

Washington escalates secret war in Nicaragua

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN
AND JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA — Nicaragua is at war. There is no doubt about it.

The combination of near daily armed attacks along the border and in remote rural areas, the \$19 million CIA project to destabilize Nicaragua, and the intensified U.S. military encirclement in neighboring Honduras, Costa Rica, and the Caribbean add up to a situation of undeclared war.

Decisive steps have been taken to defend the revolution. They include mobilization of reserves and militia, organization of civil defense squads, enactment of a special defense tax, and cancellation of the traditional week of Easter vacation.

"The state of emergency remains in effect; we cannot let our guard down," Sergio Ramirez, member of the revolutionary junta, told some 250 trade union leaders and administrators of state-owned industries at a special meeting held here April 1 to explain the suspension of the Easter vacation.

As the holiday drew near, it became obvious that there could be no business as usual.

Nicaraguans look to the Easter holiday the way workers in the United States and Europe look to the Christmas holidays — as one of the biggest events of the year. But patriotic Nicaraguans, Ramirez pointed out, cannot be blind to what is happening on the Honduran border. Escalating military attacks forced the government to suspend the holidays.

U.S. intervention 'welcome'?

A few hours before Ramirez spoke, Col. Gustavo Alvarez of the Honduran armed forces had just told the press that



Nicaraguan troops on patrol near Honduran border. Nicaragua is now on war alert in response to increasing attacks by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries.

his government would "welcome U.S. intervention in Central America." He accused Nicaragua of being the main military problem in the region.

This announcement came less than 24 hours after Honduran officials announced they would discuss granting the United States facilities for an air base on Amapala Island, located in the Gulf of Fonseca just 12 kilometers from the Nicaraguan coast, and less than 200 kilometers northwest of Managua.

Ramirez explained that for the past three days the Honduran army had been carrying out military maneuvers under the code name "Alerta Roja" (Red Alert), transporting military supplies in U.S.-registered Hercules aircraft.

He pointed out that imperialism was using the Honduran army to provoke a confrontation that could then be used as a pretext for increased intervention. He said that 5,000 former members of ex-dictator Somoza's National Guard and other counterrevolutionaries are training on Honduran territory, and that the counterrevolutionary bands have stepped up their activities inside Nicaragua itself, supplied with modern weapons through Honduras.

Attacks from Honduran border

Ramirez reminded the union leaders of the long list of attacks on the Nicaragua. **Continued on Page 2**

GM pact meets stiff opposition in UAW

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

A wave of opposition to the proposed General Motors contract with the United Auto Workers (UAW) has swept GM plants as workers learn that the contract's terms are even worse than those in the recent Ford takeaway agreement.

The UAW leadership announced initial vote results showing 57 percent for and 43 percent against. These were totals for a few plants, including some threatened with shutdowns where workers were told their jobs would be saved if the proposal were ratified.

No figures have been released since by Solidarity House, the UAW's Detroit headquarters, but reports to the *Militant* from GM plants around the country indicate strong sentiment against the proposed contract.

At Tarrytown, New York, Wells Todd reports, workers are chalking windshields on the assembly line with "vote no."

In Detroit Mark Rogers and Liz Ziers report workers saying at Chevy Gear and Axle: "They can shut all the plants down, I'm voting no." "Too many concessions — not to big GM."

At Lordstown workers told Alicia March: "Two things I don't do: vote for higher taxes or lower wages." "I went to war in Vietnam, I'll go to war here."

The vote at the Lordstown van plant was six to one against the contract. An overwhelming "no" vote is also expected at the Vega plant there.

At Framingham, Massachusetts, in response to being told that representatives of that local to the UAW's GM Council had voted to ratify: "Bullshit. They don't represent me."

Seek facts on contract

Contract analyses from Locals Opposed to Concessions, an organization of long-time UAW dissident local leaders, are grabbed up wherever they are available and are eagerly read.

Marty Pettit, a GM worker in Kansas City, reports that no less eagerly sought is news of opposition in other GM plants, which comes as a surprise to many workers since the media in most areas have kept silent about it or all but predicted ratification.

News that workers at the Kansas City Buick-Olds-Pontiac plant had voted down the contract encouraged a number of UAW members at the Leeds plant where Pettit works to vote. They had thought their "nos" wouldn't be worth casting.

In Indianapolis Dave Ellis reports that the president of the local at Detroit Diesel Allison expressed surprise at his membership's rejection of the contract. "That's the first time I can remember this happening," he said.

An official at the AC Spark Plug local in Milwaukee said that while he was "under instructions not to give out figures," the vote there was "overwhelmingly against."

Final figures were not available at *Militant* press time. But enough were known to cause Pete Kelly, a leader of LOC in Detroit, to predict that the contract would be rejected by a small margin.

"Even if it passes," Kelly told the *Mil-* **Continued on Page 16**

British hands off Argentina!

BY DAVID FRANKEL

"If we have to fight we will," British Defense Secretary John Nott declared April 4, as the largest British fleet assembled since World War II prepared to sail for Argentina.

Led by the aircraft carriers *Invincible* and *Hermes*, and accompanied by nuclear submarines, light cruisers, and other warships, the 36-ship task force put to sea April 5.

The British war moves were in response to the Argentine government's decision to take possession of the Malvinas Islands (called the Falkland Islands by the British). Several thousand Argentine troops landed on the Malvinas April 2, an action that enraged the British ruling class.

Although the islands rightfully belong to Argentina, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher denounced the Argentine move as "an act of unprovoked aggression," and Nott vowed to "restore British administration to the Falklands even if we have to fight."

One Conservative Party leader complained on the floor of Parliament, "We have failed to defend the integrity of one of our last remaining colonies."

The Labor Party leadership fell right in line with the chauvinist campaign being whipped up by the British rulers. Instead of pointing out that British

workers have no interest in defending colonial possessions, the labor leadership criticized Thatcher for not sending troops to the Malvinas sooner!

But opposition to Thatcher's war moves was already being expressed in the ranks of labor. A reflection of this came April 6 when the Labor Party's international committee voted down a proposal to condemn the dispatch of a naval fleet by the narrow margin of 6 to 5.

Reagan warns of 'aggression'

Backing up the British demand for the withdrawal of Argentine forces from the Malvinas, the U.S. State Department issued a statement saying: "We have told the Government of Argentina that we deplore the use of force to resolve this dispute. We call on Argentina to immediately cease hostilities and to withdraw its military forces from the Falkland Islands."

President Reagan, in a personal phone call to Argentine President Leopoldo Galtieri, warned that an Argentine move to take over the Malvinas would be seen in the United States as an "act of Argentine aggression."

Britain's foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, who later resigned, told reporters in London that "the U.S. government has been extremely helpful."

U.S. policymakers were particularly upset by the Argentine move, since it comes in the midst of the intensifying confrontation between imperialism and the social revolutions in Central America. Washington has been pressing the Argentine regime to play a bigger role in the counterrevolutionary effort there.

But the Argentine government was already facing stiff resistance from working people to its plans to intervene in Central America. With anti-imperialist sentiment being further roused around the issue of the Malvinas, and with Washington backing the British, the regime will find it more difficult to join in common action with the U.S. rulers.

Because of this the Reagan administration is urging the British and Argentine governments to reach a negotiated settlement. But in the meantime, the British fleet continues on its dangerous course.

Dictatorship vs. democracy?

Not surprisingly, supporters of British imperialism are pointing to the fact that Argentina is ruled by a military dictatorship. "Storming onto the virtually defenseless Falklands gives the ruling generals and admirals in Buenos Aires a chance to distract attention from **Continued on Page 3**

Nicaragua on alert as U.S. war escalates

Continued from Page 1

guan revolution that Commander Daniel Ortega enumerated at the United Nations March 25 (see Ortega's speech, page 12).

Among these are a series of confrontations along the Honduran border and in remote rural areas. Just in the period from March 10 to March 26, the FSLN daily *Barricada* reported 12 such attacks.

In Río Blanco, a small town 140 kilometers northeast of Managua, terrorists chanting "Communists get out" attacked the Ministry of Construction training school on March 21, burning it to the ground. Two people were killed in the assault, including a five-year-old child.

A band of terrorists crossed the border from Honduras March 24 and attacked the Somotines border post, wounding two Sandinista soldiers.

Three attacks occurred March 25. Terrorists attacked the El Espino border post and warehouse, setting them both ablaze. A similar attack on the El Zacatón border post a few kilometers away was repelled by Sandinista troops.

And in eastern Nicaragua, in the southern part of the Zelaya province, the army confronted a band that had been operating in the interior for some time, capturing 14 and killing two.

Counterrevolutionary forces

At first made up primarily of former members of Somoza's National Guard, the terrorist bands have been greatly reinforced in the past year. In addition to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, new recruits from among Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles in Miami are openly being trained in camps in Florida. Others, according to a recent report by Mike Wallace of CBS-TV, have been recruited from ex-Green Berets with combat experience in Vietnam.

And still others have been assigned from the armed forces of various Latin American dictatorships.

All of them are being trained, equipped, and supplied by the U.S. government, which now admits to having some 100 military advisers in Honduras.

U.S. military buildup

Further beefing up its forces in the area, the Pentagon announced on March 30 that massive naval maneuvers would soon be held in the Caribbean. These follow two other large-scale maneuvers held in March.

An operation code-named "Readex 82" is scheduled to begin April 6 and will continue for six weeks. It will include 39 vessels, among them the air-

craft carriers *Forrestal* and *Independence*, and 200 warplanes.

"Ocean Venture 82" maneuvers are scheduled to begin at the end of April and continue until mid-May. They will feature a practice invasion to take place in Puerto Rico, complete with B-52 bombers and two battalions of troops.

In addition, the U.S. spy ship *Caron* is permanently stationed off the Nicaraguan coast in the Gulf of Fonseca.

The week of the U.S.-staged elections in El Salvador, the *Caron's* sophisticated electronic equipment was placed directly at the aid of the Salvadoran junta. According to the March 30 *Barricada*, the *Caron* has begun jamming broadcasts from Radio Venceremos, the voice of the Salvadoran freedom fighters.

This new form of direct U.S. intervention not only hampered the Salvadoran revolutionaries in communicating with their supporters around the world, but it also served notice on Nicaragua that whenever the U.S. deems necessary, the *Caron* can shift from eavesdropping on Nicaraguan military communications to jamming them as well.

Sandinistas are preparing

While the Sandinista People's Army and militia are still fully mobilized and ready to go into action whenever and wherever they are needed, the big push here in the past several weeks has been in organizing civil defense.

Town by town, factory by factory, school by school, block by block, steps are being taken to ensure the safety of the Nicaraguan people. Medical, fire, and evacuation brigades are being formed. First-aid courses are being organized.

Cartoon-illustrated pullouts in *Barricada* educate readers on civil defense, both politically and practically. Political discussions are nonstop.

In Jinotega, for example, more than 100 members of the Sandinista Youth and the Nicaraguan Women's Association, all of whom are also members of their local Sandinista Defense Committees, went door-to-door talking to families about the state of emergency.

At his meeting with trade union leaders and administrators, Sergio Ramírez reiterated a point that the Sandinistas are constantly driving home: one important way to defend the country is to raise production.

"We cannot have our soldiers going to the border to fight," he explained, "without guaranteeing them basic food supplies." He pointed out that raising production was important not only for Nicaragua's army and for internal consumption, but also for two other vital reasons.

Foodstuffs must be stockpiled in case production is stopped by war, and sales of export crops are critical to provide the government with the hard currency it needs in order to import items that cannot be produced inside Nicaragua.

To further strengthen the defense effort there has been an increase in taxes on incomes, rent, and property. These measures were taken to prevent needed defense expenditures from increasing inflation.

A "patriotic tax" has been levied on cigarettes, rum, beer, and soda.

At the same time, the prices of all basic commodities remain frozen, and the four basic items in the Nicaraguan diet — corn, rice, beans, and sorghum — remain heavily subsidized by the government. In this way, the poorest layers of the population are spared the cost of U.S. aggression.

One shortage Nicaragua is not suffering from is international solidarity. This has been displayed in recent demonstrations worldwide, including in Honduras, where 45 organizations called a demonstration April 2 against the proposed U.S. bases and against Honduran intervention in Nicaragua.

Vacations can wait

Although news of the suspended holidays produced some long faces, they were the exception to the rule. The over-

whelming majority of the population accepted the measure positively, taking into account the gravity of the situation.

"The Holy Week holidays were not suspended because we are atheists, but simply to strengthen the national state of emergency," Ramírez explained.

While the church hierarchy has remained silent despite prior consultation and government requests for support for the measure, several religious leaders who support the revolution have spoken out loud and clear in agreement with the revolutionary government's move.

The measure "will be used in a manipulative way by some sectors, especially outside the country, where they will spread disinformation about Nicaragua," Father Antonio Castro Granados told *Barricada*. "I say to them: put your feet solidly on the ground! We are living in a situation of great threats. This is the time to defend production and the country, because one way of being Christian is to defend what we have won."

And Héctor Zúñiga, a worker in charge of the militia at the Rolter Shoe Factory here told *Intercontinental Press*: "I suppose there will be a few people against it. But the revolution costs whatever it costs. There are 50,000 heroes and martyrs who have paid for it with their blood and we are not about to stop now!"

From *Intercontinental Press*

Black women demand legal abortion

BY MARGARET JAYKO

An important women's rights conference took place in Berkeley, California on the weekend of March 13 and 14. According to the *Oakland Tribune*, 500 people turned out for the event, which was titled "Black Women: Toward a Strategy for the 21st Century." It was sponsored by Bay Area Black Women United.

The workshop on reproductive rights discussed the results of a recent survey of Black women's views on abortion. Patsy Fulcher and Rahema Wrice, who conducted the survey, say that it is the first effort to record the opinions of Black women on this vital subject.

The survey's results include the following:

- Ninety-five percent of the 100 women surveyed think women should have the right to abortion.
- Ninety-four percent feel there will be an increase in "back-alley" abortions if abortion is made illegal.
- Forty-six percent think life begins in some form at conception.
- Fifty-four percent of the women

surveyed had had abortions.

• Eighty-five percent supported government funding of abortions for poor women. This is a much higher rate than in polls of the population as a whole. It reflects the fact that Black women are among the poorest and the major victims of cuts in Medicaid funding.

• Eighty-nine percent believed teenagers have the right to contraception without parental consent.

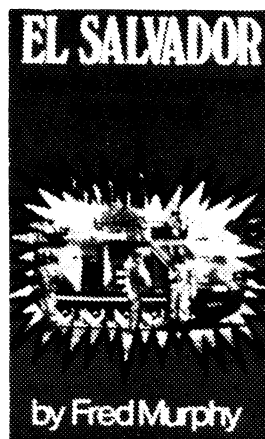
Myesha Jenkins, a workshop panelist, warned about the proposed "Human Life Amendment" to the U.S. Constitution and other attempts to outlaw abortion.

"The Senate Judiciary Committee has already approved a move to make abortions illegal. It is based on the idea that the fetus has the same constitutional rights, the same right to life, as a woman."

"Black women have so little control of our lives as it is. If this passes it is a question of forced pregnancy. We won't be able to take that job or go to school," Jenkins said.

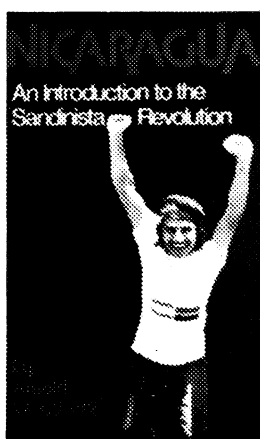
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N.Y. rally: U.S. out of Central America

Points to May 1, June 12 antiwar marches

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Despite heavy rain, 225 people turned out for a meeting here to register their opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America.

Initiated by the Militant Labor Forum and the magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, the meeting was cosponsored by the Mobilization for Survival, Casa Nicaragua, the American Indian Movement, and the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos.

The meeting was cochaired by a representative of Casa Nicaragua and Mohammed Oliver of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Casa Nicaragua chairwoman opened the meeting in Spanish. She was followed by Oliver, who declared that while Washington's intervention in Central America was escalating, so was the opposition to it. This, he said, will be evidenced by the turnout of antiwar forces in Washington on May 1 for the demonstration called by the People's Antiwar Mobilization, and the May 8 national protest actions called by Casa Nicaragua against Reagan's undeclared war on Nicaragua.

He also predicted a huge turnout for the June 12 nuclear disarmament demonstration at the United Nations.

Manuel Ramirez of Casa El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí Solidarity Committee assessed the recently staged elections in his country, declaring the outcome represented the open rule of the oligarchy.

He declared that international solidarity was extremely important to the Salvadoran liberation struggle, and that such solidarity was especially important in the United States.

A representative of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala described the gains being registered by the recently united rebel forces in his homeland, particularly in winning the active support of Indian people.

Guatemala's fighters, he declared, stood in solidarity with the embattled peoples of Central America. Nicaragua, he said, "is the example of our tomorrow," and the heroic fighters of El Salvador show "the only road forward in reaching our goal."

A second representative of Casa Nicaragua reiterated that his country favors a negotiated settlement with Washington, but emphasized that Nicaragua "wants peace with dignity."

Support by example

Responding to Reagan's charge that Nicaragua is arming the Salvadoran rebels, he said the Nicaraguan people certainly support the Salvadoran liberation fight, but do so by seeking to provide an example of how a popular revolution is the key to social progress.

Bill Means of the American Indian Movement effectively rebutted Washington's propaganda charge that Nicaragua was trampling on the rights of the Miskitus and other Indian people. Means and other AIM leaders have gone to Nicaragua to probe these charges first hand.

AIM found that the new government was making the most serious efforts to end the long isolation and abuse of the Indian people.

This is true, Means said, despite the severe problems involved in relocating the Miskitus from the Honduran border area, where they have been the victims of military incursions by CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionary gangs.

Means said his visit convinced him that the Indian people were being given every opportunity to participate in the building of the new Nicaragua.

Donna Cooper, of the New York Disarmament Campaign and the Mobilization for Survival, and Mary-Alice Waters of the Socialist Workers Party both addressed themselves to the slated June 12 nuclear disarmament demonstration. They agreed it offered enormous



Mary-Alice Waters, cochairperson of Socialist Workers Party, and Bill Means, leader of American Indian Movement, were among speakers at New York rally.

Militant photos by Lou Howort

potential in the fight against Washington's aggressions.

Cooper spoke in place of Norma Becker, a leader of the Disarmament Campaign and the Mobilization who had been scheduled to speak but was unable to attend.

Cooper said that while she saw broad agreement on the idea of a nuclear freeze, it was necessary to focus on what was needed beyond that. Key to this, she declared, is understanding that the U.S. military machine exists for the purpose of intervening in the affairs of other countries.

Concretely, she said, this means antiwar forces must actively oppose U.S. intervention in Central America.

June 12, she said, will provide a wonderful opportunity for "a giant teach-in" on why U.S. intervention should be opposed.

Waters outlined the views of the Socialist Workers Party. U.S. intervention in Central America, she declared, is already a fact. She cited the provocative CIA-sponsored attacks on Nicaragua as dangerous expressions of this reality.

Antiwar ally

But, Waters said, Washington faces formidable problems in trying to deepen its Central American intervention. The workers and peasants of Central America,

she said, don't want war but "are ready to go all the way in defending their right to self-determination."

In that fight, she added, they have a strong ally in the new North American antiwar movement.

This movement, she explained, has numerous, seemingly different, components. There are the movements in solidarity with El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba. There is the antidraft movement, the movement against deportations, and the rapidly flourishing anti-nuclear-weapons movement.

It would be one-sided, Waters said, to view these as separate movements. In fact, they constitute a broad new antiwar movement in its initial stage of development, still in the process of developing a finished form and direction.

Leadership role of Blacks

All of the individual components, she emphasized, are fueled by a common root problem. Increasing numbers of people see the war that is being waged against our living standards and rights, and realize the war drive is part of the same thing — that we and the people of Central America have a common enemy.

A new factor of signal importance,

Waters continued, is that from the outset of this antiwar movement Black liberation forces are demonstrating a determination to lead the fight to stop U.S. intervention against colonial peoples. She cited the activity of such forces as the National Black Independent Political Party and the National Black United Front in building June 12.

The new antiwar movement, she predicted, would be in the streets in massive numbers that day.

The antiwar forces, she declared, "will be mobilized there to say no to the danger of nuclear war that emanates from Washington, and no to the war that is already being fought today in Central America."

The meeting also heard a message of solidarity from the Vieques Committee, which is opposing U.S. military use of that Puerto Rican island.

The united character of the rally was reflected by the various literature tables in the hall.

These included the Vieques Committee, Casa Nicaragua, the Committee in Solidarity with Free Grenada, and the Mobilization for Survival and New York Disarmament Campaign. Prints of Vietnamese art works were offered at one table, with the proceeds going toward financing a new children's hospital in Vietnam.

British fleet threatens Argentina

Continued from Page 1

domestic failures and rally patriotic pride," the editors of the *New York Times* noted April 3.

These staunch supporters of the murderous junta in El Salvador expressed the pious fear that "with a clash likely, a new crackdown on domestic dissent [in Argentina] becomes easier to justify."

It is certainly true that the Argentine military hopes that the dispute over the Malvinas will strengthen its position at home. The country is in the midst of a deep economic crisis, and on March 30 the biggest protests since the armed forces seized power in 1976 took place. According to Argentine papers, there were some 2,000 arrests around the country, and two people were killed when police opened fire on demonstrators in Mendoza.

But the character of the current regime in Argentina is not what is at issue in the dispute over the Malvinas. Most opponents of the military regime support Argentina's claim to the islands. Another government could come to power in Argentina next month, but the issue of sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, which is 150 years old, would not go away.

