

Stop British war on Argentina

Thatcher's invasion spurs protests in Buenos Aires, London



British marines on board warship

BY FRED MURPHY

War has begun in the South Atlantic. British helicopters attacked an Argentine submarine near South Georgia Island on April 25. A few hours later, British troops took control of the island itself, defeating the small force of Argentines stationed there.

As the *Militant* went to press, British naval forces were poised for an invasion of the Malvinas Islands, less than 500 miles off the Argentine mainland. On April 28, the British government announced a total air and sea blockade of the islands, while the Argentine regime said it was expecting a British attack within 24 to 48 hours.

Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas (called the Falklands by the British) was restored on April 2. Since then, the Argentine government has stationed between 10,000 and 14,000 troops on the Malvinas in order to block attempts by British imperialism to

bring the islands back under colonial rule.

Within days of Argentina's recovery of the islands, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sent a fleet of more than 50 ships toward Argentine waters and established a naval blockade of the Malvinas using nuclear-powered submarines.

'An appetizer'

Fleet commander Rear Adm. John F. Woodward declared on April 27 that the British seizure of South Georgia "was the appetizer. Now this is the heavy punch coming up behind."

Press reports have indicated that British military planners are even considering a blockade of Argentina's mainland ports, or attacks on mainland targets.

The Reagan administration has backed up Thatcher's war against Argentina. U.S. military facilities on Ascension Island in the mid-Atlantic have been put at Britain's disposal as a staging area, and the Pentagon has provided fuel to the British forces and relayed intelligence on Argentine positions to London.

The Reagan administration has proclaimed a public stance of "neutrality." Secretary of State Alexander Haig presented himself as an impartial mediator, but his real role was spelled out by syndicated columnists Evans and Novak on April 28:

"Published leaks that Haig has played too even-handed a role in his mediation are ridiculed in London. . . . Whatever the obstacles, the United States and Britain substantially agreed on the course of that mediation. Haig had hoped the British would recapture South Georgia Island by April 23 instead of April 25 — assuming no deal by then."

As the Argentine regime refused to back down, and as British military action grew imminent, Washington sided more and more openly with London.

According to the April 25 *New York Times*, State Department negotiators even began referring to Argentine representatives as "a bunch of thugs." (No such characterizations were made in previous months, when Haig was encouraging the Argentine junta to participate in Washington's own thuggery)

Continued on Page 2

Report from Nicaragua battlefield: Washington's undeclared war

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

Nicaraguan-Honduran Border, April 26 — As dusk gathered, the young peasant woman lay crying on an army cot. Outside the tent, the red-and-black Sandinista flag flew at half-mast.

"They killed my brother," she sobbed. "My brother is dead."

Seventeen-year-old Rafael Aragon Ney was one of four Nicaraguan guards killed this morning in an attack by counterrevolutionaries on the Los Planes border post. Rafael's sister Sofia and an older brother, Marco Antonio, had just learned that Rafael was one of the soldiers who had fallen in battle that day.

An officer sat talking with Sofia. A few words could be heard. "Remember, our revolution has cost 50,000 mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters."

The young soldiers killed here were not the only casualties today. Near Jinotega, to the south, three Nicaraguan militiamen and an eight-year-old child were gunned down by counterrevolutionaries based inside the country. Their bodies were then hacked to pieces with machetes.

These barbaric raids have been going on for months. They are carried out by counterrevolutionaries who oppose the 1979 overthrow of U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza. The terrorist bands operate along the Honduran and Costa Rican border with protection and backing from the Honduran, Costa Rican, and U.S. governments.

Los Planes is one of the remote outposts of the Nicaraguan revolution, along the rugged border with Honduras. Connected only by narrow, winding roads that at times are no more than dirt tracks, over the last few months this border region has become a front line in a war that is almost totally unreported in the U.S. press.

But it is very real, as this reporter can personally testify.

About 100 counterrevolutionaries attacked Los Planes. The attack came at 8:15 in the morning, just as the night patrol was returning for breakfast. The

post is located on a hill, surrounded on three sides by other hills, the tops of which mark the border between Nicaragua and Honduras — between a revolution and the forces Uncle Sam is using to try and crush it.

Some 4,000 to 5,000 Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen are based in camps just across the border — armed, trained, and paid by the U.S. government.

Of the 18 defenders of the post, 4 were killed and 4 were wounded. Bullet holes were everywhere — the walls, ceilings, the kitchen shanty. The entire hillside to the east was still ablaze from artillery fire.

