spare parts, or the disruption caused by the imposition of martial law. But the regime's brutal crackdown on workers' rights has certainly impelled workers to strike back in one of the few ways they can with relative impunity.

At a finishing plant near Warsaw, for example, workers who inspect the products are applying the official selection criteria very meticulously, rejecting products that they would have previously passed.

At the PZO optical instruments plant, also in Warsaw, the situation is similar. In the past, workers in the factory themselves produced parts that were missing, even though that was not part of their job. Now they are refusing to do so, and are working strictly according to the rules.

When a group of foreign reporters were allowed to visit the giant Cegielski metalworks in Poznan, a stronghold of Solidarity, one worker said, referring to reports of persistent work slowdowns there, "We are like flowers that stand — and do not move."

What these workers are seeking to tell the bureaucrats is that productivity

cannot be increased through the use of repression.

This spirit of resistance among the ranks of Solidarity — the workers on the shop floor — has done much to strengthen the resolve of the union leaders in detention and to inspire other layers of the population as well.

From the beginning of its crackdown, the regime has sought to break the Solidarity leadership, or at least some prominent figures in it. This is vital if it is to realize its aim of setting up a new, housebroken union, perhaps one that is even called Solidarity.

But thus far, it has not succeeded. No Solidarity leaders of national stature have agreed to come out in support of martial law.

One figure the authorities would dearly like to break is Lech Walesa, Solidarity's national chairman. He has been held in isolation ever since December 13. According to Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski, he met with Walesa briefly, but apparently the discussions did not go the way Rakowski would have liked. He later commented that it was not "impossible" to imagine a Solidarity without Walesa, implying that he might not be allowed to resume his union activities.

Other social layers that have looked to Solidarity for leadership have also continued to defy the martial-law administration.

Intellectuals have circulated protest letters denouncing the crackdown. One letter, sent on January 21 to the Sejm (parliament) and Archbishop Jozef Glemp, was signed by more than 100

prominent intellectuals, including Andrzej Wajda, the internationally known film director; Tadeusz Konwicki, a novelist; and Edward Lipinski, a prominent economist. "We demand of the authorities," it said, "an end to the confrontation with their own nation, revocation of the state of war, freeing of the interned, a halt to repressions against Solidarity members."

University students have continued to organize themselves, a fact the regime has indirectly acknowledged by keeping the universities shut.

Under the pressure of the workers movement, Catholic church figures have spoken out publicly against martial law and have urged workers to resist the regime's campaign to get them to sign loyalty oaths. A message from Poland's bishops and Archbishop Glemp, which was read in 18,000 churches across the country on January 24, called for "the quick release of all detainees, cessation of all duress on ideological grounds and of dismissals from work for political convictions or trade union membership." It went on, "We make it clear that the right of working people to organize themselves into independent and self-governed trade unions and of youth into their own associations must be restored in the name of freedom."

The 1.5-million-member independent farmers' organization, Rural Solidarity, has also spoken out against martial law. "The rebirth of our nation," one Rural Solidarity leaflet stated, "is like a river that may be blocked for a while but cannot be stopped."

From Intercontinental Press

Special offer

Subscribe to 'Intercontinental Press' at a 20 percent discount*

Intercontinental Press carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Poland to Iran — than we have room to put in the *Militant*.

From its bureau in Nicaragua, *IP* receives regular reports on the development of the revolution there. And, for the next three months, *IP* will carry first-hand reports from its correspondent in Grenada.

You'll also find interviews with class-struggle fighters and revolutionary leaders, such as Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and Irish liberation fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; speeches by Fidel Castro; and much more.

In our opinion, you can't afford to be without *Intercontinental Press* — especially now, with its month-long special discount offer on three-month and one-year subscriptions. So fill in the coupon and subscribe today.

- ☐ Enclosed is \$7 for 3 months of *IP* (new subscribers only).
- ☐ Enclosed is \$28 for one year of *IP* (regularly \$35).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

*Offer good until February 15

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS
— Inprecor —

From: Rosa Luxemburg
Released from Jail



POLAND

- Jaruzelski Wages War on Workers
- Imperialists on Anticommunist Binge

Editorial: Workers Must Organize







16,000 workers marched on Olympia in largest labor demonstration in years.

Unionists demand 'Jobs for all' in Olympia, Wash.

BY MIKE SHUR

OLYMPIA, Wash. — Sixteen thousand workers from all over the state of Washington marched on the state capitol here January 20 demanding "Jobs for all."

The action, called by the state AFL-CIO, was the largest labor demonstration in Washington in decades. People came to protest one of the highest unemployment rates in the country.

The largest contingents were from the construction industry and state employees. There were also contingents of shipyard workers, aircraft workers from Boeing, longshore workers, woodworkers, and students. Some of the contingents sang "Solidarity Forever" as they marched to the capitol building.

Speakers at the rally included Thomas Donahue, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and head of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists;

Jimmy Herman, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; and Marv Williams, president of the Washington state AFL-CIO.

When Lucy described Reagan's economic policies as "taking from the needy to give to the greedy," thousands of people chanted, "Throw them out, throw them out!"

While all the speakers attacked Reagan and the Republican Party, not one mentioned the role the Democrats have been playing in the attacks on working people. When the rally ended, the union leaders attempted to get workers to lobby with their "friends of labor" in the statehouse. The overwhelming majority declined the invitation.

Chris Remple, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate and member of International Association of Machinists District 751 at Boeing aircraft, did take up the attacks by both the Democrats and Republicans.

Remple and his campaign supporters handed out a statement calling for working people to start a labor party. This idea was enthusiastically received

by workers at the rally. Over 5,000 pieces of campaign literature were distributed, and campaign supporters sold 200 copies of the *Militant*.

AFSCME leaders 'not ready' for Black president

BY STU SINGER

When Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), died December 10, Secretary-Treasurer William Lucy should have become president. He would have been the first Black president of a major union.

Instead, the twenty-five top leaders of AFSCME voted to make the head of the union in Pennsylvania, Gerald McEntee, who is white, president of the million-member organization.

McEntee will take on Wurf's salary of \$105,000 a year, and said he will carry on policies similar to Wurf's. That's bad news for the 500,000 members whose contracts expire this year.

AFSCME has been in the lead in tearing up contracts and con-

vincing the members to give back past gains. Wurf was one of the most outspoken opponents of the PATCO strike.

Although Lucy was associated with Wurf's policies, the other AFSCME leaders did not trust him. He is one of the leaders of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and is known among Black union members throughout the country. At the AFL-CIO convention in November, Lucy was the only delegate with the nerve to take the floor in disagreement with the leadership. The issue there was that Black union leaders had been passed over in selecting new members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

New York *Daily News* columnist Earl Caldwell, who is Black, wrote two columns about the AFSCME leadership move. They were headlined: "A 'first' falls victim to same old story," and "Hat in the ring the wrong color?"

Caldwell talked to George Popyack from AFSCME District Council 57 in Redwood City, California. Popyack, who is white, said, "The rank and file, they have no problem with Lucy. . . . It was the leadership that wasn't ready."

Why GM 'sold' NJ plant to auto workers

BY KAREN NEWTON

CLARK, N.J. — "GM turns over Clark plant to worker-owned company." So read the front-page headline in the Newark *Star-Ledger* last October 31.

General Motors (GM) loved it. Roger Smith, the company chairman, flew here for the occasion. "This sale is an excellent example of how an employee group and a company can work together to preserve employee jobs and maintain a stable economic base for a community," he said. "I think this is a milestone in industrial relations. A lot of attention will be focused on this plant."

GM's Hyatt roller bearing plant here was sold to its employees through a federally sanctioned Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP). It is now Hyatt-Clark Industries, Incorporated.

Not only the name has changed. The sale was contingent on membership ratification of a new union contract.

The workers now receive 30 percent less in wages. The workforce was cut from 1,700 to 800. Benefits have been slashed. There is no cost-of-living allowance. While the workers are still members of the United Auto Workers (UAW), they are no longer covered under the national auto contract.

Most workers, especially the skilled ones, quit. They took their benefits and are looking for employment elsewhere. Some of the less skilled workers, who didn't think they could get other jobs, stayed.

Anger and confusion

There is a lot of anger and confusion at the plant now. Many are grateful to still be working, but a lot consider themselves victims, not proud new capitalists. This reporter didn't find one worker who thinks the workers actually own the plant.

Most workers maintain that GM still owns the plant. Management has not changed. It is the same people. They are not selected by the workers. Management salaries aren't known. It is known that they received substantial pay raises, not pay cuts.

The new board of directors has "worker representation." Union President James May and bargaining committee chairman James Zarrello, who led the "employee buyout," now sit on the board.

But the new owners, the workers, have not seen any stock. They have no

idea what their shares are supposed to be. They have heard the shares are being held in a trust.

There is a new "incentive plan." The new owners will receive a quarterly bonus check determined by how much they produce, in other words, speedup. Working conditions are worse than when GM owned the plant outright.

The Employee Stock Ownership Plan was a \$55 million dollar deal. It included a \$15 million mortgage loan, \$15 million in revolving credit, \$10 million from GM in return for 100,000 shares of nonvoting preferred stock, and \$15 million in government loans. Recent reports indicate that the proposed federal financing may be in trouble.

The agreement includes a pledge from GM to purchase more than \$300 million in bearings produced at Clark in the next three years. GM is to supply technological, administrative, and sales service for Hyatt-Clark Industries, at least until the new ownership has it "off the ground."

Mike McKowne is the former health and safety director for UAW Local 736 at Clark. He was a longtime leader of the local. McKowne shed some light on how the ESOP purchase was put through.

GM first announced its intentions to sell the plant in July 1980. They cited decreasing demand for the tapered bearings the plant made and high labor costs.

In December 1980, the union held a secret ballot election to determine whether or not to pursue a feasibility study for an Employee Stock Ownership Plan. The membership voted it down.

But McKowne said, "It got crammed down our throats anyway. It was cut-and-dried from the day they introduced it. They knew they were going to do this ESOP thing no matter how people voted."

