

Israeli army guns down Palestinians, readies war

BY DAVID FRANKEL

On April 11 an Israeli soldier went on a rampage, murdering two Palestinian Arabs at the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and wounding 30 more, four of them critically.

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin called the shooting spree at the Muslim world's third holiest shrine the work of "a mentally ill man."

But it is the Israeli government's war drive against the Palestinian people that creates the atmosphere for such acts.

In fact, when protests erupted against the Dome of the Rock killings, Israeli troops once again opened fire on unarmed Palestinian demonstrators, wounding at least 16.

As Israeli soldiers were carrying out their bloody attack on Palestinian demonstrators, the Israeli army was mobilizing its forces along the border with Lebanon. On April 10, Lebanese President Elias Sarkis called in U.S. Ambassador Robert Dillon two separate times to plead with Washington to head off a new Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Sarkis recognizes that it is the U.S. rulers who supply the Zionist regime with the weapons and money that enable it to carry out such attacks, and that without tacit U.S. agreement the Israelis cannot continue to terrorize the region.

Begin insisted April 11 that no decision to invade Lebanon had been made yet by the Israeli government. But in the meantime, his troops were mobilizing and the war preparations were sowing divisions within Israel. Israeli workers are already resisting a broad attack on their living standards. More and more of them understand that the Begin regime is determined to drag them into a new war.

As the April 14 *New York Times* noted, "the casualties of an invasion can be accepted only if there is broad consensus on its wisdom and necessity. There appears to be no such consensus about invading Lebanon."

Nevertheless, the war danger is very real. On April 11 Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat warned of an imminent Israeli attack. He told *New York Times* reporter Flora Lewis, "The military massing has been completed. There are three to four divisions."

He warned that in addition to planes, tanks, and artillery, the Israelis would use "forbidden weapons — cluster bombs, fragmentation bombs, gas bombs, and napalm."

"I'm preparing for the worst case," he said, the bombing of Palestinian "camps and centers, Lebanese villages and cities."

Referring to the ongoing demonstrations in the territories occupied by Israel after the 1967 war, Arafat said, "It's a referendum. But most important is the Tel Aviv demonstration of Peace Now [against the repression in the occupied territories and Begin's war threats]. There were 20,000 [on March 27]. It's a referendum, not only for Palestinians, even among Israelis."

As for the youth in the West Bank throwing stones at Israeli tanks, Arafat said, "This is the new David throwing stones at Goliath."

Stop British warships! Hands off Argentina!



More than 2,000 demonstrated in New York April 11 in support of Argentina. See story page 5.

Nicaragua stays on war alert as U.S.-backed raids mount

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA — "The state of emergency remains in full effect," Commander Humberto Ortega told a crowd of more than 3,000 here April 8.

Everyone understood why. The meeting was no ordinary gathering. It was a memorial service for 17-year-old Sandinista soldier Heriberto Laguna Gámez, who had been killed the day before when counterrevolutionaries attacked the Zacateraz border post, 300 kilometers north of here.

Ortega, who is minister of defense and head of the Sandinista armed forces, delivered the main address at the meeting.

Heriberto Laguna Gámez was not the only casualty this week. The Nicaraguan revolution remains under daily military pressure from imperialism, and a virtual state of undeclared war continues in the northern border region.

Between 4,000 and 5,000 armed counterrevolutionaries are based in 17 camps just across the Honduran border. At least 600 more are based inside the country, mostly in remote rural areas in Zelaya province to the east.

These counterrevolutionary forces, made up for the most part of former members of Somoza's National Guard, are trained, equipped, and financed by the U.S. government. They continue to carry out armed incursions, at times with the open backing of the Honduran army, which now has some 100 U.S. advisers.

Attacks just this week include the following:

Thirty uniformed Honduran soldiers crossed the border near Somotillo April 4, and kidnapped 21 peasants — men, women, and children. Following protests by the Nicaraguan government, the peasants were released the next day.

On April 5, counterrevolutionaries tried to board and take over a fishing vessel in Nicaraguan waters off the Atlantic Coast. They met more resis-

tance than they expected and all were captured.

The same day an armed band attacked the home of two militia members in central Chontales province, 140 kilometers east of here, killing both of them.

On April 6, in the same area, three peasant militiamen were killed and four were kidnapped. Three terrorists were killed in the fighting.

Just before daybreak on April 7, coordinated attacks were mounted at opposite ends of the country. To the south, the Peñas Blancas border post was shelled by mortars from the Costa Rican side. To the north, an armed group of 100 attacked the Las Pampas border post, and another attacked the Zacateraz post, where Laguna Gámez was killed. Both groups of terrorists were driven back across the border.

Continued on Page 4

GM vote makes auto bosses nervous

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The corporate heads of the auto industry are nervous after General Motors workers nearly defeated a new contract that made big concessions to GM. The large "no" vote — 48 percent — was a setback to GM's plans.

The deep opposition "could signal trouble as the No. 1 auto maker launches an effort to obtain further concessions at many of its plants," the *Wall Street Journal* reported April 12.

Alfred Warren, the GM vice-president who negotiated the contract with the United Auto Workers leadership, told the *Journal* the overwhelming "no" vote at many plants will make it difficult to get "cooperation" there.

The overall vote total — 114,468 to 105,090 — was much closer than the 73 percent approval by Ford workers of a similar contract six weeks earlier. GM

The British government is setting the stage for an armed confrontation with Argentina.

The largest British naval armada since World War II is steaming toward the Malvinas Islands off the coast of Argentina. Argentine assets in Britain have been frozen, and a trade embargo has been imposed. The British war ministry has threatened to sink any Argentine ship within 200 miles of the Malvinas Islands.

In a display of unity rarely seen in recent years, the imperialist powers are lining up behind the British government's aggression.

The European Economic Community

EDITORIAL

has approved a total ban on imports from Argentina — the harshest punitive measure taken by that body in its 25-year history. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Japan have also taken steps against Argentina.

The U.S. government declared itself "neutral" in the conflict, but only after Washington had already voted for the UN resolution calling for the withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Malvinas Islands, and after issuing a statement of its own to the same effect.

Washington has since permitted the British armada to obtain supplies at its airbase on the mid-Atlantic island of Ascension and has provided it with 2 million gallons of aviation fuel.

Washington's claim of neutrality is merely a diplomatic fig leaf to better enable U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig to play a role in putting pressure on Argentina in negotiations.

The imperialist governments are hailing British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's massive show of force as a necessary deterrent to Argentina's "aggression" and "lawlessness."

The London *Daily Telegraph* pointed out April 7 that "The Government's decision to despatch the naval task force in answer to Argentina's aggression can be welcomed purely as a contribution to stopping the deadly drift of inertia which has begun to grip Western nations in the face of all kinds of barbari-

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workers, the *Journal* explained, "generally disbelieve GM's assertions that it needs help."

A majority — 53 percent — of eligible GM workers did not vote. With a virtual media blackout in most of the country about opposition to ratification, many who opposed the contract did not bother to vote because they thought the contract would pass anyway.

There was little or no discussion of the contract in many locals. Where there was, many workers voted no, as they did at Lordstown, Ohio, where two locals rejected it by 5,864 to 1,480.

Where there was little discussion, the vote was often lopsided in favor, as at Tarrytown, New York, where it passed 2,579 to 861.

There was little organized opposition. Where there was, as at Local 595 in

Continued on Page 6

Massive picket foils union busters at GE

BY CRICKET DADIAN
AND MARY SELVAS

SCHENECTADY — "GE brings good things to . . . an end," said one picketer's sign. Nothing could better express the anger of 8,000 General Electric Schenectady workers who went out on strike for three days to protest "farming out" of work to unorganized GE shops and the layoffs that have resulted. The workers are members of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 301.

The picket lines on Monday morning, April 12, involved 2,500 workers, covering all six gates of the huge plant here. Their numbers and tight formation prevented all but a handful of the 13,000 office and management personnel from entering the plant.

In an attempt to intimidate strikers, GE had notified Local 301 that a 12-year-old court injunction barred mass picketing at the plant. (The injunction was invoked during the four-month national GE contract strike in 1969.)

But union members openly defied GE's attempt to stop their picket line and open up the plant. They vowed to keep on walking the line until the strike officially ended at 3 p.m.

At about 10 a.m. police began to move in, as strikers chanted, "walk, walk," and "Hell no, we won't go."

Confronted with the massive size and militancy of the picket line, the cops soon realized they were seriously outnumbered, and they were forced to beat a retreat.

GE farms out work that could be done at its Schenectady plant to its unorganized plants in Greenville, South Carolina, and elsewhere. One of the biggest corporations in the world, GE has plants in colonial countries as well as "right-to-work" states. In both, workers suffer from low pay, poor job conditions, and severe restrictions on their right to organize.

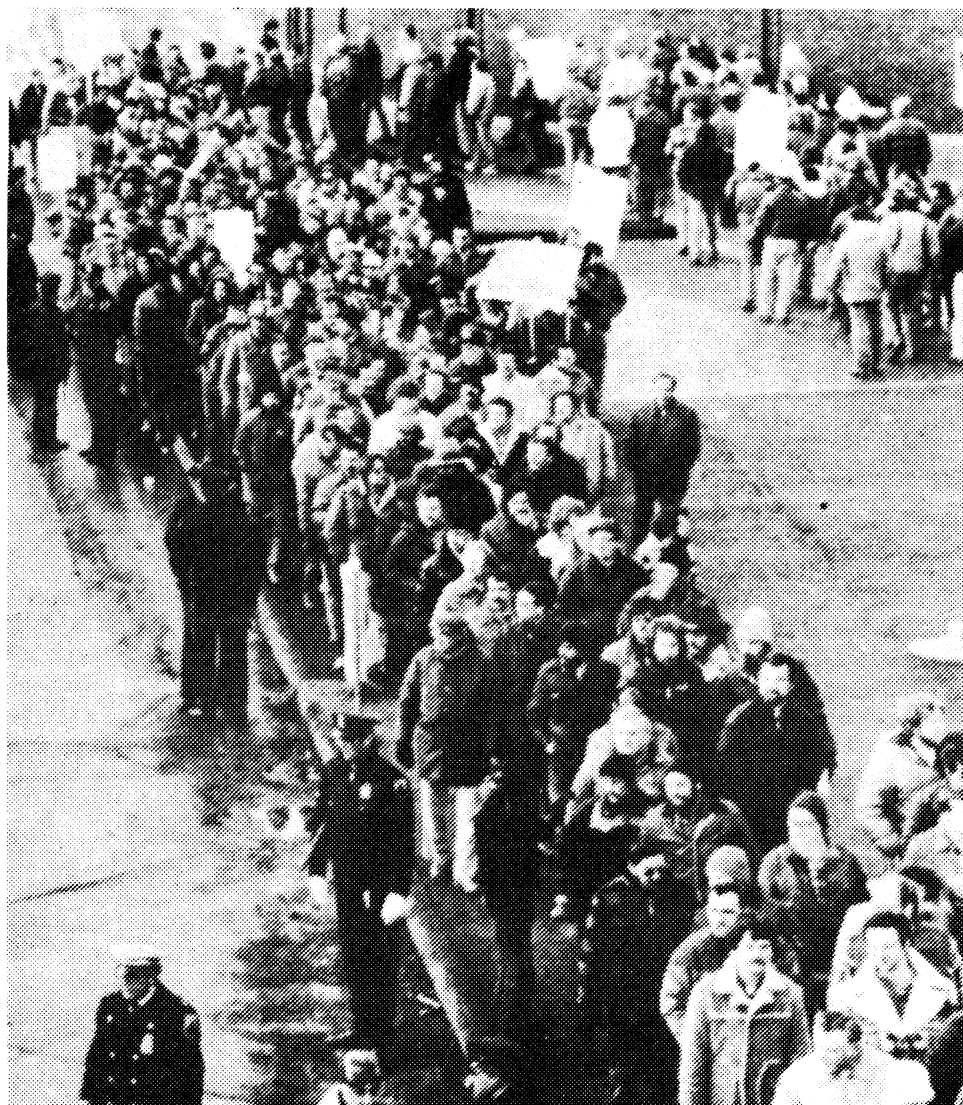
Transferring work to these plants insures an even greater profit for GE, while weakening the organized work force. Farming out is especially useful to the company in the current period leading up to contract negotiations, as a weapon to intimidate union members into accepting takebacks for fear of losing their jobs.

In Schenectady alone, over 4,000 union jobs have been lost over the last four years, with even more layoffs expected this year.

The strike represents the first time in 20 years that GE workers in Schenectady have gone out on a plant-wide strike over a noncontract dispute. It also represents the first large-scale work stoppage in recent times here over the issue of layoffs and work farm-outs.

With national contract negotiations scheduled to begin in May, IUE Local 301 this week sent a clear message to General Electric that its membership will not remain silent while job security is at stake and union busting continues to be the practice of the company.

Cricket Dadian and Mary Selvas are members of IUE 301 at GE Schenectady.



Cops were stymied by April 12 picket of 2,500 electrical workers, during three-day strike against General Electric in Schenectady, New York.

25,000 in Chicago say 'no' to weapons and war

BY JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — In the biggest antiwar march here since Vietnam, over 25,000 people took to the streets to say "no" to Washington's nuclear weapons buildup.

The April 10 Peace Walk was called by a coalition of more than 30 local organizations, among them the American Friends Service Committee, Eighth Day Center for Peace and Justice, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Progressive Student Network, and Catholic organizations.

A contingent of children chanting "End the arms race, save the human race" led off the demonstration. Vietnam Veterans Against the War members marched close behind.

"Hell no, we won't go; we won't fight for Texaco" echoed down the two miles of protesters who marched along Michi-

gan Avenue to a rally at the Federal Building.

"What do we want?" the question boomed out during the hour-long march.

"Disarmament!"

"When do we want it?" the same voices asked back.

"Now!" came the thunderous answer.

Scores of churches and synagogues sent delegations to the march, which was timed to coincide with Passover and Easter.

"Money for jobs, not for war, U.S. out of El Salvador" chants were common throughout the demonstration, not just in the contingent organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and other solidarity groups.

Many women wore Equal Rights Amendment or abortion rights buttons. Thousands of college, high school, and

junior high school students marched. There was a contingent of Latinos.

A small number of unionists came from the United Auto Workers, the United Electrical Workers, the Steelworkers, and International Union of Electrical Workers, and other unions.

Several thousand onlookers lined the street, cheering and waving at the demonstrators as hundreds joined in.

The sea of homemade banners and placards appealed to Washington to end, or "freeze," the arms buildup. A few signs and posters likened Reagan to Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev and demanded the USSR disarm as well.

But for the overwhelming majority of demonstrators, their concern and the focus of their sentiment was aimed at Washington and the White House.

A 55-year-old, laid-off UAW member from International Harvester in Rock

Island, said the argument for the arms buildup "is just a bill of goods we've been sold by Reagan."

One of a half-dozen Black parochial school students said he isn't worried about dying in El Salvador, because if drafted, "I just won't go, man."

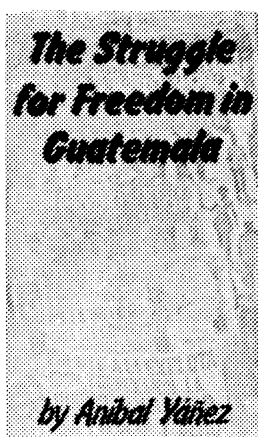
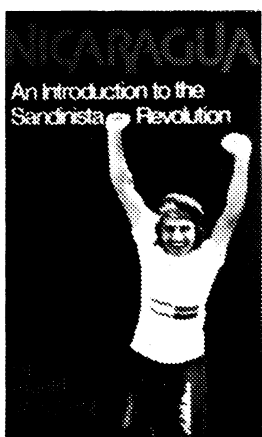
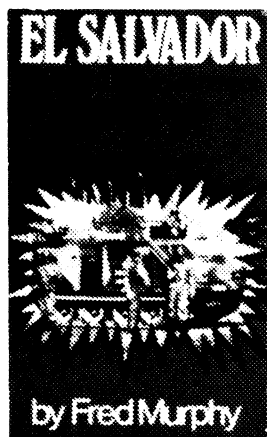
Speakers at the rally included author Studs Terkel, Dr. Charlotte Levin from Physicians for Social Responsibility, and Democratic Congressman Harold Washington from Chicago. To cheers, Washington denounced the construction of the B-1 bomber, MX missile, and Trident submarine.

Ed Sadlowski, South Chicago subdistrict director of the Steelworkers, told the crowd that militarism doesn't bring "full employment."

"That won't come by building bombs or guns, but by building schools and putting bread on the table," he said.

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Behind Haig's 'first-strike' threat

Uses hoax of Soviet 'menace' to hold world at nuclear gunpoint



Alexander Haig

BY HARRY RING

Those concerned with the survival of humanity were unlikely to have slept better after Secretary of State Alexander Haig reiterated Washington's refusal to renounce possible first use of nuclear weapons.

Haig's April 6 speech was designed as a "preemptive strike" to a then pending article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine by four former ranking government officials. The four favor moving toward public renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons.

The four dissenters are: Robert McNamara, Vietnam-era secretary of war under Kennedy and Johnson; McGeorge Bundy, Kennedy-Johnson national security adviser; Gerard Smith, a Nixon weapons negotiator; and George Kennan, an ex-ambassador to the Soviet Union and a principal architect of the cold war.

Haig's answer to them was based on a single argument. He declared that U.S. readiness to drop the bomb is the only means to prevent the alleged danger of the Soviet army overrunning Western Europe.

Defiance of European masses

Haig's insistence on the right to a first strike, coupled with the Reagan administration's insistence on continued deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe and Britain, is in calculated defiance of the will of the people there. In recent months they have marched, literally by the millions, demanding that Washington get its nuclear time bombs out of their countries.

Haig's message to the European people is: We're going to save you from the Soviet "menace" if we have to nuke you into oblivion to do it.

The specter of the Red Army marching into Western Europe has been used for decades as the justification for the enormous U.S. military buildup. But while there is no plausible evidence of planned Soviet aggression against the United States or its allies, there is a lot of evidence that the Soviet Union has every reason to fear imperialist aggression.

In his speech, Haig piously asserted, "From the moment that science unleashed the atom, our instinct and policy has been to control it."

True, science unleashed the atom. But it was American imperialism that exploded the bomb.

Nor were the explosions over Hiroshima and Nagasaki only acts of barbarism against the Japanese people.

'Demonstration shot'

The use of the A-bomb against a country already suing for peace was also intended as a "demonstration shot" for the Kremlin. James Byrnes, who was secre-

tary of state under Truman, later explained that the use of the bomb was not necessary against Japan, but that the purpose had been to "make Russia more yielding" (*Foreign Affairs*, January 1957).

The cold war against the Soviet Union was publicly launched with Churchill's 1946 speech in Fulton, Missouri, calling for a "crusade against communism."

The crusade was not seen as merely ideological. An unprecedented military buildup was initiated, which today threatens the Soviet Union, the world's other workers states, and colonial peoples striving for their freedom.

In the 1920s, the United States had military bases in three other countries — Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Panama.

Today Washington has a global network of some 300 land, air, and naval bases in more than 110 countries. They form a grim circle around the Soviet Union.

And the fact is that Washington has been using nuclear weapons ever since the first were exploded over Japan.

Daniel Ellsberg has explained how they have been used in his introduction to the book *Protest and Survive*.

Ellsberg, who was a Defense Department official until he leaked the Pentagon Papers, says that it's a popular fallacy that the bomb hasn't been used since Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Secret nuclear threats

"Again and again, generally in secret from the American people," he writes, "nuclear weapons have been used . . . in the precise way that a gun is used when you point it at someone's head in a direct confrontation, whether or not the trigger is pulled."

Ellsberg documents 12 such cases. These are just several of them.

- Truman's 1950 press conference warning that atomic weapons were under consideration, after U.S. Marines in Korea were surrounded by Chinese troops.

- Eisenhower's threat to use nuclear weapons against China in 1953 to force a Korean settlement.

- Eisenhower's 1958 directive to prepare to use nuclear weapons to prevent a possible Iraqi move into the oilfields of Kuwait.

- Kennedy's threat to use the bomb in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

- Threats during 1969-72 to use nuclear weapons against North Vietnam.

The Soviet Union, by contrast, has unilaterally pledged not to make first use of nuclear weapons.

Despite the demagoguery of its statements about a Soviet threat in Western



Europe, Washington is definitely concerned with the "security" of that area.

But the specter it fears is not the Red Army. It's the Western European working class.

Social revolution may not appear as an imminent threat in Western Europe. But Washington, like the capitalist rulers of these countries, has no illusion about an assured, long-term stability.

In 1945, as World War II drew to a close, the workers of France and Italy were ready for socialist revolution. It was only the treacherous policies of the Communist and Socialist Party leaderships that prevented this. Committed to the preservation of capitalism, they steered the revolutionary workers into a movement for reform.

During the historic French student rebellion of 1968, when the organized workers swept behind the students, their general strike brought them to the very verge of power. Again it was only the efforts of the Communist and Socialist Party leaders that prevented workers revolution.

Today there's a big added factor at work. Britain and the countries of West Europe are feeling the lash of the world economic crisis. Caught in the vise of unemployment, inflation, and an employer offensive similar to the one here, working-class struggle is on the rise.

It would be one-sided however, to view Washington's nuclear buildup in Europe as aimed only at the working people there. The fact is that every time the U.S. rulers have considered using nuclear weapons since World War II, it has been to block the advance of the colonial revolution — in Korea, the Middle East, Vietnam, and Cuba.

The nuclear buildup today is likewise designed with the colonial revolution in mind, particularly in Central America and the Caribbean, where the workers

and farmers have made big strides forward. Washington's declared readiness to drop the bomb is a message timed to warn the Salvadoran and Guatemalan freedom fighters and those supporting them in the region — such as Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. And it's attempted nuclear blackmail against aid for these revolutions from the Soviet Union if Washington intervenes there with troops.