What is involved is a confrontation between an imperialist power and one of the countries that it has oppressed for

more than a century. In fact, the Argentine economy was dominated by Britain right up through World War II. Today, the British are determined to maintain their grip on the Malvinas Islands because offshore oil fields in the area are potentially as rich as the North Sea find.

Stop British threats!

One has only to glance at a map to see the basis for the Argentine claim to the Malvinas. But in 1833 the British Empire took over the islands and forced the Argentine settlers on them to leave. They were replaced with British settlers.

Argentina has been negotiating for the return of the Malvinas for decades. The issue was taken up at a conference in Havana in 1940, and at the United Nations in 1958. In 1971 an agreement was signed for the gradual integration of the islands into Argentina, but the negotiations broke down in 1973. The latest talks have been going on since 1978.

As Galtieri explained in a nationwide broadcast following the occupation of the islands by Argentine forces, it was necessary "to put an end to the interminable succession of British evasions and delays designed to perpetuate their domination over the islands and their zone of influence."

The British imperialists have hidden behind the desire of the 1,800 settlers on the Malvinas to retain their link with Britain. Nobody is challenging the right of the English-speaking settlers to remain on the islands. But just as in the case of Northern Ireland, British colonists do not have the right to settle on the land of another country and then to claim that land for Britain.

The Malvinas Islands belong to Argentina. The workers movement around the world should demand that the British imperialists stop their military threats immediately, and withdraw their forces from the region.

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Grenada expects airport to open in '82

PHILADELPHIA — Travel to the Caribbean island of Grenada will become easier by the end of this year with the opening — for nighttime landings — of the new Grenadian International Airport.

Michael Mitchell, attaché to the Grenadian Mission at the United Nations, reported that despite United States attempts to disrupt the project, a portion of the landing strip will open by the end of 1982.

Mitchell was speaking at a recent Militant Labor Forum here.

The opening of the airport is a big victory for the Grenadian government, which came to power in 1979 in a revolution that toppled U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy. The U.S. government tried to dissuade Euro-

pean countries from making loans to finance the airport's construction.

American Indian leader exposes lies on Nicaragua

Vernon Bellecourt, leader of the American Indian Movement, recently completed the first part of his speaking tour in the upper Midwest in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution. He has spoken to over 1,000 persons in two weeks.

The meetings have been organized by the El Salvador Solidarity Committee based in Minneapolis, in cooperation with a variety of organizations.

Bellecourt has driven home the same points in each of his talks. "A 500-year Indian holocaust continues in Central America with the full backing of the Reagan Administration."

But one place where genocide does not continue is in Nicaragua.

Bellecourt continually stresses that the Sandinista government is the first in the Americas to deal with the Indians in a just manner. He flatly denies that the Nicaraguan government had murdered scores of Miskitu Indians as Washington has alleged. What he does fear is that the Miskitu Indians will be manipulated for counterrevolutionary ends, as were the Hmong people of Laos.

He also connects the Indian struggle in North America with Central America, stating that "money supporting the right-wing Central American governments comes out of the pockets of American Indians because of federal budget cutbacks." Cuts in CETA job training have increased unemployment on the White Earth Reservation, where Bellecourt is secretary-treasurer, from 76 to 95 percent.

"I think that's the arrogance — when they want us to provide our sons to fight and force us to pay the bills with our taxes," he says.

D.C. audience hears reports on Central America

BY RICK HIGGINS

WASHINGTON — Representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, the Democratic Front Against Repression in Guatemala (FDCR), and others spoke at a Militant Forum here March 14.

Mario Velasquez, FDR spokesman, pointed to the danger of U.S. intervention. "We know clearly that the Reagan administration at this time is not willing to endorse a political solution and is preparing a military intervention in our country."

He called on those present to redouble efforts to demand an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Despite the formal suspension of military aid to Guatemala in 1977 and despite opposition to renewed aid to that repressive government, explained Frank LaRue, spokesperson of the FDCR, the Reagan administration is pursuing covert means of aid there.

"The Reagan administration sent \$3.2 million in jeeps and trucks last year, which were sold as a commercial sale, even though they were military trucks and jeeps. Since the army in Guatemala can not legally buy Huey helicopters, military helicopters, they buy the civilian version, and then they mount machine guns in Guatemala."

"The only thing they have left in Guatemala and in all Central America is an open intervention," La Rue said.

International antiwar meeting supports Salvador

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

MEXICO CITY — An estimated crowd of 2,500 people filled the Variedades Theater here March 26 for the opening rally of the International Conference in Solidarity With the Salvadoran People.

The conference represented a qualitative step forward in the organization of worldwide solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution, and in the struggle against imperialist intervention.

More than 200 organizations, including trade unions, political parties, and antiwar committees responded to the call put out by the Mexican Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CMSPS).

Among the participating organizations were more than 80 solidarity and antiwar committees involved in promoting solidarity with the Salvadoran people and opposing imperialist intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Such groups were there from Venezuela, the United States, France, Ecuador, Canada, West Germany, East Germany, Switzerland, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Spain, the Netherlands, Peru, Belize, Colombia, Britain, Australia, Hungary, Chile, Argentina, and Haiti, among other places.

Communist Party representatives came from Spain, France, and the Soviet Union, as well as many other countries. Among the social-democratic representatives was one from the French Socialist Party.

Also represented were the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Honduran Socialist Party, and various member parties and sympathizing sections of the Fourth International, among them the Mexican Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

On the trade-union level, there were representatives of Spain's General Workers Union (UGT), Panama's National Telecommunications Union, many independent unions in Mexico, and others. Representatives from the World Federation of Trade Unions were also on hand.

The Mexican delegation at the conference was the largest, followed by the U.S. delegation. Special delegations and representatives were on hand from Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

The theater rocked with applause when Gilberto López y Rivas, coordinator of the CMSPS, told the crowd that "if the strategists of counterrevolutionary war dare to invade El Salvador, they will be met with resolute and fierce resistance worldwide, including right inside the United States."

The audience again cheered its appro-

val when López y Rivas alluded to previous movements against imperialist intervention in Latin America. "We feel as though we are all Salvadorans," he said, "just as yesterday we felt that we were Cubans, Nicaraguans, Guatemalans, and Dominicans."

Speaking for the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), Arnoldo Bernal stressed the importance that the Salvadoran rebels attached to the conference. "We are here," he said, "precisely to organize the kind of anti-interventionist actions that will block any attempts to drown the struggle of our people in blood. . . . We think that the actions taking place tomorrow [March 27] in the United States, Canada, and Europe are already the first measures, the first actions of a World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador that should be constituted out of this gathering."

Greetings were sent to the rally by Irish liberation fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, the Vietnamese Committee in Solidarity With the Peoples, and the Soviet trade-union movement. A taped greeting from the Salvadoran liberation fighters' radio station, Radio Venceremos, was played to the conference as well.

After the public rally on March 26, the next two days were filled with rich discussions among the more than 500 participants in the conference.

A political resolution was adopted unanimously by the delegates. It affirmed the right of the Salvadoran people to self-determination, blasted the U.S.-staged elections as a fraud, and asserted that the Salvadoran people have forged their own genuine, representative leadership in the course of their struggle. That leadership is the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo



Presiding committee at Mexico City conference

Young Socialist/Lisa Hickler

Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN).

The resolution denounced the U.S. efforts to blame Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, and the Soviet Union for the conflict in El Salvador, and it declared the conference's unconditional support to the "revolutionary processes of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and especially . . . total solidarity with the heroic Guatemalan people."

The resolution also declared its support for the Mexican-French declaration urging negotiations on El Salvador, and for other attempts backed by the FDR to arrive at a peaceful solution to the conflict there.

The action proposal, which was also passed unanimously, adopted May 1 as a day of worldwide solidarity and antiwar actions. May 21 was also set aside for solidarity actions, and others were urged for the month of April.

On the final day of the gathering a

news conference was held to announce the formation of the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador and to introduce the elected leadership of the organization.

Bill Zimmerman, a member of the Screen Actors Guild and president of the Medical Aid for El Salvador group founded by actor Ed Asner, was elected president of the World Front.

Among those elected to the permanent bureau of the front were Heidi Tarver of the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Sandy Pollack of the U.S. Peace Council; Silvia Reyes from the Nicaraguan Committee in Solidarity With the Peoples; Monsignor Sergio Méndez Arceo, the Bishop of Cuernavaca in Mexico; Dr. Ahmad Zobeih from the Palestine Liberation Organization; Jorge Gallardo from the Cuban Institute for Friendship With the Peoples; and Jesús Escandel of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Hugo Blanco threatened by right-wing death squads

Threats against the life of Peruvian Trotskyist leader Hugo Blanco have been issued by a death squad calling itself the Comando de Derecha Blanca (White Rightist Command).

This outfit had never been heard of in Peru until the Lima daily *La República* received an anonymous telephone call on March 16. "Good afternoon," the caller said. "This is the White Rightist Command. We are going to take measures against Sendero Luminoso. Our first victim will be Hugo Blanco."

"Sendero Luminoso" (Shining Pathway) is the name of an armed grouping of Maoist origins that has been accused of carrying out bombings and attacks on government installations in the south-central province of Ayacucho.

In March the police launched a wave

of arrests and murders in the province after 300 prisoners were freed there in a raid believed to be the work of Sendero Luminoso.

The cops' reign of terror has evoked widespread protests in Peru. As a deputy in the Peruvian parliament from the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Hugo Blanco has been among those speaking out against these violations of human rights by the Belaúnde regime.

Thus it is not surprising that Blanco has become a target of threats. In a March 17 statement, the PRT pointed out that "it became public knowledge months ago that preparatory steps were being taken for the launching of a right-wing terrorist organization. It also became known that functionaries of the

government party [Belaúnde's People's Action Party (AP)] and officials of the intelligence services would have the decisive role in this organization.

"Nothing has been done to investigate these charges. Because of this and earlier refusals by the government to take action against right-wing terrorist activities, we have every right to assume that they act with the government's approval."

The PRT has asked that telegrams or messages be sent to the Peruvian government holding it responsible for any harm done to Hugo Blanco. These may be sent to Peruvian embassies or to Fernando Belaúnde Terry, Presidente de la República, Palacio Presidencial, Lima, Peru.

From Intercontinental Press

AP deepens 'terrorist' smear in answer to socialist suit

BY MATT HERRESHOFF

The Associated Press (AP) has lined up behind an important government-inspired attack on political rights.

In legal papers filed in New York State Supreme Court, AP claims that it was justified in printing an article slandering the Socialist Workers Party because of the SWP's political views.

AP charges that the SWP has a "reputation as a secretive, militant, revolutionary, communist organization which espouses the overthrow of the United States government."

This claim is at the center of AP's defense in a \$106-million libel suit filed by the SWP against AP and New York City Police Commissioner Robert McGuire. AP slandered the socialists in a story linking the SWP to the robbery of a Brink's armored car in Nyack, New York, last fall.

The AP story charged that Judith Clark, one of those arrested in the hold-up, "is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party." Originally AP said the information came from the FBI. In a "corrective" issued the next day, AP said the source of the story was McGuire. Both the cops and the FBI now deny making the statement.

AP is seeking to get the socialist suit thrown out of court. The press agency's arguments also give the cops a pretext to evade any responsibility for the slander, and the police are also attempting to get the socialists' suit thrown out.

False characterization

AP's characterization of the SWP is false. The SWP isn't "secretive" — rather, it openly states that it believes the capitalist U.S. government should be replaced by a government of workers and farmers.

AP's claims coincide with a statement made by the cops in earlier legal papers. The cops alleged that "the injuries alleged by the plaintiffs were caused in whole or in part by and arose out of plaintiffs' culpable conduct." In other words, if the socialists were linked with the Brink's hold-up, it's because they're guilty.

Thus, the central issue in this case is whether what you think or say makes you fair game for attack by the government or slander by the news media.

This question is also at the heart of the SWP's and Young Socialist Alliance's \$70 million lawsuit against the federal government and its political police. In that lawsuit, which is now awaiting a decision in federal court, the government raised the exact same defense.

During the three-month trial of this lawsuit, the government tried to prove that the socialists are linked to "terrorism," or, at least are some kind of law-breakers. But — despite hundreds of wiretaps, bugs, burglaries, and informers over a 40-year period — the government could find no evidence that the socialists had ever committed a single illegal act.

AP's 'verdict': SWP is guilty

To attempt to prove the SWP is guilty of some crime, and therefore fair game for slander, AP relies on the same evidence as the government:

- "In 1941," AP says in its legal papers, "leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were indicted, convicted and subsequently imprisoned for violating the Smith Act of 1940 . . . which makes it a crime to advocate or teach the overthrow of the government by force or violence."

The Smith Act was the first law since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 to make the advocacy of ideas a crime. Large sections of it were later declared unconstitutional.

- "From 1953 until the 1970's the Party was continuously listed as a subversive organization by the Attorney General under Executive Order 10450," AP continues.

This refers to the Attorney General's List, which was abolished in 1974. The SWP and many other groups were placed on the list and branded as "subversive," without even an opportunity to challenge the listing.

The list was used to fire thousands of government employees, who were suspected of belonging to "subversive" organizations.

In 1971, the SWP won a court battle when the government tried to use the list to fire a socialist who worked for the Post Office.

Pour on mud to hide the dirt

- AP relies heavily on the *Trotskyite Terrorist International*, a booklet published by the witch-hunting Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The booklet reprints the 1975 testimony of one Herbert Romerstein, who identifies himself as "a consultant to a group called Friends of the FBI," and a former staff member of the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee.

Referring to Romerstein, AP says: "a government official described the Socialist Workers Party as supporting those terrorist activities which are part of the general struggle of the working class." AP cites large sections of Romerstein's testimony to make its case.

In particular, AP claims that the SWP is "the *de facto* American section of the Fourth International, although it denies official affiliation because of the Voorhis Act. . . . The Fourth International, in turn, serves as a liaison to various Latin American terrorist groups . . . and has repeatedly debated the appropriate uses of terrorism as a political tool."

The charges that the Fourth International "serves as a liaison" for unnamed "terrorist groups" and has "repeatedly debated" the "uses of terrorism," and the implication that the SWP advocates individual terrorism, are outright slanders. They were proven false at the trial of the socialists' lawsuit against the political police.

And the SWP doesn't simply *deny* "official affiliation" to the Fourth International. It is *not* a member of the Fourth International. The reactionary Voorhis Act, which AP refers to, would require the SWP to give the government regular lists of all its members, supporters, and contributors if it affiliated with an international organization. This would provide the government with ready-made "hit lists" for their spying, harassment, and disruption operations.

- "Finally," says AP, "the fact that Leonard Boudin, father of arrested Brink's robbery suspect Kathy Boudin, represented the Socialist Workers Party in its lawsuit against the federal government, further suggests that there was no inherent improbability in a report that Judith Clark was believed to be a member of the Party."

This statement is a classic example of guilt by association. It smears both the SWP and Boudin.

AP hits Black movement

Leonard Boudin isn't the only other victim of AP's attempt to justify its slanderous story.

AP states: "On October 27, 1981 one hundred heavily armed agents surrounded a Mississippi farmhouse with helicopters and armored vehicles to arrest a suspect who, it was later discovered, was thousands of miles from New York at the time of the robbery." This refers to the criminal attack on Republic of New Africa leader Fulani Sunni Ali.

"Another suspect," AP says, "Eva Rosahn was actually arrested and indicted for alleged involvement in the robbery, only to have the indictment later dismissed by the District Attorney."

AP states that its "actions" . . . "must be considered in light of the contemporaneous activities of the FBI."

But these claims only prove that the

political police used the Brink's robbery to target a wide range of political activists, especially in the Black movement, and to attempt to terrorize the Black community with raids like the one in Mississippi. This drives home the importance of the SWP's libel suit as a challenge to this campaign.

An 'innocent error'

AP attempts to bolster its case with the claim that any inaccuracies in its story were simply "innocent error." Do the facts support this statement?

AP claims that the story linking the SWP to the Brink's robbery originated when an AP reporter asked Police Commissioner McGuire at a news conference about "the Socialist Workers Party connection," and McGuire replied that "the matter was under investigation and that all leads were being followed up."

The cops deny making any such statement. This writer listened to the cops' own copy of the tape of the news conference three times and did not hear a single reference to the SWP.

Then, an AP editor "mistakenly believed that the FBI had confirmed" the "possibility of a Socialist Workers Party link."

Did AP check with the SWP before running the story? No. After the first version of the story was put out on the wire, it "attempted" to call the SWP, "but no one could be reached."

The following day AP received a call from a member of the SWP who protested their story. Did AP pull the slanderous statement? No, it "proceeded to insert the statement from the Party spokesman."

"Later, in the afternoon," AP "received a telephone call from the national editor of an AP member. . . . The editor believed that there may have been some mistake. . . ."

AP states that only then, "upon learning for the first time of a possible error," did it remove the slanderous statement from the wire.

AP later published a "corrective," stating that the statement linking the SWP to the hold-up had come from McGuire, not from the FBI. AP now admits "that the corrective . . . itself was inaccurate."

On the basis of this series of "errors," AP claims that "nothing was ever published about the Socialist Workers Party with actual knowledge of falsity or with any intent to inflict harm."

Freedom of the press?

AP claims that its slanderous attack on the SWP is "privileged under the First Amendment of the United States Constitution."

Evidently, AP thinks that freedom of speech and of the press applies to it, but not to socialists. But the First Amendment does not protect slander.

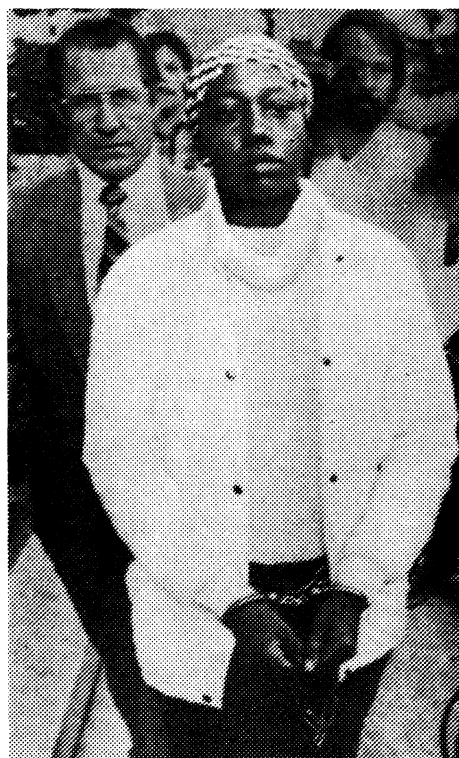
AP accuses the socialists of having "ulterior political objectives" for filing the suit.

"Plaintiffs' view of this litigation," it says, "as a pretext for obtaining publicity and for conducting a 'fishing expedition' into the practices of both the AP and the police is evident from their efforts to somehow find a way to tie this dispute to the nearly 10-year old litigation battle they have pursued against the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

AP quotes from a *Militant* article which explains that the libel suit is "closely tied" to the SWP's and YSA's lawsuit against government spying, harassment and disruption; that one of the aims of the slander was "to affect the outcome of this lawsuit"; and that many of the issues raised in both cases are the same.

AP charges that the libel suit is motivated by "plaintiffs' near paranoia about the activities of either the federal government or the New York City Police."

AP is upset by what it calls "the re-



FBI used October 1981 Brink's hold-up to victimize a wide range of political activists, including Fulani Sunni Ali (Cynthia Boston — pictured above). AP says false story it printed about SWP "must be considered in light" of FBI activities at that time.

markable scope of material" that the socialists believe is open to investigation in this lawsuit.

What are they hiding?

AP complains that the "very first set of interrogatories" — demands for sworn answers to written questions — to Police Commissioner McGuire "included 37 questions covering such items as whether the police have provided the FBI or any other state or federal agency with any information on the Socialist Workers Party in the last 10 years; whether the police maintain any files on the party; a full description of the contents of such files; whether information for such files has ever been obtained by means of electronic surveillance or warrantless physical entries, etc."

These questions aim to discover who is behind the slander against the SWP. The cops have refused to answer them. Are AP and the cops afraid of the truth?

AP quotes disapprovingly from *Militant* articles that explain that the government attempted to use the Brink's "robbery to whip up a massive hysterical campaign against so-called 'terrorists,'" and that "the chief target of this campaign has been the Black community."

AP quotes another paragraph from the same article which hits the AP slander of the SWP, saying that "this kind of smear job is a standard method used by the political police to disrupt political groups."

In particular, AP appears to be upset by the statement in the *Militant* that the libel suit "will reveal more facts about the role of the cops and AP in the government's ongoing war against political rights."

AP quotes from this statement three times. Maybe that's because it hits too close to the mark. It is one of the reasons this important battle in defense of political rights deserves everyone's full support.

You can help

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which was formed to organize support and raise funds for the SWP and YSA's \$70 million lawsuit against the government and its political police, is also working to win backing for the SWP's libel suit.

Your support can help win these battles for civil liberties. If you can contribute, or if you would like more information, please write to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Sales at March 27 antiwar actions

The drive to step up single-copy sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist biweekly, got a big boost at the March 27 protests against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. At the Washington, D.C., demonstration, 1,295 copies of the *Militant* were sold, along with 180 copies of *PM*. In addition, 79 demonstrators took advantage of the *Militant* and *PM* introductory subscription offers.

Supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* also participated in seven other protests. Reports indicate that an additional 643 copies of the *Militant* and *PM* were sold.

Socialists who traveled in buses from St. Louis to the demonstration in Washington made sure everyone on their bus was introduced to the *Militant* and to the U.S. Senate campaign of Jody Curran. They distributed a leaflet announcing an upcoming campaign rally. Four came to the rally as a result of this effort.

Baltimore students want facts on war

"Students are dying for information on El Salvador." That's the way Salm Kolis described sales at the University of Maryland-Baltimore campus where 23 copies of the *Militant* were sold. Socialists in Baltimore or-

ganized a total of seven teams going to four different campuses last week. At Morgan State University, 14 copies of the *Militant* were sold by teams going through the dorms introducing students to the paper. Four students asked if the team could return in two weeks when they would have enough money to buy a subscription.