Following the vote, the company, with the aid of union officials, started signing up workers and management people to donate \$100 each for the feasibility study. They set up a payroll deduction for it.

Those who contributed were told they would be the first ones considered for employment under the new plan. About 1,200 people — both workers and management — signed up.

"They said it was feasible to purchase the plant through an ESOP group. But the conditions under which

it was feasible were never outlined," McKowne explained.

Concerned Workers Committee

No discussion of the plan was allowed at union meetings. A group inside the union formed the Concerned Workers Committee. They opposed the ESOP purchase.

According to McKowne, "they were pretty vocal. They put out some leaflets and went to union meetings because they didn't want any part of this thing. The membership agreed with them. But May and Zarrello wouldn't entertain any motions from the floor. In fact, Jack Breen, one of the leaders of the committee, was assaulted by the chairman."

The Concerned Workers Committee initiated a class-action suit to try to stop the sale of the plant. They wanted the workers and the public to know exactly what was going on. "But," McKowne explained, "the judge ruled against them. He said, 'This is a wonderful deal, they're saving jobs.'"

"Now, we had 2,100 people up there. May and Zarrello themselves put out literature saying they wouldn't accept any deal if it was going to be less than 1,400 people.

"So they started Hyatt-Clark Industries with 692 people and will be hiring up to about 800. They didn't save any jobs really.

"As negotiations went on, people found out about the proposed salary cuts and other things. More and more, even those who had donated \$100 backed out. Right up to the last day people were withdrawing applications. They wanted no part of it."

The *Star-Ledger* reported the plant was closed early the last day before the new owners took over. The paper quoted Robert Spears, the production director, saying, "Some of the men were really letting their feelings show for the media. There was a lot of confusion in the plant and we decided to dismiss the workforce."

'Biggest swindle of century'

McKowne paints a different picture. "What happened started off early in the morning of the last day. Zarrello walked into the plant and was immediately accosted by a worker and they got into it. Guards had to escort both May and Zarrello out by 8:30 a.m.

"Then some TV crews came in. People started to tell them exactly how they felt. Channel 4 stopped this one

guy and the personnel manager was having a fit. He knew this guy would tell the truth. The TV man asked, 'What do you think of the plan?' The guy said, 'I think it's the biggest swindle of the twentieth century.' They cut him off and that was it.

"Things got pretty nasty. Management feared for the plant — sabotage, theft, or physical attacks on people — so they shut the plant down at 11:30 a.m. and sent everyone out."

Recently *Militant* salespeople returned to the plant. One of the old timers explained he and about twenty-five other workers are being laid off. The plant is not hiring the expected additional workers.

GM's Chairman Smith wants more Clarks. "We don't think that a transaction similar to the one we've done at Clark can be done with one of our assembly plants because they're too integrated," he said. "But in competitive areas, and roller bearings are competitive, a plan like this one could work. Our trim and hardware plants in some cases could benefit."

Smith also indicated that the salary rollbacks in the new wage agreement fit in with GM's plans for seeking industry-wide concessions from the UAW nationally.

"To me, this is just the tip of the iceberg," said Mike McKowne. "It's starting now. Next it will go to Bristol and Sandusky [GM bearing plants] and to other parts plants. The whole thrust of the labor movement is going to be lost through deals like this."

Karen Newton works at the Exxon refinery in Elizabeth, New Jersey. She is a member of Teamsters Local 877.

Reading on UAW history

A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: The Record of an Opportunist by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp. 40 cents.

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp. \$8.95, paper.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Recession hits affirmative-action gains



Picket for union recognition at Newport News, Va., 1979. Women, Blacks, and youth — the most combative section of workforce — are hardest hit by layoffs.

BY SUZANNE HAIG

At the Ford assembly plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, 1,500 workers, including 250 women, were put on indefinite layoff January 18, when the company eliminated the entire second shift. This blow virtually wiped out the female workforce there.

At U.S. Steel South Works in Chicago, layoffs have practically eliminated the gains of a 1974 Consent Decree, under which U.S. Steel and some other companies were forced to hire a certain percentage of women, Blacks, and Latinos into apprenticeship programs.

Alice Peurala, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 65 at South Works, told the *Militant* that almost everyone hired into these apprenticeship programs, from as far back as 1973, has been laid off. The only exceptions are those who finished the program, becoming journeymen; and even some of those have been laid off, she said.

The situation is similar at a Lockheed fabrication plant in Burbank, California. Pink slips have been regularly handed out since the beginning of the year, every Wednesday. Those with less than three years' seniority — many of the women and Blacks working there — are getting laid off.

As these examples reveal, the employment gains women, Blacks, and Latinos have made over the last few years through affirmative-action programs are, in some major industries, being virtually wiped out in the current recession.

These discriminatory layoffs — which have gone almost unnoticed in the capitalist media — have affected workers in different ways, depending upon when the employers were forced to hire them.

In the steel mills, for example, Blacks have a longer history of employment than women. While both have experienced similar layoffs in the apprenticeship programs, more women proportionately have been laid off throughout the mill.

On the other hand, as the accompanying chart shows, the overall impact of layoffs has been most devastating for Blacks — male and female. More than 21 percent of Blacks in rubber and construction are out on the street, and a massive 36.7 percent of Black auto workers are now jobless.

'Creeping unemployment'

Economists are predicting that many industries will not rehire all their workers after the recession. This has been the pattern in the three downturns since 1970. The unemployment rate is pushed higher and never returns to the level before the recession.

Women, Blacks, and Latinos are the major victims of this "creeping unemployment." The only winner is the em-

ployer, who gets more work out of fewer workers.

As a result of Conrail's reorganization plan, for example, the job classification of fireman is being eliminated. In District G, which covers the area from New York to Washington, D.C., the twenty women hired over the last few years as firemen have almost all been laid off. Black males, hired a few years earlier, may also go. The combination of reorganization and layoffs will virtually return District G, and those like it on other railroads, to the same composition it had before affirmative-action programs were won.

Not all industries have been affected by the recession, however. Some coal mines and oil refineries, for instance, are still hiring; and because of government affirmative-action programs, they are still forced to hire a certain percentage of women, Blacks, and Latinos.

However, the ruling-class offensive places the future of affirmative action in jeopardy.

Reagan vs. affirmative action

The Reagan administration has made it clear that it is opposed to affirmative action and intends to dismantle it. Reagan has repeatedly spoken out against quotas (numerical goals and timetables for hiring women and minorities), and administration officials are trumpeting the racist and sexist "reverse discrimination" arguments against affirmative action.

The administration announced January 3 that it is opposed to the U.S. Supreme Court's 1979 decision on the Brian Weber case.

Brian Weber, a white lab technician for Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, had sued to overturn an affirmative-action plan negotiated by the United Steelworkers union. He claimed the plan discriminated against him and other white males. The union fought the racist, antilabor suit. The Supreme Court ruled against Weber and upheld the plan.

Now, the Reagan administration

would like to see a new test case that could overturn that ruling.

The administration has also proposed a sweeping revision of the Labor Department's entire affirmative-action program, exempting 75 percent of all firms that had been covered.

The new regulations would exempt employers with fewer than 250 workers and a federal contract worth less than \$1 million from a requirement to submit written plans for hiring and promoting women and minorities. The current rules apply to companies with fifty or more workers and a \$50,000 contract.

Washington and the giant corporations are united in their drive to reverse these hard-won gains. They see this as fundamental to weakening and driving back the entire labor movement.

Effects of discriminatory layoffs

These layoffs have revealed the devastating effects of the labor officials' failure to fight either sweeping unemployment or discriminatory layoffs.

The bosses' deliberate attack on the jobs of women, Blacks, and Latinos could have been challenged had the unions fought for a mechanism to prevent discriminatory layoffs, such as dual seniority lists.

Under such a system, there would be two seniority lists: one for workers hired under affirmative action, and one for other workers. When jobs were cut, layoffs would be made in equal percentages from both lists, to preserve the proportions of women, Blacks, and Latinos in the plant.

Labor officials and organizations like the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, however, have opposed dual lists, claiming they violate the seniority system.

The seniority system is an important, but limited, gain for the unions, giving them some control over hiring, firing, and promotion. Thus, to some extent, it protects older workers and prevents arbitrary firing of union militants.

But the recession has revealed its weak side. Seniority cannot be relied upon to save anyone's job in this period of sweeping unemployment, plant shutdowns, speedup, and wage cuts.

Moreover, it has been unable to protect the most oppressed sections of the workforce. The seniority system has, in fact, been used by the companies to lay off women, Blacks, and Latinos first. A modified seniority system is needed to prevent this.

Stakes are high

A fight to protect affirmative action against layoffs would greatly strengthen and unify the labor movement. It would put the unions in a stronger position to fight back against the employers' attacks, including the massive layoffs.

Instead, the policies followed by the union leadership up until now have allowed the Reagan administration and the employers to severely weaken and divide the labor movement, hurting all workers.

Washington and the giant corporations are using the current recession to undermine support for the rights of women, Blacks, and Latinos by the en-

tire labor movement and to exacerbate sex and race divisions within the workplace.

They want a divided workforce, with working people pitted against each other, incapable of uniting to take on the employers and the government.

They use racism and sexism to maintain their "right" to force some workers into lower-paying, dirtier jobs, which are used to drag down the wages and working conditions of all workers. Affirmative action, by raising the conditions of workers at the bottom of the ladder, challenges that "right" and strengthens the fight against employer exploitation of all workers.

Discriminatory layoffs are also removing the most combative layers from the workforce — women, Blacks, Latinos, and youth. Were the unions to go to bat for them, labor would win to its ranks the most consistent fighters for the rights of all workers.

The Reagan administration and the employers also want to undermine the militancy of the most oppressed in order to drive down the aspirations of all workers. They want people not to expect better jobs — or even any job. They want people in a state of docility, ready to sacrifice still more.

They want women and Blacks to be content with the dirtiest, lowest paid, least secure, and most dangerous job.