Less noise

But the mounting world pressure has given others in the U.S. ruling circles pause for thought — thought about the need to moderate the nuclear rhetoric. This is the meaning of the proposal by Kennan, McNamara, Bundy, and Smith to consider making a formal pledge not to use the bomb first.

All four have been cold warriors. None have turned in their claws for dove feathers.

Their *Foreign Affairs* statement explains that they simply feel that with the present Soviet nuclear capability, the first-strike threat is no longer a "deterrent," and moreover, it's creating "divisive debates" in Europe.

They assure that in the absence of big-scale mutual arms cutbacks, "large, varied, and survivable nuclear forces will be necessary for nuclear deterrence."

While these people really have nothing to offer, their stand has the virtue of stimulating the public debate at a moment of unprecedented popular concern over the issue. In this debate, the one practical alternative, the demand for unilateral U.S. disarmament, is sure to gain growing support.

And Haig's response is to sure to further swell the crowd for the June 12 New York nuclear disarmament demonstration.

California city councilman blasts Reagan's smear attack on Grenada

SEASIDE, Calif. — Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor, blasted President Reagan's recent threats against Grenada.

During Reagan's visit to Barbados April 8, the president declared, "all of us are concerned with the overturn of parliamentary democracy in Grenada." Reagan said the Caribbean island had joined the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Nicaragua to "spread the virus" of Marxism throughout the region.

"I had the opportunity to visit Grenada during the second anniversary of its revolution," Mason told those gathered at a campaign rally here April 10.

"Grenada is a mostly Black country. For 300 years it was a slave colony of Britain. Then the British turned it over to Eric Gairy, a Black dictator who continued the exploitation and degradation of the Grenadian people.

"Grenada never knew any democracy until the workers and farmers there overthrew Gairy in 1979 and established their own government," Mason explained.

"The Grenadians suffered long and hard under 'parliamentary democracy' imperialist-style. The same brand of 'democracy' Britain is now showing the world with its threat to go to war against Argentina, a semicolonial country dominated and exploited by imperialism. And it's all because the Argentine government took back some islands that the British imperialists had stolen some 400 years ago.

"What kind of democracy is it that sends nuclear submarines and battle-ships against an oppressed country like Argentina? That forces British workers to go to war against their will?" Mason asked.

"The same kind of democracy President Reagan wants to enforce here, to keep U.S. working people from following the examples set by the Grenadians, Cubans, and Nicaraguans.

"My campaign says, U.S. hands off Grenada! British hands off Argentina! Imperialists out of Central America and all of Latin America!"

GRENADA Revolution in the Caribbean



by Sam Manuel
& Andrew Pulley

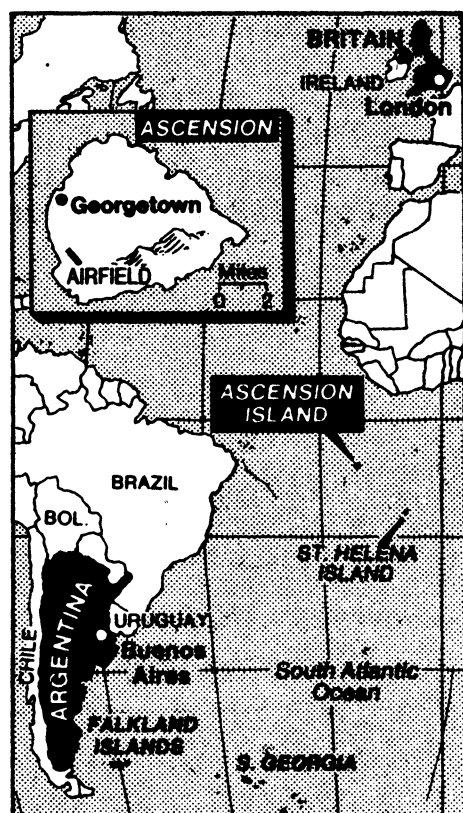
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Imperialists line up against Argentina

But Latin American countries solidarize with target of British imperialism



U.S. air base at Ascension Island is being used as supply station for British fleet.

BY WILL REISSNER

In the dispute between Argentina and Britain regarding sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, the imperialist countries of the world have lined up solidly behind the British claim. On the other hand, the countries of Latin America have taken Argentina's side against Britain, and recognize the Argentine claim to sovereignty.

The reason for this difference is ob-

vious, and was alluded to by Argentine Foreign Minister Nicañor Costa Méndez in the United Nations Security Council debate on Resolution 502, which demands that Argentina remove its troops from the islands. Costa Méndez described the British seizure of the Malvinas in 1833 as "one more reflection of the imperialist policy that the European countries carried out in the 19th century at the expense of America, Africa, and Asia."

Britain's imperialist allies in the European Economic Community (EEC) were quick to agree to the British call for a halt to arms sales to Argentina.

The French government, which itself has colonies in the Caribbean and on the South American mainland, banned military sales to Argentina. The West German government is refusing to deliver submarines and other warships being built for Argentina in West German shipyards.

The Netherlands, which still has colonies of its own in the Caribbean, has also ended military sales to Buenos Aires, as has Belgium.

Other imperialist governments are also backing the British campaign against Argentina. The Canadian government has embargoed all shipments of military supplies to Buenos Aires and closed its embassy there. Canadian Foreign Secretary Mark MacGuigan added that "it is certainly possible there could be additional steps."

The Austrian government has suspended the sale of 27 tanks to Argentina. Japan has blocked arms sales to Argentina. The Portuguese government has allowed the British fleet to use facilities in the Azores on the way to the South Atlantic.

New Zealand broke diplomatic relations with Argentina on April 4.

The Reagan administration has adopted a pose of neutrality in this conflict between two important allies. But its actions have clearly supported the British position in the conflict.

The State Department immediately issued a communiqué calling for the withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Malvinas. The U.S. representative at the UN Security Council, Charles Lichtenstein, voted in favor of the British-sponsored resolution demanding Argentine withdrawal from the islands.

The Reagan administration also agreed that the British fleet could use facilities at a U.S. military base on Ascension Island, and sent Secretary of State Alexander Haig to Buenos Aires to tell the Argentine military government why it must accede to the British demand that its troops be removed from the islands.

By contrast, Panama, which is the only Latin American country with a seat on the Security Council, cast the sole vote against the Security Council resolution demanding withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Malvinas. The Panamanian representative put forward a substitute motion urging "Britain to cease its hostile conduct, refrain from any threat or use of force, and cooperate with the Argentine Republic for the decolonization of the Malvinas Islands."

The Venezuelan government also offered strong backing to Argentina's claim. It sharply criticized the Security Council resolution for ignoring "the original cause of the problem . . . the territorial plunder committed by the occupying colonial power." The Bolivian foreign relations ministry gave unequivocal

support to the Argentine action, as did the Guatemalan regime.

The Brazilian and Peruvian governments also supported Argentina's claim to the Malvinas. Peru's war minister stated that Peruvian support might extend to military aid if needed.

The Mexican government also supported the Argentine claim to the Malvinas, although it expressed disagreement with the movement of troops to the islands and called for their withdrawal.

The governments of Uruguay, Honduras, and El Salvador supported Argentine sovereignty over the islands, as did Chile, which has a long and bitter dispute with Argentina over ownership of several small islands in the Beagle Channel near the southern tip of South America.

On April 12 Radio Havana reported that the head of the Cuban diplomatic mission in Argentina, Emilio Aragonés, had returned to Buenos Aires April 9 as a way of showing Cuba's support for Argentina in the conflict.

Aragonés said, "My country has always had a very clear position on this question and we have defended it in all international bodies. . . . Our president, Fidel Castro, favored the restitution of the Malvinas to Argentina back when he was still a university student [in the 1940s]."

The government of Nicaragua, which has been the victim of Argentine support to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, issued a statement April 6, declaring it "repeats its backing to the government of the Argentine Republic in this dispute."

Speaking before the Organization of American States (OAS) April 8, Costa Rican Ambassador José Rafael Echeverría said, "It seems incredible, but it is true that an armed fleet is coming at maximum speed from Europe to the southern part of our continent in the spirit of war."

The Ecuadoran and Colombian representatives at the OAS meeting also expressed support for Argentina in the dispute.

In contrast to the stance of these Latin American nations, the Soviet government has carefully refrained from expressing its support to the Argentine claim on the Malvinas in the course of the present crisis. The Soviet government abstained in the Security Council vote on Resolution 502 — along with Poland, Spain, and China — and has declared itself neutral in the conflict between British imperialism and Argentina.

From Intercontinental Press

How Britain milked profits from Argentina

BY WILL REISSNER

When Argentine troops landed on the Malvinas Islands on April 2, they focused the world's attention on a small piece of Argentine territory that has been occupied by Britain for 149 years. Although the Malvinas were the only portion of Argentine territory over which Britain exerted direct political control, in the 19th century British capital turned all of Argentina into a *de facto* colony, a status that continued until after World War II.

In 1828, five years before the British seized the Malvinas, for example, they were directly responsible for breaking off what is now Uruguay from Argentina.

Large-scale British investment in Argentina first occurred around the building of railroads. But it skyrocketed following the 1876-introduction of the first refrigerator ship that could transport meat from Argentina to Europe without it spoiling.

In 1884 the first meat-packing plant was built in Buenos Aires with British capital, and by 1890 there were 278 refrigerator ships constantly shuttling between Buenos Aires and Britain.

At the turn of the century, fully 80 percent of all foreign investment in Argentina was British. British control over Argentine life had become so overwhelming that 19th century Argentine President Bartolomé Mitre called England "the principal factor in the country's political, social and economic progress."

By the 1930s British capitalists controlled about three-quarters of the railroad mileage, most urban railway transit systems, much of the crucial meat-packing industry, and had large stakes in chemical works, tire factories, and other industries. In addition, Britain was by far the largest customer for Argentine meat and grain, and was Argentina's largest supplier of industrial imports.

In 1933 Argentina's status as a virtu-

al British colony was formalized in the Roca-Runciman pact. Under the terms of the treaty, Argentina promised to buy guaranteed amounts of British industrial goods in return for a British agreement to buy specified amounts of Argentine beef.

As late as 1942, of the total \$2.5 billion in foreign investment in Argentina, 60 percent came from British capitalists. Their biggest foreign competitors, U.S. capitalists, controlled only 20 percent.

Following World War II, however, the overwhelming British control over the Argentine economy was broken. During the war, Argentina had continued to sell Britain large amounts of beef and grain, although Britain had nothing to sell in return. As a result, Argentina built up huge currency reserves in British banks.

Juan Perón, who had become president of Argentina in 1943, used these huge reserves to buy out British investments in Argentina, making himself a hero of Argentine nationalists in the process. When the Argentine government purchased the British-owned railroads in 1948, there was rejoicing throughout the country.

In the postwar period, U.S. capitalists have surpassed their British counterparts in terms of *direct* investment in Argentina. But British banks continue to play a crucial role in Argentine financial life and in financing the country's huge foreign debt.

Today Argentina's foreign debt stands at the astronomical level of \$32 billion. Of Argentina's total foreign debt, nearly \$6 billion is directly owed to British banks, and much of the rest was syndicated through London banks.

In this connection, the Thatcher government's freeze of Argentine deposits in British banks and its veto on any further loans to Argentina could deal a crippling blow to the Argentine economy.

The development of the crisis around the Malvinas Islands demonstrates the

extent to which Britain remains a major imperialist power, despite its relative economic decline since the Second World War.

In addition, the British imperialist state still has the military power to send troops halfway around the world to defend its economic and political interests. In this sense, the dispatch of the British fleet — including nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers — to the South Atlantic is not only a warning to the Argentine government to keep its hands off "British property," but is a warning to all semicolonial countries that the British military will defend British economic interests throughout the world.

From Intercontinental Press

Nicaragua stays on war alert

Continued from Page 1

On April 8, a U.S. RC-135 spy plane entered Nicaragua from Costa Rica, and conducted a spy flight up the Pacific Coast.

The latest attacks come on top of an already grave escalation of military pressure.

From March 15, the day the state of emergency was declared, to April 4, Nicaragua has been subjected to 23 armed attacks, including 2 in which units of the Honduran army participated; 23 violations of its air space, including 4 U.S. spy flights and an attack by Honduran war planes on a coast guard vessel; and 5 violations of its territorial waters.

"Our revolutionary government was forced to decree the state of emergency," Ortega told the memorial meeting, "and with it we showed the imperialists that despite difficulties we are capable of organizing to push the revolutionary process ahead under the most trying conditions."

Referring to the decision to suspend the Easter week vacations so as to maintain both production and defense, Orte-

ga explained:

"Imperialism is trying to prevent the people of our country from carrying out their normal activities. They are trying to create chaos, to keep us from carrying through the tasks posed by the revolution. But we have shown them we are capable of confronting a difficult situation without halting production, cultural activities, or religious services."

How long the mobilization for defense continues, he said, is not up to us but up to the U.S. government.

"So long as imperialism continues to consolidate the thousands of counterrevolutionaries based in Honduran territory, defense will remain a top priority. If these camps are shut down, in accordance with proposals for peace we have made, then the high state of readiness can be lessened."

"If the CIA halts its efforts to destabilize the revolution, the tension can be relaxed somewhat. But as long as we continue to be threatened, murdered, and have our bridges blown up, our defense will remain in high gear as well."

From Intercontinental Press

London report: why Britain threatens war



British Marines on aircraft carrier steaming toward South Atlantic.

BY ALAN FREEMAN

LONDON — In 1833, a troop of British marines stormed the Malvinas Islands in the South Atlantic, evicted the small group of Argentinian settlers, and claimed the islands for the British Empire.

A hundred and fifty years later, the biggest British invasion force since World War II set sail from Portsmouth to retake the islands in the name of "international law."

Within hours of the news of the Argentinian takeover, a wave of jingoistic hysteria swept the news media and the political scene. Parliament was reconvened on a Saturday for the first time since the ill-fated Suez invasion 25 years ago.

Politicians from all parties strove to outdo each other in demands for rolling heads. In the absence of any lynchable Argentinians, the Commons had to content itself with the ritual self-sacrifice of Lord Peter Carrington, foreign secretary and Britain's answer to Henry Kissinger.

In 1956, when Britain launched the invasion of the Suez Canal, it brought the downfall of Tory Prime Minister Anthony Eden. This time, failure would bring the whole Conservative Party government down. Prime Minister Thatcher is therefore staking everything on this military gamble.

'Defense of British citizens'?

But more than simple self-preservation is guiding the government. Basic imperialist interests are at stake. In defining these interests, the hypocrisy of Thatcher and her wolf pack has been breathtaking:

"The defense of the islanders' rights" was the initial claim. No such concern was shown for the rights of the Grenadian islanders, who had to throw out their British-backed dictator arms in hand; or for the islanders of Diego García in the Indian Ocean, who were evacuated for U.S. military exercises.

"Defense of British citizens" was the next cry. It took the papers a week to point out that half the islanders cannot even legally enter Britain under the Tories' Nationalities Act. But defense of the poor islanders has now given way to more hardheaded calculations.

"There should be stronger causes now for confrontation than the little islands at stake," explained the influential business magazine *The Economist*. "Stronger causes — be heartless about it — than the 1,800 British lives on the islands, and than the lives of the men now sailing towards them. Some of those lives may have to be lost; maybe many."

Some of these causes were tersely summed up by Lord Shackleton — who led the last government survey of the island — in the April 11 edition of the *Observer*:

"Their [the islands'] importance lies firstly in the fact that this area commands the approaches to that part of the Atlantic where there are overlapping claims by the British, Chileans, and Ar-

gentinians. The value of this area has yet to be fully measured, but exploration has indicated possible major oil reservoirs," Shackleton said.

Wealth of Antarctic

"There is a more directly political significance to the area," Shackleton continued. "Latitude 60 degrees delimits the territory covered by the Antarctic Treaty of 1959." The significance of the dispute, and the parallel dispute between Chile and Argentina — in which no less a personage than the Queen of England served as arbitrator — is that it bears directly on ownership of the seabed, the Antarctic, and the growing sources of exploitable wealth being identified in these regions.

No less is now at stake than Britain's continued world role, as America's junior partner and as one of imperialism's two major world cops.

All imperialist governments lined up with Britain — more rapidly than with the USA in recent times. This, in spite of major sacrifices.

Reagan had lined up Argentina as a pillar of U.S. imperialism's rule in the southern continent and had been readying the junta for months to spearhead a possible invasion in Central America. But U.S. facilities on Ascension Island were immediately put at the disposal of the British Navy, and the United States threw its weight behind obtaining UN Security Council endorsement of British military action.

Britain's world role

It took just 30 hours to persuade the European Economic Community to follow Britain in slapping a ban on Argentine imports, involving the tidy sum of 1 billion pounds a year [1 British pound = US\$1.78], half of which goes to West Germany.

Britain has proved its worth to America three times over in the 1980s. Britain was the only European country to send observers to the elections in El Salvador; it took part in the joint naval exercises in the Caribbean; and it still keeps the warship *Exeter* in Caribbean waters off the coast of its ex-colony Belize.

Britain is the USA's major partner in the counterrevolutionary Rapid Deployment Force, and Lord Carrington himself was a linchpin of Washington's Far Eastern diplomacy.

European backing for Britain, despite sharp conflicts highlighted in recent negotiations, highlights the fact that no European power wants to challenge Britain's world military role — either by supplanting it or by forcing the United States to shoulder the entire burden of world policing.

For both the U.S. and European imperialists, Britain remains a cornerstone of the defense of their world interests.

But the contradiction between Britain's industrial-economic weakness and its military and financial role on a world scale has become glaring. Per capita income in Britain is now less than in East Germany, and manufactured im-

ports exceeded manufactured exports last year for the first time ever.

Britain's balance of payments is kept up only by North Sea oil and by invisible earnings from insurance, banking, and trade. The more reliance is placed on these activities, the higher becomes the eventual political cost of the day of reckoning.

Jitters on stock market

An attack of severe jitters shook the stock market the day after Carrington's resignation. Two thousand million pounds were knocked off share and equity prices, and the pound fell by two cents.

A sharpened sense of British weakness has produced immediate reaction. The Guatemalan government has given Reagan a further headache by reasserting its claim to Belize, and the Spanish government has suddenly stalled in negotiations over Gibraltar.

A defeat for Britain in the conflict with Argentina would open vital prospects for the world revolution. It would call into question the whole of Britain's shaky world operation. It would bring down the Thatcher government and usher in a period of great possibilities for British working people.

It would also open up important possibilities for the Argentinian working class. Contrary to the Tories' hypocritical claim, the fleet now steaming to the South Atlantic will not hasten the Argentine junta's end. On the contrary, it has postponed the end by giving the junta an excuse for its own military adventure. If Britain were defeated or forced to retreat, the Argentinian workers could give the dictators their deserts.

Role of Labour Party leadership

The Labour Party leadership — to whom the British ruling class has often turned before in times of crisis — attempted to outdo the Tories in bellicosity. Denis Healey, leading off Labour's

attack on the Tories, began by explaining that in 1977 the Labour government had averted a similar crisis by sending a fleet as soon as Argentinian belligerence began to mount.

Healey was followed by Michael Foote, now leader of the Labour Party, who accused the government of failing to discharge its patriotic duty because it ran down the navy to buy nuclear weapons and failed to send a bigger fleet, much earlier.

However, as the initial wave of hysteria began to subside, voices began to be heard against the adventure. First to speak was Labour member of Parliament George Foulkes, who was simply howled down in Saturday's debate in Parliament. A handful of other Labour MPs followed, and by Monday it was clear that a split was developing in the Labour leadership around opposition led by Tony Benn to Labour's support for military action. Benn demanded that the fleet be withdrawn and the islanders given the opportunity to resettle at British expense. However, he did not recognize the crucial principle of Argentinian sovereignty over the islands.

'Socialist Challenge' plans meeting

Supporters of *Socialist Challenge*, the weekly newspaper in Britain in solidarity with the Fourth International, have taken the initiative of calling a national public meeting for April 19, with the support of a number of Labour MPs such as Reg Race and Joan Maynard. The meeting will take up the fight against Thatcher's war drive.

Socialist Challenge calls for the immediate withdrawal of the British fleet and recognition of the Argentinian claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas, as well as for an end to Britain's worldwide military role. This is the only policy that can bring about genuine international unity of the working classes of the two countries.

From Intercontinental Press

2,000 Argentines march in N.Y.

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Some 2,000 people — overwhelmingly Argentine residents of the New York metropolitan area — rallied at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza here April 11 to denounce British military threats against Argentina.

Shouting "The Malvinas are Argentina's" and "Argentina, Argentina, Argentina," the marchers demanded that the British armada now sailing toward Argentina turn back. They called on the people of the Americas — including the United States — to support Argentina's legitimate claim to the Malvinas Islands.

The action, called by *Amigo* (Friend), a group of Argentines resident in the United States, drew people from across the Argentine political spectrum. There were even a couple of American flags in evidence, though these were overshadowed by a sea of hundreds of blue-and-white Argentine flags.

Demonstrators interviewed by this reporter and speakers at the brief rally stressed that the fight against the British threats was the cause of the entire Argentine people, independently of their viewpoints on other questions.

"Some people here support [Argentina's] Galtieri government, many others — like me — don't," one demonstrator told me. "What's involved here is that we are all united as Argentines against the threat to our homeland."

Rally speakers also stressed that what was involved in the Malvinas crisis was simply old-fashioned colonialism. "The peace of our hemisphere is being threatened by the colonialist designs of a decadent empire," one speaker said.

They also emphasized that Argentina did not want to fight a war against Britain, "but if Britain invades our territo-

ry, all Argentines will fight to defend our homeland."