Over the top in Salt Lake City

With everyone participating, the Salt Lake City branch of the Socialist Workers Party surpassed its goal of 95, selling 108 *Militants* and five *PMs*. Sara Smith, the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, described what they did one day last week.

Getting up early, a sales team started out at East High School selling three *Militants* and two copies of the *Young Socialist*, the newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. They then set up a literature table at the University of Utah, selling 19 copies of the *Militant* and 4 subs.

In the afternoon, the team moved on to the EIMCO foundry, where they campaigned and petitioned for Smith and Glenn Swanson, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Several copies of the *Militant* were sold and 25 signatures were gathered to put the SWP on the ballot.

Ending the day at a meeting on the nuclear freeze campaign, with featured speaker Daniel Ellsberg, the team sold 18 copies of the *Militant*.

Sales to miners in Alabama

A big focus of sales in Birmingham is reaching out to the area's coal miners. A weekend team that traveled to the nearby coal town of Jasper, Alabama, found tremendous interest in the events in El Salvador. Twenty-three copies of the *Militant* were sold in just a little over one-half hour.

St. Louis socialists who sold to miners in southern Illinois found the same response. Ellen Dorfman reports, "People would give us dollar bills and tell us to keep the change."

Response at N.J. postal center

On Saturday, April 3, at 7 a.m., a team of socialists was outside of the Bulk Mail Center in Jersey City, New Jersey. As cars stopped at a traffic light, the team members held up a copy of the *Militant* with its headline on the Salvadoran elections. Fourteen *Militants*, one *PM*, and a subscription were sold.

—Nancy Rosenstock

Militant Tote Bag

Natural canvas, waterproof lining, 14" x 15". Indispensable for the spring sales campaign. \$5.50.

Order from the *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue # 12, PM issue # 6)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Wash., D.C.	70/150	20/56	90/206	229
Seattle	80/167	0/0	80/167	209
Manhattan	135/220	30/80	165/300	182
Brooklyn	140/222	30/52	170/274	161
Piedmont	85/127	0/1	85/128	151
Phoenix	75/100	20/37	95/137	144
Toledo	50/66	0/6	50/72	144
Newark	120/169	20/28	140/197	141
Schenectady	90/104	0/4	90/108	120
Salt Lake City	90/108	5/5	95/113	119
Gary	75/86	5/6	80/92	115
St. Louis	90/96	0/4	90/100	111
Baltimore	110/120	0/1	110/121	110
Denver	80/81	5/6	85/87	102
San Antonio	70/77	20/15	90/92	102
Birmingham	100/102	0/0	100/102	102
Cincinnati*	70/67	0/4	70/71	101
Iron Range	50/50	0/0	50/50	100
Pittsburgh	150/150	0/0	150/150	100
Tucson	40/33	10/17	50/50	100
Houston	50/46	10/11	60/57	95
Lincoln	40/38	0/0	40/38	95
Philadelphia	140/123	15/9	155/132	85
Twin Cities	130/91	0/12	130/103	79
Kansas City	105/86	5/0	110/86	78
Indianapolis	75/58	0/0	75/58	77
San Diego	50/43	15/7	65/50	77
Los Angeles	140/100	25/20	165/120	73
Dallas	25/27	15/2	40/29	73
Oakland	60/40	5/5	65/45	69
Albuquerque	65/40	15/15	80/55	69
Louisville	80/53	0/0	80/53	66
Portland	70/42	0/0	70/42	60
Milwaukee	90/50	10/8	100/58	58
Cleveland*	95/48	0/7	95/55	58
Boston	140/86	10/0	150/86	57
Miami	60/32	10/4	70/36	51
San Francisco	100/60	20/0	120/60	50
Price	45/19	2/3	47/22	47
Tidewater*	70/21	0/0	70/21	30
Detroit	115/13	5/5	120/18	15
TOTAL	4,095/3,411	354/430	4,449/3,841	86

Areas not reporting: Atlanta, Charleston,* Chicago, Harrisburg, Morgantown,* New Orleans, San Jose.

*Petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

Fight under way to block socialist's deportation

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

The Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee and the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) are launching a major national campaign to prevent the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from deporting Héctor Marroquín.

On March 23, the U.S. Board of Immigration Appeals turned down Marroquín's request for political asylum in the United States, ordering him to leave within 30 days. He will appeal the decision to the Federal Court of Appeals.

Marroquín is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. In addition, Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh and Hamid Reza Sodeifi, two Iranian-born members of the YSA, are threatened with deportation. It is clear all three face deportation because of their political beliefs.

Documents pried loose from the U.S. government by the socialists have established the existence of a secret INS program against SWP members. The files show a concerted, decades-long drive by INS agents to single out noncitizen members of the party for harassment and deportation.

The INS has also asserted it is moving to place the SWP on its list of "proscribed" organization, which would make membership in the party automatic grounds for deportation.

Marroquín, a former student leader in Mexico, fled his country in 1974 when Mexican authorities attempted to frame him up on murder charges. Fearing for his life, Marroquín came to the United States and worked here under an assumed identity. In 1979 he was arrested by the INS. He applied for political asylum.

Since then a massive campaign has been waged to prevent his deportation. A similar campaign is planned to block the latest government moves to deport him.

A major part of this campaign will be

a speaking tour by Marroquín to explain to activists across the country the broad political stakes involved in his fight to obtain political asylum.

The decision to deport Marroquín comes in the midst of a general crack-down on democratic rights being launched by the government against U.S. workers.

A major component of this attack is the drive against undocumented workers. One example is the recent raid by the INS in New York's garment center, where many undocumented workers are employed.

Antiwar activists in groups like Casa Nicaragua and Casa El Salvador, as

well as unionists and others involved in the antiwar movement, also face increased harassment.

Thousands of Salvadoran refugees have been denied political asylum and have already been deported, while thousands more are threatened with being sent back to El Salvador to face torture or death at the hands of the U.S.-backed junta. The case of the Haitian refugees is another example.

The Marroquín fight can be an important test case. A successful outcome will help to block Washington's attempts to use the immigration police to crack down on the rights of working people.

The Marroquín Defense Committee is

urging that messages of protest demanding that he be granted asylum be sent to Alan Nelson, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies should be sent to the defense committee % PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Marroquín will be traveling to the following cities during his tour: April 29-May 2, Los Angeles; May 5-8, Phoenix; May 9-11, Tucson; May 13-15, Los Angeles; May 16-18, San Diego; May 20-25, Baltimore and Washington; June 3-5, Detroit; June 6-8, Denver; June 10-12, Dallas; June 13-15, San Antonio.

Anti-immigrant bill draws Latino protest

BY WILLIAM GOTTlieb

On March 17 a bipartisan immigration bill was introduced in Congress. Sponsored by Sen. Alan Simpson, a Republican from Wyoming, and Rep. Romano Mazzoli, a Democrat from Kentucky, the bill was promptly endorsed by forces ranging from Reagan's Justice Department to the liberal *New York Times*.

The bill, which is part of a wider ruling-class drive against immigrant workers, drew quick protests from Latino groups and the American Civil Liberties Union. Rep. Robert Garcia, a Democrat from New York and chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Congress, declared, "This bill would place Black faces, brown faces, and anyone with an accent in jeopardy as far as getting a job is concerned."

Just prior to the bill's introduction, on March 13, 4,000 undocumented workers marched in Los Angeles to protest the anti-immigrant policies of the U.S. government and to demand a halt to deportations.

The media have reported the following provisions in the Simpson-Mazzoli bill:

- A cap on total annual immigration to this country of 425,000. Immigrants coming to this country to be reunited with their families would face restrictions. A category of "exceptional" individuals, including businessmen, would be given a special break. The border patrol would be expanded to enforce this.

- A \$5,000 fine for any worker caught using false identification. By comparison, employers hiring undocumented workers could be fined only \$2,000.

- Permanent resident status for individuals who can prove they lived continuously in this country since January 1, 1978.

Two particularly ominous features of the bill are the creation of a national worker's identification card and denial of appeal in immigration court cases.

The ID card proposal would open the way for a centralized government blacklist of trade union militants, Black and

Latino activists, socialists, and others.

The bill would establish a special U.S. Immigration Board, appointed by the president, that would hear cases for political asylum — like those of Haitians — and other cases. If this board turned down a worker's asylum plea, he or she would be barred from appealing to the federal courts, a right immigrants currently have.

Like previous immigration legislation, the Simpson-Mazzoli bill is aimed at assuring a superexploited pool of labor and at expanding the government's police apparatus.

By declaring a section of the working class "illegal aliens," the employers can force these workers to submit to lower wages, overtime work without increased pay, child labor, and even peonage. Any undocumented worker who protests can be threatened with deportation.

And when there's a recession — like at the present time — the boss has a much easier time firing undocumented workers and giving them no compensation whatsoever.

Reactions of U.S. workers to the events in Poland and Central America

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Following the declaration of martial law in Poland last December, working people in this country were barraged by an anticommunist propaganda campaign led by the Reagan administration and aided by the AFL-CIO officialdom. This campaign has caused confusion regarding the events in Poland and what the workers there are fighting for.

However, the concern about a possible U.S. military intervention in El Salvador has overshadowed and in some cases neutralized Reagan's reactionary campaign around Poland.

Tuval Foguel, a socialist who works in a garment shop in Baltimore, told the *Militant* that there has been no discussion about Poland in his shop for over a month. The concern is about the union contract and El Salvador. "The people here are opposed to the U.S. getting involved in Central America," he said.

Clare Fraenzel told the *Militant* that many miners in the Pittsburgh coal mine where she works were at first taken in by Reagan's Poland campaign. But others said, "We should be dealing with things at home instead." Some pointed to the way Reagan busted the air traffic controllers' union (PATCO) as evidence of his hypocrisy.

Vietnam vets on war

"Now," she said, "this discussion has receded and talk is about El Salvador. Vietnam vets, especially, are taking the lead in explaining to other miners what El Salvador is all about."

Suzanne Weiss works at an oil refinery in New Orleans. In March 1981 she visited Poland, six months after the birth of Solidarity. She has since had numerous discussions with co-workers about the struggle there.

"Discussion was most intense, taking place daily, when Solidarity was building and had the upper hand," she said. Now El Salvador, unemployment and the cutbacks overshadow the discussion on Poland. The Reagan administration, moreover, has been unable to link the events in Poland to its so-called campaign against communism in El Salvador, she reports.

"When people hear about the Cuban and Nicaraguan 'connection' to the El Salvador rebels," she said, "they just say that 'Washington wants to get us into another war by hook or by crook.'"

"Many workers I've talked with," Weiss said, "even those who believe Poland should return to capitalism, think the U.S. should stay out of El Salvador."

Weiss notes a big change in the way workers view Solidarity. "Before martial law," she explained, "workers at the refinery saw Solidarity as a beacon — an example of what they felt should be followed by the U.S. labor movement. Then, too, it was easier to explain to co-workers that what workers in Poland were fighting for was socialism and democracy."

"But now Solidarity has taken on a different meaning. Some workers now think the struggle waged by Solidarity

is one against communism. This is because Reagan and the labor leadership have been identifying the Polish union with an anticommunist movement," she said.

"Now people say, 'Solidarity was a great idea but it doesn't work because they were overwhelmed by the communist government of Russia, which controls the Polish government. Workers can't win fighting communism.'"

"The bureaucracy that controls Poland confuses people. They see its undemocratic character and equate this with communism and don't see the social system in Poland where production is no longer for profit and is no longer in the hands of the capitalists."

Interest in socialist view

Weiss says selling the *Militant* to co-workers and showing them the pamphlet on Poland published by Pathfinder Press has helped explain what is really happening there.

One worker who read the pamphlet after martial law was declared told her he "enjoyed it enormously," especially since he had thought that "Solidarity was fighting against socialism" before he read it.

Ike Nahem, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois, went to Peoria in March to talk to workers at the Caterpillar tractor plant there. Jobs is the big topic of conversation, as 3,000 of the 20,000 work force have been laid off.

Poland comes up in discussion, however, because Caterpillar had a contract with the Soviet Union and canceled it when Reagan imposed sanctions against such sales to Moscow.

Many of the workers Nahem talked with supported the idea of sanctions but thought they would be ineffective because other companies in other countries, especially Japan, would sell to Moscow anyway.

This was the opinion of an official of the union local there.

"I don't believe the sanctions are going to work," he said. "If we're going to have sanctions then we should demand the support of our Japanese and NATO allies. The feeling is that it's just a boondoggle for Kamatsu in Japan [Caterpillar's main competitor]."

"Had anyone convinced us that Japan and Germany would not make these sales, we probably would have gotten

behind Reagan's sanctions in a big way because we do have empathy and support for the Solidarity movement."

One worker said, "If you do nothing and go ahead and sell to Moscow, you're almost endorsing what the Russians are doing. You're not taking a stand. Maybe it is like cutting off your nose to spite your face, but we had to oppose the attack on Solidarity. And this was a nonviolent way to show opposition."

Sanctions led to layoffs

Several workers said that the cancellation has been used by Caterpillar to justify layoffs, since only one-half of one percent of its sales were involved. "We've been trading with Russia all along. Why cut it off now?" one person said.

Suzanne Weiss said that some people at the New Orleans refinery supported

the sanctions but had different reasons. Some thought the sanctions would force the Polish government to release the Solidarity prisoners.

"Some Black workers supported the sanctions, but for a different reason. They think that the money and food cut off from Poland should go somewhere else or be used here at home," Weiss said.

These workers, Weiss reported, say "Why are they so damned concerned about Europe all the time? What about Black people in South Africa and Haiti? Why don't they send food there?"

Weiss said she explains that the economic sanctions will starve the Polish workers, not help them, and that's a blow against the workers and oppressed everywhere. It shows that Reagan really doesn't have Solidarity's interests at heart.

POLAND Workers in Revolt



By Dave Frankel,
DeAnn Rathbun,
and Ernest Harsch

48 pp. \$1.25. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage.) Write for a free catalog of socialist books and pamphlets.

Black paper brands charge of Cuba-Soviet 'terrorism' a lie

The following editorial is from the *Amsterdam News*, a Black weekly published in New York. The editorial, which was printed April 3, sharply refutes the lies of the Reagan administration concerning Soviet and Cuban "terrorism" in southern Africa.

In most extraordinary testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker charged that the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany are "fomenting" terrorism in southern Africa.

The charge of Soviet intrusion and the claim that the presence of Cuban troops in southern Africa deter stability in the region are old and gain no credence by repetition. The allegation of East German involvement is new and suggests that nothing has changed in the State Department.

Mr. Crocker's argument requires the belief that Black African men and women do not have the capacity to yearn, struggle and sacrifice for liberty and freedom. There must be some 'outside' force that stirs Black Africans to resort

to tactics as old as the history of nations. By mouthing the racist stupidity that guides the Reagan Administration's enfeebled efforts to influence world events, Mr. Crocker reminds us of the real reasons for conflict in southern Africa.

It is essential that the African Nation in America fully understand why we must support these liberation struggles no matter what lies and racist nonsense are spread by the Chester Crockers of the world. Simply put, we must support the African liberation struggles because they are our struggles. The same folk who work against voting rights, affirmative action, equal opportunity regulations, and every federal policy to insure the rights of Americans of African descent are the very same folk who work to thwart the thrust for African liberation from white domination and exploitation.

The *Amsterdam News* has said it before but it is important to repeat it: We don't give a damn where support for the liberation of African peoples comes from, and we regard all who assist in our struggles to be friends to whom we owe a great debt. When the peoples of southern Africa were fighting to throw off the

yoke of the Portuguese Messrs. Reagan and Crocker supported the colonial powers. They dare now to attempt to dictate who shall be the friends of the people who triumphed in struggle while insulting them with the suggestion that they must be the pawns or surrogates of some white men in Moscow. Their temerity is only dwarfed by their lies.



Cuban troops in Angola

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

Big political battle unfolds in S.F. NOW

BY C. LUND

SAN FRANCISCO — Members of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women have issued an appeal for support from the women's movement to prevent the expulsion of three NOW activists on trumped-up charges. The three were all on the chapter's board of directors and have been building NOW for, together, a total of nearly 20 years.

Those fighting the expulsions have formed the Caucus for Democracy in NOW. According to the caucus appeal, the aim of the expulsions is "to intimidate an entire activist wing of our chapter by persecuting several individuals with whom the Board [of Directors] disagrees."

The bulk of the charges against Kathy Setian, Carole Seligman, and Sylvia Weinstein revolve around their efforts to build a march to the chapter's traditional rally commemorating International Women's Day. The caucus, and the three accused members point out that the march was endorsed by the San Francisco NOW chapter at its January meeting.

The majority of the board of directors opposed building the march and does not recognize the vote for the march. It is trying to expel the three for building the march in NOW's name.

March advanced women's struggle

The march itself was a great success. At least 25 organizations endorsed and participated in it. The demonstration was headed up by nurses from San Jose who are on strike for equal pay for work of comparable value.

Plexus, the main Bay Area women's newspaper, described the moment when the marchers arrived at the rally site in Golden Gate Park: "Heads turned, people got to their feet to watch as thousands of marchers, chanting and waving signs, poured into the rally. They'd started hours before at the Civic Center, and hot, tired and exuberant, they filled the rally with excitement and gave heart to the cheers and applause."

The trial committee met to hear the charges against Kathy Setian on March 31. Charges against Seligman and Weinstein will be heard on April 10. The decisions of the trial committee will come before the membership on April 13.

The hearing on Setian was a travesty of democracy. Several witnesses who came to present evidence in Setian's defense were simply turned away.

Additional charges against Carole Seligman concern her introduction of a motion in the chapter to oppose the draft for men or women — contrary to national NOW's stand that if men are drafted women should be drafted too. Seligman is accused of "disruption" of the meeting simply for insisting on discussion and a vote on her motion (which carried, over the opposition of a section of the leadership).

As part of the political debate leading up to the charges, President Cherie James wrote in the chapter newsletter that the only people who belong in NOW are those who support "working within the system" and who want to "bring women into the mainstream" of American society.

Caucus appeal

The caucus appeal replies: "Is NOW an organization only for those who are attached to 'mainstream' politics and political parties in this country? Is there a place in NOW for people who are sick of lobbying and post-card-writing to politicians who turn around and vote against our rights? Is there a place in NOW for people who think we need — now more than ever — to be out in the streets marching for our rights?"

The real aim behind the expulsion threats recently became absolutely clear. The board majority sent to the membership proposed new bylaws, to be adopted at the April chapter meeting — the same meeting that is to deal with

the proposed expulsions.

The new bylaws would eliminate a crucial sentence from the chapter's existing bylaws, which says: "The ultimate authority for chapter action shall reside in the membership."

The new bylaws would replace this sentence with one saying that "the affairs of the Chapter shall be conducted or exercised by or under the direction of the Board." The only authority assigned to the membership would be to elect the board and delegates to national conferences, approve the annual budget, change the bylaws, and approve activities with a budget of more than \$500.

The aim is clear: to take the organization out of the hands of the membership and put all decision-making power in the hands of the board.

Democratic Party

The backdrop for this attempted crackdown on democratic rights in the San Francisco NOW chapter is the campaign of support to Democratic Party candidates in the 1982 elections, which was announced in the March issue of the *National NOW Times*. National NOW is claiming that the Republicans alone

were responsible for killing the ERA. Their strategy for turning back the attacks on women's rights taking place today is to turn NOW into a support group for Democratic Party politicians who claim to support one or another women's rights issue.

It is no accident that Democratic Party forces have been deeply involved in orchestrating the expulsion proceedings in San Francisco NOW.

This role was spelled out in an open letter to the California Democratic Party by Kay Wiley, a supporter of the Caucus for Democracy in NOW and a registered Democrat.

Wiley protested "the unscrupulous and unconscionable interventions by the Democratic Party in the internal affairs of the S.F. Chapter of the National Organization for Women."

She specifically condemned the action of the Democratic Party's Women's Caucus chair, Kay Tsenin, for organizing women to attend the March 9 NOW chapter meeting "for the sole purpose of voting to suspend three S.F. N.O.W. members — two of whom are members of the Socialist Workers Party and one who is a Democrat."

"This attempt by the Democratic Par-

ty to take over and divert the energies of feminists from their stated goals, if persisted in, will be disastrous to the Women's Movement," Wiley warned.

"I can assure you that if my Sisters are expelled from S.F. N.O.W. because of our Party's intervention, I will actively work against Democratic candidates for office and encourage others to do the same by letting them know of this unscrupulous action," she concluded.

The Caucus for Democracy in NOW is asking for concerned individuals and organizations to send letters of protest against the expulsion threats to the S.F. NOW Board, P.O. Box 1267, San Francisco, California 94101, with a copy to the caucus at 93 State St., San Francisco, California 94114.

The caucus appeal was sent to NOW chapters across the country and to pro-women's-rights organizations and newspapers nationally.

Copies of the full caucus appeal and of the charges against the three are available to those interested. Contributions to defray the costs can be sent to the caucus at the above address, with checks made out to Caucus for Democracy in NOW.

Oregon NOW defends democratic rights

BY SARA BAIRD
AND BEV HANSEN

PORTLAND, Ore. — Opposition to the draft and war, and support for political rights were themes of the state conference of the Oregon National Organization for Women (NOW), held here March 27-28.

More than 250 members participated. In the workshop on "Perspectives on the Draft," all of the panelists differed with the national NOW position, which advocates the drafting of women.

Antiwar sentiment was also reflected in a resolution overwhelmingly passed in the plenary session. The resolution put Oregon NOW "on record in solidarity with those organizations in this country fighting the U.S. government's attempt to reinstitute the draft and demanding no U.S. intervention in Central America."