Who is responsible?

Some workers believe that the women, Blacks, and Latinos who have won jobs in recent years are responsible for the unemployment of other workers.

But the recession is showing the error and the danger of this kind of thinking. It is the profit-hungry corporations, and the Democratic and Republican party politicians who do their bidding, that are responsible for the sweeping unemployment, wage cuts, drop in living standards, and cuts in social services.

Women, Blacks, and Latinos are certainly not the cause. They are, in fact, bearing the brunt of these attacks. Blaming them for unemployment plays right into the employers' hands, preventing the victims from uniting and fighting back against the real enemy.

'Jobs for all'

There can be jobs for everyone today: building mass transit systems, low-cost housing, child-care centers, schools, hospitals, libraries.

What is needed is a fight led by the labor movement for such demands as a massive public works program and a shorter workweek.

To make the slogan "Jobs for all" a reality, labor's program must also include the demands for affirmative action, including quotas, and mechanisms like dual seniority lists to prevent discriminatory layoffs.

Working people are learning from the effects of these discriminatory layoffs, as they have from the attack against the air traffic controllers union, PATCO, that "An injury to one, is an injury to all."

Only by solidarity — uniting with and fighting for the most oppressed sections of the workforce, can an effective fight-back for all workers be mounted.

INDUSTRIES	TOTAL % UNEMP. IN DEC., 1981	MEN	WOMEN	WHITE	BLACK
Railroad operating	9.0%	8.7%	13.1%	8.8%	10.8%
Primary metals	13.2%	13.3%	12.2%	12.5%	17.5%
Fabricated metals	12.3%	12.5%	11.3%	11.7%	18.6%
Auto and parts	21.2%	19.5%	29.6%	18.0%	36.7%
Rubber and plastics	12.1%	10.8%	14.3%	11.1%	21.9%
Construction	17.2%	17.4%	14.3%	16.0%	27.5%
Textiles	12.5%	15.9%	9.2%	11.3%	16.3%

The above chart shows the percentages of unemployment in selected industries, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The figures for male, female, Black, and white workers are the percentage unemployed of the total of each group working in the particular industry. Thus, in railroad operating, 13.1 percent of all women employed in that industry were laid off as of December 1981. The figures include clerical workers and salaried personnel (managers), whose unemployment rate is not as high as other workers. Without the inclusion of clerical workers, the percentage of women and Black unemployed in some of the industries, such as the metal industries, would be much higher. In the Black category the Bureau of Labor Statistics includes Asian-Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Eskimos. They make up about 10 percent of this category. It also puts Latinos in the white category, making it difficult to determine the rate of Latino unemployment.

Statehood for Puerto Rico is no solution

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On January 12, President Reagan issued a declaration supporting statehood for Puerto Rico.

According to United Press International, "Reagan is known to see the admission of Puerto Rico into the union as a 'bridgehead' in Central America and the Caribbean against the overtures of

Cuban President Fidel Castro."

Reagan dangled two carrots to make this declaration more palatable:

- He promised that Puerto Rico as a state would be eligible for more federal aid.
- He graciously offered to allow Puerto Ricans to retain their language and culture.



The sign reads 'Independence Now,' a sentiment that is growing in Puerto Rico. Militant/José Pérez

Neither Puerto Ricans on the island nor American workers are fooled by this offer. It comes from an administration that has gone wild slashing federal funds affecting vital social programs in the fifty states already in the union.

Especially hard hit are programs that affect Blacks and Latinos, such as bilingual-bicultural education, affirmative-action programs, and government-financed job training programs.

On top of all this, the officially estimated unemployment rate in the United States is 8.9 percent. It's 62.4 percent for Puerto Rican youth in the United States.

In Puerto Rico, unemployment is now 21.6 percent, and \$400 million worth of federal funds slated for vital island services have been slashed. By 1983, 50,000 Puerto Rican workers a year are expected to migrate to the United States in search of relief.

At the same time, Puerto Rican-based American corporations rake in millions of dollars in super profits. In 1974, these corporations extracted more than \$1.3 billion in profits. Fully one-fifth of all the wealth created by Puerto Rican workers wound up in U.S. banks.

These are the real benefits of being a captive colony of U.S. imperialism. Reagan's proposal to make Puerto Rico a state only changes the label while seeking to deepen the exploitation of the Puerto Rican masses.

The real aim of Reagan's pronouncement is to strengthen the hand of the antilabor, anticommunist, proimperialist regime of Puerto Rican Governor Carlos Romero Barceló. This is a necessary prelude to preparing Puerto Rico as a "bridgehead" in U.S. imperialism's drive against the developing revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean.

Currently, 13 percent of the island's territory is used by the U.S. military for bombing ranges, facilities for nuclear weapons, naval bases, etc. Also, as part of U.S. interventionist plans in Central America, Puerto Rican advisers have been sent to Honduras to train troops.

However, it will take a lot more than presidential declarations to patch up Barceló's crisis-racked regime.

Puerto Ricans have not taken the Reagan budget offensive lying down. Leading the fightback against the Barceló regime, the students at the University of Puerto Rico have shut down the university for 140 days, refusing to accept a tripling of tuition fees and a cutback in student aid.

In a student assembly that took place on January 21 it was decided to end the strike. This is only a defensive measure on the part of the students, who fear blood will be shed if strike activities are carried out in the face of a police occupation of the campus. They vowed that the struggle will continue through outreach efforts for support, and through efforts to better organize the student movement in an island-wide student federation.

Previous to this struggle, a militant strike by the Puerto Rican electrical workers prevented the government's attempts to destroy their union. A move to lay off 800 additional workers is threatening to renew this explosive confrontation.

Two additional components of the developing fightback on the island are the refusal of the fishermen of Vieques, an island off the coast of Puerto Rico, to allow their land to be used for practice invasions and bombing practice; and the movement of *rescatadores*, who have successfully occupied land to build decent housing.

This fightback has resulted in many resignations from the Barceló regime, whose party, the New Progressive Party, favors statehood. It has also caused a severe crisis in the other main capitalist party, the Popular Democratic Party, which favors the current commonwealth status.

Neither of these parties can offer any relief from the misery coming from Washington.

In this context, it is no coincidence that the sentiment for independence is deepening on the island. More and more Puerto Ricans are coming to realize the need to break the chains of imperialist exploitation in order to run their country in the interests of human needs, not for the profits of American bankers.

This is reflected by the fact that the main individuals and organizations leading the fightback in Puerto Rico are those that favor independence.

American workers have no stake in maintaining the chains by which Washington subjugates the Puerto Rican people, whether under the present commonwealth status or statehood.

Instead, we must solidarize with Puerto Rico's struggle against the Reagan budget cuts and give full support to the right of Puerto Ricans to determine their own affairs.

We should demand, "U.S. free Puerto Rico now" and, to make up for years of imperialist exploitation, "Unlimited aid with no strings attached."

Abused women, kids need not apply

Reagan's done it again.

Continuing his tradition of appointing opponents of women's rights to all federal posts that have anything to do with women, he just appointed Jo-Ann Gasper to be Deputy Assistant Secretary for Social Services Policy at the Department of Health and Human Services.

What social services has she spoken out against in order to get the position? Federal assistance to battered wives and abused children.

In a column entitled "Beating Up on the Family" in the March 1980 issue of *Conservative Digest*, Gasper wrote that the concept of domestic violence was so vague that it can mean "any form of 'belittling' or 'teasing' or 'failure to provide warmth' (whatever that may be — I guess if you don't set the electric blanket high enough in the winter)."

Actions hit abortion rights attacks

BY MARGARET JAYKO

January 22 was the ninth anniversary of the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

President Reagan used the anniversary to reiterate his opposition to abortion rights.

At a rally in Washington, D.C., held by foes of women's rights, Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker read a message from President Reagan which said that he looked forward to signing some kind of bill outlawing abortion.

Reagan also held a meeting with some of the leaders of anti-abortion organizations, while refusing a request to meet with pro-choice forces.

A religious service held that day in Washington by the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights was attacked by the assembled antiwoman fanatics.

The day before, the latest *Associated Press-NBC News* poll on abortion was released.

It showed that 75 percent of those surveyed opposed a constitutional amendment banning abortions; 57 percent agreed that every woman who wants an abortion should be able to have one; and 77 percent agreed the decision to have an abortion should be left to the woman and her physician.

In Los Angeles, 400 people, mostly young women, held a candlelight march and rally downtown in defense of reproductive freedom.

The action was sponsored by a broad coalition of forces including the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and the North East Los Angeles chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

In Greensboro, North Carolina, the newly-formed Coalition for Choice or-

ganized meetings at three college campuses.

At 8 a.m. on January 22, twenty supporters of abortion rights held up banners and leafletted commuters at Pennsylvania Station in Newark.

This action was organized by the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse and the Essex County chapter of the National Organization for Women.

The Newark Militant Labor Forum the next evening discussed how to combat the attacks on abortion rights. The pro-choice activities that will take place outside the National Right to Life convention in Cherry Hill, New Jersey on July 6-8 were pointed to as important actions to participate in.

The Baltimore Militant Labor Forum hosted a panel discussion on abortion rights. Speaking were Kija Dewau, chairperson of Baltimore NBIPP's women's commission; Amy Randall, co-chair of Marylanders for the Right to Choose and past president of Baltimore NOW; and Elizabeth Lariscy from the Socialist Workers Party.

Much of that discussion centered on how questions of reproductive rights, especially abortion, sterilization, and birth control, affects Black women.

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — Public forums, a candlelight march, and a news conference marked the ninth anniversary of legalized abortion and protested current attacks on abortion in New York.

New York state Senator John Marchi has introduced two bills into the legislature that would stop state Medicaid funding for abortion, abortion coverage in health insurance plans of state and city workers, and abortion

funding negotiated in union contracts.

New York City Planned Parenthood was audited three times in 1981, and is now undergoing a fourth audit as a result of a harassment campaign conducted by antichoice forces.