This reporter, one of the small group of journalists taken in by armed convoy, spoke with several of the soldiers who had taken part in the fight. Each of them had their own story to tell. A soldier of 19 still considers himself lucky to be alive. He took one bullet through his cap and another through the fold in his shirt.

A young woman of 14 served as a cook on the post. But during the combat she carried ammunition to the others, and

then took a rifle and a position in the trenches herself.

A peasant of 48, by far the oldest of this very young group of Sandinista soldiers, explained that he was fighting because the future of the revolution meant the future of his children. He said he was not worried if he falls in combat, "because I know there are others that will follow me to defend our country."

Among the shells that were found after the invaders were driven back across the border were a number of items of American and Israeli manufacture.

Of American manufacture were 40-millimeter artillery shells and grenade firing pins. The date stamped on the firing pins was August 1970, an eerie reminder of another war — in Southeast Asia — that went on for years before the American people were informed of what was being done in their name.

"Tell the American people," Marco Antonio Ney requested of the *Militant*, "that my brother was a soldier in the frontier border guard who died defending his country. Tell them that we will defend our revolution till the last drop of blood."

Mason says, 'Halt racist immigration raids'



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Mel Mason, socialist city councilman in Seaside, California.

SEASIDE, Calif. — As immigration agents mounted a dragnet across the country, arresting more than 1,000 undocumented workers, Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, blasted the raids as "racist and antilabor."

"This is an affront to the human dignity of every working person," Mason declared. "It's an attack on the labor movement as a whole. The immigration cops have no business busting into workplaces and arresting anyone."

Mason, an elected member of the Seaside City Council, reported that 135 workers had been picked up in nearby Salinas, the county seat.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) launched its massive roundup of undocumented workers

April 26. Called "Project Jobs," the sweep was justified as a way to return jobs to "American" workers by rooting out "foreign" workers.

The raids targeted workers in cities across the country, including Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Houston, Dallas, New York, Detroit, Chicago, and areas of New Jersey. The majority of the victims were from Central and South America. The INS's announced goal was to capture 3,000 to 5,000 workers in the first week.

"The government claims foreign-born workers steal jobs from native-born workers," Mason said. "This is an outright lie."

"Jobs are being stolen all right, but not by immigrant workers."

Continued on Page 2

Thatcher's invasion spurs demonstrations

Continued from Page 1
against the revolutionary struggles in Central America.)

U.S. mask of neutrality

The mask of U.S. neutrality was further stripped away at an April 27-28 meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS). The foreign ministers of 17 of the 21 OAS member governments reached agreement on a compromise resolution that called for mutual withdrawal by Argentine and British forces. But the U.S. delegate refused to support it because it affirmed Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas and opposed the economic sanctions London and other imperialist powers have imposed on Argentina.

Inside Argentina, the ruling military junta is coming under increasing popular pressure to stand up to Washington and London. Argentine working people see the recovery of the Malvinas as a progressive step against imperialist domination of their country, but they place no confidence in the junta's ability to effectively defend Argentina against the British warmakers.

The Argentine people's distrust of both the military junta and Washington has been clearly demonstrated in recent days. On April 10, Argentine President Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri was booed when he told a huge rally outside the presidential palace that he and Haig were representing the Argentine people (see interview on page 11). A few days later, a statement by opposition leaders denounced Haig as "a spokesman for a return to the colonialistic status quo."

Argentine workers march

And on April 26, tens of thousands of Argentine workers rallied in Buenos Aires under a placard reading "No Yankees, No English! Long live Argentina!" According to the April 27 New York Daily News, the "huge demonstration . . . turned into the largest public condemnation ever of the ruling military junta."

"More than 40,000 demonstrators

jammed the Plaza de Mayo in front of the government palace to shout: 'No to the government! Yes to the Malvinas!' . . .

"English retreat! The people want bread! The cries filled the square and the surrounding streets."

The demonstration was called by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), Argentina's main trade union organization. After the 1976 military coup, the CGT was outlawed and many of its leaders were jailed, kidnapped, "disappeared," or murdered.

But now that the military regime is trying to gain some popularity through recovering the Malvinas, it has been forced to allow the CGT to organize openly and bring its ranks into the streets.

In Britain, meanwhile, opposition to Thatcher's war against Argentina is beginning to find expression. On April 17, more than 5,000 persons marched in Manchester in an action called by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

(CND). All speakers at the rally that followed called for the British fleet to be withdrawn.