Following the rally, a leader of *Amigo* told this reporter that the purpose of the event had been "to tell the North American people that we are fighting the same kind of colonialism they put an end to in this country 200 years ago."

Washington protest against war May 1

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

The All People's Congress (APC), an organization made up of antiwar and anti-budget cuts activists, has called for a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., May 1. The central demand of the action is "Jobs, not war."

A week of local building activities called the "April Days of Resistance," scheduled for the last week of April, is projected to help build the Washington demonstration.

A March 23 demonstration in New York, initiated by the APC, brought out 15,000 people to protest U.S. involvement in El Salvador and the budget cuts.

Planning meetings for local May 1 actions have already taken place in San Francisco, Seattle, Salt Lake City, and other cities.

In New York and Washington, D.C., meetings have been organized for April 15 to discuss plans to build the Washington action.

The May 1 building activities and demonstration in Washington, D.C., will be an opportunity to keep up the pressure against the U.S. war drive in Central America and the Caribbean, and generate momentum for the June 12 disarmament action that will take place at the United Nations.

U.S. shields Mexico death squad leader, presses effort to deport socialist



Militant/Lou Howort

U.S. government has blocked prosecution of Miguel Nassar Haro (left), former head of Mexican security police, in connection with stolen car ring. Haro, who oversaw torture of political activists, is deeply implicated in testimony supporting asylum bid of Héctor Marroquín (right). Marroquín, a socialist, fled Mexico in 1974 to avoid persecution for his beliefs.

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On March 23 the Board of Immigration Appeals ruled that Héctor Marroquín, a socialist born in Mexico, must leave the country within 30 days or be deported. The decision will be appealed.

Just three days later, on March 26, the U.S. attorney in San Diego charged that top Justice Department and CIA officials have blocked prosecution of Miguel Nassar Haro.

Nassar Haro is the former chief of the Directorate of Federal Security in Mexico, the equivalent of the FBI. He and three other Mexican cops are suspected of being part of a stolen car ring that ripped off 600 cars worth \$8 million.

At the very moment the U.S. government is stepping up its attempts to deport Marroquín, it is protecting one of Mexico's most notorious cops. And it turns out the connection between the two cases runs much deeper.

Marroquín fled to the United States in 1974 after the Mexican authorities framed him up on murder charges. He had been active in student protests there.

Marroquín worked in this country under an assumed identity until he was arrested by the INS in 1977. The INS moved to deport him; Marroquín began a fight for political asylum.

Deportation threat political

It is clear the reasons for the deportation threat are political: Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee and the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee.

The new revelations surrounding Mexican top cop Nassar Haro make the political nature of Marroquín's case even more clear. Nassar Haro's name comes up repeatedly in evidence Marroquín has submitted to prove he faces persecution if forced to return to Mexico.

In the wake of the prosecution attempt by the San Diego U.S. attorney, William Kennedy, U.S. intelligence agencies admitted Nassar Haro was their "most important source in Mexico and Central America." He spied on leaders of the Salvadoran and Guatemalan liberation movements and turned over information to the CIA.

(Shortly after Kennedy let this information out, President Reagan fired him for publicly revealing Nassar Haro's CIA job.)

The INS has rejected Marroquín's assertion that he would face political persecution if he were sent back to Mexico. The agency further claims that the socialist may be a dangerous criminal and that he should be denied political asylum on these grounds.

In the course of fighting his case, Marroquín has submitted volumes of evidence proving the criminal charges against him are false, and that political repression does indeed exist in Mexico.

Testimony and written affidavits sub-

mitted on behalf of Marroquín's asylum appeal detail the brutality of Mexico's federal police and judicial system. Further testimony — corroborated by the Mexican press — points to the existence of paramilitary units organized by government security forces and responsible for the disappearance of hundreds of political activists.

One name keeps coming up over and over in all the evidence: Miguel Nassar Haro. Repeatedly, he is identified as a kidnapper, torturer, and chief jailer of the underground prisons in Mexico.

"We knew he was no angel," said one CIA official about Nassar Haro, "but you don't have much choice."

Not only isn't Nassar Haro an "angel," Nassar Haro is the individual cited by witness after witness as the organizer and the leader of the "White Brigade," a death squad made up of cops from Mexico's security forces. During the 1977-78 period alone, this organization was responsible for the disappearance of nearly 300 political activists.

In an article in the January 22, 1979, issue of the Mexican magazine *Proceso*, two prisoners assert in written statements that Nassar Haro personally tortured them to force them to confess to crimes they had not committed. Accord-

ing to their testimony, Nassar Haro either supervised or personally administered beatings, submersions, and electric shock, and threatened the prisoners with shooting to obtain confessions.

Supervised torture

One of the prisoners, Hiraes Morán, described what happened after he was picked up and transported to an unknown location by the Directorate of Federal Security.

"At the end of the trip, we underwent a beating and submersion session that lasted for hours, all under the supervision of Mr. Miguel Nassar Haro from the Directorate of Federal Security."

Another prisoner, Armando Iracheta Lozano, also testified that he was personally brutalized by Nassar Haro in a 1978 sworn statement presented in support of Marroquín's asylum petition. He was taken to a hospital to identify as guerrillas people killed by police, and when he refused to do so "Nassar Haro . . . beat me with his hands and feet, threatening to kill me in front of all the people who were there at that public institution."

On March 21, 1978, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, the central leader of the National Front against Repression in Mexico and an internationally known fighter for human rights, held a press conference in Washington, D.C.

At the press conference, which was organized by Congressmen Ron Dellums and Walter Fauntroy, she denounced the repressive actions of the Mexican government. She especially scored the formation of the White Brigade.

"The brigade is run by Miguel Nassar Haro, [then] subdirector of the Directorate of Federal Security," Ibarra said. "Its purpose is to disappear those who they suspect of subversion; the majority of its victims are young students like my son, who have political ideas that some politicians consider a threat or a danger to the government."

Ibarra also revealed that "the 'White Brigade' is made up of the most select agents of the Federal Judicial Police, and by members of the Mexican army, and is a secret repressive organization similar to the famous Brazilian 'Death

Squad' and the Guatemalan 'White Hand.'"

During the press conference, Ibarra released a list of 243 people disappeared by the police and the White Brigade.

There have been repeated charges that behind such death squads stands the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. That the CIA's "most important" agent in Mexico turns out to have been the head of the Mexican death squad confirms these accusations.

Washington in trouble

And the U.S. government intends to maintain this repressive relationship. As a March 28 *New York Times* headline put it, "C.I.A. Fears Spy Network May Suffer if He [Nassar Haro] Is Prosecuted." And to make it even clearer, the same article quotes a CIA senior official as saying, "The C.I.A.'s main worry all along has been the potential damage to the institutional relationship. It was Nassar's job, not Nassar, that mattered."

This helps explain why the U.S. government has so adamantly refused to grant Marroquín political asylum. It's for the same reason that Nassar Haro won't be prosecuted, and that U.S. Attorney Kennedy was fired.

The beatings, tortures, and disappearances that fighters for social justice are victims of in Mexico — and throughout Latin America — are "made in the USA" for the benefit of the U.S. corporations that exploit the peoples of Latin America.

The same group that was behind the repression of political activists in Mexico is behind the drive to deport Marroquín now. That group is the U.S. ruling class.

Goons like Nassar Haro and others can steal, torture, murder, spy, and organize frameups and still count on U.S. government protection. As a former Justice Department official commented regarding Nassar Haro, "Crime pays if you are shielded by the CIA."

What is at stake in the case of Héctor Marroquín is the right of working people to protest against the foreign and domestic policies of the U.S. government without fear of harassment, jail, or deportation.

GM vote has auto bosses worried

Continued from Page 1

Linden, New Jersey, where the leadership campaigned against the contract, the rejection was overwhelming: the Linden vote was 2,673 against to 493 for.

GM workers in some areas are only now starting to read the analysis of the contract prepared by Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC), a group of dissident local officials, which pointed out many of its weaknesses.

Militant correspondent Wells Todd reports from the Tarrytown plant, where he works, that union members there are grabbing up the LOC analysis. They are also circulating a petition to demand a new vote.

Todd and other *Militant* correspondents also report widespread complaints from workers that they saw only the UAW officialdom's proration of "highlights" of the contract rather than the contract itself.

Tarrytown workers are also posting up the *Wall Street Journal's* interview with Alfred Warren of GM. In it, Warren says GM wants less relief time and higher production at GM plants.

"GM's goal . . . will be to ask that each plant's costs be competitive," the *Journal* wrote. That "will pit GM workers and plants against outside suppliers, either domestic or foreign."

The article did not say that GM locals will also be pitted against each other, but that is the case.

The GM vote showed an overall, if un-

even, evolution in thinking among auto workers. At Chrysler, the 1981 "no" vote against concessions was larger than it was in 1979, despite that corporation's near bankruptcy.

Since GM workers voted after those at Ford, they had more time to discuss the givebacks. A higher percentage at GM voted, and more also voted "no."

Auto workers in plants threatened with shutdowns do not automatically favor concessions, although workers at many such threatened plants voted for the GM contract. A Ford local in Sheffield, Alabama, decided last December to refuse to make concessions, even though it was clear to them that refusal meant Ford would close the plant.

GM got a contract that will increase its profits by \$3 billion at UAW members' expense: auto workers have been forced to give up holidays, cost-of-living increases, and other benefits.

But the large "no" vote puts GM workers in a better position to resist further concessions to the corporation, especially those planned at the local level.

In this sense, the GM vote is a setback to the bosses' drive for concessions, and they realize this. There has been nothing like the orgy of editorial congratulations that followed the Ford ratification.

The GM vote will also encourage workers to fight concessions in the upcoming rubber, steel, and electrical contracts. It will help auto workers resist the demand for givebacks in Canada

(where top union officials have spoken out against concessions, in contrast to UAW leaders here).

The capitalist system is in a crisis that makes auto workers among its chief victims. They have been hit by layoffs and plant closings, and by the greatest uncertainty ever about whether they will continue to work in the industry.

The GM vote occurred in the context of a twofold drive by the bosses to solve their crisis, supported by politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties.

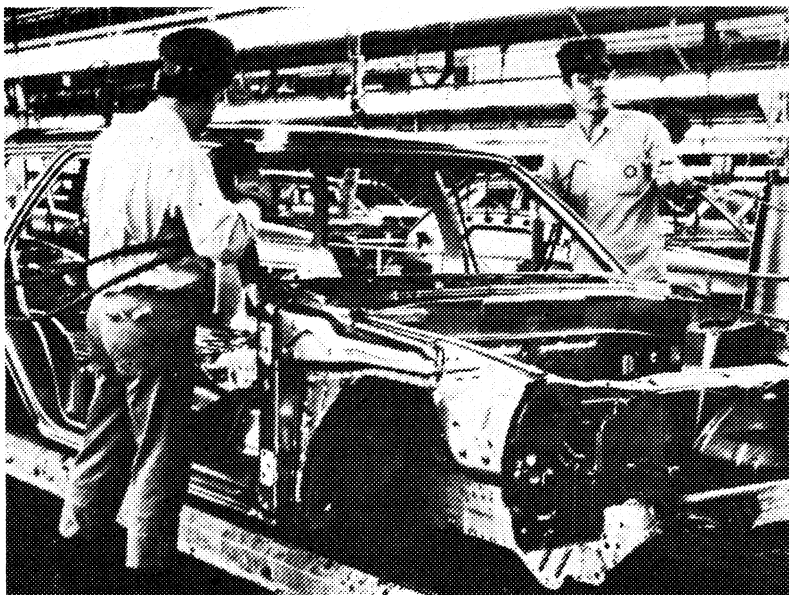
They are increasing the military budget and dragging workers into war in Central America. At the same time they are driving down wages and working conditions, slashing social services, and trying to weaken — and eventually destroy — the unions.

Recognition that the war drive and domestic cutbacks are linked is growing rapidly. So is resistance to both aspects of the bosses' drive.

The GM vote is a sign of that resistance and of growing confidence among auto workers in their ability to fight back.

As that confidence increases, the course the union bureaucracy is on — collaborating with the employers instead of leading a fight against them — comes more and more into question.

The Lordstown worker who said of the UAW, "We just need some new blood in the union," reflects a solid sentiment.



Japanese assembly line: under the facade, company coercion.

Behind the myths about 'harmony' in Japan's auto plants

U.S. bosses want same 'cooperation'

BY STU SINGER
AND GEORGE JOHNSON

There are many myths about Japan; about workers there, and about how they are treated by the companies they work for.

Some U.S. corporations, especially General Motors, have shown movies to their employees about Japanese workers, emphasizing their supposed docility and willingness to cooperate with their employers.

Japanese workers, we are told, sing company songs before work, and are eager to make suggestions about how they can work harder. This seems bizarre to U.S. workers, but GM's message is obvious: American workers should help their employers make higher profits, like Japanese workers.

Bosses in Japan are alleged to treat their workers more humanely. Lionel Olmer, U.S. undersecretary of commerce for international trade, contends the Japanese do not mind selling their products below cost because they are more interested in full employment than profits.

The truth is far different. Rather than being happy partners with capital, Japanese workers are its less-than-willing victims.

And Japanese corporations don't put people before profits any more than their American counterparts do.

Behind the picture of class harmony lies the truth: workers in Japan are harshly exploited, and are held in line by the same means that U.S. corporations seek. A look at the labor movement in Japan shows this.

Unions in Japan

Many Japanese unions, and especially those in the auto industry, are openly manipulated by the corporations to get them to discipline workers. It's not unusual for supervisors and foremen to belong to the union.

Of course, it should be pointed out that U.S. union officials are used to discipline workers too. But many Japanese union leaderships do not even pretend to do otherwise.

Japanese auto unions did not really exist until 1949, when the American occupation government that ruled Japan following World War II lifted its ban on passenger-car manufacture.

The new Japanese auto unions almost immediately faced a drive by the corporations to replace obsolete equipment, which resulted in large-scale workforce reductions.

In response, walkouts occurred at Nissan, Isuzu, and Toyota. A two-month strike at Toyota in 1950 was broken, and 1,000 workers — 30 percent of the workforce — were fired.

A 100-day walkout at Nissan in 1953 was smashed, and a procompany union leadership was installed.

The unions were further housebroken with the help of the U.S. occupation government, which ordered the dismissal of militants from all Japanese unions in what became known as the Red Purges.

Out of this company and U.S. government union-busting, Japanese unions emerged with leaderships acceptable to the capitalist owners of the Japanese corporations.

They also ended up fractured into

unions organized on a companywide basis, rather than industrywide like the UAW and others in the United States.

Thus, many workers in Japan face their employers with much weaker unions than U.S. auto workers here.

Company-union collaboration

An example of what workers face under "labor-management harmony" is that of Azuma Yoshiji, a Nissan worker at the Kawaguchi diesel plant. His story was told in a collection of articles by Japanese auto workers and journalists in *AMPO*, a Japanese English-language magazine.

A year ago, Yoshiji thought a union proposal for a wage increase was too low, so he voted against it.

The vote was taken in the plant in the presence of foremen and supervisors, some of them union members. When Yoshiji voted no, he writes, "supervisor Toyoda pushed people aside and came rushing up to me, shouting: 'Give me a reason! If you want to oppose us you can quit the company. You are a troublemaker. Quit!'"

For the next four weeks Yoshiji worked in a lynch-mob atmosphere. While he was surrounded by 30 or 40 company and union officials, factory committeeman Kodaira told him, "I want to hit you so much I can hardly restrain myself."

Union officials tried to force him to sign a prepared resignation. At a union meeting, he says, one of them told him: "Resign! We have to protect our organization."

Later, officials physically dragged him off. "My wristwatch was almost torn off. . . . Ueno, Ikesawa and Shiraiishi tried to drag me to the welding section. I clung desperately to the iron pole with my left arm, since I was afraid something even worse than yesterday would happen if I let them take me to the welding section."

"About twenty of them then seized me and a kangaroo court began on the spot."

Yoshiji faced this abuse for a month. It was only after he and other unionists formed a coalition with civil libertarians and others that the terror campaign was beaten back.

There are other examples of Japanese auto unions acting in the interests of the corporations. In 1979 seven workers were expelled by the union at Atsugi Auto Parts — which means they can't work — for inquiring about a proposed wage increase that they felt was too low, and for revealing bad working conditions at their plant.

So much for Japanese industry being one big happy family. The fact is that the seeming harmony is only a veneer; under it lies the threat of coercion, with open cooperation by the companies and unions.

Life on the line

As on any auto assembly line, the workplace in Japan is hectic. But do Japanese workers survive their daily grind any better than American workers do?

American auto workers don't have to be told about the toll that assembly-line work takes on their bodies and minds. Tendonitis, arthritis, and mental trauma are all too common on the line; as-

sembly-line work is the most stressful occupation known.

A Japanese auto worker writes in *AMPO*: "Stomach disease at Toyota is the highest anywhere in Japan. . . . There are many Toyota employees who suffer from mental disorders. I myself suffered from this affliction. High labor intensity and the oppressive attitude of my superiors caused me great anguish and forced me to enter a mental hospital."

Another worker reported several suicides at Nissan Diesel, which he blamed on harsh working conditions.

It doesn't seem that Japanese workers fare any better at all.

Another indication of the real conditions in Japan's auto plants is absenteeism, often cited by the U.S. auto barons as excessive here. In Japan, auto industry absenteeism is 8.3 percent; in the United States it is 11.8 percent (figures include all absences). Given the great pressures from the company and unions on Japanese workers, the difference is small.

Productivity and wages

It is true that, on the average, productivity is higher in Japan than here. In Japan, 30.8 hours are required to build a small car, versus 59.9 here. These numbers reflect the higher level of automation in Japan: most auto plants there are more modern, and their ability to automate is increased because Japanese cars are sold with fewer high-profit options, such as power windows and air conditioning.

Wages and benefits in Japan are much misunderstood. "Lifetime employment" and company-subsidized housing and meals are pointed to as benefits Japanese workers enjoy as part of the "humane" working conditions there.

But in reality, lifetime employment is less than that. There is no job security or other protection whatever for temporary or contract workers, who constitute half the workforce in some industries.

The average yearly pay for a Japanese auto worker is said to be \$22,000, including overtime. But the pay scale in Japan is sharply different depending on seniority. New hires get 40 percent of the pay that workers with 17-31 years get. The pay scale also declines after age 49; workers over age 60 get 65 percent of the top wage.

These differentials weaken the unions by setting workers against each other — and that is the aim.

Significant numbers of workers, especially older ones, were pushed out of Japanese industry during a 1975-1978 recession, despite "lifetime" guarantees. Unemployment in Japan is highest among older workers.

This doesn't sound like lifetime employment — or a social system with great respect for the elderly. In fact, Japanese capitalism sounds a lot like American capitalism.

Company-subsidized housing is available. Of course, this benefits the companies, since it ties workers more closely to them. A look at what it's like for younger workers dispels any notion that Japanese companies do this for the workers' benefit.

Two workers share a "dormitory" room just slightly over six feet by six

feet. An army barracks is a palace by comparison.

And the cost of living in Japan is high. Food costs more than twice as much as here.

Living conditions are poor in comparison with the United States, Canada, and Europe. About 10 percent of Japanese houses have no running water, and 50 percent have no flush toilets.

Social services and other benefits are much lower even than here. Japanese workers must save much more of their income as a reserve for retirement and medical costs than U.S. workers.

In addition, women in Japan are kept from working in the auto industry.

What this adds up to is that Japan is less than a paradise for workers, and the reason is the relative weakness of unions. Japanese corporations are "benevolent" only so far as the unions are prostrate.

The Japanese capitalists' real attitude toward unions is also shown in the plants they're establishing here: Honda, Nissan, Toyota, and Mazda all are opposing the United Auto Workers.

Why the propaganda?

There is a reason for propagating the myths of the "happy Japanese worker" and the "benevolent Japanese companies" and their supposed harmony: the corporate American rich want us to accept the same conditions.

Increasing competition at home and abroad has forced the auto companies to automate more, and has reduced their profit margins. Sales are down because of the recession; few can afford a new car. The companies are seeking to squeeze more out of American workers to increase their profits.

They can only do this by forcing concessions through the unions; and the weaker the unions, the more they can squeeze.

They are seeking to tame the unions and ultimately destroy them. That is the reason for the propaganda about "labor harmony" in Japan.

The threat is growing

Unfortunately, the bosses have made progress in this drive against our living standard and working conditions. The takeback contracts at Chrysler, Ford, and now GM are based on the false premise that workers should help the companies.

Discipline for absenteeism, the breakdown of industrywide contracts, sharper pay differentials between new hires and other workers — all point in the direction of the "Japanese" model.

Top union officials may very well think the "adversarial relationship" between *them* and the auto barons is over, but for workers on the line it is not. The companies will use their improved position vis-a-vis the workers, as they always do, to drive down working conditions and wages.

The road of concessions and cooperation will lead us back to where we were in the 1930s, before the industrial unions were formed.

A different road is needed, on which the unions put the workers' interests ahead of the corporations' profits. That will require a break with the bosses at every level, above all politically.

Building support for Mel Mason

Seaside, California, is the home of Mel Mason. Mason is a socialist and a member of the Seaside City Council. He is running an independent campaign for governor of California.

His supporters were busy last week building their first campaign rally in Seaside. They distributed leaflets announcing the rally and sold the *Militant*, which featured on the back page an article on Mason's program for workers and farmers.

Going door-to-door in Seaside's Black community, they met with a warm response. Fifty-two copies of the *Militant* were sold along with 4 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language socialist biweekly; and 6 copies of the *Young Socialist*, the newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Ten people liked what Mason had to say so much that they decided to endorse the campaign.

Chicago antiwar march sales

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Ike Nahem for Illinois governor and Marie Cobbs for lieutenant governor joined the crowd of 25,000 protesters at the April 10 Peace Walk in Chicago.