Another resolution condemned the Oregon Democratic Party Convention, meeting the same weekend, which had removed the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, gay rights, and other "controversial" planks from the party platform.

A resolution was also passed opposing the threatened deportation of Iranian student Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh and the firings of antiwar trade unionists employed in war industries.

Also adopted was a resolution supporting the Portland Black community's fight to reestablish a middle school in their own community.

Over 100 of those attending the conference signed a petition protesting the threatened expulsion of three NOW leaders in San Francisco because they had organized a march and rally on International Women's Day, in spite of the opposition of conservative chapter leaders.

Many of those signing the petition were outraged that these women faced a trial in NOW because of their activities. Most thought there should be room in NOW for a wide range of views. Others thought it was imperative that women organize in massive demonstrations to demand their rights and that any attempt to limit such activities would be a blow to the women's movement as a whole.

The following resolution was adopted at the March 27-28 state conference of the Oregon National Organization for Women (NOW).

Whereas the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has been organizing support for the lawsuit filed by the Young

Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party against the intimidation and harassment by the FBI, CIA, INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service], and other government agencies against the YSA and SWP;

And whereas this lawsuit has received wide endorsement from many noted personalities, civil libertarians, political activists and organizations (including the Portland chapter of NOW);

And whereas Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh is a 20-year-old Iranian student at Morgan State University facing deportation because of her membership in the YSA;

And whereas unionists in defense industries, such as McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis and Lockheed-Georgia, have

been fired from their jobs because of their union activities and membership in or support for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance;

And whereas these victimizations are the opening blows in a national drive by the employers and the Reagan administration to interfere in the internal life of the union movement, women's movement, civil rights movement and other organizations fighting for social change;

Therefore Be It Resolved that Oregon State NOW go on record endorsing the Political Rights Defense Fund in its efforts to fight the deportation of Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh and the firings of workers at the Lockheed-Georgia and McDonnell Douglas plants.

Milw. boycott against killer cops

BY NANCY COLE

MILWAUKEE — In the midst of freezing April snowstorms, the Coalition for Justice for Ernie Lacy began its picket of one shopping mall and two major downtown department stores April 3.

The picketing kicked off a two-week Easter-buying-season boycott, the newest step in the nine-month struggle to win justice in the Ernie Lacy case.

Twenty-two-year-old Lacy, a Black, was killed last July by three Milwaukee cops. The three are not formally charged and are still on paid suspension from the police force.

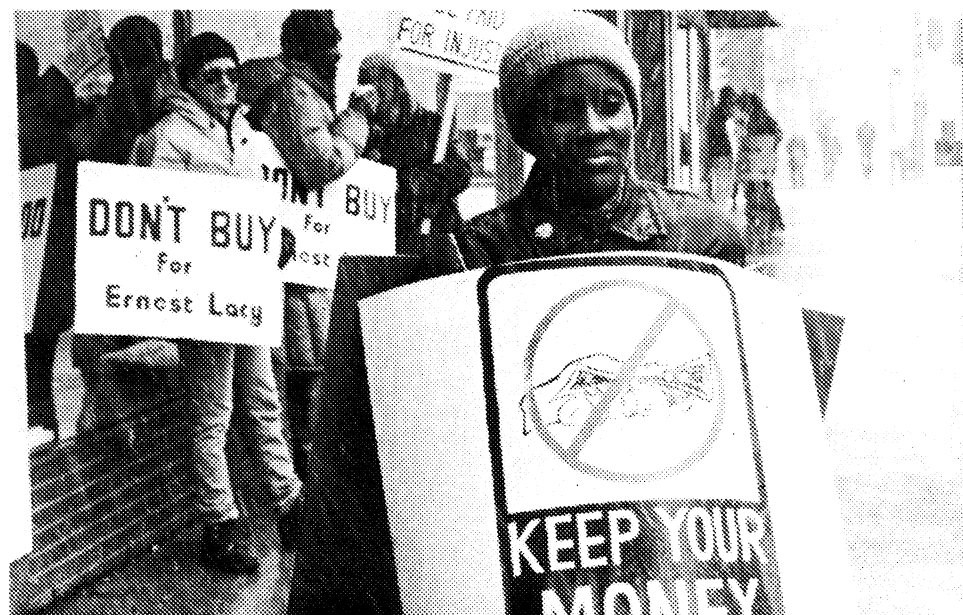
The boycott tactic, which is viewed as a last resort, has brought criticism from some established Black leaders and groups. One of the city's two Black newspapers, for example, has editorialized against the boycott campaign.

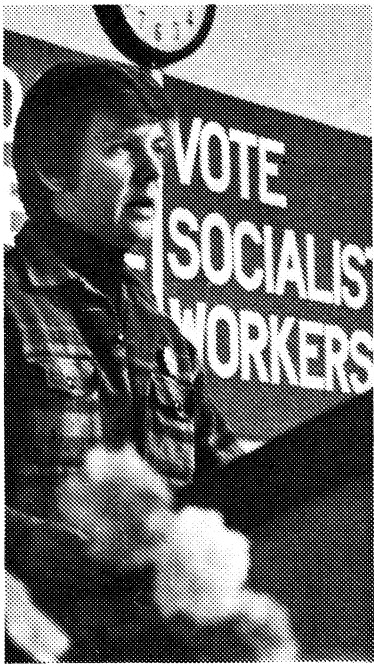
The coalition is working overtime to

explain its stance. Shoppers are handed a leaflet titled "A Price Must Be Paid for Injustice!!" And 25,000 copies of a four-page broadsheet headlined "NO BUSINESS AS USUAL!" have just been printed, explaining the history of the case and why the boycott tactic is being used.

"We're trying to establish the point that if you kill Black people in Milwaukee, that if you kill Brown people in Milwaukee, that if you kill an innocent person in Milwaukee, you have got to know *there will be no business as usual*," coalition leader Howard Fuller told an April 4 meeting commemorating Martin Luther King's assassination.

On April 3 the coalition sponsored a "Gospel Tribute in Honor of Ernest Lacy." With a theme of "We ain't no ways tired," 150 people braved icy roads to be a part of the event.





Militant/Jeanette Ramage
David Riehle

Rail worker hits St. Paul cutbacks

BY STEPHEN THOMAS

ST. PAUL — David Riehle, a rail worker and socialist, is running for mayor of this Minnesota city against incumbent liberal Democrat George Latimer.

At a recent campaign rally, Riehle blasted Latimer for "put-

ting himself forward as a friend of labor and an opponent of war."

"Latimer tries to sow confusion while carrying out Reagan's program," said Riehle. "He's cutting social programs, shutting down schools, and giving tax breaks to the rich. He throws in an additional twist, saying 'I hate to do this, but I have to.'"

Riehle calls for working people to break from the Democratic and Republican parties and form a labor party, to fight for a workers and farmers government.

SWP petitioners do well in Mich.

BY RICHARD REYES

DETROIT — "I introduce myself as the *socialist* candidate for governor of Michigan. Many people who sign my petition grab for the pen as soon as they hear the word 'socialist.'"

This is how Tim Craine, Detroit public school teacher and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Michigan governor, described his experience as the SWP campaign launched a petitioning drive to win a place on

the November ballot.

The SWP must obtain some 18,000 signatures.

Campaigners knew they would be talking to workers who have felt Reaganomics more than most. Because of the predominance of the auto industry, Michigan has been devastated by plant shutdowns and layoffs.

One housewife, whose husband has been on extended layoff and who had considered herself solidly "middle class," said: "One day my husband was just out of a job and we have had to start wondering how we're going to provide our children with the life we wanted for them. It's amazing how these things change your whole life."

Then she added: "I'm glad to find that you're offering the possibility of a change in the political arena."

At the end of the first week, campaign activists were ahead of schedule, having collected over 4,900 signatures.

A team of Detroit supporters has traveled to Flint, site of the historic GM sitdown strike of 1936. In just three hours, this team of three collected more than 400 signatures and met a supporter who agreed to arrange for a candidate meeting in Flint.

Pittsburgh media cover campaign

BY KIPP DAWSON

PITTSBURGH — Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate Cathy Emminizer, touring western Pennsylvania, spoke at a news conference here March 5.

"Speaking in the lobby of the Federal Building, downtown," reported the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* March 6, Emminizer said recent government cutbacks, combined with U.S. intervention in El Salvador, have created an unfavorable situation for the country's youth.

"All of these things affect youth," she said. "Where there are layoffs, they're always the first fired. They're the ones affected most by the cutbacks in aid for education. The prospect for youth is quite dismal. The only employment being offered to them is the military."

In an article headlined "Senate Hopeful Asks El Salvador Debate," the *Press*, this city's evening newspaper, carried similar coverage. In addition, several radio stations and one TV station reported for the socialist candidate's challenge to

her opponents for a debate.

The most extensive coverage of Emminizer's denunciation of U.S. intervention in El Salvador came from the McKeesport *Daily News*. McKeesport, the home of U.S. Steel's National Tube Works, had been treated recently to a "town meeting" with millionaire Senator John Heinz.

Pressed by supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign and others to state clearly where he stands on Washington's war drive in Central America, the food-processing magnate dodged the issue and browbeat the audience with demagoguery.

"Socialist Workers Candidate Sees Salvador as Prime Issue," read the headline above a backpage feature interview in the March 6 *Daily News*.

Colo. socialist in governor's race

BY SUE ADLEY

DENVER — The candidacy of Alan Gummerson for governor of Colorado was announced at a well-attended news conference here March 25.

Gummerson, 38, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a rail worker.

Protests mark anniversary of Three Mile Island

BY CLEMENS BAK

HARRISBURG — March 28 marked the third anniversary of the worst nuclear accident in U.S. history, at the Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear power plant near here. Despite the cold and biting wind, about 75 people gathered across the river from TMI March 27 for a citizen's speak out, a march to the north gate of the power plant, and a silent, three-minute candle-light vigil.

At the speak out, the sentiment of many was expressed by a father who explained, "I've quit worrying about myself, but I cannot bear waiting 20 years to see if my beautiful baby daughter will have leukemia."

For three years the owner of TMI, General Public Utilities (GPU), has been on an all-out drive to restart the "undamaged" unit one reactor.

Right now 10,000 leaky steam generator tubes and a lawsuit charging psychological stress, brought by People Against Nuclear Energy of Middletown, are preventing the plant from reopening. At the same time, virtually no progress has been made in the clean up of the damaged unit two. There have been two low-level alerts since February of this year.

Many in this area are angry because of GPU's response. This utility company has raised its rates by almost \$300 million in three years and demanded that

working people must pay "our share" for the clean-up of the accident.

On March 29 sponsors of the Project David Ratepayers Strike burned \$30,000 in unpaid March electric bills on the steps of the capitol in Harrisburg. Most of the bills were collected from working people, and in some cases small businesses, who agreed to postpone March payments until April in protest of high rates and the attempts to make the people of Central Pennsylvania pay for the clean up of unit two.

The letters to the editors column in area papers reflects some of the massive sentiment against GPU.

"GPU can stick its power plant where the sun does not shine."

"Shut it down and use coal."

"GPU should sell everything it owns and pay for its accident itself."

Many people are grappling with the question, how can we force them to de-commission TMI and clean it up?

One woman asked at a recent meeting, "Why should they be allowed to continue making a profit?"

Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, has driven to the heart of this problem. She says: "Both capitalist candidates for governor of Pennsylvania, Allen Ertel the Democrat and Richard Thornburgh the Republican, are in favor of the restart of unit one. And both have submitted plans that call for the consumer to pay big chunks for the accident clean up."

"To get to the truth about this lying utility we must demand that GPU open its books to a complete public investigation. A commission of people trusted by the victims of TMI, elected representatives from the unions, Blacks, farmers, and consumer organizations, should find out what the real facts are."

"I think the facts will show GPU should be nationalized and converted into a publicly elected board, which would operate in our interests — cleaning up that island and shutting it down."

Sojourner; Mark Zola, SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania; and Cathy Emminizer, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, oppose nuclear power plants and call for the use of coal instead. They explain that there are hundreds of years of coal reserves in this country and all nuclear power plants should be shut down immediately.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Katherine Sojourner and Mark Zola. Socialist candidates for Pennsylvania governor and U.S. Senate oppose nuclear power plants and call for use of coal instead.

Petitions, telegrams hit attempt to block campaign of Mel Mason

BY SAM MANUEL

SEASIDE, Calif. — Opposition continues to grow here against an attempt by the Monterey Peninsula College (MPC) Board of Trustees to block the independent campaign of socialist city councilman Mel Mason for governor of California.

College President Max Tadlock informed Mason that the board will deny his request for a leave of absence in order to campaign for governor. Mason, employed at MPC as student activities coordinator for the last seven years, had requested the leave in order to devote full time to his campaign.

Supporters of Mason have launched a statewide protest of letters and telegrams aimed at winning support for his right to campaign. At MPC some 200 students and workers have signed petitions urging the board of trustees to grant Mason's leave.

Among those supporting Mason's right to campaign are Kevin Miller, vice-president of the MPC student government; Leonard Davenport, president of the Black Student Union; and Julie

Brown, president of the Monterey County chapter of Service Employees International Union Local 535.

Petitions are also circulating in the Seaside Black community.

Vanita Taylor, a longtime Democratic Party member from Seaside, was one of those protesting the board's intended denial. "Californians have the right to a full range of choices in the gubernatorial elections," Taylor wrote. "The denial of Mel Mason's leave is only an attempt to interfere with his campaign."

The Mason campaign committee will fill the chambers of the board of trustees' April 14 meeting, at which the board is expected to take a vote on Mason's requested leave.

A Seaside rally in support of Mason's campaign is being planned for April 10.

Protest letters and telegrams can be sent to: Board of Trustees, Monterey Peninsula College, 980 Fremont Boulevard, Monterey, California 93940. Telephone number: (408) 646-4010.

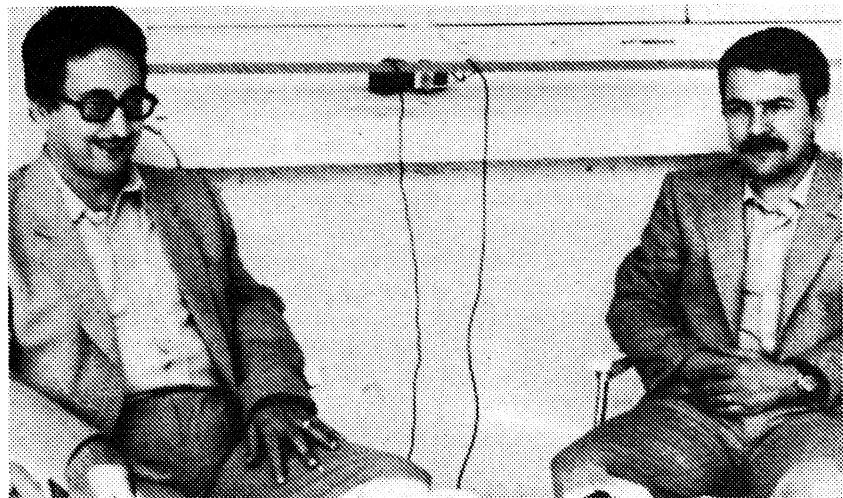
Send copies to: Mason for Governor Campaign Committee, 1897 Napa Street, Seaside, California 93955.

What Working People Should Know About the Dangers of Nuclear Power

By
Fred Halstead

40 pp., \$95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

Why the fight for democratic rights is the defense of the Iranian revolution



Left: Iranian ex-President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr with Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi. Right: mourners at burial ceremonies for Iranian President Mohammed Ali Rajai, slain in August 30, 1981, bombing. Bani-Sadr and Rajavi have hailed terror attacks on Iranian leaders, and Mujahedeen has claimed responsibility for several.



BY FRED MURPHY

Aside from Central America, the area of sharpest confrontation today between imperialism and the world revolution is in the Middle East. There, the Israeli regime is threatening to unleash a new war against the Arab peoples, and the Iranian revolution faces an intensified U.S. destabilization campaign.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger toured Arab capitals in early February as part of the stepped-up drive against the Iranian revolution. Weinberger offered arms and other military aid to Saudi Arabia and the five smaller states that make up the Gulf Cooperation Council.

In describing this new formation, the March 8 *U.S. News & World Report* explained: "Common enemy: Not Russia, but Iran. Conservative Arabs consider gulf stability more gravely endangered by Iran's revolutionary Moslem mullahs than by the Kremlin."

Of particular concern to the proimperialist regimes in the area have been the advances made by the Iranians in beating back the eighteen-month-old Iraqi invasion. Youssef Ibrahim and Karen Elliott House reported in the February 24 *Wall Street Journal*:

"In Jordan, King Hussein is rounding up volunteers to fight alongside Iraq. Egypt is sending military supplies to Iraq and hinting that Egyptian soldiers would join the fight against Iran if the latter's troops set foot on Iraqi soil. Kuwait is offering logistical help, and the United Arab Emirates and Jordan continue to make their ports available to landlocked Iraq."

On the CIA hit list

Besides urging a united front of the region's proimperialist regimes against the Iranian revolution, Washington has also turned loose the CIA.

According to the March 7 *New York Times*, the CIA is providing funds and resources to two counterrevolutionary paramilitary organizations. These groups are made up of as many as 10,000 Iranian exiles, and commanded by former top military officers of the shah.

Times correspondent Leslie Gelb explained: "Concern in the Reagan Administration and in parts of Western Europe about the Khomeini Government is mounting. This stems both from the evidence of growing Soviet-Iranian ties and from the threat that Iran's Islamic fundamentalist revolution will spread to countries important to the United States, such as Saudi Arabia."

The imperialists hate the Khomeini regime because it has shown that it will

respond to the pressure of the Iranian masses and resist Washington's threats and attacks on the revolution. And Khomeini has also called on the toilers throughout the Middle East to rise up against the region's proimperialist rulers — such as the Saudi monarchy, the feudal princes of the Gulf states, and the U.S.-backed Mubarak regime in Egypt.

Flight of the liberals

The increasing imperialist pressure against the Iranian revolution has been reflected in widespread desertions of the revolution's defense by liberals and petty-bourgeois leftists, both in Iran and in the imperialist countries. While these forces initially hailed the overthrow of the monarchy and the early anti-imperialist moves of the new government, most have now given the revolution up for dead.

The liberals and petty-bourgeois leftists are now focusing all their fire on the Khomeini government. At best, they simply ignore Washington's counteroffensive, which aims precisely at replacing Khomeini with a regime that would crush the masses.

Inside Iran, layers of upper- and middle-class youth who participated in the battles against the shah's regime have now become disillusioned and have turned against the revolution. An important reflection of this was the declaration of "war" against Khomeini launched last June by the People's Mujahedeen Organization, a radical Islamic current based mainly among educated, middle-class youth.

The Mujahedeen's war involved a campaign of terrorist attacks against government officials. This created fresh openings for destabilization efforts by all the various counterrevolutionary forces inside and outside Iran — the monarchists, sections of the military hierarchy, liberals, and the CIA itself. Savage bombing attacks in June and August took the lives of dozens of Iranian officials, including the president and prime minister.

The Mujahedeen hailed the latter attacks and took credit for scores of other assassinations. But the Iranian masses repudiated the terror campaign. They viewed the assassinations as attacks on themselves, on their revolution, and on the government which they had elected and to which they saw no progressive alternative.

Within hours of the August 30 bombing of the prime minister's office, more than a million persons poured into the streets of Tehran, chanting slogans against U.S. imperialism.

The Mujahedeen's utter failure to rally the masses of Iran behind their anti-

Khomeini drive did not cause the group's leaders to pull back. On the contrary — their political trajectory has been more and more toward accommodation with U.S. imperialism.

According to an interview published in the January 13 *Guardian*, Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi now blames the Iraqi invasion of Iran on what he terms Khomeini's "reactionary policies of exporting the revolution." Ex-President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, firmly allied to the Mujahedeen, asserts that Iran should "turn to the West for help in solving its economic problems."

Bani-Sadr calls the November 1979 seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran — which was Washington's headquarters for a Chile-style assault on the Iranian revolution — "a very bad thing for Iran." His comments were broadcast on ABC television.

The Mujahedeen now call on the imperialists to tighten their economic boycott against Iran. A February 8 communiqué from Rajavi's Paris office warned "all trading partners" that "Iran's foreign currency reserves are completely bankrupt." The statement noted that "officials of Khomeini's regime are now making efforts throughout the world to acquire credit" and warned that "granting Khomeini's regime any credit... is considered a move specifically against the people of Iran."

Another theme of the Mujahedeen's propaganda is that "after three years, Iran is ruled by a far more repressive and brutal dictatorship" than the U.S.-backed monarchy was. In other words, Khomeini is the same as, or worse than, the shah.

Rajavi even echoes the warnings by bourgeois commentators of an alleged Soviet threat to Iran. In a recent interview in *Iranshahr*, a Persian-language paper published in the United States, he asserted that "Iran's extraordinary geopolitical importance in the region means that its instability cannot be tolerated for too long, as it will upset the traditional pattern of political camps in the region."

What all this adds up to is the following: Despite the subjective intentions of many of the youth among their ranks, the Mujahedeen organization is now functioning in the camp of imperialist-backed counterrevolution. Its terrorist methods must be seen in this framework, not as an error in tactics by misguided radicals trying to advance the Iranian revolution.

'Ramparts of counterrevolution'

The course of the Mujahedeen has not gone unnoticed in Washington and allied capitals. While the *New York Times*

article that exposed CIA aid to the armed exiles said such help "had been available to groups on the left up to but not including Mr. Bani-Sadr," the British business weekly *8 Days* reported the following in its January 23 issue:

"US sources say Washington, Baghdad, and Riyadh would all like to see Abol Hassan Bani Sadr restored to power in Tehran, and US officials have had substantial contact with the former Iranian president and his entourage in Paris."