According to a dispatch from London in the April 27 *Christian Science Monitor*, "A steady 50 percent of those questioned in opinion polls so far have been opposed to the loss of British lives over the Falklands. Opposition Labour, Liberal, and Social Democratic parties are heightening pressure on the government to delay any new military actions until diplomacy has had more room to maneuver."

Pressure on Labor Party

The Labor Party leadership has refused to recognize Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas, and even supported the sending of the British fleet. After the attack on South Georgia, however, Labor members of Parliament shouted "warmonger!" at Prime Minister Thatcher when she addressed the House of Commons.

On April 28, the Labor Party's national executive unanimously called on Thatcher to refrain from further military action and instead take the dispute to the United Nations "at the earliest possible moment."

Some Labor left-wingers have spoken out more strongly. Labor member of Parliament Joan Maynard told the *Militant's* British sister-publication *Socialist Challenge* that "we need a massive campaign" to stop Thatcher's war in the South Atlantic.

Working people here in the United States also have an interest in such a campaign. Reagan's support for Thatcher is part and parcel of the U.S. rulers' overall war drive. Their targets are the struggles of working people in semicolonial countries like Argentina, and our own struggles here at home.

We should get out the truth about Argentina's right to sovereignty over the Malvinas, and we should tell Reagan and Thatcher: "Hands off Argentina!"

Mason denounces immigration raids

Continued from Page 1

"They're being stolen by corporations that shut down because they say it's unprofitable to stay in business."

"They're being stolen by federal government cutbacks in jobs programs."

"They're being stolen because funds that could provide jobs are instead being allocated to the war budget — leaving one 'job' for our young people: the U.S. Army."

Mason, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, noted that the INS claims undocumented workers have secured high-paying jobs that citizens should have. "This is a total fraud," he said. "By their own reports, many of the workers arrested were making minimum wage — if that."

"Undocumented workers are the most exploited in this country," he asserted. "Far from living high on the hog — which no worker does — undocumented workers are forced by the racist, capitalist employers to work for practically nothing, as garment workers, farm workers, restaurant employees, and so forth."

"If these workers protest the sweatshop conditions they face, the boss reminds them they are 'illegal' — they have no rights."

"The labor movement cannot tolerate these INS raids," Mason warned. "They're aimed at intimidating all

workers. They seek to divide workers — white against Black, Latino, and Asian; English-speaking against Spanish-speaking."

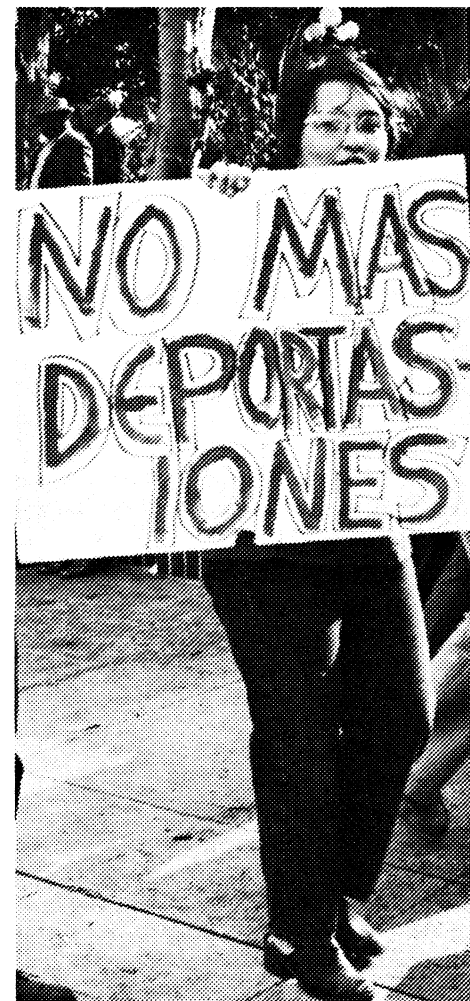
"These raids go hand in hand with the drive to plunge this country into war. World War I and World War II meant full-scale roundups of immigrant workers. Now the Democrats and Republicans are again using the INS as they prepare to send us to war against the working people in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Grenada, and Cuba."

Mason explained how the unemployment crisis in this country should be solved.

"My campaign for governor of California calls for ending unemployment by cutting the workweek without cutting pay, to spread the work around; launching a massive public works program to provide the schools, hospitals, and other social services we need; taking the billions of dollars in the war budget and using it to create jobs," he said.

"We demand an immediate end to the arrests of immigrant workers. We demand full rights for immigrant workers, including access to health and other social service programs, to schools, to decent jobs."