Campaign supporters were at the subway stop near the demonstration site. "Get your coverage of Nicaragua and the elections in El Salvador," they said as thousands of people exit-

ed for the demonstration.

Total sales were 117 copies of the *Militant*, 10 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 21 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

A thousand copies of a statement by Nahem and Cobbs were also distributed.

The statement invited interested demonstrators to the campaign headquarters after the rally to meet and talk with the socialist candidates. Thirty people attended this open house.

Auto workers in Indianapolis

Beth Julian is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Indianapolis. She has just recently been laid off from her job at Detroit Diesel Allison, a division of General Motors.

During the past week, Julian has been actively campaigning, explaining wherever she goes how the concessions just negotiated in the recent contract between the United Auto Workers and GM do not save jobs.

She and her supporters introduced people to the *Militant*. A total of 12 copies were sold to auto workers in one week.

Brisk sales in Brooklyn

Socialists in Brooklyn spent Saturday, April 10, campaigning against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Setting up a table on a busy downtown street corner —

under a banner reading "Stop the Threats Against Cuba" — they sold 30 *Militants*, 5 *PMs*, 6 *YSs*, and \$10 worth of other socialist literature. Two of the people they met at the table attended a potluck supper later that day, featuring a slide show by YSA leader Ellen Haywood, who recently returned from a trip to Grenada.

Two *Militant* salespeople a few blocks away from the table sold 21 papers. "I'd ask people, 'Have you seen the *Militant*? We support the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada,'" said Susan Jacobson, a Brooklyn garment worker. "We really got a good response."

West Virginia and Michigan

As the sales scoreboard indicates, socialists in West Virginia and Michigan have been petitioning to put SWP candidates on the ballot.

While petitioning, they have met hundreds of interested people who want to find out more about the socialist campaign. Petitioners distribute campaign material as well as ask interested people to sign up on campaign cards to receive a trial subscription to the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*.

Already, over 40 people have taken advantage of this special offer, including students from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and from Marshall University in Huntington, West Virginia.

— Nancy Rosenstock

SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue # 13, PM issue # 6)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Phoenix	75/98	20/36	95/134	141
Salt Lake City	90/111	5/11	95/122	128
Iron Range	50/55	0/0	50/55	110
St. Louis	90/99	0/0	90/99	110
Portland	70/75	0/0	70/75	107
Denver	80/87	5/4	85/91	107
Price	45/46	2/3	47/49	104
San Antonio	70/71	20/22	90/93	103
Piedmont	85/87	0/0	85/87	102
Baltimore	110/112	0/0	110/112	102
Indianapolis	75/76	0/0	75/76	101
Birmingham	90/91	0/0	90/91	101
Houston	50/31	10/24	60/55	92
Seattle	80/71	0/2	80/73	91
Tucson	40/40	10/4	50/44	88
Albuquerque	65/63	15/6	80/69	86
Toledo	50/43	0/0	50/43	86
San Diego	50/47	15/7	65/54	83
New Orleans	85/67	0/0	85/67	79
Louisville	80/60	0/0	80/60	75
Manhattan	135/78	30/32	165/110	67
Twin Cities	135/85	5/7	140/92	66
Brooklyn	140/93	30/15	170/108	64
Dallas	25/15	15/7	40/22	55
Wash., DC	70/41	20/7	90/48	53
Newark	120/50	20/20	140/70	50
Gary	75/30	5/3	80/33	41
Los Angeles	140/33	25/35	165/68	41
Cleveland*	53/16	7/7	60/23	38
Schenectady	90/34	0/0	90/34	38
Lincoln	40/15	0/0	40/15	38
Boston*	140/47	10/4	150/51	34
San Francisco	100/39	20/0	120/39	33
Philadelphia	140/37	15/2	155/39	25
Charleston*	50/12	0/0	50/12	24
Atlanta	100/20	0/0	100/20	20
Cincinnati*	70/14	0/0	70/14	20
Detroit*	115/13	5/0	120/13	11
Chicago	125/10	15/0	140/10	7
Seaside	-/52	-/5	-/57	-
TOTAL	4,048/2,164	374/263	4,422/2,427	55

Areas not reporting: Harrisburg, Kansas City*, Miami, Milwaukee, Morgantown*, Oakland, Pittsburgh, San Jose, Tidewater*
*Petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

Blacks, Indians protest Mpls. school plan

BY FRANK FORRESTAL
AND AUGUST NIMTZ

MINNEAPOLIS — The Minneapolis school board voted unanimously March 8 to close 18 elementary and secondary schools — one-third of Minneapolis schools — at the end of this school year.

In its wake, the school closings will bring across-the-board layoffs of teachers, social workers, and janitors. According to the *Minneapolis Tribune*, the school board is also planning to cut \$8 million out of the school system this spring.

When the school closings were proposed in January, an outcry was heard throughout the city. At Central High School, which is scheduled to be closed, students protested by organizing a spontaneous sitdown protest. Said one Central High School student, "If this country has the funds to train us to kill — how come it hasn't got the funds to train us to live?"

School board superintendent Richard Green said the school closings were necessary to compensate for education cuts totaling \$10 million. He also said the closings would promote desegregation and improve the curriculum.

In fact, the opposite is true: the school closings will undermine desegregation. Of the 18 schools being closed, only 4 are in mostly-white neighborhoods.

Black and Indian leaders here have charged that the school plan would weaken the limited gains made from court-ordered desegregation. (A U.S. district court ordered desegregation of Minneapolis schools in 1972.)

• Virtually all students — from kindergarten through third grade — would attend schools located in predominantly white areas.

• The plan would close three schools in the inner city that are attended by many minority students. The plan would also close Phillips Junior High, which is in a mainly Indian neighbor-

hood. Indian leader John Poupart said the plan is "extremely insensitive to our needs and educational interests." The Indian student dropout rate is 50 percent. Many Indian leaders fear the rate will increase.

• Minorities who want to attend one of the new "magnet" programs will be turned away if not enough white students enroll. "Magnet" programs are being pushed by the school board to promote "voluntary" desegregation.

The net effect of the school-closing plan is one-way busing. On top of this, the state government has said that it cannot pay for busing next fall. All of which means that thousands of students — particularly Blacks and Indians — will be forced to find alternative forms of transportation.

The openly racist character of the plan was shown by Democratic Alderman Walter Dziedzic. Protesting the

idea of Blacks or Indians enrolling in mainly white schools, Dziedzic said: "They're asking us to bring in the lowest social-economic group into our high school and turn it into a royal flush, a toilet bowl. I believe in neighborhood schools."

While most civil rights forces sought to lobby politicians to block the plan, the Twin Cities chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party put forward a different perspective.

On March 7, NBIPP sponsored a public speakout on the "School Closing Crisis." In a written statement, NBIPP said it was "unequivocally opposed to the School Board's proposal to close 18 schools. Not only does the proposal place the burden of the closings on the minority communities, but, contrary to its claim, it is a threat to equal educational opportunities for the Black community through desegregation."

NBIPP also rejected the idea that the

school closings were necessary because of "declining financial resources."

"Financial resources are not declining," said the statement. "Fundamentally, the question is one of priorities. We live in a society where human needs are subordinated to profits."

NBIPP believes that "a fight must be waged against this proposal. We believe that it is a fight that is part of a larger struggle to redirect priorities in this society — a struggle against the widescale racist attacks directed at the Black community."

"We cannot look to the two major parties for assistance or leadership in this struggle. It must depend on the independent mobilization of masses of people on the order of what occurred during the civil rights movement. The Twin Cities Chapter of the NBIPP is prepared to participate with any leaders and groups in our community to launch such a fight."

N.J. socialist fights exclusion from ballot

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

NEWARK — Laura Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of this city, is fighting attempts by the administration of Mayor Kenneth Gibson to keep her off the ballot in the May 11 election.

Gibson is currently under indictment for corrupt practices. Seeking to limit opposition in the mayoral race, he has moved to knock three candidates, including Garza, off the ballot.

One of the three, Robert Brennan, a former Municipal Court judge, obtained a court order allowing him a brief period of time to try to prove that he had enough valid signatures on his nominating petitions.

The court ruling delayed the drawing of lots by certified mayoral candidates to

determine ballot position.

Garza showed up at the drawing to publicly denounce what she termed "this attempt to undemocratically exclude my name from the ballot."

On April 6 Garza was notified that she did not have enough signatures on petitions despite the fact that she had turned in 2,219 names — more than twice the number required.

An examination of rejected petitions showed many that had been improperly ruled invalid. Garza is preparing legal action to win her right to ballot status.

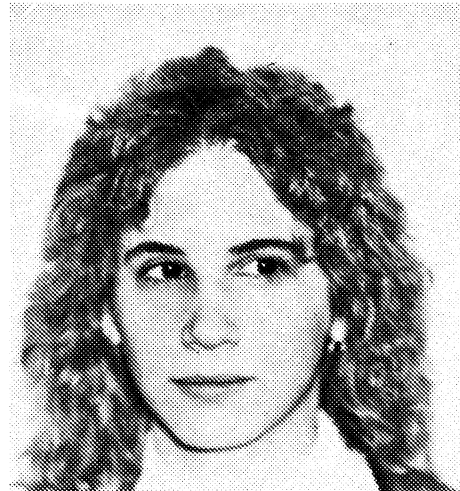
"The Gibson administration wants to deny the people of Newark the right to vote for a socialist candidate offering genuine answers to the problems," said Garza, a 23-year-old garment worker.

"Already thousands of Newarkers

have voiced agreement with my proposals. They oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. They agree with my condemnation of the Democratic and Republican parties' policy of spending billions on the military to safeguard the interests of the rich — while the people of Newark desperately need jobs, decent housing, schools, and health care."

Gregory Pardlo, a leader of the air traffic controllers' strike, will be among those speaking at a campaign rally at Garza's headquarters April 17.

Messages protesting Garza's exclusion from the ballot can be sent to Frank D'Ascensio, City Hall, Newark, New Jersey 07102. Send copies to Socialist Workers Campaign, 11-A Central Ave., Newark, New Jersey 07102.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Cathy Emminizer, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Socialist workers set sights on Pennsylvania ballot

BY FRED LARSON

PITTSBURGH — From the coal fields and mill towns of the Monongahela Valley to the farmlands of central Pennsylvania, to Philadelphia garment factories, socialists will be gathering signatures to put the socialist alternative on the ballot beginning April 17.

They need to collect 24,000 signatures for the Socialist Workers Party's statewide candidates: Mark Zola for gover-

nor, Katherine Sojourner for lieutenant governor, and Cathy Emminizer for U.S. Senate.

Zola is a recently laid-off machinist at U.S. Steel's National Works near Pittsburgh. Sojourner is a laid-off Bethlehem Steel worker and a leader of the antinuclear movement from Harrisburg. Emminizer is a machine operator and member of the United Auto Workers from Philadelphia.

The SWP campaign also recently announced two congressional candidates: Mike Finley, a laid-off Conrail worker, running in Philadelphia's 3rd Congressional District; and DeAnn Rathbun, a coal miner at Bethlehem Steel's Ellsworth mine, in the 22nd Congressional District.

In addition Christopher Davis, a Black hospital worker in Philadelphia, is running for State Senate in District 3.

The economic crisis has hit this state with a vengeance. More than half a million have been thrown out of work. Benefits are being cut off. Many of the plants are shutting their gates for good.

The socialist candidates have put forward proposals that have already gotten significant media attention, and they expect much more interest as they meet people while petitioning.

The McKeesport *Daily News* wrote of Emminizer, "the 25-year-old brake press operator for Philadelphia's Budd Red Lion plant made clear her position with regard to El Salvador: 'Hands Off — no military aid, no economic aid, no troops, no draft.'"

Zola was quoted by the *Valley Independent* of Monessen, "We want to get across the idea that working people ought to be running the government."

The socialists' proposal for a massive public works program to end unemployment and build the many things working people need has been widely reported, as have their calls for restoration and expansion of social services.

The campaign has supported the fight by the people of Cannonsburg against a nuclear waste dump in that mainly coal and steel community.

It has spoken out against the victimization of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a well-known Black activist in Philadelphia.

Rathbun raised the idea of a labor party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans, at a recent meeting of District 5 COMPAC (Coal Miners Political Action Committee, the political arm of the United Mine Workers).

Campaign activities will step up with the ballot drive. Petitioning teams will cover the big industrial centers of the state, including Erie, Johnstown, and the Lehigh Valley.

Fifty thousand flyers are being printed for distribution across the state.

The ballot drive will end May 15 in Harrisburg, where a statewide campaign rally will hear Mel Mason, independent candidate for California governor. The rally will begin with a reception at 6 p.m. at the United Steelworkers of America hall at 1024 Herr St.

McDonnell Douglas workers welcome campaign of Missouri socialist

BY BRUCE KIMBALL

ST. LOUIS — Jody Curran's co-workers at the McDonnell Douglas plant here have been wishing her a lot of luck lately. That's because she recently announced that she would be the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri.

The contrasts between Curran and her major opponent, Republican incumbent John Danforth, are striking.

Danforth is a multimillionaire from the family that controls the Ralston-Purina Corp. He has been an outspoken leader of anti-abortion and antibusing forces in Missouri. His chief fundraiser is on the board of directors at McDonnell Douglas, and top executives from the company have contributed to his campaign.

Jody Curran, 26, is one of 30,000 workers at McDonnell Douglas, one of the largest military manufacturing plants in the world. She is a machine parts inspector and an active member of her union, International Association of Machinists Lodge 837B.

Curran is known by many of her co-

workers as a builder of the September 19, 1981, Solidarity Day demonstration and as a defender of the air controllers. She is also known as a fighter for the Equal Rights Amendment, for making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday, and for ending U.S. involvement in El Salvador.

Because of her union activities and prolabor ideas, Curran is a target of an intense investigation and harassment campaign by the company and the Defense Investigative Service, a Pentagon antiunion spy agency. Three of her co-workers have already been fired because of their socialist views and union activities.

Several hundred of Curran's co-workers had a chance to read her "Open Letter to Co-Workers," which was distributed at the plant by campaign supporters. Others heard radio announcements or saw Curran on TV.

"It's about time one of us ran for office" a woman on Curran's shift exclaimed upon hearing of the campaign. Asked another, "When will you have buttons?"



Militant/Harris Freeman
Jody Curran at news conference announcing her campaign for U.S. Senate.

City threatens candidate with loss of job

BY MARK CHALKLEY

SAN ANTONIO — An effort by the city to intimidate a bus driver who's running for governor of Texas has failed.

In fact, it is backfiring.

Two weeks after he declared his candidacy on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, Steve Warshell was called into a meeting with management.

Richard Guerra, director of transportation for VIA Metropolitan Transit, told Warshell his campaign violates the federal Hatch Act.

The Hatch Act is an undemocratic piece of legislation that forbids federal, state, and local government employees from running for office.

Warshell demanded to see the company's charges in writing. VIA officials, who had started a rumor campaign in the bus garage about the socialist's "illegal behavior," were put on the spot.

They answered Warshell with an interoffice memo in which a company lawyer suggested that Guerra "inform Mr. Warshell . . . that his job is in jeopardy if he continues his candidacy."

The socialist campaign responded with a news conference March 12, in which Warshell blasted VIA's threats.

"What the company is against is a bus driver running for public office, speaking out against the danger of war in Central America, and defending the rights of the farmworkers," said the candidate.

Warshell's press conference was big news in San Antonio, drawing coverage from three newspapers, two television stations, and seven radio stations.

Under the glare of television lights, VIA's General Manager Wayne Cook backed up a bit: Warshell's campaign, said Cook, was "between him and the federal government."

But Cook said VIA will fire the candidate if he takes time off to campaign.

The net effect of the news coverage was to prompt greater interest in the socialist bus driver's race.

One driver raised VIA's harassment at a meeting of Local 694 of the Amalgamated Transit Union. A middle-aged Chicano driver told Warshell, "You're not guilty of violating the law — you're

guilty of not being politically indifferent."

VIA's passengers were interested in the controversy, too.

One bus driver reported that his government class at a local junior college had spent its entire class period discussing VIA's allegations and the Warshell campaign.

And another driver reported that a passenger told him, "Well, if it's a choice between a millionaire and a bus driver, I'll take the bus driver anytime."

Support in Cincy for gov't victims

BY KATHLEEN DENNY

CINCINNATI — Hundreds of people here have signed petitions protesting the harassment of socialist workers by the U.S. government and major corporations.

At a March 20 antinuclear rally Marion Spencer, president of the Cincinnati chapter of the NAACP, and Art Slater, the chapter's executive director, signed their names in opposition to government attempts to deport Young Socialist Alliance member Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian student in Baltimore. A total of 100 people signed to protest that deportation.

Charles Grimm, international coordinator of District 6 of the United Mine Workers, signed in protest of political firings and victimizations of union activists at Lockheed-Georgia and McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis. Barry Commoner, the environmentalist, also added his name.

A forklift operator at the General

Electric Aircraft Engine plant here was not very surprised to learn of company-government collusion to stifle discussion in plants with Pentagon contracts. He bought a button reading "Stop FBI Crimes" and explained, "It could happen to us at GE."

At a March 21 rally against takebacks and plant closure at the Kahn's meatpacking plant, Tom Spurlock, international business representative for District 30 of the United Steelworkers, signed to support the rights of union activists at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas.

A total of 125 marchers put their names on that petition. A young Black worker at the Kahn's plant shook his head sympathetically as he signed to protest victimization in the war industries. "Companies just want us to keep turning stuff out," he said. "They don't want us to have any ideas of our own."

He added, "Aren't they going to be surprised!"



Militant/Sherry Fekete
Steve Warshell, socialist candidate for governor of Texas.

'We are witnessing first stage in development of powerful new antiwar movement'

The following speech was made by Mary Alice Waters, a national chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party, at an April 3 New York meeting against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Initiated by the Militant Labor Forum and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the meeting was cosponsored by the Mobilization for Survival; Casa Nicaragua; American Indian Movement; and Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

When Daniel Ortega, a central leader of the Nicaraguan government, spoke at the UN Security Council March 25, he affirmed that Washington's intervention in Central America is already under way.

He detailed fact after fact, none of them denied by the United States government: the arming and training of counterrevolutionary ex-Somoza units, ex-Green Berets, commandos from the Argentine army, and others concentrated in Honduran camps across the border from Nicaragua.

Ortega detailed the mounting attacks on Nicaragua: Land attacks, sea attacks, and air attacks. He detailed the acts of sabotage, the bridges blown up, the boats and airport terminal bombed; the provocations by the Honduran armed forces.

He said, "Our military resources are the most modest in the region. We have no air force and yet it is Nicaragua that is being encircled. . . . We are the only state in Central America over which hangs the permanent threat of the world military might of the United States. . . .

"It is inconceivable," he explained, "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."

It's a very fitting expression of its own policy that the U.S. government vetoed the resolution on Nicaragua put before the UN Security Council. That resolution named no names, made no charges, it simply repeated the United Nations's charter principles opposing intervention in the affairs of other countries and the use of force.

The U.S. deputy delegate to the UN responded that such a resolution breeds "cynicism," harms the United Nations, and most important, undermines the "inter-American system."

It couldn't have been stated more bluntly — to affirm the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries undermines the so-called inter-American system as it is understood by the U.S. government.

Intervention system

The inter-American system is based on the principle of the U.S. imperialists' right to intervene in the affairs of all other countries of this hemisphere at any time in order to protect U.S. profits and investments.

And that is precisely the inter-American system from which Nicaragua withdrew itself with the victory of its revolution July 19, 1979. That is precisely the inter-American system from which El Salvador is struggling to extricate itself today; from which Guatemala is struggling to extricate itself today.

That is the inter-American system from which Grenada withdrew itself with its revolution on March 13, 1979, and from which Cuba withdrew itself

more than 22 years ago. The Cubans showed the road and set the example for what can be done when a people who have been impoverished by centuries of colonialism and imperialist exploitation set out to reconstruct their society on the basis of fulfilling human needs, not insuring the profits of the rich and the superrich.

The great subversive

When Fidel was writing from prison years before the July 26 Movement marched into Havana, he said, our goal is to build a society in which every man, woman, and child in Cuba is happy.

It sounds like a very simple goal. But this is the great "subversive" that is stalking Central America: the desire of millions of people to be free of hunger, disease, illiteracy, racism, war, tyranny. The desire to unleash their own productive capacities and the productive capacities of the rest of humanity. The desire to abolish the nuclear arsenal that Washington threatens to use to bomb us all into oblivion.

Reagan administration officials are talking about making nuclear war "winable." They're setting up civil defense programs to assure our "survival" in case of a nuclear war.

This is all designed to prepare us for the fact that they intend to use their nuclear weapons — against the people of Central America, against the people of the Caribbean, against the people of the world.

The people of Central America are fighting for the opposite goal — to use their productive capacities to insure that children have enough to eat; to build schools, hospitals, and homes. And that is why the confrontation with U.S. imperialism has begun.

The battle continues in El Salvador. The civil war is making its way into Guatemala. And Nicaragua is being invaded daily by counterrevolutionaries.

Nicaragua mobilizes

The Nicaraguans believe they are on the verge of a full-scale war. Just in the last few days, all the traditional Easter vacations from work were cancelled there. Easter in Nicaragua is the biggest holiday of the year — like what Christmas is in this country. The Nicaraguans decided that this year there will be no time off from work because of the pressing problems of defending the country against the increasing attacks along the northern border with Honduras.

This escalating war in Central America is not a mistake being made by some mad movie star in the White House.



Mary Alice Waters

Militant/Lou Howort

Reagan is carrying out the domestic and foreign policy decided, not by him, but by the most powerful business and financial interests in this country.

And whatever the differences between and amongst the American rulers on tactics over how best to accomplish this goal, they are united in their conviction that the advance of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean must be halted.