The only private abortion clinic in Staten Island recently closed after anti-abortion mobs mobilized outside the clinic for several months.

Lisa Desposito of Planned Parenthood and Catholics for a Free Choice, Beth Bush of the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), and Rosalind Melnickoff of the Young Socialist Alliance discussed these and national attacks on abortion rights at a January 23 Militant Labor Forum.

At a January 20 forum sponsored by CARASA, sixty women discussed the need to actively defend abortion rights. Speakers suggested that women had been mistaken to assume that abortion rights were secured by the 1973 Supreme Court ruling, and they urged women to unite with the Black community and other allies to defend their rights.

On January 21, some 400 people marched in the cold from offices of the National Abortion Rights Action League to the office of anti-abortion U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato.

The next day, 100 people gathered for a news conference sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW) on the steps of the General Post Office.

Representatives of NOW, CARASA, the Coalition of Labor Union Women; U.S. Rep. Theodore Weiss; and others spoke. Participants mailed 30,000 prochoice letters to various anti-abortion legislators.

Friedan charts wrong course for women

'The Second Stage' counsels women to accept capitalist austerity



Betty Friedan

Militant/Diane Wang

The Second Stage, by Betty Friedan, Summit Books, \$14.95.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"I am tired of the pragmatic, earth-bound battles of the women's movement, tired of rhetoric."

These sentences are from the opening paragraph of Betty Friedan's third and

BOOK REVIEW

latest book, *The Second Stage*. They reflect the theme of the entire book — a call to women to retreat from struggle for liberation and to accept the "new stage" of capitalist austerity.

Yes, this is the same Betty Friedan who, as a suburban housewife and journalist, wrote *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963.

In that book, she exposed the reality behind the show windows of suburbia where female residents suffered agonies from "the problem that has no name."

At that time, Friedan explained, "The feminine mystique has succeeded in burying millions of American women alive. There is no way for these women to break out of their comfortable concentration camps except by finally putting forth an effort — that human effort which reaches beyond biology, beyond the narrow walls of home, to help shape the future.

"Only by such a personal commitment to the future can American women break out of the housewife trap and truly find fulfillment as wives and mothers — by fulfilling their own unique possibilities as separate human beings."

These were ideas whose time had come.

Despite the fact that Friedan restricted her investigations to relatively well-to-do housewives, millions of women in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries identified with her challenge to the myth of the happy housewife.

Her book helped propel the rise of the women's liberation movement in this country and around the world.

'Ridiculous analogy'

Today Friedan repudiates many of her earlier ideas.

In a recent interview in the *Christian Science Monitor*, she says of the above-

quoted passage, "That was a ridiculous analogy. I mean, come on! It denied the basic satisfaction of my own life as a suburban housewife."

Today, Friedan berates the women's movement for challenging the myth that Friedan herself challenged — that biology destined all women to occupy a strictly limited and inferior social status.

The Friedan who documented the way socially-defined concepts of femininity are used to enslave women is now rebuffed by the "second stage" Friedan, who tells us that to deny those standards of femininity is to deny being a woman!

In 1966, Friedan was a central founder and first president of the National Organization for Women.

In *The Second Stage*, she advances the opinion that the women's movement has outlived its usefulness. "The second stage may not even be a women's movement," she says. "Men may be at the cutting edge of the second stage."

The Second Stage has been reviewed and excerpted by dozens of publications both in this country and in Europe.

The *New York Times*, for example, ran two reviews and an extensive article based on the book. *The Nation* magazine ran a series of commentaries by six prominent feminists.

To understand why this book has gotten such a big response we have to look at the political context in which it appears.

Friedan changes sides

Capitalism is in a deep crisis which the employers are trying to solve at the expense of working people. The ferocious attacks on women's rights are part of the capitalists' "solution" to their crisis.

An important aspect of their offensive is combatting the ideas about women's equality which have taken root in society in the last ten years.

In this battle, Friedan extends a helping hand, not to her struggling sisters, but to our belligerent enemies who are trying to roll back the gains we have won.

For the many women's rights fighters who are beginning to realize our movement is at a crossroads, Friedan offers the most reactionary advice imaginable. It's all the more poisonous because it's peddled by the woman many had proclaimed the "mother of modern feminism."

The Second Stage has sparked a wide-ranging debate.

Bella Abzug, the former Democratic Party congresswoman, criticized Friedan's advocacy, à la Reagan, of "passionate volunteerism" as a substitute for fighting for federally-funded social services, like childcare.

Other feminist activists, like journalist Ellen Willis, are outraged by Friedan's attacks on the women's rights movement.

Friedan even goes so far as to revive the capitalist media's slanderous term "bra-burners" to attack radical feminists.

Mim Kelber, a feminist writer, attacks Friedan's pro-militarist views.

Frances Lear, a writer and feminist activist, uses Friedan's book as an opening to launch her own attack on the women's movement.

The Second Stage is Friedan's rambling reflections, mostly drawn from discussions with executives, professionals, and military officers, or people preparing for such futures.

Friedan needs this elite selection in order to make her case seem more credible.

The 'feminist mystique'

According to Friedan, in fighting against the "feminine mystique," the women's movement created something just as bad, if not worse — the "feminist mystique."

Friedan creates a caricature of women fighting for their liberation — a caricature worthy of our most reactionary opponents.

We're faced with the rise of a "female machismo," Friedan says. A woman who "stops baking cookies altogether, cuts her hair like a monk, decides not to have children, installs a computer console in her bedroom."

Why did this happen?

Because the movement supposedly lost sight of its goal. "In the first stage," Friedan believes, "our aim was full participation, power and voice in the mainstream . . ."

She attacks the rights women — and men — fought for as the women's movement grew, charging that "the sexual politics that distorted the sense of priorities of the women's movement during the seventies made it easy for the so-called Moral Majority to lump ERA with homosexual rights and abortion into one explosive package of licentious, family-threatening sex."

Friedan also frequently repeats the lie, promoted by opponents of women's rights, that the focus of the women's movement was against men.

In other words, the attacks on women's rights are all our fault. We never should have raised our sights so high.

Abortion rights

Friedan criticizes women as "selfish" for fighting for the right to control our own bodies and lives, instead of couching all our struggles in terms of what's best for the family.

She claims that the main reason for the concerted campaign against abortion is a trick by the "radical Right" to divert people from their real problems, like inflation.

The other reason for the attacks, Friedan says, is the callousness toward life of those who fought for abortion rights.

Exactly what every "right-to-lifer" says!

She neglects to point out that it was the abortion rights movement and the legalization of abortion that won the overwhelming majority of American people to support this democratic right.

And all the callousness is on the side of those who talk about "life" but are forcing women into the hands of back-alley butchers by making safe, legal abortion difficult to obtain.

The assault on abortion rights is not a diversionary ploy. These are attacks on the fundamental right of women to control our own bodies. And they are dead serious.

Moreover, the anti-woman forces know how fundamental this right is, and that's why they've made it the center of their attacks on women.

Friedan's view that the attacks on abortion rights will go away if only we stop defending these rights has not withstood the test of reality.

The right to abortion is being severely curtailed precisely because the women's movement has retreated along the lines that Friedan advocates.

The superwoman syndrome

Friedan blames the women's movement, in part, for creating the tremendous burdens that society places on women who work both outside the home and in it, cleaning and taking care of children. She condemns what she calls the "superwoman" syndrome.

But it's feminist fighters, especially working women, that led the struggle for affirmative action for women, childcare, abortion rights, and other demands that ease the load on working women.

Women are not responsible for the hardships and frustrations that result from the double burden carried by working women.

It's the bosses and their two political parties that are responsible for increasing the burden with their cutbacks, layoffs, and attacks on unions, Black rights, and women's rights. All done under the cover of "protecting the family."

'Feminism is a luxury'

The main political conclusion Friedan reaches is that women must dissolve our movement into capitalist party politics.

She maintains the necessity to support the Democratic Party, despite the fact that it is today leading, with the Republican Party, the attacks on women's rights.

The book ends with a ringing denunciation of "communism," and a superpatriotic plea for U.S. capitalism and its militarism.

She asks the women's movement to do its share to help save the system.

In the first chapter of *The Second Stage*, Friedan asks, "Is feminism a theoretical luxury, a liberal or radical notion we could toy with in the late soft age of affluence, in the decadence of advanced capitalist society, but in the face of 10 percent inflation, 7.8 percent unemployment, nuclear accident at home, and mounting terrorism from Right and Left abroad, something we must put aside for the grim new realities of economic and national survival?"

And despite her protests to the contrary, Friedan has answered this question with a resounding "yes."

For further reading . . .

Problems of Women's Liberation
by Evelyn Reed. 96 pp. \$2.45

This collection includes a review by Reed, written in 1964, of Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*.

Reagan's War on Women's Rights
by Margaret Jayko. 38 pp. \$.95.

This pamphlet includes a section on Friedan's views on the question of the family.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Sure, what the hell — "We are running out of available

Protection Agency official on federal plans to start dumping radioactive waste at sea.

percent of his income to charity. Actually, he says, he gives 10 percent, but in personal gifts that aren't tax deductible. Aides said they didn't know if some of the gifts went to members of his family.

No consideration — At a congressional hearing on business productivity, a Chase bank official said the increase in two-earner households is hurting retail productivity. Because there are fewer weekday shoppers, retail stores have to stay open

more hours at night and on weekends to do essentially the same amount of business.

News of the week — "WASHINGTON — Public Citizen's Congress Watch . . . made public a study that reported a direct correlation between the 'anticonsumerism' records of congressmen and the amount of campaign contributions they received from business political committees."

Spiritual wisdom — St. Mi-

chael's Church in Chicago is converting a group of schoolhouses and parish priests' quarters into condos. From \$106,000 to \$300,000.

The corporate image — According to office design specialists, top execs don't even want a desk in their suite anymore. "They want a relaxed, living room-library feeling," one explains. Also, they now insist on private toilets, "a reaction to an excess of liberalism in years past."