"We demand, INS cops out of the factories!"



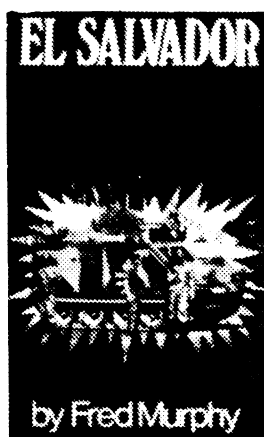
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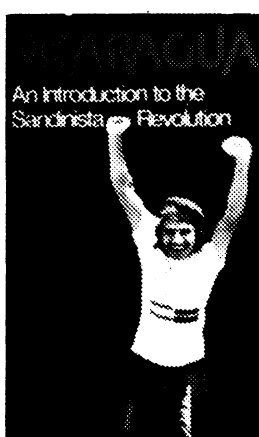
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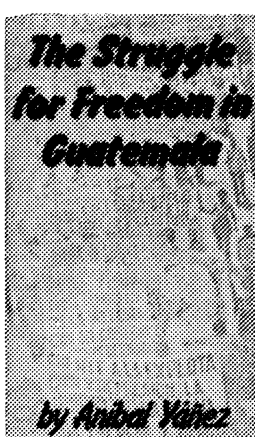
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Reagan moves to arm Guatemala military



New Guatemalan dictator Rios Montt (right).

BY FRED MURPHY

The Reagan administration is moving to restore aid to the military rulers of Guatemala, a country that Alexander Haig calls "strategically the most important Central American republic because of its size, population and raw materials, oil included."

Administration officials cited in the April 25 *New York Times* said Washington "planned to approve the sale of \$4 million worth of spare parts for American-made helicopters being used by the Guatemalan Army against leftist rebels." Also in the works is a total of \$300,000 for military training during the next two years.

Direct U.S. military aid to Guatemala was suspended in 1977 when the country's rulers rejected a \$2.1 million offer owing to State Department criticisms of human rights violations.

If aid is now restored, it will represent

a further escalation of Washington's war against the revolutionary upsurge of workers and peasants that is sweeping Central America.

Reagan is acting now for two reasons. On the one hand, the Guatemalan rebels are gaining in strength against the dictatorship. According to the April 18 *Washington Post*, an unpublicized U.S. government study has concluded that "full-time guerrilla combatants have increased from about 1,500 less than two years ago to an estimated 3,000 today. More ominous is that at least 80 percent of the guerrillas in the Indian highlands, the main area of military conflict, are reported to be Indians."

More than half the country's population is made up of Indians, and their widespread participation in armed rebellion is unprecedented in Guatemalan history.

Reagan is also hoping that the dictatorship's international image has improved since its leading personnel was reshuffled in a coup on March 23. The new junta, headed by Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt, claims it is trying to bring corruption and human rights violations under control. Death-squad killings have slackened since the coup, and some of the most notorious figures of the former regime have been dismissed or jailed.

Ríos Montt wants to apply more sophisticated counterinsurgency tactics than those used by his predecessor, Gen. Romeo Lucas García. Lucas personally directed the death squads from the presidential palace, while his brother Benedicto, also a general, headed scorched-earth campaigns in the countryside in which entire Indian villages were subjected to slaughter.

Now, says a leader of the March 23 coup, "We intend to go in and destroy the guerrillas by fire, but behind that we need bulldozers and tractors to clear the land and prefab houses for people to live in, if the gains are to be lasting."

The Guatemalan people are fighting to rid themselves of the military machine that has dominated their country since 1954, when a CIA-organized coup brought down the democratically elected Arbenz government.

A quarter century of military rule has guaranteed the enrichment of Guatemala's landowners and industrialists and the 150 U.S. corporations with big investments there. But it has brought growing misery to the country's workers and peasants.

According to a 1979 World Bank study, 75 percent of Guatemalans live on less than \$135 a year. Thirty-five out of every 100 do not reach adulthood. Malnutrition affects 75 percent of children under five. Sixty-three percent over seven years of age cannot read and write. Seventy percent of homes are without running water.

These are the conditions the Guatemalan people are fighting to change. By telling Reagan and Haig, "Hands off Guatemala!" we can help them to win.

FMLN backs Argentina on Malvinas Islands

The following item was reported as part of Radio Havana's regular news broadcast on April 21.

The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador expressed its support for the unquestionable right of Argentina to exercise sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. At the same time, it called on the Buenos Aires government to withdraw from El Salvador the advisers sent to aid the genocidal military-Christian Democratic regime.