Because they know very well that just the existence of these revolutions is a deadly threat to what they consider to be the "American way of life."

And this is not an option. It's not a debatable question for those who rule the United States. They must try to stop this advancing revolution in our hemisphere. They must show those who dare to struggle, who dare to snatch their lives out of the grasp of imperialism, that they will be punished, that they will be made to pay, as a lesson to others who would dare to follow the same heroic example.

There's another basic feature of the struggle in Central America today. To paraphrase Augusto César Sandino, that is the fact that the workers and peasants of Nicaragua are ready to go all the way. And so are the people of El Salvador.

They don't want war. They are willing to talk with anyone to try to avert it. But they are ready to die to protect what they have won. They say "no" to the Yankee enemy of humanity.

And behind the heirs of Sandino stand the workers and farmers of Grenada. And behind them stand the people of Cuba. That's another key fact. The existence of the Cuban revolution slows the hand of imperialism; it means the chances for successfully extending the revolution in Central America and the Caribbean are greater and that the cost will be less.

But there's another powerful force that has a crucial and in many ways the decisive role to play. That's the factor that we here in this room have the most to say about and the greatest responsibility for.

New antiwar movement

That's what's symbolized by the tens of thousands of youth and working people in this country who were in the streets of Washington, D.C., March 27 saying, "Hey hey Uncle Sam, we remember Vietnam."

It's symbolized by the hundreds of thousands of draft-age youth who have refused to register.

It's symbolized by the millions of people around the country who put their names on petitions because they want to take nuclear weapons out of the hands of those madmen in Washington.

These are all part of the new antiwar movement in this country. These actions are all happening *before* U.S. troops are sent to fight in Central America, *before* any bombs are dropped. They show the tremendous potential of this new movement, a movement that has every Democratic and Republican politician scrambling to look like a peace candidate in 1982.

This new movement is in its infant stage, of course. It has yet to show its full strength. It has many political and organizational problems to resolve, the same problems that confront every new movement.

It's easy to miss what's happening, to get the impression there are many different, seemingly separate struggles taking place.



Memory of Vietnam War is fueling movement as well as Central America

There are the many solidarity movements: solidarity with the people of El Salvador, with Guatemala, with Grenada, Cuba, and Nicaragua. There is the antidraft movement. There's the movement in opposition to deportation and victimization by the immigration cops.

But the impression that these are all separate movements would be one-sided and false. It's true there are many people who are particularly concerned about one or another of these issues.

But what we are seeing is the birth of a new antiwar movement. All of these struggles are fueled by the same thing — the growing realization on the part of millions of people in this country that the U.S. government is taking us into war.

Not our war

They're forcing us into war again, against our will, against our needs, and against our interests. Our response is not just solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Central America, but opposition to what the U.S. government is doing to take us into a war against those advancing revolutions.

It's not just opposition to the draft registration law; it's the realization that that law is to prepare us for war in Central America.

It's not just opposition to nuclear weapons; it's the realization that we are heading toward war, and it is in war that our government will use those weapons.

Washington's war moves abroad are not an aberration. They are part and parcel of exactly the same policies that are being carried out right here inside the United States. They are an extension of those policies, part of the war on our rights and our living standards here in this country. Everything from budget cuts to attacks on Black and women's rights, to union busting, plant shutdowns, and environmental pollution.

The growing demands for U.S. nuclear disarmament, for opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America, for opposition to the draft, are rooted in resistance to the domestic policies of the U.S. ruling class.

And there is a growing realization that our job, first and foremost, is to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism, to stop its intervention, to halt its war drive; so that the people of the world can solve their problems without the U.S. government on their back. That is a job that we and only we here in the United States can do.

Legacy of Vietnam

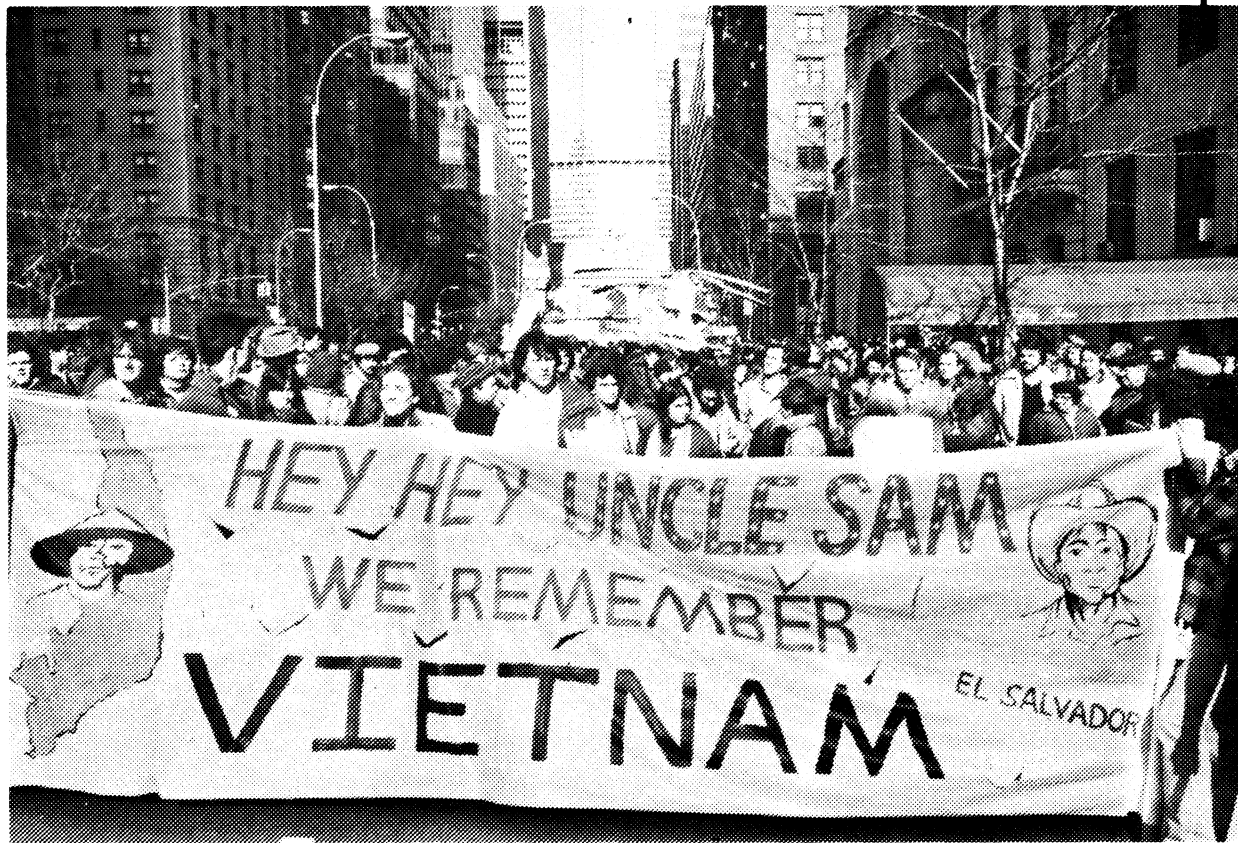
What's different about what's happening in the United States today is related to the legacy of Vietnam.

It's a two-fold legacy. There's the economic side. The present recession doesn't simply stem from the Vietnam War, but it was exacerbated by the long-



Militant/Elizabeth Kilanowski

an antiwar movement, which is starting with organized Black and Caribbean workers playing important role.



Militant/Lou Howort

term policies of the war and its impact on the economy.

We're going into this developing antiwar movement at a time when the unemployment in this country is the highest since World War II, when inflation and interest rates are the highest ever over a sustained period, when there's the highest rate of personal and business bankruptcies of any time since the depression and the realization by millions of people that war and human needs are incompatible.

No 'Great Society'

There's no promises this time around like there were in the mid-1960s that there will be a "Great Society" to go along with the "great" war.

There's only more promises of growing holes in the so-called safety net as the bombs and missiles crash through.

But then there's the other legacy of Vietnam. That is the consciousness — the consciousness of the need to unite in opposition to the war plans of the U.S. government, the consciousness of our ability to do so, of our power to make the difference.

This time around too there are three powerful contingents of the organized antiwar forces that we should take special note of.

One is the existence of the organized forces of the Black movement, forces like the National Black Independent Political Party, the National Black United Front, and others who are determined to lead the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, to lead the struggle against the nuclear buildup of the U.S. ruling class.

This is a new factor, part of the increased consciousness against U.S. imperialism in this country.

Another factor is the presence in this country of a sizable and growing Central American and Caribbean population. These workers identify with and are part of the struggles that are taking place both throughout Central America and the Caribbean and right here in the United States.

Unique role

And these forces too have a big role to play in educating and mobilizing the antiwar forces in this country. There was no comparable Vietnamese or Southeast Asian population in this country at the beginning of the Vietnam War that could play the kind of role that the Central American and Caribbean workers in this country are playing today.

Third is the existence of an increasingly conscious and radicalized working class.

This class is already deeply affected by the economic crisis of capitalism. The organized labor movement can be and

will be the determining factor in the evolution of this new antiwar movement.

Everyone who was at the demonstration in Washington, D.C., last week was struck by the youth of that demonstration, the fact that it was a whole new generation of antiwar fighters who were coming on the scene, and the realization that the future is in good hands.

In the months to come we are going to

see this new movement in the streets on many occasions. It will be there on May 1 in the streets of Washington, D.C., and at every single emergency mobilization to respond to whatever may be coming.

But the time and place when this new force is going to assemble in the most massive way, with the broadest forces yet, will certainly be on June 12 at the United Nations — demanding the disarmament of the U.S. government, the

force that stands in the way of the progress of world humanity.

June 12 will be an action that the whole world will be watching. Everyone who understands what the stakes are, where the real enemy of humanity resides, will be mobilizing that day to say no to the danger of nuclear war emanating from Washington, and no to the war that is already being fought today in Central America.

'June 12 rally means an end to arms buildup and an end to U.S. intervention'

The following is from the speech by Donna Cooper at the April 3 anti-intervention meeting in New York. Cooper is a leading figure in the Mobilization for Survival and the New York Disarmament Campaign, a principal organizer of the June 12 disarmament march.

Many people here may have heard about the June 12 rally. What's going to be taking place between now and June is that New York City is going to be transformed by many different forces into a city that discusses and confronts the issue of disarmament.

Many of us in the disarmament movement are wondering what kind of discussion is going to be surfacing. It's very easy to talk about a nuclear freeze. Yes, we are for nuclear freeze. That's logical. But what else do we want?

There is something that is in common between the Socialist Workers Party and Mobilization for Survival and many others on the left that says we want more than just disarmament. We want an end to the war machine. We want an end to the U.S. going into El Salvador and anywhere else.

I think it's important that we make a

commitment from now, carry it forward on May 1 and May 8 and again on June 12, to bring up the discussion that intervention is an outgrowth of the military machine. It's why the military machine exists, and it's why we need disarmament.

When you talk about the poster behind me — "U.S. hands off Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador!" — we have to talk about disarmament.

What I basically feel is important to put across tonight is that in mobilizing for June 12 the people here talk to at least 30,000 other people and tell them June 12 means an end to intervention, not only an end to the arms race.

This June 12 is going to bring

hundreds of thousands of people into this city, and it's a golden opportunity for a huge teach-in. It's time for people to have their minds expanded.

Unions around the country have been very helpful. We've been working on commercials for television with the Machinists. We've been working with different forces in the reggae community. Just trying to foster the more progressive forces in this country to come out really strongly for June 12.

I hope people here will carry that message in whatever they do. June 12 isn't just a disarmament demonstration. It's an end to the war machine and a beginning for people to think about what this society could look like.

Cleveland meeting slams U.S. nuclear weapons

BY BOB ROWAND

CLEVELAND — The Second Annual Guns or Butter Conference, held here March 18-20, attracted over 1,000 people.

Initiated by the American Friends Service Committee, the conference was endorsed by more than 100 organizations.

The overriding theme of the conference was opposition to the continued development of nuclear weapons by the U.S. government. Speaker after speaker explained that it was the United States, not the Soviet Union, that started the arms buildup after World War II and has led it ever since.

The biggest session of the conference was to hear Rev. William Sloane Coffin. The pastor of New York's Riverside Church, Coffin was a prominent opponent of the Vietnam War.

Coffin denounced the continued development of nuclear weapons as threatening the existence of the world and called for a drastic reduction of nuclear weapons "as soon as possible."

He said that the Soviet Union is more serious about arms reductions because of the toll on its economy. He also said that regardless of what one thought of

the Soviets' treatment of dissidents or its intervention in Afghanistan it was Americans' responsibility to deal with their own government.

Coffin said that Reaganomics takes money from the poor and gives it to the military, in particular to the junta in El Salvador that kills its own people.

He challenged the Reagan administration charge of Cuban interference in El Salvador by saying, "You don't have revolts without revolting conditions."

Coffin concluded by urging people to participate in the June 12 demonstration in New York City against the continued nuclear buildup.

John Swomley, a professor at the St. Louis School of Theology, summed up the feeling of many of the conference participants when he declared that the supposed Soviet threat is actually a cover for U.S. military buildup and intervention in Central America and other parts of the world.

Dick Greenwood, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, spoke of the need for people to demonstrate in the streets about their particular concerns. He singled out U.S. intervention in El Salvador and nuclear weapons as important examples of such issues.



Militant/Lou Howort

Donna Cooper

Milwaukee Blacks seek road to justice in Ernie Lacy case

BY NANCY COLE

MILWAUKEE — Nine months after they killed Ernie Lacy, three cops are still enjoying a paid leave from the Milwaukee Police Department.

Lacy, a 22-year-old Black, was arrested by the three cops last July 9. Less than two hours later he was pronounced dead. He had been brutally beaten.

Demonstrations as large as 10,000 have taken place to demand the city punish the cops.

With no measure of justice in sight, the Coalition for Justice for Ernie Lacy has now launched a selective economic boycott of downtown stores.

It is an important new stage in the coalition's fight. "What other tactics could we use?" asks a broadsheet published by the coalition. "We have marched — 10,000 strong — but that has not been enough. We have sat in and been unceremoniously tossed out. We have trusted DAs and judges only to have our trust betrayed. Politicians have let us know our votes are not sufficient to pressure them."

Accomplishments

Despite roadblocks, the Lacy coalition has racked up an impressive list of accomplishments.

The community mobilizations organized by the coalition have shaken up Milwaukee politics.

For the first time in Milwaukee's history, cops involved in police brutality were suspended from the force (even though it is with pay).

For the first time in Milwaukee's history, a coroner's inquest into police brutality resulted in a jury recommendation that the cops be prosecuted. Since the inquest proceedings were televised, thousands of Milwaukeeans got to observe for themselves the damning evidence against the cops.

Not unrelated to the police response to Lacy's death was another first for Milwaukee — a federal jury decision awarding \$1.8 million to the family of Daniel Bell. Twenty-three-year-old Bell, another Black, was killed by cops in 1958. Milwaukee policeman Thomas Grady later admitted planting a knife on Bell after shooting him in the back.

Public outrage over police racism even opened up a long-festering sore inside the department itself. In November the League of Martin, an organization of Black cops, initiated a class-action lawsuit against the department charging discrimination against Blacks in promotions and assignments. The suit also charged that Black cops who complained of discrimination were harassed and threatened by white cops.

Chief Brier

For most Black Milwaukeeans, the police department is symbolized by Chief Harold Brier, an outspoken racist who has ruled the force for 18 years. "Eighty percent of major crime is being done by Blacks," he declares.

In Brier's world, there are two sides: those "suckered" into protests by "outsiders," and their opposite, the "good people of Milwaukee."

Insulting the legitimate anger and the political intelligence of thousands of Milwaukeeans, Brier frequently resorts to crass redbaiting of coalition leaders and some of the groups who are part of the coalition.

In February, Brier announced on a radio talk show that "outsiders" were stirring up trouble in the Inner City, mentioning specifically members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party.

"We know who they are and they are being watched," Brier declared.

Brier's main target has been coalition

leader Howard Fuller. A *Milwaukee Journal* feature on Fuller last month referred to Fuller "embracing Marxism" in the early seventies. It sent Brier into a frenzy.

"Brier is not going to determine whether someone is a proper leader in the Black community," responded Fuller. "I have moved to a point where I would not characterize myself as any of those isms. But it's not something I'm ashamed of or am going to apologize for."

Support from whites

The Lacy movement has not only shaken the city's power structure. It has also won significant support from white working people. This trend accelerated after several prominent incidents of police brutality against whites followed the murder of Lacy.

Polls have found 60 percent of city residents in favor of Brier retiring, a view shared even by those who in general support the conduct of the police.

Democratic and Republican liberals and their media mouthpieces have sought to sidetrack this growing anti-police-brutality sentiment. It's a common stance for them to caution the Lacy coalition to be cool, while calling on the chief to retire. This, coupled with some meaningless proposals for police-community relations programs, is the best of what any Democratic or Republican politician has had to offer.

Removing Brier from the department would be a victory, although meager punishment for his crimes. But clearly, the problem is not simply with the chief, but with the occupation army he commands.

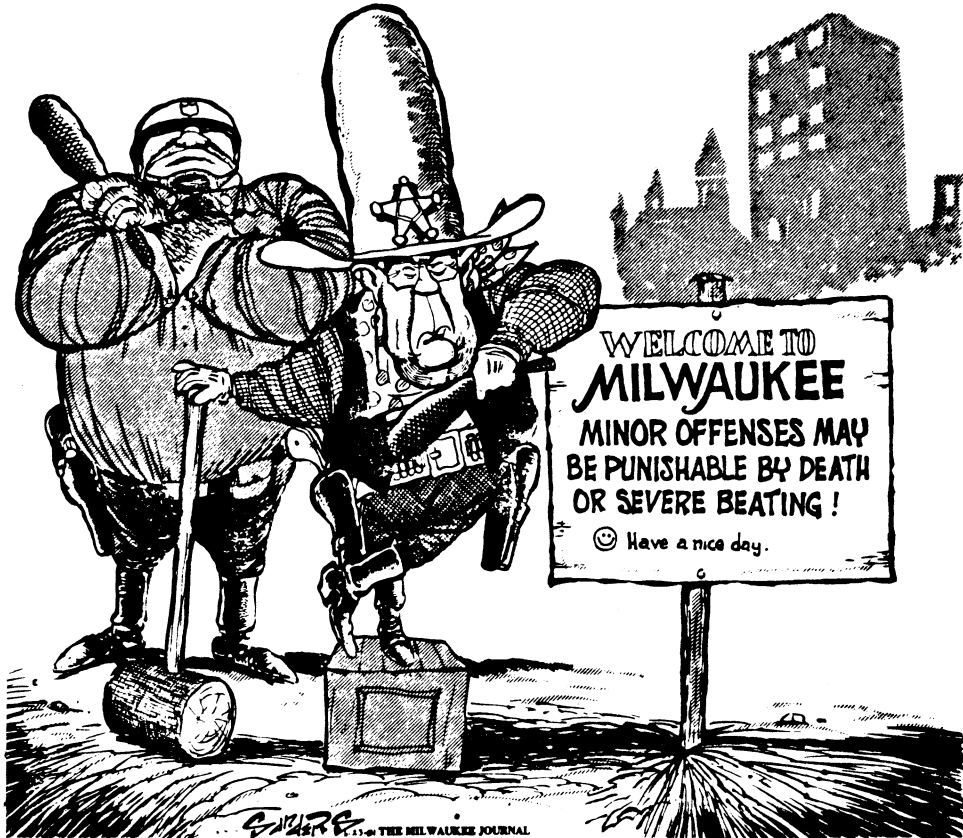
This was demonstrated by the 16-hour racist strike called by the Milwaukee Police Association on December 23.

The strike was called to protest anti-police-brutality remarks made by an elected city official, Black Alderman Roy Nabors.

Democratic mayor

The problem is not just with the cops either, but with the whole Democratic Party administration of the city, starting with liberal Democratic Mayor Henry Maier.

Maier has yet to make any statement in favor of justice for Lacy. At the beginning of the struggle, Maier refused even to call for suspension of the three cops. Asked why, the mayor replied it was a "metaphysical question."



Milwaukee Journal depicts Police Chief Harold Brier

Instead, Maier appointed a "blue ribbon" commission to study police-community relations, specifically instructing it not to discuss police conduct in the Lacy case.

The panel's final report, released in March, suggested requiring college degrees for cops by 1990 and appointing a public safety commissioner. The original draft urged abolition of the all-white tactical squad, which the killers of Lacy were members of. The final report watered that down to integration of the squad.

Perhaps the most openly treacherous role was reserved for District Attorney E. Michael McCann. While trying to publicly straddle the fence between the cops and the Black community, McCann has consistently ended up opposing the community. The final straw was his refusal to press any charges whatsoever against the actual killer of Lacy, cop Thomas Eliopul.

Dilemma for Blacks

In a *Milwaukee Journal* feature in March, Fuller capsulized the dilemma for Milwaukee's Black community.

"Anybody with any sense knows that Black people in Milwaukee are politically impotent, period. If you're even relatively honest, you have to admit that. That while people give lip service to Black people around election time, really nobody seriously worries about the Black community."

Fuller has raised the idea that at some point in the future the Black community might have to use its vote as another tactic in the struggle.

He pointed to the necessity of organizing an effective political force to represent the Black community.

Calif. rally backs Mason's right to run

Continued from Page 20

the unions. This party would fight to put laboring people at the reins of government.

"It is this that the board of trustees must silence."

Also speaking at the rally was Rohima Miah who is helping to organize a local Youth for Mason committee. "This campaign has a program that addresses the issues affecting us," said Miah, a 21-year-old waitress from Seaside. She urged the young people present to help collect the more than 100,000 signatures that are needed to place Mel Mason's name on the ballot. Petitioning is to begin April 24.