Harry Ring

space. So why not use the ocean; the ocean already has a lot of background radioactivity anyway." — An Environmental

Can't chew people out — The police chief in Grave, Oklahoma, quit in a huff because the city council wouldn't back him up in making a sergeant wear his false teeth on duty.

New dishes for Nancy? — If we all give to charity, says Reagan, the government won't have to help the needy. Over the past two years, he gave less than 2

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Stop Attacks on Abortion Rights. Speaker: Sonja Franeta, Young Socialist Alliance; Diane Derzis, Alabamians for Free Choice; Steve Palmer, National Organization for Women. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Discussion of President Reagan's State of the Union Address. Speaker: Dick Roberts, Socialist Workers Party and member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 1227. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 2211 N. Broadway (near Broadway off-ramp on Golden State Freeway). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 225-3126.

Oakland

John Reed and Ten Days that Shook the World. Showing of Sergei Eisenstein's film, *Ten Days that Shook the World*, followed by a review and discussion of Warren Beatty's *Reds*. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

San Diego

Impact of Reagan's Policies. Speakers: Olie Bivens, National Black Independent Political Party, Los Angeles; others. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

San Jose

Poland and Reagan's Hypocrisy. Speaker: Kim Allen, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists Local 565. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO

Denver

Is There Life After Reaganomics? Speaker: Dick Roberts, author of *American Railroads and Capitalism in Crisis*, member, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. reception and refreshments, 7:30 p.m. forum. Executive Tower Inn, 1405 Curtis St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA

Miami

Evolution vs. Creationism. Speaker: Andrea Baron, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St., N. Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

Malcolm X: His Legacy Today. Speaker: Jerry Hunnicutt, Socialist Workers Party, member, Transportation Workers Union. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St., N. Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

United Auto Workers Contract Talks: What the Negotiations Will Mean for the Entire Labor Movement. Panel discussion with auto workers from River Rouge plant near Detroit and three Chicago plants. Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean. Tape of speech by Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop following June 19, 1980, terror bombing in Grenada. Speakers: Bronson Rozier, visited Cuba in August 1981. Cathy Ball, chairwoman of Louisville Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 131 W. Main St. (2nd and Main). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Reagan's Message . . . Workers' Response. A panel of local leaders and activists answer Reagan's State of the Union Address. Sun., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Events in Poland: Their Meaning for American Workers. An exchange of views. Speakers: Howard Zinn, Boston University professor of political science; Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Marta Petrusiewicz, lecturer in economics, Harvard; Joseph Schwartz, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Sun., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newburg St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Creationism vs. Evolution: In Defense of Scientific Thinking. Speaker: Peter Archer, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities

Israeli Expansion, U.S. Threats: Is There Peace in the Middle East? Speakers: Bassem Kablaoui, Palestinian Student Organization, University of Minnesota; Gary Prevost, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 7, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

A Utility Ripoff: Profit in the Name of 'Public Service.' Speaker: David Hunt, program director, Missouri Public Interest Group; Tony Saper, member, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Local 147 and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

Hidden History of Blacks in America. Speakers: Abdul Jaami Salim, public relations representative, Islamic Center; Yasmeen Abdul Baqee, director of school program, Islamic Center. Sun., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. dinner; 8 p.m. forum. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$3 dinner, \$2 forum. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

Defend the Right to Abortion: How to Fight Back. Speakers: Darlene Toledo, member Metro National Organization for Women; Chris Mann, Socialist Workers Party; representative of Reproductive Health Services; others. Sun., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

First-Hand Report on What's Happening in Nicaragua Today. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*, just returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad St.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Labor Speakout on El Salvador. Speakers: Dave Dyson, Labor Committee on Democracy and Human Rights; William Henning, Communications Workers of America; representative of Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; representative of COP-RASAL. Fri., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7992.

Manhattan

The Freedom Struggle in Guatemala. Speakers: Bob Hillyard, National Lawyers Guild; representative of Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

Lecciones de la lucha obrera polaca. Orador: Martin Koppel, redactor de *Perspectiva Mundial*, visitó a Polonia en 1981 (English translation available). Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St. 2º piso. Donación: \$2. Ausp: Foro de Perspectiva Mundial. Para mayor información, llame al (212) 260-6400.

Political Repression and Recent Executive Order on the CIA and Pending Repressive Legislation. Speakers: Michael Ratner, Committee for Constitutional Rights; National Lawyers Guild; Bill Schapp, *Covert Action Information Bulletin*. Fri., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 135 W. 4th St. Ausp: New York Mobilization for Survival and Washington Square Church. For more information call (212) 673-1808.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

Eyewitness report: U.S. Foreign Policy vs. People of El Salvador. Speaker: Rev. Henry Atkins, recently returned from refugee camps in Honduras. Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cleveland

Abortion Rights Attack: Which Way for the Women's Movement? Speakers: Louise Haberbusch, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; others. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

Cincinnati

The Fight to Keep Abortion Safe and Legal. Speakers: Pat Pickeral, National Abortion Rights Action League; Joan Schonberg, Planned Parenthood; Margaret Kelley, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

Tribute to Malcolm X. Film: *Malcolm X Speaks*. Speakers: Essie Hughes, cochair of Cincinnati National Black Independent Political Party; Rev. Daniel Buford, Black Campus Ministry. Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON

Portland

The Other Victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A videotape on the struggles of U.S. veterans exposed to radiation during clean-up following following 1947 atomic bombings in Japan. Speaker: Ron Quigley, delegate to 1981 World Conference Against Hydrogen and Atomic Bombs. Sun., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS

San Antonio

The Triumph of Revolutionary Grenada. Donald Massey, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance, recently visited Grenada. Sat., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Defend Polish Workers! Speaker: Martin Koppel, toured Poland as staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*, National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Tidewater Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Creationism vs. Evolution. Speakers: David Rosen, Young Socialist Alliance; Eileen Burk-Trent, lecturer. Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Protest Reaganism: Hear the Socialist Alternative on How to Fight Racist Police Terror in Milwaukee. Speakers: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Wisconsin governor; Cheryl Hidalgo, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th District. Sat., Feb. 6. Wine and cheese reception 7 p.m. Rally 8 p.m. 4707 W. Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076 or 342-0696.

Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions

By Leon Trotsky
80 pages, \$2.95

Also available—four books on the labor movement by Farrell Dobbs:

Teamster Rebellion, 192 pp., cloth \$10.00, paper \$4.95
Teamster Power, 256 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$5.95
Teamster Politics, 256 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$5.95
Teamster Bureaucracy, 304 pp., cloth \$14.00, paper \$5.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

'In Your Face!'—A steelworker speaks on sports

In Your Face! — Sports for Love and Money, by Lee Ballinger. Vanguard Books. 151 pp., \$2.95 paperback.

BY SARA SMITH

Lee Ballinger is member and steward of United Steelworkers of America Local 1375 in Warren, Ohio. His first book, *In Your Face! — Sports for Love and Money*, reflects his social education as a worker and combat veteran of Vietnam.

He says he wrote the book "because I'm mad as hell about what's being done

BOOK REVIEW

to sports in the United States. Everything is being subordinated to the drive for maximum profit. . . . Everything from powerlifting championships to the U.S. Olympic teams to Puerto Rican youth baseball is owned by some corporation. . . . [The] interests that have taken over sports and run them without regard to the people involved are the same interests which gouge us at the gas pump and send out plant-closing announcements while we sleep. Gyms are padlocked while military contractors are given the key to the public treasury."

Ballinger's first defense is of the ath-

letes. In a chapter entitled "The Owners: Figures Don't Lie But Liars Can Figure," he demolishes the myth of the athlete-superstar who rolls in money 'til it's time to make commercials.

Network broadcast packages ensure each National Football League team will show a profit after the game *even if no one bought any tickets*. CBS isn't hurting either. It made a clear profit of \$1.8 million on the 1978 Super Bowl.

How can Blacks and Latinos be equal in the world of sports when they're treated unequally in everything else, Ballinger asks. He gives an account of how Blacks were run out of baseball after the Radical Reconstruction period that followed the Civil War:

"Once the Wall Street interests had captured the South they had no further use for the facade of freedom. It was quickly dismantled in an orgy of terror. . . . At the same time blacks were also driven out of baseball." Jackie Robinson rebroke the color bar in 1947.

His account of the actual physical differences between the sexes is welcome. So is his debunking of the idea that reproductive functions and stellar sports performance are incompatible. "The survival of women's sports depends on shifting its emphasis to the vast majority of women who are generally left out of American political life," working women, and refusing to buy the notion that women's sports can only be funded at

the expense of men's.

Other chapters cover the conversion of college sports into proving grounds for pro teams; the war between the Pentagon and the schools for public funding; the boycott of the 1980 Olympics; the U.S. government's war in Vietnam; and the movement against South African apartheid in international sports.

Ballinger advocates political activism for fans and athletes alike. He salutes people like baseball player Roberto Clemente, who died in an air crash trying to ensure that aid for earthquake victims in Nicaragua would not be diverted by the Somoza regime. And Richard Lapchick, who was nearly murdered by South African agents in 1978 for his role in organizing massive demonstrations against the Nashville appearance of the South African Davis Cup team. An entire chapter is devoted to Muhammad Ali's resistance to racism and the war in Vietnam.

The final chapter of *In Your Face!*, "The Way Out," is a political touch-down. The book is carefully constructed to explain to a working person why she or he has no stake in the perpetuation of racism, sexism, U.S. militarism, or right-to-work havens in the South. Why even elementary recreational activity is dying under capitalism. Why sports must be liberated from dependence on corporate investment to survive.

Ballinger says there's enough wealth

for everybody; that production is held back only by the profit motive. Working people have to "slug it out with the multinationals. . . . Our team has tremendous talent, good speed, and incredible depth. But we are hampered by widespread internal dissension and the lack of a game plan. As long as we blame our problems on members of our own team — be they minorities, women, or foreign workers — there is no point going onto the field. We're beaten before the kickoff."