Furthermore, in a March 15 *New York Times* column hailing the CIA's moves to arm the Iranian counterrevolution, former Nixon White House staff member William Safire had this to say:

"One hopes that our friends [the CIA] are in contact with those Khomeini followers who are resentful of the sellout of their revolution to the traditional enemy to the east [Safire means the Soviet Union, to the north]. Logic also suggests that we encourage support of the valiant Kurds — a unique ethnic group seeking autonomy — as well as the leftist but non-Communist Mujahedeen on the ramparts of the counterrevolution."

(Aside from Safire's modest proposal that the CIA should lend a hand to the Mujahedeen, his alleged concern for the fate of the Kurdish people should also be noted. Such imperialist hypocrisy is on a par with the protestations of Alexander Haig over the alleged plight of the Miskitu Indians in Nicaragua.)

Unfortunately, the praises of the Mujahedeen are not only being sung from the right wing of the political spectrum in the United States and Western Europe.

Liberals, social democrats join in

Playing on their own origins as militant anti-shah fighters, and on the widespread confusion that exists among much of the left regarding the contradictory course of the Iranian revolution, the Mujahedeen have tried to cultivate the support of social democrats, figures in the workers movement, Central American solidarity activists, and petty-bourgeois radicals.

In Britain, the pro-Mujahedeen Moslem Students Society organized a "week of action to protest against Khomeini's atrocities in Iran" between February 4 and 13. Among the endorsers of these activities were leaders of the Labor Party left such as Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, and Joan Maynard. Labor member of Parliament Stan Newens was among



Recent advances by Iranian army in war concern among imperialist powers.

ights in Iran begins with

he speakers at a February 13 Majaheeden rally in London.

U.S. supporters of the Mujahedeen also held activities in mid-February, for which they succeeded in gaining the sponsorship of several petty-bourgeois political currents such as the *Guardian* newspaper and the Communist Workers Party, assorted liberals, and a few local chapters of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Most U.S. antiwar forces have turned down the Mujahedeen, however, correctly sensing that their anti-Khomeini campaign is a diversion from the task of combating Reagan's threats to Central America.

Emergency Committee' in U.S.

A number of prominent figures in the United States who have often been identified with progressive social movements have established an "Emergency Committee for the Defense of Democracy and Human Rights in Iran."

The founding statement of this committee was published in the January 30 issue of the liberal weekly *Nation*, and was signed by Rev. William Sloan Coffin, David Dellinger, Don Luce, and George Wald — all known for their opposition to Washington's war against the peoples of Indochina; Prof. Edward Said, a Palestinian scholar best known for his refutations of racist views on the Arab world and Islam; Ralph Schoenman, a longtime defender of the victims of political repression in many countries; and Prof. Richard Falk of Princeton University, who was a leading opponent of Washington's backing of the shah's regime and who spoke out in support of Ayatollah Khomeini during the mass revolutionary upsurge in Iran in 1978-79.

The Emergency Committee's appeal focuses exclusively on violations of democratic rights by the current Iranian government. It makes no mention of U.S. threats and attacks on the revolution, even while pledging "to inform the American people as accurately as possible about unfolding developments in Iran."

Setting the framework for the appeal in the January 30 *Nation* was an accompanying article by Richard Falk that choiced the themes found in Mujahedeen propaganda. The thrust of Falk's argument is that "in many respects, sad to say, Iran is worse off now than it was under the Shah."

Falk recoils from the anti-imperialist

actions taken by the Iranian masses, branding the takeover of the U.S. embassy "lawless behavior justified in the name of the revolution." He deplores "Khomeini's provocative calls for revolution throughout the Islamic world." Like Rajavi, he holds Khomeini responsible for the Iraqi invasion.

In Iran today, Falk perceives a "descent into terror" and "the victory of religious fascism." In painting the situation in such bleak terms, he is blind to the rich political process taking place among the Iranian workers and peasants.

Despite a series of difficulties, the toilers of Iran have moved forward, not back, during the past three years. They have mobilized repeatedly against the threats, pressures, and direct attacks of U.S. imperialism. They have organized committees in their workplaces and villages to fight for control over production and for land reform, and against hoarding and speculation and bureaucratic mismanagement.

At present, the toilers are the backbone of the military resistance to the counterrevolutionary Iraqi invasion. Their pressure for real anti-imperialist steps has brought down two governments (Bazargan and Bani-Sadr) and has forced the current rulers to stand up to Washington and its regional lackeys.

Falk's view of masses

But to Falk, the masses are at best passive spectators. And since it is the masses that the Khomeini regime leans on, their supposed backwardness is responsible at least in part for the "religious fascism" that reigns in Iran today, according to Falk.

Falk commits the error he ascribes to the Iranian masses: He locates the key to the current situation "somewhere in the dark genius of Ayatollah Khomeini himself," and he leaves the workers and peasants out of account when he predicts "three possibilities for post-Khomeini Iran." These are:

- Muddling through "on the brink of chaos for several more years."
- A military coup and restoration of "a moderate civilian government resembling that of Bakhtiar" (the shah's last prime minister).
- A victory by "democratic forces," which "have organized themselves into a provisional government under Bani-Sadr and Rajavi." In order to win, these forces would have to "gather enough strength within the military and the clergy," and would probably have to carry out a "civil war."

Falk clearly favors the latter alternative. He praises the Mujahedeen as "idealistic and devout Moslems" and states that "support for the democratic forces now arrayed against [Khomeini] seems entirely justified."

No revolutionary perspective

Absent from Falk's alternative scenarios for "post-Khomeini Iran" is a fourth possibility: that in the course of ongoing struggles for social justice and political rights the Iranian masses will draw lessons from their experiences and seek ways to replace the capitalist Khomeini regime with a workers and peasants government.

Such a government would consolidate, deepen, and guarantee the gains of the revolution. For leadership in this new stage of the struggle, the masses will look not to the politically bankrupt Mujahedeen but to the young anti-imperialist fighters who are emerging from the ranks of the current battles.

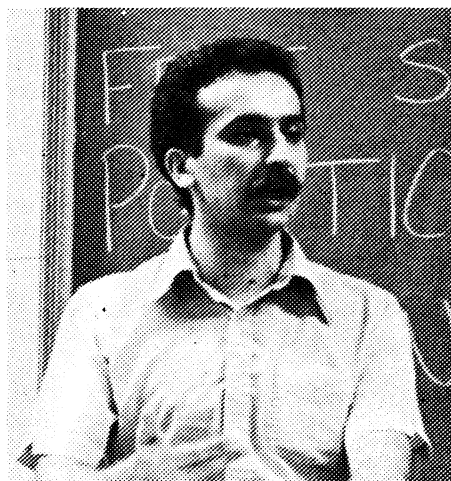
Along this strategic line of march, the toilers require the fullest democratic rights to discuss, assemble, demonstrate, and strike for their demands. Such rights were greatly expanded in Iran through the victorious mass struggle against the shah's dictatorship.

The current regime has attacked these rights, however, even resorting to large-scale imprisonments and executions. The government seized the opportunity presented by the Mujahedeen's terror campaign to step up such attacks, but in recent months popular opposition to anti-working-class repression has been mounting (see accompanying article).

Right of self-determination

Like all the liberal critics of the Iranian revolution — and like the imperialists and their news media — Falk points to the violations of democratic rights that the Khomeini regime has indeed carried out. But Falk has nothing to say about the key democratic right of Iranians — a right that those in the imperialist countries have central responsibility for defending. That is, Iran's right of national self-determination.

Socialists face harassment, illegal ban on press



Militant/Rich Robohm

Bahram Atai

BY FRED MURPHY

The Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International, has been coming under increasing harassment by the Islamic Revolutionary Prosecutor's office in recent weeks.

On March 16 representatives of local neighborhood committees, acting on the instigation of the prosecutor's office, confiscated copies of the HKE's legal weekly newspaper, *Kargar*, from a number of newsstands in Tehran. The day before, armed men went to the office of *Kargar*'s printer, Mohammed Bagher Falsafi. After questioning Falsafi about the paper's contents, they arrested him.

On March 26, the Islamic Revolutionary Courts of Iran and issued an order declaring the socialist newsweekly *Kargar* illegal. The order, printed prominently in Tehran's four main daily newspapers, accused *Kargar* of "defaming the Islamic Republic of Iran, publishing lies, and slandering the judicial authorities."

The courts also ordered Bahram Ali Atai, a leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), to appear for questioning. *Kargar* had recently carried a detailed interview with Atai on his experiences as a detainee at Evin Prison.

Falk passes over in silence Washington's military buildup in the Persian Gulf region, its increased aid to the reactionary monarchies in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere that fear the Iranian revolution will spread, its unleashing of the CIA for a destabilization campaign inside Iran. And he agrees with and echoes the racist propaganda about "Islamic fanaticism."

By ignoring the concrete imperialist threat to all the rights and gains the Iranian people have won in the past three years, Falk forfeits any standing as a critic of the Khomeini regime's abuses.

The same problem arises with formations like the Emergency Committee for the Defense of Democracy and Human Rights in Iran referred to above.

The main task of those in the United States and other imperialist countries who want to help the workers and peasants of Iran achieve their liberation remains the same as it was during the fight against the shah: to expose, oppose, and mobilize against any and all imperialist attempts to intervene in Iran.

From Intercontinental Press

This harassment occurs at a time when opposition is deepening in Iran to arbitrary jailings and executions, which have created a climate of intimidation against the working class. While many of those arrested have been members of the People's Mujahedeen Organization — a petty-bourgeois group that has carried out armed attacks on government officials — the regime has also detained supporters of the revolution, and has tried to prevent unofficial public meetings and free circulation of the nongovernmental press.

The HKE has played an active role in the Iranian revolution: serving in the Army and militia in the war in Iraq; supporting struggles by workers and peasants; and defending democratic rights. It is known as a firm supporter of the revolution against imperialist attack.

The most recent defense effort carried out by the HKE was for the release of HKE Political Bureau member Bahram Ali Atai. He was arrested last December 11 and sent, without formal charges, to Tehran's Evin Prison. He was released on March 3.

In an extensive interview published in the March 8 issue of *Kargar*, Atai described his experiences in Evin Prison.

Atai brought to light the brutality to which many of the some 6,000 prisoners in Evin Prison have been subjected. Up to 80 persons are confined in each cell of six meters by six meters. Prisoners are often whipped on the feet, and some 10 percent, Atai estimated, have suffered more severe forms of torture — such as being hanged from the ceiling with only the toes touching the floor, or having one's arms bound together, one over the head and the other behind the back, with weighted handcuffs. Atai himself was whipped on the feet on one occasion.

During the first weeks Atai was at Evin Prison, he said, secret executions were carried out on two nights each week, with about 75 persons being put

Continued on Page 17



ir with Iraq have caused particular

Washington's undeclared war on Nicaragua

Sandinista leader speaks to UN

On March 25, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of Nicaragua's Government Junta of National Reconstruction, addressed the United Nations Security Council. He had requested the special UN session because of the grave escalation of U.S. military operations against Nicaragua.

The bulk of Ortega's speech was a thoroughly documented account of Washington's aggression against Nicaragua. It confirmed that war against that revolutionary country is not imminent, but has actually begun. This portion of Ortega's speech has been systematically blacked out by the capitalist media.

The following are major excerpts from the speech. The translation was released by Nicaragua's permanent mission to the UN. It has been abbreviated for reasons of space.

We Nicaraguans have hard and bitter experience regarding the policies of different U.S. administrations which have supplied continuous backing to antipopular governments, harassed and overthrown worthy governments, and carried out armed interventions against our people.

When our revolution triumphed, we felt that it was necessary to normalize relations with the United States within a new framework of respect and cooperation, despite the historical fickleness of U.S. policy. In this spirit I met in Washington in September 1980 with President Carter, and we must acknowledge that an effective dialogue then became possible. This mutual disposition to readjust and improve relations between Nicaragua and the United States was brusquely affected in January 1981 when the new administration assumed the presidency of the United States.

The new U.S. administration had to face the reality of a triumphant revolution in Nicaragua and the determination of oppressed peoples in El Salvador and Guatemala fighting for far-reaching changes. The new administration had proclaimed in its electoral platform action aimed among other things at destroying the revolutionary process in Nicaragua and at halting, at all costs, the process of change in the Central American region.

We can affirm at this time that the policy of the current U.S. administration and the threats against the region contained in the administration's election platform were not mere campaign rhetoric, but have become an increasingly dreadful reality.

The consummation of covert actions against our revolution has now reached the point of deepening the crisis. The imminence of an intervention in Central America has forced us to request a meeting of this Security Council of the United Nations.

I come to speak to this body of the United Nations because we cannot accept being left with the sole option of dying in the defense of our homeland, since we would never allow ourselves to be subjugated by force.

Americans reject another Vietnam

I am obliged to appear before you because I share the legitimate concerns of the responsible men and women who in the United States Congress and Senate are making great efforts to prevent the intervention. I share the legitimate con-

cern of the most important and serious mass media of the United States, and of the American people, those ordinary citizens, their religious leaders and those of their civil organizations, their intellectuals and trade unions, who reject another Vietnam in their history and share the Nicaraguan people's desire for peace.

Imperial will, threats, blockades, or invasions will not be able to stop the historic struggle we are willing to carry out, fighting to the last man and shedding our last drop of blood, to safeguard our legitimate right to self-determination. However, it is not confrontation that we desire, but peace and tranquility. That is why we have come before you.

Florida training camps

We want you to know of the existence of training camps for Somocista counterrevolutionaries in the state of Florida, in United States territory, and of the paltry legalistic reasons offered by the U.S. authorities when we have demanded the dismantling of these camps, which violate the Neutrality Act that is part of United States law.

We want you to know of the existence of camps of Somocista counterrevolutionaries in the Republic of Honduras, near the Nicaraguan border, where some 2,000 counterrevolutionaries are gathered, trained, supplied, and armed by officials of the Operations Section of the Division of Hemispheric Affairs of the Central Intelligence Agency.

We want you to know that in the last five months alone, these armed bands of Somocista counterrevolutionaries operating from Honduras have penetrated our territory, leaving a tragic toll of 67 dead and 20 wounded among civilians and military personnel.

Naval attacks on fishermen

In recent days, there has been an increase in aggressive acts on the part of naval units of Honduras and El Salvador against Nicaraguan fishing vessels, leaving a toll of two Nicaraguans dead and one wounded.

These actions have taken place mainly in the Gulf of Fonseca, as a result of the campaign of false accusations about purported traffic of weapons from Nicaragua to El Salvador through this route. This campaign has contributed to an increase of border tensions in these waters.

We must also cite the provocation which occurred on March 21, when four Super Mystère aircraft of the Honduran air force attacked a Nicaraguan vessel that was carrying out marine resources monitoring and protection activities in Nicaragua's territorial waters.

You should know that the United States has made the decision to construct in Honduran territory both air and naval bases, the first of them on Amapala Island, and in coming days a treaty is supposed to be signed legalizing the U.S. military presence in Honduran territory.

The U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, officially acknowledged on the 19th of this month that a minimum of 72 U.S. military men are currently stationed in Honduras, an unprecedented number in that country.

U.S. electronic surveillance

The U.S. Navy destroyer *Caron*, equipped with sophisticated electronic



Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction.

espionage technology, has been stationed off Nicaragua's Pacific Coast facing the Gulf of Fonseca, carrying out surveillance tasks, as the United States government has publicly acknowledged.

We want you to know about the visits to Latin America at the end of February and the beginning of March by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Mr. Thomas O. Enders, aimed at organizing an inter-American peace force ready to intervene in the area.

When U.S. media publish reports that the U.S. National Security Council has approved a budget of \$19 million to promote destabilizing and covert actions, not a single spokesperson or authority of the United States government has denied such reports. After these disclosures were made, we began to feel the concrete effect of terrorist actions: bombs aboard our passenger airlines and in civilian airports, [causing] deaths and injuries; destruction of bridges; and the resurgence of actions by the counterrevolutionary bands, such as the so-called Red Christmas operation along the Rio Coco, which took the lives of 60 compatriots who were murdered.

U.S. troops in Panama

We want you to know that since March 14, exercises have been taking place in the Southern Command in the Panama Canal Zone, in which forces from United States territory and the 193 Infantry Brigade of that same command are taking part. And that in the Organization of American States (OAS), pressures are being exerted to obtain a resolution that would legalize intervention against El Salvador and Nicaragua.

We want you to know that from June 1981 until March 11 of this year, we have been the victims of 40 violations of our airspace by RC-135 aircraft of the United States Air Force.

All these flights have been over the Pacific coast of Nicaragua and along our borders with Honduras and Costa Rica. It seems highly significant that 10 of them took place in October and 10 others in November of 1981, precisely when President Reagan and Mr. Haig were voicing the possibility of decisive and immediate military actions against Nicaragua.

On the basis of what norms of international law does the United States government give itself the right to conduct espionage against our country and violate our airspace?

We want you to know that when the deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Admiral Bobby Inman, and the deputy director of the Pentagon Intelligence Agency, Mr. John Hughes, presented to the media and public opinion of the United States alleged evidence of a Nicaraguan arms buildup, they were officially acknowledging the espionage against Nicaragua. This so-called arms buildup by Nicaragua is disproved in the light of the military reality of the region.

Our military resources are the most modest in the region. We have no air force and yet it is Nicaragua that is being encircled with military bases and it is against Nicaragua that a permanent and hostile, bellicose attitude is being directed, with spy planes and vessels and naval maneuvers. We are the only state in Central America over which hangs the permanent threat of the world military might of the United States.

The only true military superiority for the defense of our homeland resides in our entire people's formidable combative and organizational disposition, given that we are the only government in Central America that can, in all confidence, distribute arms to the people.

We want you to know that the State Department of the United States, in a puerile gesture aimed at accumulating any sort of proof that could justify interventionist actions against Nicaragua, presented to the U.S. press at the State Department on March 12, Orlando José Tardencilla, a Nicaraguan who had been held prisoner by the Salvadoran army for over a year. He had been transferred from the dungeons of San Salvador to the offices of the State Department in an act without precedent in terms of violations of international juridical norms and the minimum respect due the sovereignty and independence of the Salvadoran nation.

Violation of U.S. law

United States citizens should ask themselves if these events do not contain serious violations of their own laws:

- Participation and complicity in the kidnapping of a person.
- Pressures and threats to force someone to lie and make statements against his own will.
- Threats against a person's life and physical integrity.
- Concealment and complicity in pressures and physical and mental tortures.

Two bridges blown up

We want you to know that on March 14, two strategic bridges for the defense and communications of our country were blown up in acts of sabotage: the bridge over the Rio Negro, which was totally destroyed, and the bridge over the Rio Coco, which suffered considerable structural damage, making vehicle transit impossible.

Both bridges are in departments bordering on Honduras and these actions demonstrate once again the implementation of the covert actions of the Central Intelligence Agency, approved by the State Department. This was more than confirmed by presidential adviser Mr. Edwin Meese who, when asked on March 16 by U.S. journalists if the destruction of the bridges meant that the covert action plan had been put into operation, responded: "This is the kind of event we can neither confirm nor deny under any circumstance, because in



Intercontinental Press/Arnold Weissberg

Scene at Nicaragua's Sandino Airport after February 1982 right-wing terror bombing.

either case we cannot rule out what we could be doing in any other situation."

And the panorama becomes even more serious if we recall that on February 15, President Reagan, when asked by the *Washington Post* about the approval of plans for foreign covert political and paramilitary operations in Nicaragua, refused all comment on the subject — instead of categorically denying the existence of such actions.

We want you to know that already in the month of November 1981 the Southern Command of the United States, with headquarters in the Panama Canal Zone, had completed an electronic encirclement of our country, to monitor and control and even distort or cut off all our communications. Phantom A-4C, AWACS, and RC-135 planes were employed in that operation without precedent in Central America.

Involvement of Green Berets

We also want you to know that since October 1981, in camps situated in the eastern sector of the Panama Canal Zone, three companies made up of Somocista ex-guardsmen began receiving training in paratroop landings and the use of explosives from Green Beret instructors of the United States Army. General Wallace Nutting, chief of the Southern Command, has visited these camps.

In addition, the Panama Canal Zone under the authority of the Southern Command is being used by the Argentine army as a stopover point in an air bridge between Buenos Aires and San Salvador, to transport the Argentine Air Brigade, as well as advisers, equipment, and weapons. In the last four months, more than 45 flights of this kind were made. At Fort Gulick, 20 Argentine advisers are training Salvadoran special troops.

These are the basic elements that forced us, beginning March 15, to adopt exceptional measures for the defense of the integrity and sovereignty of our homeland, by decreeing a state of national emergency.

Search for a political solution

But at the same time as the aggressive U.S. actions have been implemented, it is only fair to acknowledge and support the efforts made over the past few months by the governments of Mexico and France in search of a political solution to the crisis of the Central American area.

In addition to these efforts, there is the consistent proposal for global negotiations in pursuit of peace in the Central American and Caribbean region made resolutely and in a Latin American spirit by Mexican President José Lopez Portillo on February 21 in Managua, the capital of Nicaragua.

This global proposal considers as indispensable parties [to such negotiations] the United States, the warring sides in El Salvador, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

It has been welcomed by the Cuban revolutionary government, by the revolutionaries of the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, and by the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua.

Since then, the U.S. government has entered into a period of meetings with representatives of the Mexican government. After a round of meetings with the Mexican foreign minister, Don Jorge Castañeda, Mr. Alexander Haig made public a five-point proposal aimed at initiating conversations with Nicaragua following the elections scheduled for March 28 in El Salvador.*

U.S. presses aggression

The mere fact that the United States makes public a willingness to negotiate with Nicaragua on the basis of these points could be considered an encouraging element. But it turns out to be contradictory because, as I have been demonstrating, the aggressive and destabilizing actions against Nicaragua by the U.S. administration have been dramatically on the rise.

We must affirm that while the United States makes public its willingness to negotiate, it has been developing the alternative of aggression all along.