Barry Sheppard, state coordinator of the Mason for Governor campaign, tied the fight for Mason's leave of absence to the fight to get the ideas of his campaign out. "Does Teddy Kennedy have to ask his boss for a leave of absence to run for office?" Sheppard asked.

"This is an issue that affects every worker — the right of working people to

run for office without the permission of their boss."

Sheppard charged that the fight for Mason's right to campaign was just the opening shot in efforts by the ruling rich to try to muzzle Mel Mason.

While Democrats and Republicans need to collect only 10,000 signatures to be on the ballot, an independent candidate has to collect 113,000 signatures. "They want to keep working people off the ballot, candidates who are going to talk about war," Sheppard explained.

"Supporters of Mel Mason will need to collect 180,000 signatures because of the 'dirty tricks' we know they are going to pull."

A telegram was read from 40 San Jose bus drivers expressing their anger at the board's attempt to keep Mason from running for office. They noted that this action was consistent with the current trend of Democratic and Republican party officials to silence voices of dissent.

"As staunch unionists, we defend

those who defend us. Furthermore, we consider this attack on Brother Mason's political rights an attack on our rights."

A written message from Humberto Camacho, of Local 142 of the United Electrical Workers Union from Los Angeles, said, "In order to participate fully in politics, working people should not have to face the choice of having to quit their jobs in order to campaign."

John George, a member of the Oakland Board of Supervisors, wrote, "The board's actions would, in effect, deny working people the choice of a candidate who stands for their interests."

Protest letters and telegrams supporting Mason's right to a leave of absence 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.

Belgian workers rebel against cutbacks



Belgian workers, who have taken to the streets in massive demonstrations, are immersed in largest confrontation with government and bosses in two decades.

BY WILL REISSNER

Since early February, Belgium has been in the midst of the largest class confrontations there in two decades. In response to a government austerity program that slashes social spending, guts employment in major industries, and attacks the real wages and living standards of the working class, Belgian workers have taken to the streets in militant demonstrations, have waged a series of regional general strikes, and have blocked railroad tracks throughout the country.

The government's austerity policies are being carried out against the backdrop of an unemployment rate of more than 13 percent — the highest in the European Economic Community. The country saw a 1.5 percent drop in the gross domestic product in 1981, and a decline of 5 percent in real wages is expected in 1982.

Decree powers

The right-wing government headed by Prime Minister Wilfried Martens is determined to push forward its austerity program despite the workers' protests and despite the fact that his government rests on a paper-thin, six-seat majority in parliament.

Earlier in the year the cabinet was given special decree powers by parliament. With these powers it can carry out its economic program without having to submit the measures to a parliamentary vote.

Among the measures already decreed are a freeze in the cost-of-living index, which had been one of the historic gains won in previous workers' struggles, an increase in social security taxes, and a cut in family allotments and unemployment benefits.

Other decrees have imposed a tax surcharge for single wage-earners and families without children, higher prices for gasoline, mail, and telephone service, and a 5 percent increase in automobile insurance premiums.

In addition, the government is demanding sharp wage cuts as a condition for maintaining subsidies to ailing industries.

This package was capped off by an 8.5 percent devaluation of the Belgian

franc, which will increase the prices of all imported goods.

Meanwhile, the Martens government has decreed substantial cuts in corporate taxes.

Jobs slashed

Because of budget cuts, some 6,000 jobs will be eliminated in education, 4,000 on the railroads, and thousands more at the state-owned SABENA airlines.

The steel industry is a special target for cuts. Belgium, which is the largest per capita steel producer and exporter in Western Europe, produced more than 12 million tons of steel in 1974. But in the past 10 years, more than 20,000 jobs have been eliminated in the industry. There are now plans to cut the jobs of an additional 10,000 steelworkers.

Under a European Community plan for stabilizing the steel industry throughout Western Europe, Belgium's steel production is to be cut to 5.9 million tons — less than half the 1974 figure!

Pierre de Vos of the Paris daily *Le Monde* described the impact of the Martens plan by saying: "Never since the war has Belgium been hit so hard."

Workers fight back

On February 8 a general strike against the government's policies totally shut down Wallonia, the French-speaking southern part of Belgium, as well as some cities in the Flemish-speaking north.

On March 11, SABENA workers demonstrating against government plans to cut their wages by as much as 15 percent and eliminate thousands of jobs were attacked by police using fire hoses and tear gas.

On March 16, 15,000 steelworkers demonstrated in Brussels, demanding an end to plans to gut their industry. They were attacked by 2,000 police. Another 7,000 police were held in reserve around the city. For three hours, about 5,000 of the demonstrators fought back against the police attack.

The steelworkers had already been on strike for three weeks against the Martens plan. Also on March 16, the

port of Antwerp was shut for 24 hours.

On March 22 a regional general strike began in the Mons area, at the urging of striking teachers who were protesting cuts in the education budget.

Many actions were planned for the last week of March. A national railway strike was scheduled for March 25 to protest the projected cuts in rail service. A general strike was called for March 26 by the social-democratic Belgian General Federation of Workers (FGTB). A national demonstration in Brussels was called for March 27 by the Confederation of Christian Unions (CSC), and a March 31 national teachers strike and a demonstration in Brussels was planned by the teachers union.

Unions divided

Despite the working-class protests and the government's slim majority in parliament, Martens has been emboldened to drive through his program by the fact that the two major trade-union federations — the FGTB and CSC, which together have 2.5 million members — have not joined together on a national level to fight his policies.

The division in the union movement corresponds to the regional and linguistic division in Belgium. Wallonia, the French-speaking area of the south, has been the traditional center of the coal, steel, and textile industries. It is an area with long traditions of working-class struggle.

At the same time, the major industries in Wallonia have been hit hardest by the international capitalist recession, and would be especially hard hit by the plans to dismantle major portions of the steel industry.

For example, in the Liège basin, a center of steel-making, unemployment has been more than 20 percent for the past two years. Further cuts threaten to plunge Wallonia into permanent depression.

At the March 16 steelworkers demonstration in Brussels, one worker from Wallonia explained the importance of the struggle: "We are fighting for our children. For us it is finished. But are they going to have to sell flowers in the streets to survive?"

Unions in Flanders

In Wallonia, the FGTB is the dominant union federation, and the Socialist Party, which is not in the national cabinet, controls the regional council.

Flanders, the Flemish-speaking area, industrialized much later than Wallonia, but now has a more modern and diversified industrial base. As a result, it has been hit less hard by the recession.

The Confederation of Christian Unions is the major union organization in Flanders, although the FGTB also has a base in several cities in the area. The CSC is aligned with the Social Christian Party (PSC), which is in the Martens cabinet.

Because its main base is in hard-hit Wallonia, and because the Socialist party is not in the government, the FGTB has taken the lead in the fightback against the Martens program. The CSC

leadership has been unwilling to directly confront the government for fear of causing problems for the Social Christian Party.

In a number of local areas, however, the CSC has joined with the FGTB to carry out a common struggle. If the two federations could be united in action on a national basis, the Martens government would have a difficult time remaining in office.

Witch-hunt

Martens has reacted to the upsurge in labor struggles by claiming the workers are being manipulated by revolutionary groups. There have reportedly been cabinet discussions about outlawing the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT), which is the Belgian section of the Fourth International, and the Belgian Party of Labor (PTB).

For several weeks the reactionary Catholic newspaper *La Libre Belgique* waged a campaign accusing "a handful of Trotskyists" of being behind the agitation in the Liège area.

The day after the March 16 steelworkers demonstration, a police communiqué accused the LRT and a group called All Power to the Workers (AMADA) of being responsible for the fighting with the police. This charge was picked up by the Flemish newspaper *Standaard* and the CSC newspaper *Het Volk*.

In its March 18 issue, *Standaard* wrote that "it was stated at police headquarters that the agitators belong to the PTB, the LRT, and the March 22 anarchist movement."

The LRT answered the charges in the March 26 edition of its French-language weekly *La Gauche*.

"The LRT functions openly," *La Gauche* continued. "We publish two weeklies — *La Gauche* and [the Flemish-language] *Rood* — to inform the workers and make our positions known. We have offices in all the important cities."

Pointing out that LRT members are well-known participants in the trade-union, women's, and youth movements, the newspaper noted that the organization follows Karl Marx's view that the emancipation of the workers is the job of the workers themselves. For that reason, the LRT opposes "terrorism, violence, provocations, 'infiltration,' and conspiracies."

The LRT is calling on all sections of the workers movement to fight the threatened banning of the LRT and other left-wing groups, on the basis of the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all.

From Intercontinental Press

First general strike in 60 years in Luxembourg

A one-day general strike in Luxembourg April 5 protested a government ban on wage increases. Union officials reported 100 percent observance of the strike in the construction and brewery industries, post and telegraph offices, and on railroad and bus services. In addition, picket lines were set up on Luxembourg's borders to urge commuters from other countries not to work.

The general strike was Luxembourg's first in 60 years. It was preceded by the largest demonstration in Luxembourg's history on March 27. Between 30,000 and 40,000 people protested government austerity policies in the streets of the capital.

Luxembourg, nestled between France, Belgium, and West Germany, has a population of about 365,000 people. Its economy is based on the steel industry, which has been hard hit by the international capitalist recession. Its economic problems were further aggravated by the 8.5 percent devaluation of the Belgian franc, to which the Luxembourg franc is automatically linked in a currency union.

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Speech by Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop
Three Years of the Grenada Revolution

So. Korean gov't uses 1988 Olympics to bolster image

BY SUZANNE HAIG

The South Korean government's attempt to legitimize and further institutionalize the division of Korea has received a shot in the arm from the International Olympic Committee.

Meeting in Baden-Baden, West Germany last fall, the committee, in a surprise move, awarded the 1988 Summer Olympic games to Seoul, South Korea.

Now the foreign minister of the South's dictatorial regime claims that since the country is to host the Olympics it should be a "member of the United Nations."

Since the Korean War in the early 1950s, neither the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea nor South Korea have been recognized by the United Nations.

UN membership for the South would further legitimize the forced division of Korea, cementing the notion of "two Koreas." Both Washington and Seoul have continued to press this view, despite the fact that a large part of the population of both North and South Koreans want to see their country reunified and independent of U.S. military and economic domination.

Excuse to suppress rights

The dictatorship also hopes to use the Olympics as an excuse to take even harsher measures against democratic rights, under the pretext of preventing a disruption of the games and ensuring the safety of international tourists.

South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan's seven-year term expires in March 1988, and the games are expected to be held from late September to October 1988.

Some critics of the dictatorship fear Chun will use the Olympics as an excuse either to postpone the elections or to create a situation that would effectively eliminate opposition and ensure his reelection.

The games are also being used to bolster the image of economic stability in hopes of attracting greater foreign investments, such as the several billion dollars in long-term credits just granted to the South by Japan.

Despite talk about South Korea's "economic miracle" the economy is in a state of crisis. Thirty-three billion dollars is owed to imperialist banks and governments, and debt repayment including interest is over \$4 billion annually. The 1981 trade deficit was \$5.3 billion. In 1980 the growth rate was negative 6.2 percent, and in 1981 it was 7.1 percent. Thus, following the 1981 recession, there has been only a partial recovery. Inflation, moreover, continues at a rate of 14 percent.

Workers and farmers will pay

The authorities, however, claim that the games will "stimulate the economic boom." But the only people who will benefit are the very wealthy. For the workers and farmers of South Korea, the games mean further hardships. The government plans to pay for the Olympics — which are estimated to cost \$2.2 billion — by further taxing a population that now pays some of the highest taxes in the world.

On November 19, 1,500 riot-equipped police and city employees forced 500 families out of a slum area in Seoul so that bulldozers could destroy their homes. Even household belongings were reduced to rubble.

City officials took the action because, they said, the slums would mar Seoul's appearance for Olympic visitors.

In order to bolster its image as a host of the Olympics and to try to placate growing opposition at home and abroad,

Chun's government has made several cosmetic reforms.

Pledging in his New Year's address this January, "to achieve without fail a great democracy ensuring the well-being of all," Chun made a proposal for reunification with the North and lifted the thirty-five-year-old midnight to 4 a.m. curfew in many parts of the country.

On March 2, the government announced that it was reducing the prison term of Kim Dae Jung from life to twenty years. Other political prisoners will also have their terms reduced.

Kim, the most prominent opponent of the Chun Doo Hwan dictatorship, was found guilty and sentenced to death in September 1980. He was charged with instigating the massive revolt in the city of Kwangju in May 1980, although he was in jail at the time. Only international protests stayed the hands of his executioners.

Kim is now fifty-six years old and in poor health. Having to stay in prison eighteen more years is tantamount to a death sentence.

Chun's reunification scheme, moreover, includes retaining 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea and keeping 700 nuclear-tipped missiles targeted against the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

A 'test war'

Chun's proposal comes as U.S. and South Korean troops are engaged in "Team Spirit '82," one of the largest joint maneuvers ever staged by an imperialist country. The "test war," as it has been called, involves 100,000 South Korean and 61,800 U.S. troops and aircraft. It is scheduled to last through April.

Speaking of these "reforms" a protestant clergyman in the South told the *Miami Herald*, "Chun issued those orders to impress the foreigners. They really mean nothing in the daily lives of most of the people."

The true nature of the Chun regime was revealed soon after his New Year's message. On January 22 a Seoul district court sentenced publisher Lee Tae Bok to life imprisonment.

Under the repressive national security law, Lee was found guilty of plotting to infiltrate trade unions in order to cause labor disruption and foment a student revolution to topple the government and set up a communist regime. Currently more than 500 opposition politicians are forbidden from engaging in any political activity.

The South Korean embassy recently told the *New York Times* that some 3,000 people were imprisoned — this figure was given in order to refute reports that 15,000 people are being detained for political reasons.

Dissidents can be held indefinitely

Under the Preventive Custody Measure of the Public Security Law, political prisoners who have served out their prison term but are regarded by the administration as being "dangerous enough to recommit the crime" can continue to be detained. The measure can be renewed every two years, enabling the authorities to keep dissidents in prison for life.

The government also has plans to increase from 60,000 to 88,000 the combat police and import \$1.4 million worth of riot control equipment and tear gas from the United States. Additional detention centers are being built throughout the country, and torture and beatings of prisoners are standard practice.



So. Korean troops brutally crushed upsurge in Kwangju City, May 1980

It is no wonder that students at Kyunghee University and Korea University of Foreign Studies in South Korea issued a joint declaration attacking the decision of the International Olympics Committee, asking, "What difference is there, between this and Hitler's Olympic games in Berlin in 1936?"

Kim Young Sam, a businessman who once led the now-outlawed New Democratic Party, has said that "Chun is far worse than Park [his predecessor]. He has increased police control. Now nobody can do anything."

It is not surprising that Washington has a different opinion.

Chun's 'popularity'

According to the February 15 *Miami Herald*, Richard Walker, U.S. ambassador to South Korea, described dissidents there as "spoiled brats." Chun has "come a long way," he said, towards eliminating repression and is very popular among the South Korean working class.

"The workers have no sympathy at all for those spoiled brats," he said. "Most of the workers are so busy trying to make ends meet" that they accept martial law and the suspension of individual liberties in the name of economic progress.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In an interview appearing in the *Wall Street Journal*, South Korean trade unionists pointed out that the South Korean government's new labor laws are designed to stem the growing

labor movement by making it illegal for workers in different factories to belong to one national union. Terror, they said, is also being used.

"They are just trying to smash our unions," a former local union president, who is being hunted down by the government, told the *Journal*.

Since 1980 practically all labor union leaders have been arrested and investigated.

In one case reported in *Korea Communique*, union leaders from the Suhtong Corporation, a wig and battery manufacturer, were hung upside down by their ankles and tortured because they had published a union bulletin.

Chun may have "won the confidence of his allies abroad and much of the military and business elite at home," as the *New York Times* claimed in a March 4 article, but he hasn't won the confidence of the workers, farmers, and students.

The strong backing the U.S. government gives the hated dictatorship is generating widespread opposition to Washington.

On March 18, for example, a United States International Communications Agency office in Pusan was set on fire. The government responded by detaining some 5,700 people in Seoul.

Opposition continues despite the knowledge that opponents and critics of the regime, the employers, and the U.S. government face imprisonment, torture, and even death.

European antibomb leaders on tour

BY BARRY SCHIER

LOS ANGELES — More than 200 people came to St. John's Episcopal Church here on April 3 to hear leaders of the European anti-nuclear-weapons movement. The meeting was the final stop in a 50-city tour cosponsored by Clergy and Laity Concerned and by American Friends Service Committee.

Dan Smith, chairperson of European Nuclear Disarmament and a member of the British Labor Party's Defense Study Group, described the "spontaneous upsurge on a mass scale in Britain and Western Europe" against nuclear weapons.

Talk about "limited nuclear war" is not just from rulers like Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Smith said. "Don't believe it is just Reagan's policy. . . . [It is] a part of American nuclear policy and NATO

nuclear policy and has been since the beginning . . . while America sits on top of this process, it's cheered on by Western European governments."

Smith lambasted Reagan's so-called nuclear freeze proposal as "voodoo arms control — arm in order to disarm!"

"The negotiations going on in Geneva are just a sideshow. . . . They can have their negotiations. We will have our mass movement, and we'll see who stops nuclear weapons first," he said.

Anna Grinyer, leader of the Lancaster Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain, denounced Thatcher's attempts to convince people to buy fallout shelters. She called it a sinister attempt to try to make nuclear war acceptable and perceived as survivable.

Dr. Dorothee Sole, professor of Theology at the University of Hamburg, also spoke.

Landlords, banks victimize working people

Public ownership of land and rented housing is needed

Displacement: How to Fight It, by Chester Hartman, Dennis Keating, Richard LeGates, and Steve Turner. Legal Services Anti-Displacement Project, 1982.

BY DOUG JENNESS

Each year 2.5 million people from Maine to Hawaii are forced against their will to move out of their apartments or homes. This is a conservative estimate, according to the authors of *Displacement*, a 232-page book describing the plight of tenants and homeowners.

People are driven out for a series of reasons including: conversion of apartments to condominiums, "upgrading" neighborhoods, abandonment by landlords, highway expansion, rent increases and real estate speculation, withdrawal of city services or public subsidies, arson, and failure to meet mortgage payments.

Most people find somewhere else to live, but at greater cost and often with inferior conditions. Half of American renters now spend at least 25 percent of their income on housing. Many, especially low-income renters, pay much more.

Some persons shoved out of their apartments or homes end up crowded in with families or friends. However, others are even less fortunate. Last year, for example, the Community Service Society of New York estimated that there were 36,000 homeless men and women in the city. Their shelter was bus and

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railway stations, subways, steam tunnels, and packing cases.

The Reagan administration's moves to slash subsidies for public housing and pressure cities to get rid of rent control are worsening this housing crisis.

Decent housing: a human right

The underlying theme of *Displacement* is that "people have a right not to be displaced from their homes and neighborhoods, and that decent, affordable housing is a human right."

The book spotlights the profit system and the government that defends it as the culprits denying this basic human right. "The combination of the social policies of government and the profit interests of private capital merge. Each becomes largely the agent of the other. And together they create displacement." Subsidies, zoning laws, and tax breaks are designed to aid landlords and real estate sharks, not working-class tenants and homeowners.

One of the most highly publicized forms of displacement in the last few years has been the conversion of apartment buildings into condominiums. In a condominium, individual apartments are owned outright by different owners. The basic reasons for the wave of "condomania" sweeping the country, according to *Displacement*, are high profitability and strong market demand.

For landlords it is usually more profitable to sell an apartment as a condo than to rent it. Rapidly rising costs of maintaining an apartment building have helped convince landlords they can make more by selling their buildings.

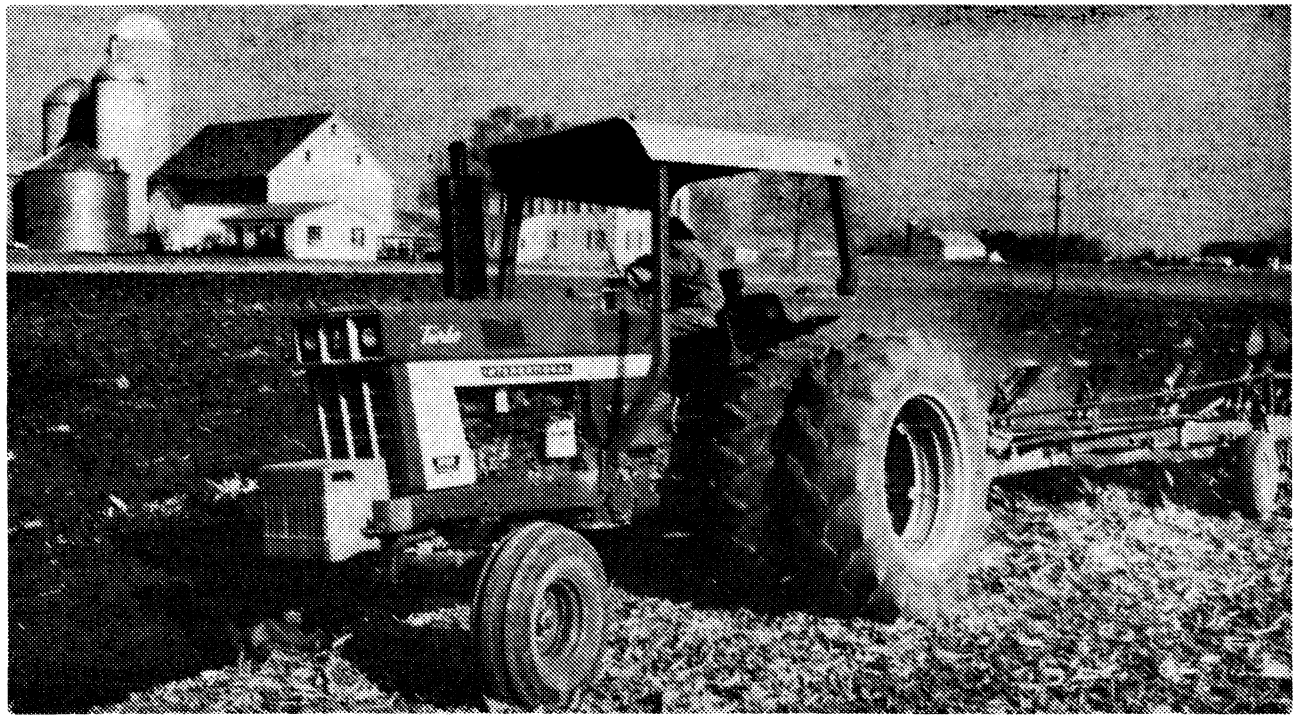
Moreover, although condos are expensive, they are generally cheaper than single-family houses and have lower operating costs. Many persons who may have bought a single-family home a few years ago will buy a condo today, in the face of high interest rates. Established tenants who cannot afford to buy their apartment when a building is converted are just out of luck.