We have to choose a varsity team from American labor, the majority of the American population. We have to understand that "the two key players on the multinationals' team are the government and the majority of top international union officials. . . . The unorganized and confused state of the labor movement is not an accident. The labor movement is where it is today because certain people led it there. Rather than leading a drive to organize the South and Puerto Rico, these men are, in the wake of Reagan's election, trying to put together a team that can drive down the field for a rebuilt Democratic Party. They must be stopped at the line of scrimmage if we are ever going to get our hands on the ball."

In Your Face! is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 postage.

A look at Grenada's new health care program

Continued from Page 5

mentation of your ideas. But then you are told, 'O.K. You seem to have the right ideas. How about going in there and doing it?' Well that's a different thing!

"It was literally like that. I sat down with the prime minister and a few other ministers and we discussed a lot of things pertaining to health. We had a few meetings on the details of how to implement the changes. And then I said, well here goes.

"I left school at the end of the term which was a Friday and I started work at the Ministry of Health on Monday. I mean, holidays are something you just don't worry too much about at this time in Grenada, because you know there is a lot of work to be done and still not enough hands."

As she described the health services, the role of the mass organizations became even clearer. Health Education is co-ordinated with the National Youth Organization (NYO), the National Women's Organization, and Center for

Popular Education and the NISTEP program. Family planning services are sponsored by Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM) but they are negotiating integrating them into the Health Ministry. Meanwhile "integrated meetings" take place between the family planning association, members of the mass organizations, plus the Ministry of Health.

Other programs like the free milk program for mothers and children that was set up by the government but actually carried out by the National Women's Organization and other mass organizations also complement the steps toward better health for the people.

Workers parish meetings

The workers parish meetings are playing a growing role in Grenada, as Braveboy explained: "At the workers parish meetings you get the different ministers, the people from the different ministries being asked up there to be taken to task by the public — the workers of our country. Sometimes they ask for someone from the public health

sector, so you send your chief environmental health officer or your medical officer of health, depending on what the subject is. This is part of the system of accountability to the public. You are called on to attend various meetings and deliver a talk or answer questions or deal with problems."

Braveboy is still a member of the militia and active in the mass organizations. She says she has to make herself constantly available to them, and that this participation is key to being able to work effectively in the Health Ministry.

She says she can't make "sensible decisions sitting at a desk in the capital." When we toured the general hospital this inclination for getting out into the action was obvious.

All the hospital personnel, the matron, nurses, doctors, administrators and maintenance workers were very familiar with this frequent visitor. Her enthusiasm was echoed by Matron Angella Grant who showed us through the different wards and departments. In one she proudly pointed out beds donated by a support group in Sweden. Other equip-

ment has also begun to come from other countries. The biggest contribution still comes from Cuba who has sent more than twenty volunteer doctors including several highly skilled specialists.

The highlight of the hospital tour was the new carpentry workshop. This workshop, which was just opened two days earlier, sums up how the Grenadian revolution is overcoming obstacles and moving forward. Working conditions had been a problem at the hospital for as long as anyone working there can remember. In the past workers complaining about them would be ignored, or worse, victimized.

But now the response of the revolution is: We have a problem? Let's work together to solve it. So the maintenance workers at the hospital built a carpentry workshop. At the opening of the workshop Maurice Bishop commented on this new attitude. "Over the years we have tended to feel that the ordinary worker did not have ideas! But all of us in the new Grenada have a contribution to make."

DIRECTORY

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Bill Petersen, 612 SW 2nd St. Zip: 32601. Tel: (904) 376-0210. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA,

4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30221. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 483-6236.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 260-6400. New York: Citywide SWP, YSA, 108 E. 16th St. 2nd Floor. Zip: 10003. Tel: (212) 533-2902.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17105. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Don't gut Voting Rights Act

The federal Voting Rights Act is due to expire in August and the Reagan administration has indicated it would like to remove some teeth from it before the statute is extended.

The House has already approved renewal of the act, but not the Senate. The House voted 389 to 24 for what was described as a strengthened version of the statute. Sixty-one senators say they support the House version.

The Voting Rights Act was enacted in 1965, a fruit of the massive civil rights battles and Black rebellions of the time.

It bars restrictive registration measures, intimidation at the polls, and gerrymandering of voting districts. English-only ballots are barred in Latino and other communities where English is not a first language.

In areas where less than 50 percent of those eligible to vote are registered, no changes can be made in election laws without federal approval. Similarly with redistricting plans.

A recent U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report reviews the results of the law. Detailing its "unfulfilled goals," the commission urges renewal of the act, with added teeth.

The report was issued in September. In November, Reagan fired Arthur Flemming, chairman of the commission.

The commission found that some progress has been made by southern Blacks and Latinos in the Southwest, in establishing their right to vote and to representation in government.

But the process is far from complete.

For example, in 1974, there were 964 Black elected officials in seven southern states. By 1980, with a substantial increase in Black registered voters, the number had increased to 2,042.

But, the report found, this is still way short of what Black people are entitled to. One statistic: In Alabama there are ten counties with a majority Black population. In two of these counties there is still not one Black elected official.

Moreover, the commission adds, "The underrepresentation of Blacks in public office is evident at every level, but is most obvious at the highest levels

of government."

The commission recommended an important new amendment to the act. This proviso is said to be included in the present House version.

It would declare illegal all voting practices which have the "effect" of discriminating.

This is a direct counter to recent Supreme Court decisions contending that "intent" to discriminate must be established — a mile-wide escape clause.

The proposed "effect" amendment to the voting law is one of the provisos the administration wants to ax.

This was suggested in the January 25 issue of *Barron's*, a leading Wall Street weekly. It devoted a page to a shrill racist attack on the Voting Rights Act, declaring it nothing less than "a dagger pointed at the heart of America."

Brushing aside the hard figures confirming the continuing discrimination against Black and Latino voters, the paper demagogically brands the civil rights movement a movement for "civil privileges."

And, with equal fury, it castigates the act's proviso of ballot language rights for Latinos as promoting "the emergence of a second Quebec."

"But above all," *Barron's* somewhat hysterically declares, "The dagger point must be broken. The effects test must be defeated."

Addressing a broader audience, the man in the White House might moderate *Barron's* tone a bit. But he has no quarrel with the line.

This is not simply a problem of a stone racist administration. The moves to curb the Voting Rights Act are part of a broader, sustained drive to roll back the gains of the civil rights and labor movements.

The Democratic and Republican parties both recognize that the very people protected by the Voting Rights Act are certain to be in the forefront of efforts to launch independent Black, Latino, and labor candidates that will challenge the capitalist two-party system.

That's why, for a financial weekly like *Barron's*, a simple lever on a voting machine can look like a dagger.

Sharp increase in anti-Semitic attacks

Since 1978 the number of anti-Semitic attacks in the United States has nearly tripled each year.

According to a recent report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, there were 974 incidents of anti-Semitic vandalism reported in 1981 and 350 physical or other attacks on Jewish individuals and institutions. In 1978 there were 49 reported acts of vandalism; 120 in 1979; and 377 in 1980.

These reactionary assaults are spread across some thirty-one states. Many involve painting swastikas or other anti-Semitic graffiti on walls. There are also cases of arson, bombing, and desecration of cemeteries.

A parallel rise in anti-Semitic violence has occurred in Europe, claiming several lives.

On January 5, the day the Anti-Defamation League's study was released, two men were sentenced in Nashville for plotting to bomb a Jewish synagogue. Not surprisingly, the two belonged to the Confederate Vigilantes of the Ku Klux Klan. Increasingly, Klan and Nazi terrorists have targeted Jews as well as Blacks, Latinos, and undocumented workers.

Rightist scum have been emboldened to step up murderous acts like blowing up synagogues by the open complicity of the government in such attacks. The most blatant example remains the 1980 acquittal of Klan and Nazi members who shot down civil rights marchers in Greensboro, North Carolina. Two undercover cops were part of the Klan-Nazi hit squad.

Anti-Semitism, like racism, is not limited to the

cop on the beat. A Nixon tape released last fall serves as a reminder. The 1971 tape recorded then-President Nixon talking to fellow crook H.R. Haldeman about the case of the Chicago Seven, a group of activists against the Vietnam war who beat a government frame-up.

"Aren't the Chicago Seven all Jews?" Nixon asked Haldeman. "[Rennie] Davis's a Jew you know."

Haldeman replied he didn't think Davis was Jewish. "[Abbie] Hoffman, Hoffman's a Jew," the president insisted.

"About half of these are Jews," Nixon concluded.

Little has changed since Nixon left the White House. The same "conversations" occur there today, just as they do in Congress, the courts, and the corporate boardrooms. We just haven't heard the tapes.

What is different today is the sharp move to the right by the capitalist class that anti-Semites like Nixon serve. The reactionary program of that class, from increased militarization to devastating cuts in workers' standard of living, is accompanied by an intensified ideological campaign on every front. The campaign includes attacks on women's right to abortion, busing to achieve desegregation, foreign-born workers, scientific thought, prisoners' rights — and Jews.

This is where the roots of anti-Semitism lie — in the class-divided system we live under. Like racism and the oppression of women, anti-Semitism can only be uprooted by abolishing class exploitation itself.

Antigay landlords pushed back

In a victory for everyone's democratic rights, voters in Austin, Texas, overwhelmingly defeated a proposal that would have permitted landlords to deny housing to someone on the basis of their sexual orientation.

On January 16, in an unusually high turnout, this antigay referendum was defeated by a vote of almost two to one.

In 1979, the city Human Relations Commission published a housing study that revealed that over 64 percent of gay respondents had been discriminated against when seeking housing.

Last summer, the commission proposed to the city council that they extend the city's fair housing gua-

rantees to gays. But the council refused.

That's when the Austin Citizens for Decency (ACD), a reactionary, antigay outfit, began petitioning to get a referendum on the ballot that would amend the city's Fair Housing Ordinance to allow discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Television commercials sponsored by the ACD urged voters to deny "special privileges to homosexuals."