The five points announced by Mr. Haig fail to take into account the fact that the fundamental cause of the Central American crisis is not the allegation that arms are reaching the Salvadoran revolutionaries via Nicaragua. This charge has never been proven.

On the contrary, the causes of the Central American crisis lies in the injustice that reigns in El Salvador. Moreover, the United States is supplying arms, airplanes, helicopters, advisers, technical support, and rapid military training to the Salvadoran army.

It is inconceivable that the country that is carrying out the greatest arms buildup and spending the most on weaponry in the history of mankind, seeks to demand that we not fulfill the minimum requirements for the defense of our nation. Nicaragua rejects the attempt by the United States to impose humiliating restrictions on our inescapable rights with respect to national defense. We are certain that no sovereign nation in the world would accept such a thing.

This stance is even more unjustified

*On March 15 Haig laid out five proposals as the basis of U.S. negotiations with Nicaragua. The chief proposal was that Nicaragua "get out of El Salvador," that is "wind up the command in control, the logistics, including weapons, ammunition, and training camps."

Haig's four other proposals were: (1) that Nicaragua agree "not to import heavy offensive weapons and to reduce the number of foreign military and security advisers"; (2) a "bilateral nonaggression" commitment by both countries; (3) a "political commitment" by the United States concerning Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries illegally training on its soil; and (4) a proposal to the U.S. Congress to renew aid to Nicaragua.

since Nicaragua, as a revolutionary country, has proclaimed in categorical fashion that it will never use its arms against any brother in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We feel that we are all obliged to find a solution to the problems facing the region through negotiated political means, and to never consider the possibility of negotiations to have been exhausted.

The peoples of the region demand a negotiated political solution; U.S. public opinion demands a negotiated political solution; the peoples of Latin America and the worthy governments demand a negotiated political solution; the peoples and governments of the world are expecting a negotiated political solution.

U.S. independence war of 1776

We do not wish to see ourselves forced to resist and struggle to prevail over foreign intervention with the same vigor which enabled the Americans to win their independence in 1776.

We have not come to accuse, but to demand an end, once and for all, to the policy of aggressions, threats, interventions, covert operations, invasions against our homeland and the region. And to make it clear that the unfairly distributed resources of humanity on this planet do not give the powerful a right to act against weak and small peoples.

Nicaragua's proposals

Finally, I would like to sum up this presentation with concrete points:

1. Neither Nicaragua nor any of the countries of the Central American and Caribbean region can be considered as a geo-political reserve of the United States, or as part of its so-called strategic frontier, a concept that restricts the exercise of our sovereignty and independence.

3. Therefore, Nicaragua can in no way represent a threat to the security of the United States. We are a small country, a dignified and poor country, that follows a policy of international non-alignment.

The national interests of the people and nation of the United States should not be confused with the particular policy of the present administration, which is trying to make its own point of view prevail, even at the cost of the peace and security, of its own citizens and an entire conglomerate of countries, which like ours have a right to determine their own destiny.

3. We are willing to improve the climate of relations with the United States on the basis of mutual respect and unconditional recognition of our right to self-determination.

4. We are willing to immediately begin direct and frank conversations with the government of the United States, even in a mutually agreeable third country, with the objective of reaching concrete results through such negotiations.

5. The Salvadoran patriots of the FMLN-FDR have authorized us to transmit their willingness to begin immediate negotiations, without preconditions.

6. The revolutionary government of Cuba has authorized me to communicate to this Security Council its willingness as well to begin negotiations without delay.

7. The Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, the government of Cuba, and the Salvadoran patriots of the FMLN-FDR back the initiative for negotiations taken by the president of Mexico, José Lopez Portillo, on February 21 in Managua.

8. Nicaragua is willing to immediately sign nonaggression pacts with all bordering countries of the Central American area in order to ensure peace and internal stability in the zone.

9. Nicaragua is obliged to reject the attempt by the United States to impose humiliating restrictions on its inescapable and sovereign rights regarding national defense.

What U.S. must do

We demand, on the other hand, that the government of the United States immediately:

- Put a stop to the use of Honduran territory as a base for armed aggressions and terrorist operations against our homeland.

- Put a stop to the existence of counterrevolutionary military training camps in U.S. territory, mainly in Florida.

- Put a stop to the traffic in arms and counterrevolutionaries between the territory of the United States and Honduras.

- Put a stop to the participation of the United States intelligence community in the financing, training, and organizing of forces and clandestine plans against our homeland.

- Put a stop to the presence of U.S. warships in waters of Central America and off Nicaragua's coasts.

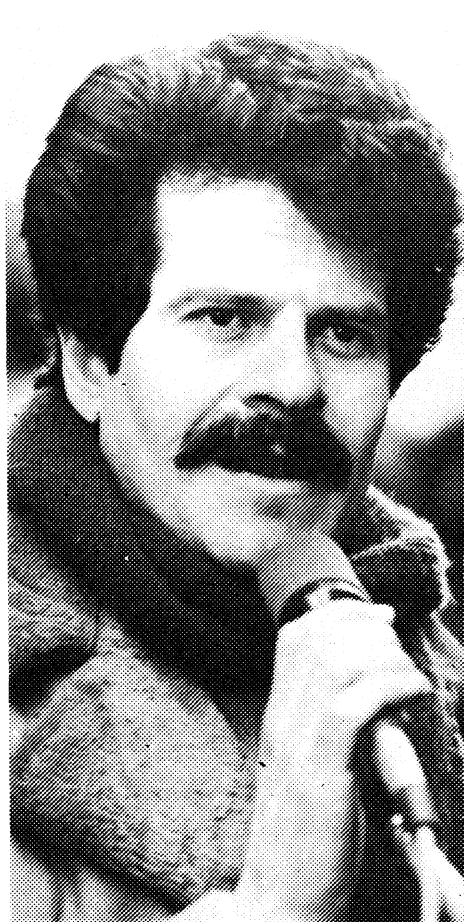
Put a stop to the flights of spy planes that violate Nicaragua's airspace.

The United States must, in an official and explicit manner, voice its commitment not to attack Nicaragua, nor to initiate or promote any direct, indirect, or covert intervention in Central America.

Nicaragua calls on the Security Council of the United Nations to issue an explicit pronouncement in line with the charter of the organization, regarding the obligation to search for a peaceful means of resolving the problems of the Central American and Caribbean region; rejection of acts of force and threats; and repudiation of any direct, indirect, or covert intervention in Central America.

In memory of the millions of people killed in wars throughout history; in memory of the millions tortured and murdered in the Nazi concentration camps in the Second World War; in memory of the thousands of patriots who fell in the struggles for liberation against colonialism, racism, and all kinds of oppression; in memory of the Central American patriots who have fallen fighting for independence, justice, and peace, for the right of the peoples to be free, sovereign, and independent, for the right of humanity to want peace and demand peace:

Let there be peace in Central America.



Militant/Lou Howort
Arnaldo Ramos, U.S. representative of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front.

Antiwar struggle 'unites us against the same enemy'

Salvador rebel spokesman addresses D.C. demonstrators

Following are excerpts from a speech by Arnaldo Ramos, U.S. representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, to the March 27 antiwar rally in Washington.

Greetings from the people of El Salvador!

We would like to express our gratitude to the U.S. people and to make a pledge that our two societies can truly build a new age in Central America and the Caribbean.

We are obliged to also express our gratitude and total support to the Mexican government in its historic initiative to bring peace to Central America.

We also wholeheartedly support the people of Nicaragua in their denunciations of U.S. aggression, and we back their heroic efforts to avoid a bloodbath

in Central America.

This is truly a United States war, the one going on in El Salvador. It's a war against the Salvadoran people that has taken the form of military aggression. As of today, close to \$123 million has been allocated to fight in El Salvador. For the near future, close to \$96 million is being sent to buy military equipment.

This is also a war against the American people. In spite of its rhetoric of negotiations, a military solution still is the basic policy from Washington. And this is against the wishes of 72 percent of the American people. This is against the wishes of Congress, which in February passed a resolution, 391 for and 13 against, urging a peaceful settlement in El Salvador.

This administration is clearly acting directly against the immediate, material interests of the American people. Bread is taken out of the mouths of

hungry children and converted into guns. Important social programs are being cut in order to expand the lethal capabilities of the Central American armies.

I am here to tell you in the name of the FDR and in the name of the FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] that this struggle is uniting our two societies against the same enemy. You can no longer distinguish between the international and the domestic policies of the current U.S. administration. We know that in this country the losers are not very popular. This administration will follow the same fate of the Johnson and Nixon administrations if it doesn't change its policies — because we are the winners.

Militarily, in the last two years the FMLN forces have successfully contained every major offensive against their zones of control.

However, we don't take pride in our military activity. We make it very clear both to the U.S. administration and to the American people that we want peace. That we are ready today, tomorrow, to sit, to negotiate, to try to stop this Central American war from taking place.

The American people have been responsible for stopping the United States government from intervention in El Salvador. Don't forget the power of the American people. This is a U.S. war that has to be won in the United States.

At present, the administration is adopting the rhetoric of negotiations in order to gain time for the 1,600 U.S.-trained troops to come to El Salvador; to gain time for more and more advisers and mercenaries and South American troops to penetrate El Salvador.

Faced with this reality, the people of El Salvador are determined to fight to the last man if necessary to stop this foreign aggression.

Faced with this reality, the people of the United States must not rest until they have completely stopped U.S. military aid to the junta and to the Central American dictatorships.

No to direct intervention! No to indirect intervention!

No to covert activities!

Spend money on jobs, not dictators, says Black party leader

Below are excerpts from a speech by National Black Independent Political Party representative Dee Bates to the March 27 demonstration.

The National Black Independent Political Party, in accordance with our political convictions and our program and platform, supports the heroic and just struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

Our party expresses its warmest and deepest solidarity with the just struggle of the people of El Salvador, under the leadership of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and its military wing, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Moreover we support the oppressed peoples of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, and Haiti. And we support the progressive nations of Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada who are struggling against U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. government has poured more than \$200 million in economic and military assistance to shore up an isolated fascist regime in El Salvador which has no popular base of support.

While the United States spends billions of dollars to support brutal dictatorships around the world, and trillions to build up a Frankensteinian war machine, millions of people here in the United States have been thrown out of work. Billions of dollars have been slashed from social programs for poor and Black people who have been forced to depend on government assistance. Millions of our peoples' lives are being shattered by the racist policies of Reaganism and Reaganomics.

The U.S. government, through the Reagan administration, is fulfilling but one policy, which is reflected in both its domestic and foreign policies. This is a policy of racism and aggression against all peoples and nations who demand and fight for a better life.

The National Black Independent Political Party and other organizations of Black people in the United States identify with the aspirations of the Salvadoran people, the peoples of Central America, and of the Caribbean. Like our people, who have suffered for centuries from racist oppression, economic exploitation, and genocide in the United States, they too are fighting for an end to oppression and poverty and misery.

They want to live in decent housing. They want access to adequate health care, jobs, and decent education. Like us, they want freedom and self-determination.

So we stand together in solidarity with the peoples of Central America, with whom we share common problems and a common enemy.

We call on all peace-loving peoples to demand and organize for an end to U.S. military and economic assistance to the El Salvador junta, an end to the deportations of El Salvadoran and Haitian refugees; an end to U.S. support to the repressive regime of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Haiti, and South Africa.

We call for an end to U.S. repression and threats against Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada. We call for jobs at home — not bullets for El Salvador.

We demand that the United States accept the offer of the Mexican government to act as a mediator to help resolve the crisis in Central America and bring

peace to the region.

We believe that critical negotiations must take place between opposition forces in El Salvador and the U.S.-backed junta — without preconditions. Negotiations must also take place between the U.S. and Nicaragua, and between the U.S. and Cuba to ease tensions between these countries and Central America.

In order for such talks to take place, the U.S. must recognize the FDR-FMLN as a legitimate party to the conflict in El Salvador and cease its threats and acts of aggression against Nicaragua and Cuba.

And finally, we urge the UN Security Council to condemn U.S. policies towards Nicaragua and Central America.

Long live the just struggle of the peoples of Central America!

Long live the just struggle of the peoples of South Africa!

Long live the just struggle of peoples of the world that fight against oppression!

Palestinian, Turkish activists at March 27

The March 27 El Salvador demonstration in Washington involved supporters of struggles against U.S.-backed oppression around the world. Among these were Palestinian and Turkish activists.

The Palestinian contingent on the march numbered well over 100. A leaflet distributed by the Palestine Congress of North America to demonstrators pointed out:

"The same Israeli weapons used against the people of El Salvador are also used to maim and kill Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Both the Israeli government and the ruling junta in El Salvador deprive the Palestinian and El Salvadoran peoples of their basic human rights, including that of self-determination.

"The Palestinian people, who refused to buckle under the weight of Israeli oppression, are resolved to continue, under the leadership of the PLO, their struggle for freedom, independence and self-determination, until these goals are realized.

"We call upon all freedom-loving and democratic forces throughout the world to assume their historical responsibility and to stand on the side of justice — the side of Palestine."

A leaflet distributed by the Commit-

tee in Solidarity with the Peoples of Turkey declared in part: "We support the struggle of El Salvadoran people for independence, democracy and freedom. We also salute the American public in their staunch resistance against the imperialist and interventionist policies of the U.S. government in Central America.

"We would like to draw your attention to atrocities committed against our people by the U.S.-backed military regime in Turkey.

"The military government in Turkey is portrayed as being different than its counterparts in Latin America. Its mission is alleged to be to protect and to 'fight for democracy' and 'human rights.'"

The leaflet notes that after the Turkish government demanded the death sentence for more than 100 union leaders, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger visited Turkey. He signed a new security and defense pact with the military rulers.

"Contrary to the U.S. government's claims and its attempts to prettify a fascist military dictatorship, fascist generals are far from the champions of 'democracy' and 'human rights,'" the leaflet said.



Militant/Lou Howort
Part of Palestinian contingent at March 27 D.C. antiwar protest.

New socialist group sets strategy to patch up capitalism

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Growing opposition by the American people to the Reagan administration's economic and military policies has given an impetus to unification efforts by social-democratic forces in this country.

After several years of discussion, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the New American Movement (NAM) held a merger meeting, March 19-21, in Detroit. They formed a new organization, Democratic Socialists of America (DSA — see news article below).

DSOC was formed in 1973 as the result of a split in the U.S. Socialist Party. The other wing of the split established the Social Democrats USA, which reflects the views of the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Michael Harrington, a former cochair of the SP and a founder of DSOC, broke with the party over its refusal to endorse liberal Democrat George McGovern in the 1972 presidential elections.

NAM was formed in 1971 by individuals holding various and often contradictory political points of view, but considered themselves part of the "New Left." These included ex-members of Students for a Democratic Society, former Communist Party members, and antiwar activists.

Shift to right

Commenting on NAM's political development, founding member Roberta Lynch wrote in the last issue of *Moving On*, NAM's newspaper, "We began with an almost extra-parliamentary approach to elections and a scorn for participation in any form in the Democratic Party. Today, we are developing a working knowledge of the levels of political power and a progressive presence within the existing arenas of electoral activity."

This represents a shift to the right by NAM. In the past, the organization did not officially support Democratic Party candidates.

The book membership of Democratic Socialists of America is about 6,500. It includes students; community, antiwar, and women's rights activists; trade union officials and staff members; professionals; and a small percentage of Blacks and Latinos.

DSA projects strengthening the Democratic Party as the central axis of its activity.

"We are part of the liberal-labor wing of the Democratic Party," Harrington stated in a March 18 interview with the *Detroit Free Press*. "I don't think America needs a third political party. What it needs is a decent first party."

NAM leader Bill Barclay wrote in an editorial in *Moving On* that the merger "provides the possibility of responding politically to the failure of the Reagan administration and the paralysis of the Democrats."

A resolution adopted by a joint committee of NAM and DSOC at the latter's 1981 national convention lays out this perspective.

Democratic Party coalition

"The immediate task of the democratic socialist movement is to help build a broad-based anti-corporate democratic left," the resolution states. "Central to our strategy is the development of a coalition of the major progressive forces in our society — trade unions, women's groups, minorities, and others."

"In the present period the forces we seek to work with find their electoral expression primarily within the left wing of the Democratic Party."

In addition to building these Democratic Party coalitions, DSOC and NAM leaders are calling for the Democratic

Party to adopt a New Deal-type program.

One vehicle for this campaign is the Democratic Agenda. This creation of DSOC attempts to get its program adopted by the Democratic Party platform committee at national and mid-term conventions, and campaigns for Democratic candidates.

Democratic Agenda will hold conferences in Los Angeles on April 16-18, and in Newark on May 15. Its role is to help dress up the capitalist Democratic Party so it will look like the party of labor, women, the oppressed nationalities, and farmers.

"Democratic Agenda," Ruth Jordan, a DSOC leader, explains, "can provide a voice and a mechanism for members of the coalition to speak, articulate policy, and participate as a defined group within the Democratic party."

"Under Democratic Agenda's banner and in state Democratic party organizations, farmers can talk about foreclosure, unemployed workers can tell what it's like to lose unemployment benefits and be forced on welfare. Women must talk about job discrimination."

Democratic Agenda must "put forth a program that builds on the traditional values of the Democratic party — still the party of the New Deal and the War on Poverty."

Radical liberalism

Michael Harrington, elaborating on the program of the Democratic Agenda, says "Reagan will fail" because of his administration's attacks on the working class and its inability "to meet the worst economic and social crisis in half a century."

Harrington calls for the Democratic Party to adopt a program that can provide "democratic inputs and controls over the critical investment decisions" of big business.

As for military spending, Democratic Agenda wants "a lean, responsible defense policy" that "cuts \$50 billion from the Pentagon, while increasing our national security."

This is "a mixed economy solution," Harrington admits, "a much more radical, investment-oriented liberalism. It is still liberalism, not socialism."

The same perspective is put forward by NAM in Bill Barclay's editorial. "We cannot respond by reasserting the policies and programs of the past," he writes. "Instead, we need to develop a coherent and politically accessible alternative economic policy."

The same points are made in a January 27 editorial in *In These Times*, a weekly newspaper featuring articles by DSOC and NAM members along with independent social democrats.

"The time has come," the editorial states, "when it is essential for organizations like the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and left unions like the Machinists, AFSCME and the UAW not only to put forward a coherent program for social investment aimed at securing a peaceful world and a society with full employment . . . but also to begin running their own candidates in Democratic primaries for Congress and state legislatures — or, where they have a chance of winning, as independents."

'Stagnation and decline'

To anyone questioning this orientation, *In These Times* threatens, "Failure to act now will be nothing but a failure of nerve — one that will doom the American people to a long period of stagnation and decline."

As shown from their statements, DSA leaders and the editors of *In These Times* recognize the gigantic scope of the economic crisis facing working peo-



DSA

the New Socialists

Democratic Socialists of America*

We Are the New Socialists . . .

... fighting the cruel, unworkable policies of Ronald Reagan by working to build a new American left that will go far beyond traditional liberalism.

The American economy is in the deepest trouble it has known since the Great Depression. We face a structural crisis of the system in which corporate decision makers in such industries as rail, auto, and steel maximized their private profits and helped wreck the heartland of American capitalism, destroying entire communities as well as individual jobs. Reaganomics is the latest manifestation of this crisis. It is on the way to self-destruction, but traditional Democratic party liberalism is clearly inadequate to oppose it or offer anything new in its place.

There are signs of the beginning of a response—the Alternative Budget presented by the Congressional Black Caucus last year, and the AFL-CIO proposals in February 1982 to take the rich off welfare, move in the directions we have advocated.



“We have to go beyond the New Deal in order to fight Reagan's Raw Deal.”

MICHAEL HARRINGTON
Chair, Democratic Socialists of America

“Being a member keeps me in touch with struggles all over the country, and at the same time broadens me with a network of...”



Brochure announcing Democratic Socialists of America

ple and the capitalist system itself.

But the perspective they outline for solving this crisis is one of reforming capitalism. As Harrington admits, this "is still liberalism, not socialism."

DSA proposes to renovate capitalism, moreover, by reforming the Democratic Party — to try to make it an instrument than can turn capitalism around to benefit both workers and big business.

No type of reform program of a New Deal- or War on Poverty-type will end the worsening crisis or prevent the catastrophes and breakdowns which are part of a system of production based on private ownership and profit.

Utopian to reform capitalism

The current capitalist economic crisis — which is worldwide — will only deepen. It is totally utopian to believe that in such a crisis capitalism will become more democratic and more capable of meeting the economic and social needs of working people. This belief is the basis of DSA's program. In fact — as we can see already — the trend is for capitalism to become more autocratic.

The only real solution to the cycle of increasing unemployment, inflation, ever more devastating wars, and the ul-

timinate threat to the survival of humanity itself, is for workers and farmers to take power into their own hands and begin the reconstruction of society on a socialist basis.

Laying the groundwork for this political objective must be the orientation — now — of any groups purporting to be socialist. Nor is there any way that a strategy for establishing a workers and farmers government can include working in the Democratic Party — one of the parties of the corporations and the bankers. Like the Republican Party, it defends capitalism and will do everything it can to prevent the workers and farmers from taking political power from the capitalists.

In order to wage a successful struggle for their own government, working people must break from the capitalist parties and establish their own party. The trade unions provide the organizational basis for taking this step right away.

The road of reforming the Democratic Party misleads and diverts working people. It channels their growing opposition to Washington's policies away from an independent course.

It is this orientation that will "doom the American people" to "stagnation and decline."

DSOC, NAM hold unity meeting

BY BOB KENDRICK

DETROIT — Some 250 people met here the weekend of March 19-21 to form a new social-democratic organization in the United States, the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

The new group, which has a book membership of 6,500, resulted from a fusion between two previously existing organizations, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the majority of the New American Movement (NAM).