Role of speculation

Displacement points out that "speculation is the driving force behind most private market housing displacement." If a person has some spare cash to speculate with, they can sink it in the stock market, the commodities market, or in real estate. Land or buildings, either in the countryside or in the city, are bought and then resold at jacked-up prices. Sometimes improvements or changes are made, such as converting to condos. Often no changes are made. All of this has an inflationary effect on rents and land prices.

The information in *Displacement* has been compiled from the documents and activities of dozens of organizations and individuals involved in local struggles against evictions and for decent, low-cost housing. The authors hope this book will serve as a handbook for activists engaged in this fight.

They describe measures won on a local scale aimed at curbing rent-gouging landlords, including rent control. But they concede that these are, at best, limited and tenuous measures.



Thousands of debt-ridden farmers are being shoved off their farms.

"In the long run," they write, "forced displacement is not likely to be stopped, nor the general housing crisis resolved, without replacement of the private market system — without progress, that is, toward social ownership of housing, and social control over its production and maintenance."

Public ownership of land

In addition to public ownership of housing, they suggest that public ownership of the land is needed. One of the more interesting appendixes in the book is a chapter of a forthcoming book, *Financing Community Economic Development*, by Chuck Matthei, which takes up this question in more detail.

Matthei writes, "The institution of private ownership . . . transformed land and resources into marketable commodities, leaving a wide opening for speculation, monopolization, absentee ownership and control, and profit-motivated planning and development."

He indicates the devastating effects of these practices on working farmers and city workers.

He also notes: "Nowhere is the economic impact of private ownership on local communities (and states) more obvious than in the virtual corporate monopoly of productive timber and mineral resources. Seven corporations own 32 percent of tree-covered Maine, absentee landlords control at least two-thirds of the privately-held land in West Virginia."

Matthei explains that a distinction should be made between private ownership of the land and ownership of "manufactured goods, homes, cultivated crops, enterprises — any of which might be owned either individually or cooperatively." That is, placing all land in the public domain for the use of the people as a whole would immediately benefit workers and farmers, but the property on the land would not necessarily become publicly owned.

Crisis for farmers

While *Displacement* deals primarily with the housing crisis in the cities, its authors touch on the effects of land speculation and monopolization of landownership on farmers. The proposal to abolish private ownership of land would benefit farmers just as much as it would workers living in metropolitan areas. They have an interest in joining together with their fellow toilers in the cities to fight for this objective.

Farmers today face the worst situation they've been in since the early 1930s. Many aren't able to make enough to pay their costs of production and are falling deeper into debt. Bankruptcies and foreclosures are soaring as farmers fail to meet deadlines on paying bank loans and mortgages.

Farmers who can no longer afford to pay rent are deprived of the use of their land. Farmowners who can't make mortgage payments are foreclosed or forced to sell their land, usually for less than what it's worth.

Farm families can be forced off their land and deprived of its use, no matter how many generations have held deed to the land and no matter how well they have cared for and improved it. As long as their land can be bought and sold or put up as collateral for loans, farmers have no guarantee that they won't be repossessed. This threat continually hangs over their heads. Their deeds become worthless scraps of paper and ownership an illusion.

Furthermore, when farmers are driven off their land, they are forced to auction off their machinery, household belongings, and, in many instances, their livestock.

Guaranteed use of land

But if all land throughout the country were made public property, banks and land speculators couldn't victimize farmers. They wouldn't be able to force farmers to sell their land and their belongings. Under public ownership farmers could be guaranteed the use of their land as long as they wanted.

In Cuba, for example, the revolution abolished private ownership of land at an early date. So farmers there are guaranteed the use of the land they are working for as long as they and their children want.

The authors of *Displacement* propose two ways to move toward achieving public ownership of housing and land. The first is housing cooperatives, in which all residents of a building or a development are shareholding owners of a cooperative association that owns the entire property.

The second is community land trusts that are non-profit corporations chartered to hold land in the best interests of the community. Land that a trust purchases or receives by donation is never again resold: it is permanently taken off the speculative market.

Displacement describes examples of such projects in both urban and rural areas.

One of the difficulties with these proposals is that the most they can ever accomplish is establishing small islands of public ownership in a vast sea of private ownership. *Displacement* admits that "the main obstacle to the spread of land trusts so far has been lack of financing for initial land purchases." Moreover, those that are established can easily fall back into private hands under the same pressures that face farmers and homeowners.

Establishing cooperatives and land trusts doesn't mark out a road that can make all land public and all rented housing units publicly owned.

Revolutionary movement needed

Accomplishing this requires building a revolutionary political movement that can change the class character of the government. *Displacement* recognizes the hundreds of threads that connect government officials to the private ownership of housing and land. The only power that can sever these ties is a government that represents not the beneficiaries but the victims of the private-profit system, workers and farmers.

A necessary step in this direction is for working people to establish their own political party, based on the unions. Such a party could help involve all activists fighting against the evils of the private-profit system in the struggle to establish a workers and farmers government.

With such a government, working people wouldn't have to undertake the impossible task of digging up the necessary funds to establish land trusts and cooperatives. In one stroke they could abolish private ownership of the land and profit-grubbing speculation. Moreover, with their own government they could suppress the reappearance of these evils once and for all.

Copies of *Displacement: How to Fight It* are available for \$7.50 (plus \$2.50 postage and handling if ordered by mail) through the National Housing Law Project, 2150 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, California 94704.

Careful, Don, — Testifying before a congressional committee, Treasury Secretary Donald



Harry Ring

Regan was queried by Representative Jack Kemp, who read him two statements on monetary policy and asked which he agreed with. Regan responded,

"I have to agree with the first. I don't understand the second." The first was from Marx's *Capital*, the second from the president's Council on Economic Advisers.

Our rational society — Nine million dollars were spent last year advertising Wrigley's spearmint gum.

Never be missed — The White House recently participated in a mock nuclear crisis in which the person sitting in for President Reagan expired on the fourth day as Soviet missiles

zeroed in. Top officials said the game confirmed continuity of government could be maintained during a nuclear strike.

Getting chilly — A Canadian insurance company is offering special coverage to management people who may get the ax. A letter reminds them that the total number of Canadian executives and professionals fired in 1981 doubled the 1975 figure.

We can't believe it — A federal study showed that most victims of crime received help from

relatives, friends, neighbors, co-workers, and even strangers. The report added, "Landlords, however, were most often named by victims as those who could not or would not help."

You can't lose — An Israeli firm is offering U.S. customers designer jackets and vests with bulletproof linings. And they toss in a \$500,000 insurance policy.

Robin Redbreast? — John Crowell, assistant secretary of agriculture, takes a dim view of the Audubon Society and Sierra

Club. He says the two environmental groups have been "infiltrated by people who have very strong views about socialism and even communism."

Isn't that strange? — Harvard has noted a sharp drop in admission applications by students from poor families.

Thought for the week — "This is a complicated business." — A civil defense spokesperson on plans for evacuating people from cities to the countryside in the event of a nuclear war.

CALENDAR

MIDWEST 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; representative, Casa Nicaragua; others. Ballads by Walter Urroz, Comité de Reconstrucción Ayuda al Pueblo de Nicaragua. Traducción en español. Sat., May 1, 7:30 p.m., social hour 6:30. Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church, 4840 S. Dorchester. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Chicago-Gary Young Socialist Alliance. For more information and transportation call Midwest SWP branches and YSA chapters listed on page 17.

ARIZONA

Tucson

Rally May 1: U.S. Hands Off Central America! Speakers: George Black, author of *Triumph of the People*, dealing with Nicaraguan revolution; Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, member of American Indian Movement fact-finding team to Nicaragua; William Ford, brother of slain Maryknoll missionary Ita Ford; Rev. John Fife, Salvadoran refugee relief organizer. Sat., May 1, 12 noon. Reid Park Bandshell. Ausp: Committee for Non-Intervention. For more information call (602) 622-4362.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Hear Mel Mason, Socialist City Councilman and Independent Candidate for California Governor. Also speaking: Chuck Sheehan, president, L.A. Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Tony Russo, codefendant in Pentagon Papers trial and leader of the U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Society; Makani Themba, UCLA Black Student Alliance; and Paul Worthman, education and research director, Service Employees International Union Local 660. Fri., April 23, 7:30 p.m. Los Angeles Convention Center. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

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. Ausp: 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. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

COLORADO

Denver

An Evening for Solidarnosc. Speakers:

Daniel Singer, author of *Road to Gdansk*; Ralph Shoenman, American Workers and Artists for Solidarity; representatives from Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Socialist Workers Party; others. Tues., April 27, 7 p.m. Mountview Presbyterian Church, 1980 Dahlia St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Poland Week Committee and American Workers and Artists for Solidarity. For more information call (303) 534-8330 or 744-8258.

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). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Socialist Campaign Rally: No More Vietnams, No More Hiroshimas. Speakers to be announced. Sun., May 2, 5 p.m. reception, 6 p.m. dinner, 7 p.m. rally. 1st Unitarian Parish House, Charles and Hamilton Sts. Donation: \$2 rally, \$6 rally and dinner. Ausp: Maryland Socialist Workers '82 Campaign. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Busing, Desegregation and Bilingual Education: How to Defend Black and Latino Rights. Speakers: Valerie Eckart, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 9th Congressional District; Timo Philip, Black Caucus, Boston Teachers Union; Felix Arroyo. Sun., April 25, 7:30 p.m. Harriet Tubman House, 566 Columbus Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mil-

itant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities

Schools Closing: An Attack on Desegregation and Public Education. Speakers: Maggie Perrier, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., April 25, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

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. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Campaign Rally: Money for Jobs Not for War. Speakers: Laura Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Newark; 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. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Case of the Legless Veteran: A Documentary Film of a Man Who Fought and Defeated the Witch-hunt. Sat., April 24, 8 p.m. 1417 Centro NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK

New York City

A Fisherman from Vieques Reports on the Struggle Against the U.S. Navy. Speaker: Severino Ventura Cintrón. Also: performance by Grupo Bambulé, Puerto Rican folkloric dance group; and the film *La Caminata*. Fri., April 30, 7:30 p.m. Teatro Cuatro, 175 E 104th St., Donation: \$2. Ausp: New York Committee in Support of Vieques.

Schenectady

Why Working People Should Run the Government: Campaign Rally. Speakers: Patricia Mayberry, Socialist Workers Candidate for 28th Congressional District; Odell Winfield, member, National Black Independent Political Party; Diane Wang, SWP candidate for governor; Vera Michelson, member, Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism. Sat., April 24, 8 p.m. Best Western Inn Towne, 300 Broadway, Albany. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mayberry for Congress '82 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

Cincinnati

The Case of the Legless Veteran. A film by Howard Petrick. Benefit showing for Political Rights Defense Fund. Sun., April 25, 7 p.m. St. John's Unitarian Church, 320 Resor Ave. Donation: \$5. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (513) 751-2636 or (513) 542-0191.

OREGON

Portland

Rally to Protest Reagan's Attacks on Workers' Rights. Speakers: Barry David, fired from McDonnell Douglas for his political ideas; Ken Ford, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Linda Menchen, president, Portland chapter of National Organization for Women; Dave Worthington, president, International Brotherhood of Painters Local 724; Susan Giese, Citizens Party; Bob Rini, Portland Central America Solidarity Committee; Mark Madden, Oregonians Against the Draft; representative of National Lawyers Guild. Sun., April 25, reception 7 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. Retail Clerks Hall, 915 NE Davis. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Vietnam Yesterday and Today. Speakers: Fred Feldman, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Katherine Sojourner, SWP candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Sat., April 24, 7:30 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS

San Antonio

Women in Cuba and Nicaragua. Speakers: Norma Saldaña, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Nicaraguan activist. Fri., April 23, 8 p.m. 337 W Josephine. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Layoffs and Shutdowns: How Can Workers Defend Jobs? Speakers: Robert Dennis, member of International Molders and Allied Workers Union Local 231, 27-year veteran of Einco foundry, now closing down; Glen Swanson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, laid off by Kennecott Copper. Sat., April 24, 7 p.m. Location to be announced. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

Teatro Escambray performs 'Ramona'

Teatro Escambray, a major Cuban theatre group, is currently touring the United States and Canada with *Ramona* by Roberto Orihuela, a dramatization of a Cuban working woman's experiences both before and after the revolution. It will play in New York on Friday, April 23, at 7:30 p.m. and 9:30 p.m., at Heckscher Theatre, 1 East 104th St., (English synopsis of the play will be available). Tickets are \$10 in advance and \$15 at the door.

Ramona will also play at University of Illinois in Chicago on April 16 and 17; University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, April 18; District of Columbia University in Washington, D.C., April 25; and Old Westbury College in Long Island, April 29. For ticket information watch for local listings or call (212) 534-4994.

Christian Rakovsky: writings by a revolutionary

***Selected Writings on Opposition in the USSR, 1923-30*, by Christian Rakovsky. Edited and with an introduction by Gus Fagan. Allison & Busby, distributed in the U.S. by Schocken Books, 1980. 189 pp., \$8.95 paperback.**

BY FRANK LOVELL

This is the first collection in English of writings by Christian Rakovsky (1873-1941), a contemporary of Lenin who has been unjustly neglected. He was one of the outstanding Marxists of his time and contributed significantly to the building of the first workers state.

Rakovsky was truly a man for all seasons. Born in Bulgaria, he joined the revolutionary movement as a

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youth and became the best-known leader in the Balkans. He was repeatedly arrested and expelled from one country after another. A lifelong internationalist, he knew Frederick Engels and worked with George Plekhanov, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Leon Trotsky. He fought against World War I and the treachery of the social patriots in the Second International. He was one of the organizers of the antiwar conference held in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in 1915.

Rakovsky was imprisoned in 1916 by the Romanian government for his antiwar activities, and liberated by Russian troops and Romanian workers in 1917. He was active in Russia on the side of the soviets that came to power that year. He joined the Bolshevik Party in 1918 and became a member of its central committee the next year. Assigned to work in the Ukraine during and after the 1918-20 civil war in Russia, he became president of the Soviet Ukraine.

At the head of the government in the Ukraine, Rakovsky fought against the bureaucratic and oppressive policies Stalin employed against non-Russian

nationalities in the Soviet Union. In 1923 he adhered to the Leninist Left Opposition headed by Trotsky. The Opposition sought to return the Communist Party and the Soviet state to the internationalism and workers democracy that prevailed before Lenin's final illness and death.

For these reasons Stalin managed to have Rakovsky removed from the Ukraine and assigned to diplomatic posts abroad. As ambassador to Britain and later to France, Rakovsky negotiated recognition of the young workers state by those countries. This earned him a reputation as a great revolutionary diplomat.

In 1927 Rakovsky was expelled from the Communist Party along with Trotsky and the other Oppositionists. He spent the next seven years in places of remote banishment under conditions of severe repression. Despite these conditions and ill health, he stood firm against Stalinism and the weaker elements in the Opposition, like Karl Radek, who capitulated to Stalin. After Trotsky was deported to Turkey in 1929, Rakovsky was recognized as the principal Opposition leader inside the USSR.

But after being deported to Central Asia, he was isolated from his comrades and from political information. He was wounded during an unsuccessful escape attempt shortly after his deportation. Worn out by illness, and his morale broken, the 60-year-old Rakovsky finally gave up the struggle in 1934. The bureaucracy pressured him into signing a declaration submerging his differences with the party and submitting completely to discipline.

But Stalin feared and never forgave him, and in 1938 Rakovsky was tried and convicted in the third Moscow frame-up trial. Like other revolutionary leaders, he was falsely accused of conspiring with the German and Japanese imperialists to overthrow the workers state he had done so much to build. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison and died or was killed in a prison camp in 1941.

The present book, selections and extracts from Ra-

kovsky's writings as an Oppositionist in the Soviet Union, has a very informative 58-page introduction by the editor about Rakovsky's long and inspiring career. It is the best and fullest account available in English. This alone makes the book worth reading. (The editor acknowledges the help he got for this introduction from the 14-volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series published by Pathfinder Press.)

The selections by Rakovsky include: a short autobiography he wrote in the mid-1920s; a speech about the national question given at the Communist Party's 12th congress in 1923; his memories of Lenin; his constantly interrupted speech at the 15th congress in 1927, when he was expelled from the CP; and six documents he wrote during his banishment. These six were preserved because Trotsky published them at the time in his Russian-language magazine, the *Bulletin of the Opposition*. Most of these were then translated into English and published in the *Militant* or one of the predecessors of the *International Socialist Review*. This is the first time they have been published together.



Christian Rakovsky (left) with Leon Trotsky in 1920s.

25,000 in Quebec protest layoffs, cutbacks

The following article is reprinted from *Socialist Voice*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada. It points to the growing militancy of the labor movement in that country, particularly among the oppressed French-speaking workers of Quebec.

BY JOAN CAMPANA

MONTREAL — Some 25,000 workers from all corners of Quebec braved cold, driving rain, and hail on April 3 to send a militant message. The workers were protesting high interest rates, the rapid growth of unemployment in Quebec, factory closings, and cutbacks in social services. "Let's unite against the crisis" was the day's theme.

The demonstration was a follow-up to the November 21 action of 100,000 Que-

bec and English-Canadian workers on Parliament Hill. It was organized by the three major trade union federations in Quebec — the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ), the Federation of National Trade Unions (CSN), and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ). A slogan chanted from a sound truck — "CSN, FTQ, CEQ: together to fight the crisis" — captured one of the most significant aspects of the action: the unity of the federations which have been plagued by divisions in the past.

A sea of buttons, placards, and stickers expressed the workers' concerns. CSN marchers carried signs reading, "Against cutbacks — for quality social services." Hospital workers' banners read, "We are fighting for better health care for you."

"No to plant shutdowns and mass

layoffs," read signs in the Steelworkers contingents.

"A half million workers [laid off] in Quebec — that's enough!" read another banner.

Bankers and bosses were popular targets: "Against the theft organized by the banks," "Interest rates — that's theft," and "Interest rates profit the banks," read other signs.

Aluminum workers carried a placard reading, "The government gives electricity to Alcan who generates cutbacks."

Several contingents of laid-off workers protested the closing of their plants; others were formed of workers on strike or locked out.

"Jobs for all" buttons appeared throughout the march.

Marching side by side were auto,

steel, and construction workers; garment, textile, paper and electrical workers; postal, office and hospital workers; credit union, childcare, and aluminum workers and the militant Montreal transit workers. The largest contingents were composed of teachers from all over Quebec.

An important dimension to the action was its opposition to Trudeau's constitution which will deprive Quebec of historically-held rights. "No to the Canada Bill," was a button worn by many. "Trudeau to the gallows," was a popular chant. One marcher carried a simple sign: "I want to work in French."

Particularly inspiring was the contingent of Salvadorans who carried the banner of the El Salvador trade union movement. "Quebec-Salvador: Solidarity" went the chant.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities

Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30209. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 475-2255.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17105. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State Col-

lege: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

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

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

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

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

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

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

New ban on travel to Cuba?

The Reagan administration has made a back-door move toward reinstating the 1960s ban on travel to Cuba.

On April 9 American Airways Charter, Inc. (AAC) was ordered to halt its flights. The company is the principal carrier between the United States and Cuba.

The Treasury Department, which issued the order, charged AAC was a front for the Cuban government.

Operating three flights a week from Miami, the AAC was used by Cuban residents here to visit their homeland and by Cubans coming here to visit relatives.

The line was also the principal means of travel for Americans, who have been visiting Cuba in growing numbers. According to AAC, there are now 2,000 such tourists a month.

Shutdown of AAC comes after persistent harassment of the company and a February 25 grand jury indictment of several of its officials on charges of violating the Trading With the Enemy Act.

Earlier the airline was fined for delivering to Cuba such U.S. publications as *Time* and *Newsweek*, allegedly without proper authorization. These were bundles delivered as a courtesy to the U.S. Interest Section in Havana.

It was also the Treasury Department which recently tried to ban publications from Cuba. It ordered the Customs Service to impound *Granma* and other Cuban publications received by subscribers here.

The department retreated on this in the face of public protests and a court challenge by a broad range of organizations and individuals.

The new move comes during a time when Washington has been escalating its acts of hostility against Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, as well as deepening its intervention in El Salvador.

Part of that drive is the drumfire of propaganda

which portrays Cuba as "terrorist" and the threat to peace in the region. The attempt to choke off travel to Cuba confirms that the U.S. government simply doesn't want the American people to know the truth about Cuba. This, not the trumped-up charge of being a Cuban front, lies behind the cancellation of the AAC flights.

From the standpoint of those who run this country it makes sense. American visitors to Cuba leave a country where unemployment is soaring and where social programs are being slashed.

In revolutionary Cuba they find unemployment is not a problem, rents are minimal, education and medical care are free, and social services are being expanded, not cut back.