ACD's initial efforts to get people to vote "yes" focused on protecting the right of property owners to choose their tenants. But in Austin, where over half the residents rent their dwellings and antilandlord sentiment runs high, this didn't go over too well.

Trade unions: their past, present, and future

We are printing below an excerpt from a speech written by Karl Marx to the delegates of the First Congress of the First International held in Geneva in 1866. The speech, titled 'Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council,' is printed in the first volume of *The General Council of the First International (1864-1872)*. This five-volume set is available for \$18 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

This speech is also printed in the second volume of *Selected Works of Marx and Engels (3 volumes)* which is available from Pathfinder Press for \$15.

Their past.

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force. The contract between capital and labor can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labor on one side and

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition amongst themselves*.

Trade unions originally sprang up from the *spontaneous* attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of trade unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expedients for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labor. This activity of the trade unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalized by the formation and the combination of trade unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the trade unions were forming *centers of organization* of the working class, as the medieval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the trade unions are required for the guerrilla fights between capital and labor, they are still more important as *organized agencies for superseding the very system of wage labor and capital rule*.

Their present.

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the trade unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wage slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance, from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement, from the enlarged views taken of their function in the United States, and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of Trades' delegates at Sheffield:

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."

Their future.

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation*. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst-paid trades, such as the agricultural laborers, rendered powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.

New jobless figures: 10% overall, 20% for Blacks

BY STU SINGER

The January 29 *Militant* inadvertently reported two different statistics for the unemployment rate of Blacks: 17.4 and 16.1 percent. Both figures were cited from the latest employment report issued by the government.

Which is correct?

Neither. The unemployment rate for Blacks is over 20 percent. And it is about 10 percent for the workforce as a whole, not the 8.9 percent that has been widely reported.

Where do these different numbers come from?

Last week, *Militant* staff writers looked at two dif-

AS I SEE IT

ferent tables prepared by the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS).

This government agency breaks down employment figures into a number of categories, including whites, Blacks, "Blacks and others," and "Hispanic origin."

For December, one table showed the unemployment rate for "Blacks and others" as 16.1 percent. Another table showed the rate for Blacks as 17.4.

Who are the "others"?

The BLS says they include Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Asians. Their unemployment rates are not broken down.

But the BLS does have the rate for Blacks alone. That is the 17.4 figure.

When they give the rate for "Blacks and others" the addition of the "others" lowers the rate.

For whites, they say the unemployment rate is 7.8 percent; for people of "Hispanic origin," 11.1 percent.

But, by studying the full government employment report, it is possible to compute more accurate figures.

Unemployment statistics are based on members of the civilian workforce. According to the government, that was almost 107 million people in December. Of those, 9.5 million were out of work. That's 8.9 percent.

But another group, which the government counts separately, is called "discouraged" workers. They are defined as people who "want to work but are not looking for jobs because they believe they cannot find any."

There were 1.2 million workers in this category in December. It is growing rapidly. The BLS reported that "most discouraged workers are women," but that men accounted for more than half of the latest increase. Of the "discouraged workers," 362,000 are Black.

To get more accurate figures, "discouraged workers" should be included as part of the labor force and as part of the unemployed.

By adding these workers, the *Militant* last week arrived at the figure of nearly 11 million workers unemployed in December. Using this approach, the rate of unemployment is 20.1 percent for Blacks, and 9.8 percent for the workforce as a whole.

The employment study issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics is not based on actual counts of workers. It is from a sample, like public opinion polls. The BLS questions what is supposed to be a cross section of the population, numbering 60,000 households. The sample is taken for one week in the middle of

every month.

It is hard to judge its accuracy. We know that every other government report, such as the census, is biased to undercount minorities and immigrants. The BLS sample almost definitely does the same.

Unemployment is a bigger problem than even the new figures computed by the *Militant* indicate.

There are some figures available from industries that shed more light on unemployment.

Unemployment among construction workers is at least 18.1 percent. For manufacturing workers it is 11 percent.

In November, the number of steelworkers dropped to the lowest level since 1933: 261,000. Since then, it has dropped even further.

From November 1980 to November 1981, railroad employment dropped 6.15 percent to a little over 426,000.

But things are not so bad for everyone.

Every category of railroad jobs declined last year, with one exception: the number of executives, officials, and staff assistants increased 1.45 percent.

A railroad worker explained that the bosses have their own solutions to unemployment: hire their relatives for do-nothing management jobs.

That's one approach.

Another approach is to fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread the work, for a massive public works program, and for unemployment compensation you can live on as long as you're out of work.

The second approach has the advantage of meeting the needs of the nearly 11 million unemployed workers whose relatives can't pad railroad payrolls to help them out.

LETTERS

Solar power

The *Militant* is certainly correct to point out that coal can be mined safely and burned cleanly, and that we have immense coal reserves, enough "to run this country for the next three hundred years." The *Militant* does its readers a disservice, however, by claiming that solar and other forms of renewable energy are not yet ready for use.

Solar collectors for water heating, space heating and cooling, and industrial process heating are quite economical and technologically fully developed, and are today being installed in an ever-growing number of applications. Wind power for producing electricity is likewise technically fully developed. Renewable energy sources are not only clean and cheap. They also mean the most jobs, and the safest jobs of all. Implementing them would create millions of new jobs.

Ed Gogol
Chicago, Illinois

Nicaragua's Indians

In the January 29 *Militant* a letter from Mark Heinecamp appeared that could create a false impression about the treatment of the Indian minorities in Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region by the Sandinista revolution.

Heinecamp describes relations between the government and the native peoples as "very strained," claiming the authorities have called the Indians "primitive" and have "increasingly isolated this group of people."

A different impression can be gained from reading two articles published in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* in its June 29 and October 19, 1981, issues.

These articles report that literacy campaigns have been carried out "in Miskitu, English, or Sumo," not just in Spanish as Heinecamp implies. The revolutionary government has adopted a "Declaration of Principles on Indian Communities" guaranteeing the peoples of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast

region the right to their own cultures, the right to organize their communities as they see fit, and the right to participate fully in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

After this declaration was made public in August, the International Indian Treaty Council's representative to the United Nations hailed Nicaragua as "the only country in the Americas that respects the rights of Indians."

José G. Pérez
Bronx, New York

Disagrees on Poland

I'm receiving copies of the *Militant* now, thanks to your prisoners subscription fund. I very much appreciate your paper, but I must tell you straight out that I disagree with your line on Poland totally. The so-called Solidarity "trade union" was just a front for the most reactionary, C.I.A.-manipulated, Catholic superstitionist, and bourgeois nationalist elements.

This is not to diminish the errors of certain past Polish United Workers [Communist] Party leaders in the past, but these errors were being rectified. And suddenly, in early December, the ploy by Solidarity to attempt to seize power and dismantle the socialist state, beginning with rallies and general strike action on December 17, came to light. As a result, General Jaruzelsky's government and the Polish Army took the steps necessary to stifle counter-revolution.

I have no interest in helping Reagan's latest jive propaganda campaign, which he is using to get the American people around to a conditioning which will permit Reagan to make war in El Salvador and against Nicaragua, Grenada, Cuba, Libya, and against antiwar dissent and workers here at home.

A prisoner
Vacaville, California

Response to letter

The *Militant* is positively improving. It keeps getting better.

The articles on Cuba, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Afrika, and Grenada are very enlightening, informative, and educational. They contribute greatly to waking up the unaware peoples throughout Amerikkka and the world.

Mr. Ralph Welton's letter [*Militant*, November 27] entitled "Sadat" revealed to me how confused his being really is over the international situation today. "It must seem strange that an avowed socialist and communist would mourn for Anwar Sadat."

Your friend Sadat could not accept positive criticism of his position of giving support to one of the foes (Israel) of the peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples. At the time he signed the pact with Israel, it was part of a sellout approach to the solution of the Arab (Palestinian) question. Yes, we are for peace but not at the risk of surrendering our homelands (Africa and Palestine) and our dignities!

As for Khomeini, my being isn't in agreement with many of the things his government has been doing in Iran over the years, but I will not take sides with our oppressors and blindly, and maybe unjustly, attack the historical Khomeini.

A prisoner
Angola, Louisiana

Is crime profitable?

The chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court states that local courts can be trusted to dispense justice.

Two weeks later, a Jefferson County court convicted Dr. James Sharman, former chairman of the University of Alabama in Birmingham's physical education department, of embezzling \$30,000 from a trust fund for crippled children. Sentenced to four years. The judge placed Sharman on probation with no jail time to be served! And the state never recovered the loot. In addition, Sharman retires with a pension. Who said crime is not profitable?

A man in Chicago was sent to

I THOUGHT THAT THE AT&T SETTLEMENT WAS SUPPOSED TO SPUR COMPETITION



THAT'S CORRECT



BUT MY PHONE BILL HAS DOUBLED



IT'S IN COMPETITION WITH YOUR HEATING BILL



Dan Wasserman

prison for three years for taking a package of sliced meat. Cost \$79 plus tax. He ate the meat because he was hungry.

John Rabbets
Cullman, Alabama

Good work

I have been a loyal reader of the *Militant* for years. It's very difficult, and becoming more so, to obtain the truth through printed material. Keep up the great work, for there are many who depend on you.

Robert Pasquesi
Elkhart, Illinois

Correction I

The following paragraphs were inadvertently dropped from the article entitled "What Kind of Solidarity with Poland" in last week's issue, leaving several subsequent references un-

clear:

"In Washington, D.C., on December 23, Tom Kahn, head of the AFL-CIO's misnamed Polish Workers' Aid Fund, went before a congressional committee. He complained that Reagan's sanctions didn't go far enough. He urged that the entire Polish debt to the United States be called in, that no further loans be made to any East European country, and that the grain embargo against the Soviet Union be reinstituted. He also urged beefing up U.S. propaganda broadcasts to Poland."