A number of well-known political and labor figures spoke at the convention, including Democratic Congressmen John Conyers and George Crockett, both from Michigan; William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Michael Harrington, chairman of the new organization.

Greetings were presented by representatives of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), the political leadership of the El Salvador freedom fighters, and the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement, the party of FDR leader Guillermo Ungo.

The major activity of the new organization will be work within the Democratic party.

Michael Harrington stated in his keynote speech to the convention that "We are going to the grassroots, not just to the national Democratic convention of 1984, but to every state Democratic convention."

In the past, DSOC and NAM have politically disagreed on such questions as the class nature of the Soviet Union, East European countries, and Cuba; Is-

rael; work in trade unions; and DSOC's strategy of working to reform the Democratic Party.

Opposition to NAM's support for the recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) led to a committee within DSOC opposed to the merger. This included, among others, long-time social democrat, Irving Howe. The DSA unity statements have no mention of the PLO.

A section of NAM had split before the merger because of these and other differences. The convention, however, was marked by an absence of discussion and debate on these questions.

On the first evening of the convention, the [Eugene V.] "Debs-Thomas Award for Social Justice," presented annually in the past by DSOC, was given to Ray Majerus, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers. Majerus is currently involved in negotiating further union givebacks to American Motors.

The DSA plans to hold a full convention in San Francisco this August. It will prepare for the November 1984 presidential elections.

Speaking of the significance of the merger, Michael Harrington, in the op-ed section of the *New York Times*, wrote March 30 that "People from hostile pasts — Socialists, Communists, Trotskyists, liberals, Catholic anti-socialists, and atheist anti-Catholics — not only agreed on basic principles but made the democratization of corporate control of investment their key domestic priority."

"They committed themselves to take this idea to grassroots coalitions in more than a dozen states in coming months."

GM pact meets stiff opposition in UAW

Continued from Page 1

itant, "it will be by such a small margin that we'll be able to prevent GM from gutting the local agreements."

Rank-and-file opposition to concessions broke off bargaining with GM at the end of January. The auto barons, determined to wring more profits from auto workers, turned to Ford, where it was expected that announcements of financial loss in 1981 would make Ford workers amenable to concessions.

Ford workers grudgingly ratified the contract. The corporations then turned back to GM. The company added to the pressure on GM workers by announcing plans to close eight plants.

With that, the UAW GM Council voted 299-to-25 to recommend ratification to the membership.

Divisions among officials

Solidarity House then called 4,000 GM local committee members (stewards), alternates, and benefits representatives to Chicago March 30. UAW President Douglas Fraser, Owen Bieber (GM department director), and other officials urged them to go back and sell the contract.

But, report Jo-Ann Della-Giustina and Jon Hillson, the UAW leaders got a less-than-enthusiastic response.

The committee members, who are closer to the ranks than the shop chairmen and presidents who make up the GM Council, were divided in their sentiments.

About as many were firmly for as were against. A slight majority were uncommitted, sympathetic to opposition, and looking for a serious discussion and debate of the contract.

It was already widely known that GM workers would be asked to make the

same concessions as had Ford workers:

- Losses and deferrals of cost-of-living allowances and improvement increases would cost GM workers \$9,000 each over the 29 months of the contract, which is to expire in September 1984. GM will gain more than \$3 billion.

- Elimination of 23 holidays over the life of the contract will mean the loss of more than 10,000 jobs.

- New-hire wages and benefits are sharply reduced.

What the summary describes as gains in the contract are full of loopholes:

- Guarantees against plant closings are written in unenforceable language.

- The so-called guaranteed income stream, as Ford workers are beginning to learn, doesn't protect job security or unemployed benefits.

- Discounts on GM cars can be halted by the company unilaterally.

But GM wants its workers to give up more than Ford workers did. Thus, the proposed GM contract is worse:

- GM would have the right to bargain to change local agreements, which govern working conditions, without the approval of the local.

This is combined with a provision that allows GM to seek "changes" — read "reductions" — in local pay and benefits if GM claims economic necessity. As LOC's contract analysis puts it, this means that "besides going after local working conditions, the company now has a license to attempt to negotiate substandard wage agreements with locals."

'Quality of Life'

- The new contract would formalize union-company "cooperation" in the "Quality of Work Life" program. The last contract only set up a committee to

"study" this program, although it went beyond study to implementation in some GM plants.

The new contract would establish a GM-UAW "National Committee to Improve the Quality of Work Life" and a "National Joint Council for Enhancing Job Security and the Competitive Edge." Camouflaged though they are, the titles reek of speed-up and worsened working conditions, the aim of the programs.

- Proposed attendance penalties also give the company further disciplinary leverage, and leave the determination of what is "excusable" absence up to GM.

GM workers have faced intense pressures to get them to ratify this giveback contract. Unemployment and plant closings hurt; only 319,000 are working, while 141,000 are laid off, 37,000 in the last two months.

In addition, they have been bombarded with charges that they make too much money — never mind how hard they work, or how much profits they produce.

These charges have hit them from all sides: the companies, the media, and Democratic and Republican politicians.

The UAW leadership has helped this campaign by urging auto workers to make concessions.

Given this pressure even a small minority opposition to the contract would be significant. Why are so many GM workers opposed to it?

For one reason, GM isn't claiming losses for last year, as Ford did. GM profits were \$331 million.

Holidays taken away

Another reason is GM's arrogance. It has long had the reputation of being the roughest company with its workers.

Just a week ago, GM foremen told workers they couldn't have personal paid holidays after March 31 — even though the old contract, which included them, was still in effect.

This infuriated workers, and is cited by many of them in interviews with *Militant* correspondents as the reason they're voting against the contract.

Concessions hurt solidarity

Tony Fernandez, president of Local 595, in Linden, New Jersey, told a membership meeting, in urging a no-vote:

"Not one of the benefits we enjoy today was a gift of the company. We won them by uniting our forces and fighting for them together. We are asked to recommend to our membership a concession agreement that will destroy the solidarity that has been the cornerstone of our union and the labor movement.

"This agreement, if passed, will pit younger workers against older workers, will allow the auto companies to continue their vigorous policies of playing one local against another, and the end result will be lowering the standard of living of all American workers.

"The Ford agreement was voted through the leadership and membership by using the slogan 'Vote yes for jobs.' Yet Doug Fraser admitted not one indefinitely-laid-off worker will be recalled as a result of the Ford agreement."

The sizeable opposition to this contract will send a shock wave through the corporations, their kept politicians, and union misleaders. Auto workers are angry and this anger will not easily be stayed.

As a Kansas City worker said: "I just want to see it on TV that we've voted this down, that somebody has stood up to this."

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA Seaside

An Evening with Mel Mason. Speakers: Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, and others. Sat., April 10, 7 p.m. Seaside Multi-Use Center, 986 Hilby. Aup: Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (408) 373-8347.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

How to Stop Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons. Speakers: Andy English, Young Socialist Alliance; Gustavo Gutierrez, Laborers International Union Local 383. Sat., April 10, 7:30 p.m. 613 East Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Peso Devaluation: What it Means for the Mexican People. Speakers: representative from the Revolutionary Workers Party of Mexico. Sat., April 17, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Rally. Speaker: Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor. Sun., April 25, 4 p.m. 1053 15th St. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Grand Opening of Pathfinder Bookstore. Open house, Sat., April 17, 12 noon to 4 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). For more information call (502) 587-8418.

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 3rd Congressional District. Sat., April 17, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Socialist Educational Weekend: Revolution in Central America: Who Is Leading It; How It Affects American Workers; Why We Should Support It. Sat., April 17–Sun., April 18. Forum: Revolution in Central America. Speaker: Jack Barnes, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party (Sat., Cajun Jambalaya dinner 6 p.m., forum 8 p.m.). Classes: Lenin's Contribution to Marxist Theory and Its Significance for the American Revolution (Sat., 1 p.m. and Sunday 10 a.m.). 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$1.50 forum, \$5 classes. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Bi-State: Crisis in Public Transportation. Speakers: Rev. Buck Jones, Operation HOPE; Sheila Ostrow, chairwoman, St. Louis Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 18, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

The Fraud of Workfare: An Attack on All Working People. Speakers: Katib Wahib, Coalition for Sensible and Humane Solutions; Eddie Mae Binnion, South Side Welfare Rights Organization; Jody Curran, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., April 25, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

After the Election: What Next for People of El Salvador. Speaker: Victor Rubio, Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. Wed., April 14, 7 p.m. East Campus Union, University of Nebraska at Lincoln. Aup: Latin American Solidarity Committee. For more information call (402) 477-6218.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Campaign Rally: Money for Jobs Not for War. Speakers: Laura Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Ne-

wark; Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Habrá traducción al español. Sat., April 17, 6 p.m. reception, 7:30 rally, 9:30 party. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Cuba and the Caribbean: Focus of U.S. Attacks Today. Speakers: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Cuba; Ellen Haywood, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Grenada; others. Fri., April 9, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922

Missing — From Chile to El Salvador.

Panel on the film *Missing*. Speakers: Lorraine Sullivan, mother of John Sullivan, reporter missing in El Salvador; Ernesto Jofre, Chilean trade union leader; Nelson González, staff writer for the *Militant* and Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., April 16, 7:30 p.m. Call for location. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7923.

Schenectady

CIA vs. Iranian Revolution. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OREGON

Portland

The Nuclear Buildup: How Can We End It? Speaker: Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 18, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS

San Antonio

The Struggle of the United Farm Workers in South Texas. Speaker: Patricia Fernández, Socialist Workers Party, others to be announced. Fri., April 16, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant La-

bor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally Why the Democrats Won't Stop Reaganism. Speakers: Bill Hovland, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, United Mine Workers Local 2095; Adrienne Benjamin, SWP candidate for 3rd Congressional District; John Hawkins, SWP National Committee; others to be announced. Sat., April 17, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. 1584 A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Aup: West Virginia Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Origins of Marxism: Marx and Engels on the Revolutions of 1848.

2 classes. Speaker: Fred Feldman, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., April 18, time to be announced. 1584 A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Aup: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

An Evening in Solidarity with the Peoples of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the Freedom Fighters of Central America and the Caribbean. Speakers: Victor Rubio, El Salvador Revolutionary Democratic Front; Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; representative, Grenada Revolutionary League; representative, Palestine Liberation Organization; Larry Seigle, national committee, Socialist Workers Party; others. Ballads by Walter Urroz, Comité de Reconstrucción Ayuda al Pueblo de Nicaragua. Sat., May 1, 7:30 p.m., social hour 6:30. Donation: \$3. Aup: Chicago-Gary Young Socialist Alliance. For more information and transportation call Midwest SWP branches and YSA chapters listed on page 17.

Panamanian garment worker tells his story

NEW YORK CITY — Cardinal Rook is a shipping clerk and a member of Local 99, International Ladies Garment Workers Union. A Panamanian, Rook has worked in the Brooklyn garment district at Bush Terminal for the past eighteen years. In a recent interview with *Militant* correspondent Allan Grady, also a garment worker, Rook talked of his experiences as a trade unionist in Panama in the 1950s.

Militant: Can you describe the treatment of workers in Panama when you lived there?

Rook: I worked for United Fruit Company and we had a strike for improvement of conditions of the country, increase of salary, and general improvement of labor conditions. They refused.

This was in 1952. They failed to cooperate with us and we went on strike. After we went on strike, we came up against the United Fruit Company giant, and the U.S. government sent in soldiers against us. They came in without notifying us — we were innocent. I was on the strike committee.

Militant: How many were involved in the strike?

Rook: The entire banana farm — at least 40,000.

After the American soldiers came in and overcame us, they started to find out people were being killed. They said to us, "But we haven't seen the reason why we've been sent here to do this, because you are innocent."

Militant: In other words, they didn't know why they had been sent in?

Rook: No, they were just sent in — there were two battleships and so many soldiers per ship.

Following this my boss came to me and said, "Hey Cardinal, if you wish to continue with this company, you remain where you are and don't let me see you on that committee anymore." That night, there was a general committee meeting. Everybody was supposed to be there — the representative of the United Fruit Company and the union. When I got up to express my feelings, my boss walked out. He was a Texan. The following day when I went back to work, there was a note for me: "No job for you — you're not to be seen around here again."

Then a senator had to get me out of there and take me into Panama City and get me an apartment to live in until they got my papers straightened out — to keep me alive, get me a passport, and get me out of the country.

Militant: Your life was in danger from United Fruit?

Rook: Yes, they had hired thugs. And that's the reason I had to leave the country. I was totally blackballed.

Militant: How long did the struggle go on?

Rook: Well, the struggle had been going on for thirteen or fourteen days before the troops were brought in. We took over the whole city — the railroads, the commissary, the hospital, and everything — and we ran it ourselves.

The struggle went on about a month and a half before everything was turned back over to United Fruit.

Militant: Were you a member of any left-wing group?

Rook: No. Since then I took to the road and started traveling. I went to Ecuador and worked on the farms for three years.

Iranian socialists face ban on press

Continued from Page 11

to death each time. These ended in late January, he said.

Atai pointed out that he had met in Evin Prison workers who support the revolution, and members of leftist groups such as the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party and the majority faction of the Fedayan, both of which give political support to the Islamic Republican government. Many other prisoners are from groups like the Maoist Peykar faction and the Fedayan minority, which while sharing many of the views of the Mujahedeen have not taken up arms against the revolution.

Hence, Kargar's exposure of the apparatus with direct responsibility for carrying out the repression — the courts and the prosecutor's office — has been widely welcomed. HKE leaders report that the issue of Kargar with the Bahram Atai interview sold out from Tehran newsstands within days, and that copies were being resold at a price several times higher than that listed on the cover.

Discontent with the imprisonments and executions was already running high. The regime's sensitivity on this score was indicated by Ayatollah Khomeini's message to the nation on the third anniversary of the revolution. He called on the prosecutors and the courts to conduct "a prompt review of prisoners' files" and "prepare a list of prisoners whose pardon is not objectionable according to the holy religious laws and send them to me. It is necessary that au-

Then I got a job with the merchant marine. From there I started traveling again. I was in Nicaragua in 1956, during the Somoza days.

Militant: What do you think of the new Nicaragua, as compared to the days of Somoza?

Rook: Well, to me it's an improvement. I approve of it.

Militant: Have you heard the CIA has been charged by the Nicaraguan government with the dynamiting of bridges in Nicaragua, just days ago?

Rook: Yes. But that's part of a plan . . . a plan typical of the U.S. government. Those who decide it are here in the U.S.

Militant: What do you think of the prospects for the struggle in El Salvador?

Rook: Every country wishes to have their liberty, their freedom. Regardless of what happens within El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, or any other country, there is a way it's supposed to be rectified. And that's being abused right now. The plan the American government is using right now in El Salvador, pitting them against Nicaragua — that's not the way.

Militant: Do you think the U.S. would invade Nicaragua and El Salvador?

Rook: Surely, I'm convinced 100 percent. And that's just what they're doing right now.

Militant: What should unionists do in the United States?

Rook: We'll have to organize, to get on committees to oppose this. Demonstrations are necessary.

thorities should not be strict in preparing the list. Efforts should be made to guide prisoners to join the beloved people and take the path of the Islamic Revolution along with them."

The HKE has taken further steps to defend its own rights and those of all Iranian workers and peasants. A lawsuit against illegal arrests and torture — prohibited by Article 37 of the Islamic Republic's constitution — has been filed by the HKE. The interview with Bahram Atai on Evin Prison was entered as evidence in this case.

Those outside Iran who share the HKE's stance of support for the revolution and opposition to the attacks on it

by U.S. imperialism can play a role in defending the rights of socialists and working-class militants in Iran. Telegrams such as the following should be sent to Hojatolislam Mousavi Tabrizi, Prosecutor General, Islamic Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran. Send copies to *Jomhuri-e-Eslami*, Tehran, Iran:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of the U.S. government's threats against it, I urge you to release the anti-shah, anti-imperialist fighter Mohammed Bagher Falsafi and halt the illegal harassment of his organization, the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), and of the HKE's legal newspaper, Kargar."

Imperialism vs. the Iranian Revolution: Which side for working people?

By Janice Lynn & David Frankel



40 pp., \$.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

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‘An idea is sweeping the U.S.’

“If there is one thing certain in America today, it is that there is a trend — a firestorm — of mounting opinion in favor of meaningful nuclear negotiations with the Soviet Union. . . . It has leaped across the Atlantic in recent months. . . . And it is just the beginning.” — *New Republic*

“The political pressure on Washington to do something about nuclear weapons has materialized so quickly and unexpectedly that even the leaders of grass-roots groups around the country are surprised.” — *Washington Post*

“An idea whose moment may have arrived is sweeping the U.S. . . . The resolutions on Capitol Hill are the small tip of a very large iceberg.” — *Time*

None of this is exaggeration. The scope of the present movement against nuclear weapons, and the speed of its development, is remarkable.

For example, *Time* reported March 29:

“In South Dakota, which has 150 missile sites and an imposing military payroll, eight city councils have so far passed their own nuclear-freeze resolutions.

“‘South Dakota is the last place people think something like this would be going on,’ says Tim Langley, director of the South Dakota Peace and Justice Center. ‘But the sense has grown here that we are entering a new phase of the arms race, that we are getting ready to fight a nuclear war.’”

Time added:

“The strength of the antinuclear sentiment is especially surprising in the South, considering the region’s traditional conservatism and its dependency on the military for its livelihood.

“Says South Carolina Lieutenant Governor Nancy Stevenson, whose state is home to a Poseidon missile factory and the nation’s only weapons-grade plutonium plant: ‘These installations have been here for years, but I do think our people are now uncomfortably aware that South Carolina plays a far greater role than we would wish in nuclear matters.’”

The April 1 *New York Times* reported the surge of opposition to nuclear arms in the New York area. A key driving force, it reported, are Catholic and Protestant churches and Jewish synagogues.

In Harlem, a five-church coalition, the Harlem Peacemaking Community, is circulating petitions. “We’re trying to tell Harlem, what with cutbacks in jobs and housing, that the money that should be coming into our community is going into the military,” a church official told the *Times*.

In Indianapolis, St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic Church is withholding the federal tax on its phone bills to protest the nuclear buildup. In Seattle, Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen plans to withhold half his income tax to protest nuclear weapons.

In Chicago, 92 civic and religious groups slated a Holy Saturday peace walk.

Ground Zero, a nuclear education group, announced that the week of April 17, activists in 120 communities will place markers indicating the likely extent of local nuclear destruction.

A delegation from the European disarmament movement recently toured 50 U.S. cities. When they

came to Philadelphia March 27, a reported 15,000 to 20,000 people turned out in freezing weather for a candlelight procession.

What lies behind this phenomenon? We have lived with the threat of the bomb since 1945 when Harry Truman ordered the first ones dropped on Japan.

But today people see the escalating U.S. intervention in Central America and recognize that the rulers of this country are driving toward war. And, with the bomb-rattling in Washington, they realize that any direct involvement in a war today could mean U.S. use of nuclear weapons.

This fuels an antiwar sentiment so deep that it has sparked fissures within U.S. ruling circles.

This was reflected in the April 6 speech by Secretary of State Haig, in which he reiterated the administration’s refusal to renounce a first use of nuclear weapons.

An aide said the Haig speech was intended to rebut in advance a slated article in *Foreign Affairs* by four former government officials favoring renunciation of a first-strike threat.

The bellicose response to this very modest proposal suggests the amount of pressure on the administration as it presses forward to defend what Haig called the “essential values of Western civilization” — that is, the profit system.

Haig’s *Foreign Affairs* critics have no quarrel with that basic perspective. The same is true of those in Congress who seek to divert antiwar forces with a nuclear-freeze proposition. They simply believe that political wisdom dictates a moderation of the rhetoric of nuclear holocaust.

Within the mushrooming antiwar movement itself there are varying ideas on how to achieve nuclear disarmament. Increasingly, these differing ideas will be the subject of intense discussion within the movement.

Some argue for a negotiated U.S.-Soviet agreement to curb nuclear weapons. Others recognize that the nuclear threat to humanity is located in Washington, D.C., and that it is a serious political mistake to demand anything less than unilateral U.S. disarmament, especially as Washington insists with maniacal arrogance on the right to a first nuclear strike.

The discussion of disarmament is linked to the growing danger of U.S. intervention in Central America. More and more antiwar activists realize that the movement must take a firm stand against Reagan’s real war today in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and the Caribbean.

The massive eruption of opposition to the bomb should be welcomed by every proponent of peace, justice and human survival.

Many important activities are on the agenda including a May 1 antiwar demonstration in Washington called by the People’s Antiwar Mobilization.

All this will climax with the giant June 12 disarmament march to the United Nations. It will deal a solid blow to the imperialist warmakers.

U.S.-staged elections: El Salvador, 1982 Vietnam, 1967

Staging elections to lend a democratic façade to a repressive military dictatorship, as happened in El Salvador March 28, is an old trick of U.S. foreign policy. Washington tried the same thing in South Vietnam in 1966. Mass opposition there forced Premier Nguyen Cao Ky to agree to elections for a constituent assembly with legislative powers. The assembly was to include the Buddhist church, which had spearheaded demands for elections, but not the guerrillas of the National Liberation Front. At the urging of the U.S. government, the Ky regime crushed the opposition in the streets and held the elections — excluding the Buddhists and giving the constituent assembly no real power. The following are excerpts from an analysis of those elections by Dick Roberts, which appeared in the September 19, 1966, *Militant*.

The results of the September 11 elections in south Vietnam have been greeted by Saigon and Washington alike as a victory over the guerrillas, comparable to the victory the Viet Minh scored over the French at Dienbienphu. “We are heartened by the fact that the elections were held,” the White House stated, “and heartened by the size of the heavy turnout as reported.”

But the official enthusiasm is not very persuasive. The elections excluded not only the National Liberation Front, but also the Buddhist opposition which had begun the struggle for elections last March to begin with.