The shutdown of AAC comes a few weeks before May Day, a major holiday in Cuba.

Among those planning to be there this May Day is a tour sponsored by this paper and its sister Spanish-language publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*. The shutdown of AAC means the two-week tour, originally slated for April 18 to May 2, will be pushed back to April 23 to May 7.

The trip is organized through the Marazul travel agency which operates one charter flight a week of its own from Newburg, New York. The *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* tour will leave from Newburg.

In 1960, President Eisenhower banned travel to Cuba by decree. Under challenge, the Supreme Court finally ruled this a violation of constitutional rights. Now, apparently, Reagan wants to reinstate that ban by simply choking off the means for people to get to Cuba.

This is no less an abrogation of constitutional rights. Protests should be addressed to Donald Reagan, Secretary of the Treasury, 1500 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20220.

Revolutionaries' approach to oppressed nations & imperialism

BY CONNIE ALLEN

The conflict between Britain and Argentina points up the importance of an understanding of imperialism. As Lenin explained in *The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, the starting point for revolutionaries "must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed, which forms the *essence* of imperialism, and is *deceitfully* evaded by the social-chauvinists. . . .

"This division is not significant from the angle of bourgeois pacifism or the philistine Utopia of peaceful competition among independent nations under capitalism, but it is most significant from the angle of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism."

And, as Lenin emphasized, revolutionaries always support colonial and semicolonial countries that are in battle with imperialism. Britain is one of the oldest

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

imperialist powers. Today, while a weaker imperialist power than the United States, it maintains huge investments around the world, including in Argentina.

In 1916 Lenin used Argentina as an example of British economic domination of a semicolony. In his book *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, he explained that in 1909 "the amount of British capital invested in Argentina [was estimated] at 8,750 million francs. It is not difficult to imagine what strong connections British finance capital (and its faithful 'friend' diplomacy) thereby acquires with the Argentine bourgeoisie, with the circles that control the whole of that country's economic and political life."

It is important to be able to distinguish between imperialist countries and those that are pawns of the imperialists. In a conflict between an imperialist power and a semicolonial country — even one suffering under a brutal dictatorship — revolutionaries take the side of the oppressed nation.

As Lenin explained, there are big and little imperialist countries. And just as larger capitalist companies take advantage of smaller ones, the strongest imperialist powers use their might against weaker ones.

Working people have no interest in the defense of any imperialist power, weak or strong. Its very existence as an imperialist power is based on the exploitation of the colonial and semicolonial world as well as its own working class at home.

And in the colonial world there are many differences, too. Some countries, like Argentina, are more developed. Others are poorer, or lack even formal independence, like Puerto Rico. Today Argentina remains a semicolony despite its industrialization, and must therefore be defended against British imperialism.

The importance of defending the colonial and semicolonial world against imperialism becomes even more crucial during a war. The history of revolutionary socialism is one of consistent defense of the oppressed. The First International Conference for the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, held in 1936, stated in an antiwar resolution:

"The struggle against war, properly understood and executed, presupposes the uncompromising hostility of the proletariat and its organizations, always and everywhere, toward its own and every other imperialist bourgeoisie."

As the second worldwide imperialist war grew, the International reaffirmed its position at an Emergency Conference of the Fourth International in May 1940.

"The striving of this great mass of dispossessed [the colonial world] to be free represents one of the two great progressive forces in modern society. The other is the struggle of the proletariat in the advanced countries for its emancipation. In their successful interaction lies the key to the entire strategy of the world socialist revolution. Nationalism in the West [imperialist countries] is a tool of capitalist power, a weapon used to pit exploited peoples against each other in wars fought by military and economic means for exclusively capitalist interests."

In the colonial countries of the East, the resolution said, "the nationalist movements form an integral part of the struggle against world imperialism. As such they must be supported to the fullest possible extent by the working class of the entire Western world."

British hands off Argentina!

Continued from Page 1

ties. It is not necessary to become resigned to lawlessness."

In plain English this means, if Thatcher is able to force Argentina to back down, she will have sounded an effective warning to the oppressed throughout the world who dare to resist imperialist domination of their countries.

The British war threat is also being justified on the grounds that Britain is defending the principle of self-determination. The same imperialists who fought so fiercely against the independence of their colonies and to this day maintain their colonial occupation of Northern Ireland are saying that they are ready to go to war over the fate of 1,800 residents of the Malvinas Islands.

The real question of self-determination involved is Argentina's right to determine its own affairs, including its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

The Malvinas Islands were forcibly taken from Argentina by the British rulers in the last century and have been maintained as a British outpost ever since.

It has been a long-standing practice of imperialist powers to try to hang on to such outposts or enclaves, even after being forced to give up their large direct colonies.

For example, Portugal held possessions of this sort on the coasts of India, Africa, and China. In 1961 it was expelled from Goa and two other smaller enclaves on the west coast of India by the military action of the Indian government. Like today, in relation to the Argentine takeover of the Malvinas Islands, the imperialist governments, especially Washington, howled that India's justified action was a threat to world peace.

And in the same way that the British government justifies its claim on the Malvinas Islands, the Portuguese government, which had held Goa since the 16th century, argued that its occupation for so many years entitled it to continued possession.

The big-business press around the world has seized on the fact that Argentina is ruled by an unpopular military dictatorship — a dictatorship that imperialism helped to install — to neutralize working class opposition to the British action.

Millions of workers throughout the world know the Argentine regime's bloody record of repression and its support for imperialist efforts to crush the liberation fighters in El Salvador and to destabilize the revolutionary government in Nicaragua. It is a regime that working people in Argentina are struggling to replace.

The Argentine junta's austerity program and repression are designed to squeeze more out of Argen-

tine workers and farmers to pay the debts owed to British and U.S. banks.

It is in the interests of Argentine workers to do everything possible to weaken British domination over their country. The Argentine masses, correctly, see repulsing the British war fleet as a step in this direction.

The character of the current Argentine regime can't be the starting point for working people in determining their approach to the British aggression.

The military junta is forced, despite itself, to struggle at the moment against Britain for Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

This doesn't mean anyone should have any illusions about President Leopoldo Galtieri's regime, his junta, or the ruling class of Argentina.

The junta is waging this struggle with its own methods and cannot be counted on in this struggle. But a struggle is under way, and no class-conscious worker can be neutral.

It's like a strike against an employer. In many strikes, the leaders are reformists, bureaucrats by profession, agents of the bosses. They oppose strikes. But from time to time the pressure of the masses or of the political situation forces them to call or lead a strike.

A worker would never say, "I don't want to participate in the strike because the leaders have a history of collaborating with the employers." This would be sectarian foolishness and play into the hands of the employers.

The case of the British-Argentine conflict is, from this point of view, entirely analogous. Britain is an imperialist country and Argentina is the victim of imperialism. We favor Argentina. British patriotism is the hideous mask of worldwide robbery. Argentine patriotism is legitimate and progressive. The two can't be placed on the same plane.

This is widely understood in Latin America. Almost all Latin American regimes, reflecting universal mass sentiment, have condemned the British action and supported Argentina's sovereign right to the Malvinas Islands.

Any strengthening of the political position of the workers and farmers in Argentina, any confrontation with imperialism and deepening of anti-imperialist mobilizations, will also make it harder for the Argentine dictatorship to collaborate with Washington in trying to crush the Central American revolutions.

The workers of the entire world have a stake in forcing the British to withdraw their fleet and in demanding a halt to the imperialist embargo against Argentina.

New social-democratic group ignores Black party

BY SUZANNE HAIG

The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), formed last month from the merger of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the New American Movement, is calling for the election of Democratic Party politicians as the way to fight the Reagan administration's economic and foreign policies.

A joint resolution passed by DSOC and NAM prior to the merger attempts to justify support to this party of the banks and corporations by claiming the ap-

proach is temporary. "In the present period," the resolution states, "the forces we seek to work with find their electoral expression primarily within the left wing of the Democratic Party."

AS I SEE IT

"If and when these forces take on other electoral expression — in nonpartisan campaigns or third parties — we would support these efforts as well."

But such an alternative already exists. In November 1980, some 1,500 Black activists gathered in Philadelphia to call for the formation of the National Black Independent Political Party. Last August, NBIPP held its first congress. The party now has

chapters in many major cities and is involved in a number of political activities. "The National Black Independent Political Party," its charter states, "aims to attain power to radically transform the present social-economic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression, and capitalist exploitation."

The charter also says, "The electoral strategy of NBIPP is independent of the Democratic, Republican, and all other parties." And, "We should observe both the Democrats and Republicans as serving only the interests of the ruling class; therefore, they are diametrically opposed to the interests of African and poor people."

This is the party that DSA should be building and encouraging people to support. Yet at DSA's founding convention, no mention of the NBIPP was made. No one from the Black party addressed the convention, although two Democratic congressmen spoke. While DSA's new brochure calls for working within the Democratic Party, it makes no mention of the NBIPP.

As an example of the kind of politicians to get elected, DSA's national chair, Michael Harrington, points to the Congressional Black Caucus. But these capitalist politicians, along with their white colleagues,

have been responsible for the attacks on Black people and all working people in this country.

Like the usual variety of liberals, they don't disagree with other Republicans and Democrats on the need for major cuts in social services or on increasing the war budget. They merely quibble about how much to cut and which programs to cut.

The attacks on working people have sparked a new wave of political activity and discussion among Black people that is reflected by the formation of the NBIPP.

The policies of DSA, however, attempt to channel Blacks back into the Democratic Party — a policy that some Black leaders have been advancing since the days of the civil rights movement. As a result of this strategy, many of the gains made in the streets by that movement were lost in the ballot box.

Clearly, it is necessary to break with the two parties of big business and chart a course toward independent, anticapitalist political action.

This is the perspective of the NBIPP. It points out that imperialism and capitalism are at the root of Black oppression, and that they are incapable of being reformed. It provides an important example for trade unionists regarding the possibility of running independent labor candidates and establishing a labor party.

LETTERS

Nancy's clothes

I heard on Cable News Network that the March 26 *Women's Wear Daily* had an article on Nancy Reagan's wardrobe. It seems the clothes created for her by the designer "Adolfo" are made in sweatshops by "illegal child labor" and "underpaid homeworkers."

When asked about this, a White House spokesperson said, "That sounds like Adolfo's problem."

But that's not all. The following week, we in Atlanta were subjected to a nauseating two-day tour by Nancy herself — the reason: to highlight the problems of drug abuse by children. The first day she went to a grammar school to discuss things first hand and hugged numerous small children.

The next day she spoke to a group of drug experts at Georgia State University. When one of them asked her how she could be espousing such a cause as remedying drug abuse when her husband is cutting back on drug rehabilitation programs, she replied, "We are doing something about it. We are changing the laws. It will be easier to convict drug offenders."

André Kahlmorgen
Atlanta, Georgia

many people hoped in 1958 that the Soviet bureaucracy "might reform itself" and that Hansen's article explained that the Bolshevik-Leninist opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, had fought for this perspective from 1923 to 1935.

But Trotsky and the Left Opposition never thought that the bureaucracy might reform itself. What they tried to reform were the Communist Party, the Communist International, the Soviets, the Soviet government, and the Soviet state — organizations and institutions that should not be confused with the bureaucracy, and through which they hoped the bureaucracy could be controlled or curbed.

When Trotsky and the Left Opposition decided that these organizations and institutions could not be reformed, they abandoned the perspective of reform and began to advocate political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy and restore workers democracy. But the date of this reorientation was 1933, not 1935, even though they did not use the term "political revolution" until after 1933. As Trotsky put it in October 1933:

"No normal 'constitutional' ways remain to remove the ruling clique. The bureaucracy can be compelled to yield power into the hands of the proletarian vanguard only by force." ("The Class Nature of the Soviet State," in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1933-34)*, p. 118).
George Breitman
New York, New York

(Editors' reply: We appreciate George Breitman bringing to the attention of our readers two

factual errors in our introduction to Joseph Hansen's article in the April *International Socialist Review* [See April 9 *Militant*]).

'No-money' line

Salt Lake City bus drivers got Chryslerized.

Three years ago, a well-organized strike took the wages of these bus drivers from second-to-last in the nation, to within a dollar per hour of the national average.

This go-round, "publicly-owned" Utah Transit Authority demanded elimination of CO-LA, extension of the number of split shifts totaling fourteen hours, and more part-time employees — and offered a joke of a wage increase in return for these concessions.

UTA arranged a lockout the night the contract expired, citing "possible violence" by angry bus drivers. The Amalgamated Transit Union local in Salt Lake is one of the larger ones inside the city. Its leadership is young; the ranks include many women and Blacks. It had public support. Yet, by a vastly closer vote than that taken to go on strike if necessary, the local accepted a contract pretty much as outlined.

The problem was political. The union leadership swallowed the "no-money" line. The demise of what could have been a publicly supported, effective transportation strike during the height of the Christmas buying season was sobering.

Sara Smith
Salt Lake City, Utah



Measuring IQ

Claire Moriarty, in her review of *The Mismeasure of Man* by Stephen J. Gould, takes the antimaterialist position that the human brain, alone among bodily organs, is unaffected in its functioning by genetic inheritance.

By agreeing with Gould that intelligence does not exist, she upholds the notion that thought, the capacity which the brain performs, is nowise a measurable phenomenon. What kind of biological organ is it, *ISR* readers may well wonder, that functions but is in no way measurable?

The problem with Ms. Moriarty's line of argument is that she confutes the social misuse of intelligence testing in our present society, with the questions of what intelligence is and how it may best be measured.

Under capitalism, IQ testing is used to consign those performing poorly to less stimulating educational programs. But under socialism, wouldn't we want to use IQ tests for other purposes (or different, superior

tests)? For example, we would want to identify the mentally retarded, so that special instruction could be provided to them. What is the alternative to testing in this situation? Certainly not the individual, arbitrary decision of a teacher or counselor.

If, in the age of communism, we will live by the principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," I think we will want to be able to measure both.

Albert Cassorla
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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

Two factual errors

Joseph Hansen's 1958 article on political revolution in the Soviet Union, excerpted in the April *International Socialist Review*, had an introduction containing at least two points that need to be modified.

The introduction said that

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



Antiwar GI faces court-martial

Charged by Army for joining Colorado peace march



Pfc. Robert Cuthbert

Manny Makris

BY PAT SILVERTHORN

DENVER — A soldier at the Ft. Carson army base in Colorado Springs is scheduled to be court-martialed for expressing his opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador while in uniform.

On March 21 Pfc. Robert Cuthbert, 25 years old, attended a demonstration at the Broadmoor Hotel in Colorado Springs, where a meeting of NATO defense ministers was taking place. The protest was against nuclear armaments and the continued war drive by the NATO nations.

Cuthbert said he attended the demonstration to show his disapproval of American policy in Central America, specifically El Salvador.

"In El Salvador we have the U.S. gov-

ernment supporting a minority, elitist government that is oppressing its people," explained the private.

Cuthbert is being charged with violating an army regulation which prohibits army personnel from participating in a demonstration or in a protest while in uniform. If convicted he faces a possible six months to two years of hard labor and/or a bad conduct discharge.

Cuthbert, who was unemployed when he decided to join the army, explained his decision to participate in the demonstration. "It was a moral decision. A great deal of suffering is going on in El Salvador as a direct result of American involvement . . . I don't want some day to face the moral dilemma of killing people who are fighting for their freedom."

Cuthbert has received support from his fellow soldiers. As a result, military authorities have decided to make an example of him to try and discourage other GIs from speaking out.

Support for Cuthbert's case has spread rapidly. A defense committee has been formed to coordinate support from individuals and groups who want to protest the harassment and violation of Cuthbert's right to free speech.

The defense committee already includes representatives from the American Friends Service Committee; Colorado Lawyers Against the Draft, who will be organizing Cuthbert's legal defense together with his military lawyers; and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, in Denver and Boulder.

In addition the Central American Solidarity Committee is organizing a petition drive in support of Cuthbert and intends to make his case a main part of their activity. A massive letter cam-

paign is being organized on behalf of Cuthbert.

Support is urgently needed to show that public opinion supports the right of everyone to make their disapproval of another Vietnam in Central America known — especially those that may be forced to fight it.

A pre-trial hearing for Cuthbert's case has been set for May 25. Since it is

open to the public, defense activists will be organizing to bring as many people as possible.

Letters demanding that the charges against Cuthbert be dropped should be sent to: Pfc. Robert E. Cuthbert c/o Commanding Officer, 1st/19th, Ft. Carson, Colorado 80913 and Commanding General Ft. Carson, M.G. John W. Hudachek, Ft. Carson, Colorado 80913.

Imprisoned Black GI gains support

BY JANICE LYNN

SEASIDE, Calif. — Twenty-three-year-old Anthony Bass, a private in the U.S. Army, has been held in the Fort Ord stockade for nearly a month.

On the evening of March 15, Bass, who is Black, was attacked by a group of 10 white soldiers. Now Bass, the victim, faces a possible court martial on a series of charges, including assault with a deadly weapon. He could receive up to 15 years in jail.

None of the 10 white soldiers involved have been jailed or face any charges.

Bass is not being allowed visits, not even from his civilian attorney.

Several Seaside residents, concerned about the travesty of justice in this case, contacted Seaside City Councilman Mel Mason to enlist his aid. The city of Seaside includes a large portion of Fort Ord.

Mason is running an independent campaign for governor of California.

Mason is known for his outspoken support for the rights of working people in Seaside, including GIs at Fort Ord.

Mason's immediate response was to call a news conference to make known his concern about the unfair treatment of Private Bass.

"There is a wall of secrecy surrounding this case," Mason told the media April 9. "I have many questions I have not been able to get answered."

"First of all, wasn't Private Bass being attacked, and thus fought back to defend himself?" Mason asked. "Indeed, Private Bass seems to have been the victim rather than the perpetrator of any act of aggression."

"Why was Private Bass the only one arrested, when 10 other persons were involved?" he continued. "And why is he being denied visitors?"

Mason also pointed out that Bass is accused of stabbing a soldier, who has since gone AWOL. "How can a person be charged with stabbing someone when the alleged victim is nowhere around?" Mason asked.

Also speaking at the news conference was Stephanie Lute, a close friend of Bass who has not been allowed to visit him.

The local NBIPP chapter, of which Mason is a leader, has decided to actively pursue this case to secure justice. Mason has written to the 7th Division Army commander urging that Bass be immediately set free.

Calif. councilman wages fight to run for governor

BY JANICE LYNN

SEASIDE, Calif. — Support for the right of working people to run for public office was the theme of an enthusiastic rally here the evening of April 10.

The rally was held in solidarity with Seaside City Councilman Mel Mason, a socialist and longtime Black rights fighter. Mason is running as an independent candidate for governor of California.

The Board of Trustees at Monterey Peninsula College (MPC), where Mason has been employed for seven years, is

board of trustees from throughout California in support of Mason's right to run for governor.

The rally raised \$1,000 to help pay for the opening of a Mason for Governor storefront headquarters in the heart of Seaside.

Shirley Rainer, an activist in the Seaside chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), opened the rally.

"Our common interest has brought us here this evening," Rainer began. "Our goal is to assure the victory of Mel Mason for governor. The road ahead faces us with many obstacles we must overcome, therefore strong unity is essential."

Rainer read a letter that had just been received from Raoul Teilhet, president of the California Federation of Teachers, urging the MPC board of trustees to grant Mason's leave.

David King, former president of the MPC Black Student Union spoke. He has worked with Mason since high school.

Leila Mansur, a leader of the Monterey Peninsula Human Rights Advocates, which is working to end U.S. involvement in El Salvador, took note of Mason's commitment to that struggle.

Seaside community activist Susie Taylor also threw her support to Mason. Taylor is a longtime member of the Democratic Party. She voiced indignation at the attempt to prevent Mason from "doing what the Constitution says he

has a right to do." She urged people to vote for Mason, she said, "because he is the best person for the job."

Ron Gobel, manager of Seaside's Senior Citizens' Housing Project, sent greetings to the rally expressing his appreciation for all of Mason's help in dealing with issues of concern to senior citizens. "I think he has the poor people at heart," Gobel wrote, "and sincerely wishes to better the country for all concerned. I think this is the man for the job."

Also sending greetings was Julie Brown, president of the Monterey chapter of Service Employees International Union 535. She expressed her appreciation for Mason's support of her union's strike almost two years ago and gave her individual endorsement to Mason's campaign.

Mason explained why the Democratic- and Republican-controlled board of trustees wants to silence his campaign:

"This campaign opposes the U.S. war threat against El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada."

"My campaign opposes the draft. I have pledged support to the right of young people not to have to fight and die for the profits of U.S. corporations in Central America."

"While my Democratic opponent Tom Bradley wants to set up counseling programs for the unemployed, we have a concrete program to create jobs. We call for a massive public works program to build needed schools, hospitals, and de-

cent low-cost housing.

"Unlike Bradley, Mike Curb, and George Deukmejian, my other opponents, our campaign will fight against the use of the death penalty. It will oppose nuclear power and the construction of the Peripheral Canal (a water swindle by the agribusiness corporations). We will defend affirmative action programs, women's rights, and school desegregation."

"This campaign advocates that working people form their own political party — an independent labor party based on

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SEASIDE, Calif. — Before a packed audience at its April 14 meeting, the Monterey Peninsula College Board of Trustees voted 3-to-1 to deny Mel Mason a leave of absence to run his campaign.

trying to prevent Mason from challenging the Democrats and Republicans. The board has announced its intention to deny Mason a leave of absence.

Nearly 100 campaign supporters and others gathered here April 10 at Seaside's Multi-Use Center to vigorously protest this undemocratic interference with Mason's campaign.

The rally heard inspiring remarks from Seaside residents, who talked about Mason's strong commitment to the struggle of working people in their community. And it heard messages that have been pouring in to the college's



Mel Mason, socialist city councilman in Seaside, California.