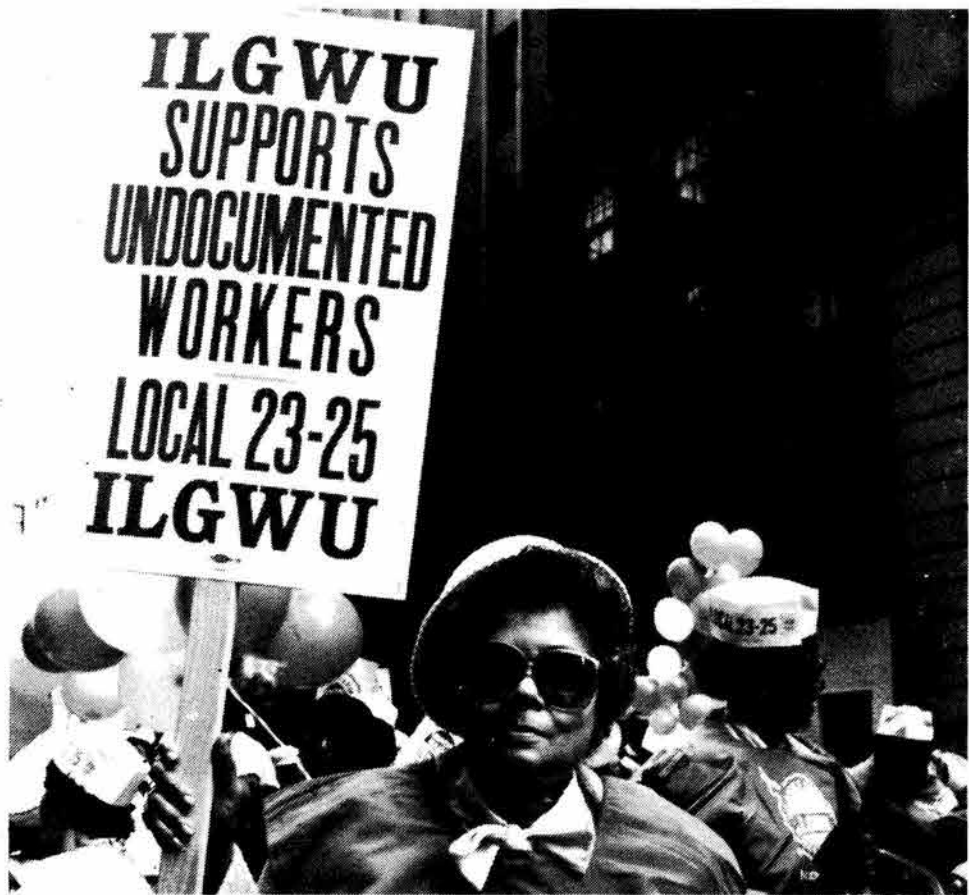
"Such a policy does nothing to aid the workers and farmers in Poland — or in this country."

Correction II

The January 29 issue of the *Militant* mistakenly credited a photo on page 9 to Susan Anmuth. The photographer is unknown.

Immigration cops raid garment shop

Workers describe INS 'military operation' at Brooklyn factory



Sign carried by International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Labor Day demonstration in New York last year. Militant/Lou Howort

BY KARA OBRADOVIĆ

BROOKLYN — On January 19 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), known as "la migra," invaded Mademoiselle Knitwear Co., a garment shop in the Bush Terminal section of Brooklyn. For more than two hours agents questioned workers, dragging 138 down to Federal Plaza in Manhattan for further interrogation. Co-workers of those taken report that some were deported and about thirty remain in custody.

"I can't describe how it makes me feel," said one worker. "It was like a mil-

itary operation," said another.

A young woman from Colombia, describing the behavior of one of the immigration cops, explained, "We were lined up against the wall. He told us we were all under arrest. 'If anyone moves, I'll shoot,' he said. He showed us his gun."

Carmen, the supervisor in the sewing machine department, said she had seen nothing like it in fifteen years. She thinks the trigger-happy agent had been in the plant the day before, checking out the fire escape.

"That morning they infiltrated," she

said. "They sent a few guys into each department. In here they went straight to the back by the fire escape. Then, they came in the front and made everyone get up from their machines and put us into groups against the wall demanding to see our IDs."

"They handcuffed all the men," a young Dominican woman reported. "People were crying — very upset." She remembers the exact time the INS came in the front because they were right behind her as she punched in her time card. "Where's the boss?" they demanded. Pointing to the office, she asked what they wanted. "You'll find out," they said.

The Dominican is married to a U.S. citizen but wasn't carrying any documents that day. She was taken to the INS building and questioned for an hour and a half and held until her husband came with papers to get her out.

The workers told me of people they thought had been immediately deported. Two Mexicanas were taken to jail from the detention center, with bail set at \$3,500 and \$4,000.

As we spoke, Carmen took a phone call from the husband of one of the women in jail. She wanted out, but they didn't have the bail money. Soon she would go before the judge to see if her child would be deported with her. It would be cheaper, the husband said, to get sent back to Mexico and have the family rejoin her there. It was assumed they should turn around and come back.

Mademoiselle Knitwear Co. is a modern, semi-automated plant that takes up two floors and employs more than 300 people. The vast majority are from countries all over Latin America and the Caribbean.

"We figure people come here because they need a break and they are willing to work," explained the production manager. "We are not police. So, we ask people for a social security number and that's it."

Under normal circumstances the management is totally cooperative with the INS. When agents come asking for a worker, the office is given to the agent for interrogation. "We insist they question people here and set a hearing date for another time," explained the owner. "I don't want them walking in and taking people off the job." But the January 19 raid seemed like "gestapo tactics" to him.

One of the company's officers walked in to see "about eight people shoved into a corner. I demanded to know what's going on." He was told, "Don't interfere or we'll put you under arrest."

Showing no evidence of a violation and in search of no one in particular, the agents threw a dragnet around the factory, flashing badges and a search warrant.

In the last few weeks there have been reports of raids on factories, employment agencies, and discos in Long Island City, Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and in Bayonne, New Jersey.

Ernesto Joffe of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union called the raid "a violation of human rights. They are treating people the same as people are treated in countries under fascist dictatorships."

Kathy Andrade of International Ladies Garment Workers Local 2325 said, "It is hard to believe that people come to the so-called promised land and this is what you face. You wake up to a nightmare."

Diane Wang, a garment worker and member of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out that the INS raids not only terrorize immigrants, but victimize all working people. "La migra's intimidation and harassment are used as a union-busting tool to keep down the wages and working conditions of all garment workers. And those depressed wages and conditions are, in turn, used to drive down the standards for all other workers."

Coal mine deaths average one a day since Dec. 3

BY STU SINGER

Nine underground coal miners were killed in two accidents in Kentucky January 20 and 22. Since December 3, the underground slaughter has averaged one miner killed every workday.

These are murders, not accidents. The criminals sit in the White House, Congress and the state governments. They take their orders from the energy barons who are pushing up coal production and attacking safety.

Seven of the nine Kentucky miners were killed in an explosion in the RFH Mining Company's No. 1 mine at Craynor in Floyd County in eastern Kentucky.

The county coroner said that four of them died from carbon monoxide poisoning. The other three were killed by the explosion itself.

There were signs found by the mine rescue teams that one or two who suffocated had tried to put on emergency respirators. The respirators they were trying to reach would not have kept them alive very long.

It is possible that some of them could have survived with the new self-contained self-rescuers, but they were not available in that mine. In fact, they are still not available to 97 percent of underground miners, although

in 1978 the government ordered them placed in all mines.

The manufacturer of the self-rescuers claims to be unable to produce them fast enough. The requirement to get the rescue devices has been dropped. Mineowners are now only required to have a purchase order for the rescuers.

Purchase orders don't provide oxygen.

The mine that exploded in eastern Kentucky was a small, family-owned operation. Three of the four Hamilton brothers who ran it, and the son of the fourth brother, were killed along with three others.

They were all union members. United Mine Workers President Sam Church was on the scene during the rescue attempt, which lasted nine hours.

Two days later, a roof fall at the small Phelps No. 3 mine in Pike County, near the Virginia border, crushed Vernon Wilson Smith and Curtis Adams. Adams, who was sixty-one and a minister at a nearby church, had been back at work for only five months. He was trying to get two or three more years in the mine to qualify for a UMWA pension.

Kentucky has the largest number of underground miners of any state. Some of the mine safety rules there are

weaker than in other mining states.

In 1981, forty-one Kentucky miners were killed, the most in the country.

Nationally, 153 coal miners were killed in 1981, thirty more than in 1980. One hundred-twelve miners were killed underground last year, up from ninety-four killed underground in 1980.

And the increase is even sharper when you consider that most underground coal miners were on strike for seventy-two days in 1981. Underground coal production was down 7.4 percent for the year, yet the rate of underground mine fatalities jumped more than 25 percent.

That death rate is going to keep climbing. The Reagan administration is imposing more cutbacks in mine safety enforcement. The well-known opposition of the Reagan administration to all government-enforced safety regulations takes the teeth out of safety enforcement even more than the budget cuts.

The assistant secretary of labor in charge of the Mine Safety and Health Administration, Ford B. Ford, has been calling for an "honor system" to cut the use of mine inspectors.

This scheme would allow mine operators to certify their own compliance with safety requirements.

Utah Senator Orrin Hatch is pushing a bill that would cut the number of yearly inspections of underground mines from four to two.

The economics of coal mining are also pushing up the death rate. For one thing, with demand for coal high, it is more economical than in the past to work the more dangerous tiny "dog holes," like those that took miners' lives last week.

Also, the mines operators are trying to push productivity schemes and discipline crackdowns in order to extract more coal at less cost.

The operators are also trying to work smaller, deeper — and therefore more dangerous — coal seams.

Coal can be mined safely. But mine safety requires continual battles by the miners union against the employers and the government.

Mine disasters are not caused by fate. They are caused by people who cut safety enforcement and push speed-up.

The challenges confronting the United Mine Workers of America today match anything it has gone up against before. The safety and working conditions of all working people depend on the miners' struggle. Everyone has a stake in this fight.