What was elected was not a body with legislative powers, but one which has the sole right of drawing

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

up a constitution — and one which will be automatically disbanded at the end of a six-month period. Furthermore, the ruling Saigon junta has veto power over all decisions made by the 117-man body with less than a two-thirds majority.

The only argument that apologists for the U.S.-puppet regime are left with is the one that there was a large turnout for the elections, in spite of the “Vietcong terrorism.” But this argument is suspect, too. Registration for the elections was not voluntary. It was automatic. In local districts, actual voting was conducted under military rule.

NBC-TV news, Sept. 11, showed one voting place where the voters had been rounded up and trucked to the polls in U.S. army vehicles.

But the elections themselves are not the major question. More significant is the fact that these elections are one step in the much greater strategy of the U.S. puppet regime to isolate and crush all internal opposition outside of the region directly controlled by the National Liberation Front.

It need be recalled that for over three months of this year, from mid-March to late June, there were demonstrations almost every day in the three large Vietnamese cities against the puppet government and against U.S. intervention in Vietnamese affairs.

Many marchers called for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and practically all of them demonstrated sympathy with the idea of immediate negotiations with the NLF.

These events can be roughly broken down into four phases:

- March 10-April 14. The dismissal of General Nguyen Chanh Thi leads to a series of militant demonstrations, particularly in Hué and Danang, but then also in Saigon, culminating in an agreement between Ky and the Unified Buddhist Church to hold new elections.

- April 14-May 15. The demonstrations do not subside. They become larger and more militant. Troops and policemen join in; workers at the U.S. air base in Danang go on strike.

- May 15-June 20. Ky attacks Danang, and after crushing the opposition in this city, attacks Hué, June 17.

- June 20-Sept. 11. Demonstrations continue for several days in Saigon, but they are crushed by troops and riot-squad cops. Martial law is established. Leaders are arrested. This is followed by a consolidation of military control in all three cities and preparations for “free elections.”

These events do not spell out a growth of support for the Ky regime leading to acceptance of the idea of “democratic elections.” They spell out the crushing of an incipient civil war, and primarily through the decapitation of its leadership.

Massive public works program needed

The U.S. Labor Department reported that unemployment reached 9 percent in March. This matches the level of May 1975, and is the highest official jobless rate since 1941.

But the actual unemployment figures are much higher. Janet Norwood, commissioner of statistics for the Labor Department, told a congressional committee that unemployment actually averaged 12.5 percent of the work force during the January-March period. This figure includes both workers listed as officially unemployed and the so-called discouraged workers, who want jobs but have given up looking.

Even by these inadequate figures, that adds up to 11.2 million people without jobs in March. Another 5.7 million were forced to work part time. Altogether that makes nearly 17 million people who cannot find a full-time job.

The government reported Black unemployment at an official rate of 18 percent. This is more than double the 7.9 percent rate for whites. Among Black teenagers, according to the government figures, unemployment was 46 percent.

The full scope of the impact on Blacks is even more devastating. According to Janet Norwood, Blacks make up 10 percent of the population, but are 40 percent of the “discouraged” workers.

Both the government and big business concede un-

employment is going to get worse. They act as if nothing can be done about it.

But the solutions to the crisis are not hard to see. They start with the mammoth war budget. The billions of dollars now spent on nuclear weapons, missiles, bombers, warships, and chemical weapons, and to prop up murderous dictatorships could be used to launch a crash program of public works, to provide millions of jobs and construct low-cost housing, hospitals, schools, recreation facilities and many other things we need.

Instead of cutting back unemployment benefits, food stamps, and social security, these vitally needed services should be expanded. Everyone out of work should receive unemployment funds at union scale for as long as they can’t find a job.

Affirmative action should be expanded, and measures taken to protect the job gains won by Blacks, Latinos, and women, who suffer disproportionately from the crisis.

The workweek should be cut with no loss in pay, to spread the available jobs around.

When companies claim they have to shut down, we should demand that they open their financial books to public inspection. Those that refuse to keep producing should be nationalized and run by democratically elected boards.

Shirley Chisholm decides not to run again

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, a seven-term Democrat from Brooklyn, New York, has announced she will not seek reelection, ending a 23-year career in politics. Chisholm was the first Black woman to be elected to the House of Representatives. She gained national attention in 1972 when she ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic party presidential nomination.



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Melvin Chappell

Explaining her decision to step down, Chisholm said that her job as congresswoman "has become tedious and frustrating," and that "it's been very, very painful.

"I vowed that the remainder of my productive life would not be consumed by politics," she said.

"It has become increasingly difficult," she explained in a public statement, "to carry the tragic message back from Washington to the jobless, homeless, and hopeless Brooklynites.

"How can I," she asked, "as a member of a political and racial minority in today's Congress, hope to put an end to poverty, unemployment, and discrimination in Brooklyn and throughout this nation in the face of an administration that is cancelling the past 50 years of human progress in America?"

The problems that Chisholm faces are the same confronting all the elected Black Democrats and Republicans. When speaking to a gathering of 150 people at Medger Evers College in Brooklyn, she said other Black Democrats have been incapable of defending the interests of Blacks. "Instead," she said, "they are mouths, really petty dealers maneuvering to further their own careers."

What she is admitting is that the Democrats and the Republicans don't work for the masses of Black people. Many Blacks are drawing this same conclusion. Only most of us can't quit politics and settle down in a nice comfortable job. We need a political perspective.

The Democratic and Republican parties are not our

parties. They are the parties of the racists and the bosses.

In face of the racist, ruling-class offensive, the Black elected officials have no perspective to offer except continued reliance on the parties that are responsible for the continuation of racial oppression.

Fortunately hundreds of Black activists have drawn a conclusion different from Chisholm's. Instead of dropping out of politics, they are deepening their involvement.

These activists came together in November 1980 to form the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). At its first Congress in August 1981, they adopted a charter that states, "Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours."

The charter also states NBIPP's alternative — what it has to offer to the millions of Blacks suffering under the exploitation of capitalism. The party "aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation."

LETTERS

Korea I

I was pleased to see the article by Suzanne Haig comparing the social systems in North and South Korea in the March 12 *Militant*.

As socialists, we have an important task in educating about how workers states (those countries where capitalism has been done away with) represent a higher stage of social development than any capitalist country. This is true despite the fact that most of these countries are run by bureaucratic leaderships which inhibit true workers democracy and the democratic socialism we are all striving for.

Many of my garment co-workers think that a so-called "democratic" capitalist country in spite of its "problems" is more desirable than a "totalitarian" workers state. We have to explain that the social revolution has already occurred in these states and that human needs do take precedence, although carried out in a distorted way.

This kind of discussion can not be carried out in the abstract but requires concrete facts. The comparison of North and South Korea provides us with an educational tool to convince North American workers of the superiority and necessity of socialism, not only in this country, but around the world.

Once we have done that, it becomes easier to explain that the Polish Solidarity movement is attempting to extend socialism to the political sphere; that it wants a greater say in how its society is run — not a return to the capitalist system where a tiny minority makes the major decisions affecting all.

Edwin Fruit
Brooklyn, New York

Korea II

The *Militant's* recent article outlining the differences between North and South Korea was excellent. More articles on the differences between former colonial states that have overthrown capitalism and their contemporary neocolonial counterparts are in order. These articles explain the advantage of a socialized economy in a very concrete and inspiring way.

I started reading the article

on break at work one day. Several co-workers were sitting with me, and as I got deeper into the article, I couldn't help quoting from it — not so much in relation to South Korea but in relation to the U.S. The response was, unanimously, we need that here. The same response one gets when talking to working people about Cuba.

This led to a long and interesting discussion on what socialism is. Everyone agreed we need socialism. The question was how do we get it. This led to discussion of a labor party, the National Black Independent Political Party, and eventually to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

More copies of the *Militant* with more articles like the one mentioned above and the other excellent coverage in the *Militant* will be a great asset in convincing people of the need to fight for socialism. Keep up the good work.

John Wood
Tidewater, Virginia

IRA

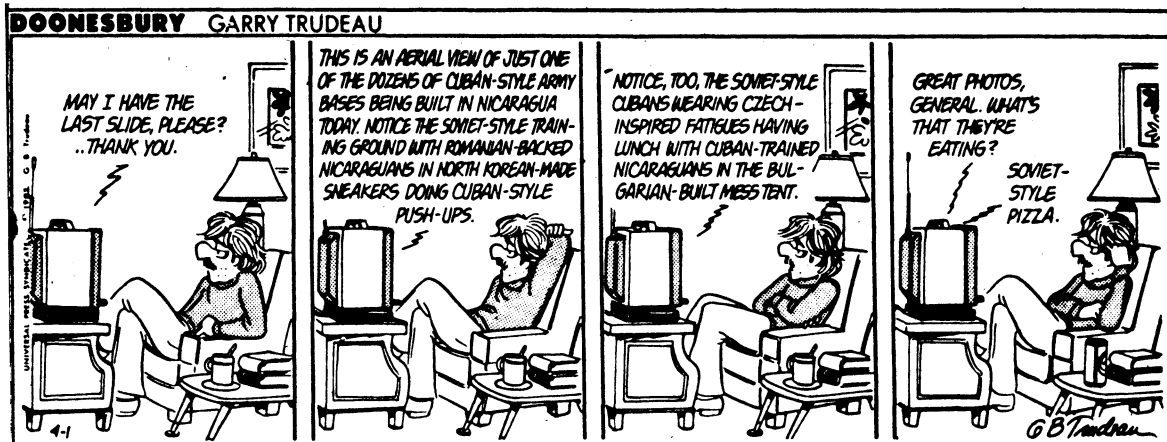
Harry Ring's article on the Individual Retirement Account (IRA) [*Militant*, March 26] is a very timely piece. With the deluge of media play, IRA is a major topic of conversation on the job (before I was laid off), riding the bus, and shopping in the supermarket — particularly among Blacks. The common refrain is: "IRA will help beat inflation!" An illusion Ring demolished with the facts.

There are, however, no illusions about the Social Security system. Generally, among young workers, the attitude is that Social Security will not exist in 20 years. And some don't think it will last through Reagan's term in office.

Osborne Hart
Washington, D.C.

Rights in Nicaragua

I feel we make a grave mistake when we are not consistent in what we stand for. We should not oppose the U.S. government's violations of civil rights (censorship, surveillance of oppositional groups, deportation of subversives, etc.) and excuse Sandinista violations of civil rights. We can both praise



and criticize the Sandinistas, according to the particular action. When we just designate groups as "good guys" and "bad guys" we become blind to the merits and demerits of particular actions.

Candy Milne Schira
Hicks, Louisiana

Nicaragua

I was disturbed over a report in the March 21, 1982 issue of Louisville's *Courier-Journal* which reported on the arrest and expulsion of Jehovah's Witnesses missionaries by the government of Nicaragua. The *Courier-Journal* article stated that the missionaries were charged with "anti-revolutionary activities." This is ludicrous. Jehovah's Witnesses are probably the only religious group which stays totally neutral towards politics. They have a reputation for teaching pacifism.

Also, there is much evidence that the missionaries have encouraged literacy among many Latin American countries during the last several decades through their formal Bible studies, because when necessary, they first teach the peasants to read.

This *Courier-Journal* report and other reports I have read seem to indicate that the government of Nicaragua has become repressive. I am very interested to hear comments of informed persons at the *Militant* as to why this act of repression was committed by the government of Nicaragua. I have read only positive things in the *Militant* about Nicaragua's government. I am quite disappointed by this news and

will appreciate it if you will shed some light on the matter for me.

Lois Klinglesmith
Louisville, Kentucky

Colombian elections

I lived a good many years in South America and know first hand of murderous deeds of the Colombian troops. Please do not think all Americans are wicked and not caring what happens in El Salvador. I for one am deeply concerned.

I will go to the polls to do what I can to see the removal of "Mr. Good Guy." People here are eating out of garbage cans and he thinks he has done something great. The visitor from Nicaragua [Commander Daniel Ortega] made a great speech before the United Nations.

I think the guerrillas I knew from Colombia were the most valiant and courageous men I was privileged to know, who sacrifice their lives in trying to bring order out of chaos. I am sorry to see they still have trouble.

In Colombia they mowed down with submachine guns the "voters" before they even had the opportunity to vote, on the outskirts of the towns, and then raved about how legal everything was. A complete farce.

Keep up the good work.

D.F. Wegner
Tucson, Arizona

Guatemalan reader

The first time I had the chance to get the *Militant* was early this week. I found it very truthful and objective about the different topics you touch.

That is the kind of press I've been expecting to get since before I came to this country. I am Guatemalan and I have been here in Houston since mid-1981 as a result of the repression that the U.S.-backed Guatemalan dictatorship has developed over my country. I'd like to know how I'd get the other two pamphlets, Nicaragua and El Salvador, you offer through an introductory subscription.

M.S.
Houston, Texas

Price of the 'Militant'

As a former member and friend of the Cincinnati branch of the Socialist Workers Party I'd like to offer a suggestion. I sell regularly, and where I used to sell between thirty and forty *Militants* a week when it was \$.25, and around twenty when it was \$.50, I now, in the same amount of time, sell only between six and ten. Older people are embarrassed by my offer to subsidize a sale by making up the difference, when they refuse on grounds of not having enough money. I practically always have to subsidize students and younger people. I don't object to subsidizing, but the price itself definitely discourages sales.

I feel that if we reduce the price to \$.60 we will be able to sell almost twice as many.

Doris Marks
Cincinnati, Ohio

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

W.Va. threatens to jail voters in move to keep miner off ballot

BY ALYSON KENNEDY

CHARLESTON — W. Va. — The state of West Virginia is trying to keep a socialist coal miner off the ballot.

State officials here launched a slander campaign, including barely veiled threats of jail for anyone who signs a petition to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

The objects of this attention are Bill Hovland, a member of United Mine Workers Local 2095 and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, and Adrienne Benjamin, SWP candidate for Congress.

On March 30, the *Charleston Gazette* reported that Charles Capet, undersecretary of state, had charged the SWP with "using unethical and misleading practices to get the names of its candidates on the ballot." The official tried to back up his slander by pointing to an outrageously undemocratic state law.

"The representatives of the SWP," he said, "do not verbally inform those who sign that they then become ineligible to vote in the upcoming primary."

That evening on Channel 7, the main TV station in the area, Capet's boss, Secretary of State James Manchin, said he wanted to "remind" people that "those who sign any third party petition cannot vote in either the Democratic or Republican primary. . . . Anyone convicted of voting in the primary after signing such a petition is subject to not more than a \$1,000 fine and not more than a year in the county jail," he pointedly added.

State law requires signatures of 5,000 registered voters to place Hovland on the ballot and 1,800 for Benjamin. SWP campaign supporters report that more

than 10,000 were obtained in less than three weeks.

They plan to submit well over the required number.

Supporters of Hovland and Benjamin report serious interest in getting a working-class candidate on the ballot, and point to that as the reason the state is so determined to keep them off.

On March 27 campaign supporters petitioned in the Wheeling-Weirton district in the western panhandle of the state, an area hit hard by layoffs and mine closures.

The owners of Weirton Steel, one of the largest steel plants in the state, recently announced the plant will be closed. This will add thousands to the 13 percent unemployment in the state, one of the highest rates in the country.

More than a thousand signatures were gathered that day. Many people had read about Hovland in an article in the *Weirton Daily Times*, which reported the socialist proposal for ending U.S. intervention in El Salvador, a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, and a labor party.

On the following Tuesday, state officials began their campaign to scare people from signing the petitions. A team in downtown Wheeling was told by the city manager they needed a "special permit" from him to petition on public sidewalks.

The slanders from the secretary of state's office were publicized that day too.

The socialists responded April 1 with a news conference in which they denied the state's charges and detailed the history of harassment of the SWP campaign:

- On January 30 windows were smashed at the SWP campaign offices in Charleston. Governor John Rockefeller and Charleston Mayor Joe Smith have not responded to protests.

- State Senator Ralph Williams, a Democrat, tried on February 18 to have an SWP news conference thrown out of the capitol under threat of arrest. He was unsuccessful, although the news conference had to be held on a different floor from where it had been scheduled.

- Secretary of State Manchin refused to accept a declaration of candidacy on February 18. He backed down after legal advice from his staff.

- In early March Manchin rejected a request from Hovland to waive the \$606 filing fee, despite a 1980 ruling allowing waiver for candidates who can't afford it.

- Manchin's office has tried to prevent county clerks from issuing necessary credentials to petitioners.

- There have been numerous cases of harassment of petitioners by police and shopping center managers.

At the news conference, Hovland blasted the state's undemocratic election laws and their hypocritical implementation.

He also announced that the socialists will launch a legal challenge to Manchin and the state over the undemocratic law that restricts who can sign petitions.

Media coverage of the April 1 news conference was statewide, with stories and interviews printed and broadcast in Charleston, Huntington, Wheeling, Weirton, and elsewhere.

Petitioners report that many people know about the law preventing them



Militant Joe Ryan
Socialist Workers candidate for Senate, Bill Hovland, is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2095.

from voting in the primary, but sign anyway. One woman said, "Let Manchin try to put me in jail."

Other signers said they saw no reason to vote in the primaries, since the Democrats and Republicans offered no solutions. A miner from Elkins said he would feel like a scab if he didn't sign to put a union brother on the ballot.

A group of Black students at Fairmont State College signed after they learned that Hovland is a revolutionary and a socialist.

The socialists are asking Hovland supporters and others to write Manchin's office to demand that his office stop harassing them.

Contract takebacks an issue in steel elections

BY ADRIENNE KAPLAN
AND MITCHEL ROSENBERG

GARY, Ind. — Steelworkers across the country start voting for local union officers in mid-April. The central issue facing the union is the upcoming contract negotiations with the nation's basic steel industry, which are scheduled to begin next August.

Success by the capitalists in squeezing major givebacks from auto, trucking, and meatpacking workers — in addition to the government's crushing of the air controllers — have set the stage for the steel owners to demand big takeaways from the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

Without major givebacks, U.S. Steel Board Chairman David Roderick said March 29, the industry faces "ultimate liquidation." The media have speculated that the steel companies will seek to open contract negotiations early.

The USWA's international leadership has echoed the idea that givebacks are necessary. "Some of our problems," USWA President Lloyd McBride told Associated Press, "stem from having done too well in collective bargaining. These chickens are coming home to roost."

The March issue of *Steeltabor*, the union paper, endorses the givebacks made in the contract signed by the United Auto Workers with Ford.

This is the context for the local elections in the steel union, particularly in District 31.

McBride ally Jack Parton, the District 31 director, has questioned the "cost to the companies" of steelworkers'

wages and benefits. Parton's Unity Caucus is backing Philip Cyprian for president of U.S. Steel Gary Works Local 1014.

But on March 16 the Unity Caucus was handed a stunning blow. More than 2,000 workers turned out to vote for tellers for the election. All 13 tellers elected were from the reform slate of the Unified Caucus, headed by griever Jim Biggestaff.

The unusually high turnout reflected widespread disgust with the 10-year administration of the Unity Caucus, its undemocratic practices of holding two-minute local meetings, publishing a paper only twice a year, and its refusal to involve the union in activities in support of the Equal Rights Amendment and against nuclear power.

A victory for the Unified Caucus will strengthen the ability of the ranks, 20 percent of whom are laid off, to discuss the upcoming contract and how to prepare for the industry's antiunion attacks.

At Inland Steel Local 1010, the incumbent Rank-and-File Caucus leadership is being challenged by two conservative slates. The caucus is a key base of the opposition current formerly led by Jim Balanoff, the district director replaced by Parton.

The Local 1010 administrations have reflected the rank and file's concern for open discussion and democratic procedures. The local is known for its support to women's rights, opposition to nuclear power, and defense of affirmative action.

Last fall, unfortunately, the Rank-and-File Caucus leaders accepted a trick referendum proposed by District Director Parton. The referendum asked union members whether they favored the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which has a no-strike pledge.

Because the ENA also includes a cost-of-living allowance (COLA), caucus leaders argued for a yes vote. They fell into the trap of viewing the referendum as a vote to protect the COLA. Previously, these leaders had criticized the anti-strike ENA.

The referendum passed. It didn't protect the COLA, but it weakened the union. The steel bosses now say that the COLA won't be renewed in the upcoming contract.

At U.S. Steel South Works, Local 65 President Alice Peurala has been under attack by the McBride international leadership since she took office in 1979. Peurala is more identified with opposition to the ENA and company unionism than other local officials here.

More than half the mill's 5,000 workers are laid off. Peurala says U.S. Steel is responsible.

Her main opponent is Don Stazak. Against Peurala's support to the women's, civil rights, and peace movement, he argues that steelworkers should worry mainly about what happens in their own plant.

At Bethlehem Steel's Local 6787, the "Save Our Union" Caucus presidential candidate Dave Sullivan says the employers, not the workers, should take

the loss if financial problems arise. Pro-McBride candidate Andy Hopkins takes a "moderate tone," the *Hammond Times* noted.

The Rank-and-File Caucus candidate at Local 1033 at Republic Steel, Maury Richards, says the steel industry "is going for concessions regardless of how [it's] doing. And I'm really against that just on the word of the company. I think the burden of proof is on them."

Incumbent President Frank Guzzo argues that now "is not the time to be kicking down the door and knocking over the desk."

Five candidates are vying at Local 1011 at Jones & Laughlin. Anger is deep over President Norman Perdue's concession to the company of a job-cutting agreement. There was no vote on the concession.

Loren Hansen is the sole candidate in that race associated with the Balanoff current.

Election of the more democratic, progressive-minded candidates in the District 31 races can be an impetus to the fight against contract concessions. It can also strengthen the ability of rank-and-file steelworkers to raise in their locals such issues as the U.S. war in El Salvador and Washington's nuclear weapons buildup, and to press for union action on these vital questions.

Adrienne Kaplan is a member of USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel. Mitchel Rosenberg is a member of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works.