Whatever the initial motivations that led to the recovery of the Malvinas, the Farabundo Martí Front added, the occupation of those islands by Argentina constitutes a legitimate, sovereign, and patriotic action supported by the entire people.

New wave of civilian killings follow 'elections' in El Salvador

BY FRED MURPHY

Within weeks of the phony March 28 elections, killings of civilians by the military and its death squads were back on the rise in El Salvador.

The armed forces high command and the U.S. State Department were trying hard to patch together a new civilian facade for their bloody dictatorship, even while reputed death-squad chief Roberto D'Aubuisson was being chosen to preside over the newly elected constituent assembly.

At least 48 peasants in the eastern village of Barrios fell victim April 18 to the most brutal massacre to come to light since the elections. Uniformed army troops were responsible. *Washington Post* correspondent Joanne Omang visited Barrios three days after the killings and interviewed survivors:

"Hector Bialta Osorio came back today to pick up some of the clothes and other remnants of a life that he left behind when he fled Sunday morning. 'When the shooting started I saw the soldiers making everyone lie down like this,' he said, putting his face to the ground and his hands behind his head. He said the soldiers raped many of the women. . . .

"Serbando Hernandez, 45, a weather-beaten farmer, went in from San Pedro with some other men that afternoon to see what had happened. 'They had killed women pregnant out to here,' he said. 'There were little children lying on their backs like this,' he said, throwing his head back. He made a cutting motion across his throat.

Bodies of death-squad victims are again being dumped at night along the roadsides on the outskirts of San Salvador. "A worker at the Human Rights Commission said that before the elections they would find 20 to 25 bodies a week," *New York Times* correspondent Raymond Bonner reported in an April 23 dispatch. "The number has risen to about 35 a week since the elections, he said."

Bonner reported observing "15 sun-

bleached skeletons" at the El Playón lava field north of San Salvador on April 18. The site has been a favorite spot for the death squads to display their victims. The *Times* reporter pointed to strong circumstantial evidence of military involvement:

"The victims at El Playón are tossed less than 100 yards from the pavement, and the road that bisects the El Playón sepulcher is heavily patrolled. Less than three miles away is the entrance to the headquarters of the Atlacatl battalion, El Salvador's elite army unit that has been trained by the American advisers. An artillery unit is also close by."

Killings are part of strategy

Pentagon propaganda claims that Salvadoran troops are being taught to avoid "indiscriminate acts of violence." But the real targets of the U.S.-backed war were spelled out in a dispatch by Bonner from the village of Barrios to the April 22 *New York Times*.

"Some Salvadoran officers have told their friends and diplomats that there are no so-called 'innocent' peasants in these rebel-controlled zones. They argue that peasants who support the guerrillas, either tacitly or by supplying food or other assistance, are legitimate victims of the war."

The villagers who survived the application of this strategy in Barrios shed more light on another of its facets, the March 28 elections. Nearly all the villagers had walked several miles to the nearest town to vote, they said. "The officials said if we didn't they would come and drag us out at night," Pablo Flores told the *Washington Post*. "If we didn't we expected to die," said Santos Benítez.

Despite Washington's propaganda about the "success" of the elections, they failed to produce the results desired by the State Department. The Christian Democrats, who for two years had lent their supposedly reformist image to the dictatorship, emerged with a minority of seats in the new constituent assembly. The bulk of the votes went to the extreme-right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), headed by death-squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, and to the National Conciliation Party (PCN), the traditional political front for the oligarchy and its generals.

General Walters applies the screws

The Reagan administration is well aware that open rule by D'Aubuisson and the PCN would evoke still greater opposition in the United States to aiding the Salvadoran regime, and further its international isolation. Thus the post-election period has seen a heavy-handed attempt by Washington to dictate the choice of the country's president by the constituent assembly.

A series of meetings at the U.S. embassy and a visit to San Salvador by U.S. Congressional leaders did not yield the desired results. Nor did an April 20-21 visit by State Department envoy Gen. Vernon Walters stave off the election of D'Aubuisson as head of the constituent assembly on April 22.

But Walters did make progress in forging a bloc between the PCN and the Christian Democrats in support of naming banker Alvaro Magaña president of the country. Magaña was described in the April 26 *Washington Post* as a member of one of El Salvador's "14 families" and a close friend of three former military presidents.

The armed forces high command helped Walters apply the screws to the politicians. According to a report in the April 23 *Washington Post*:

"The leaders of each party were summoned to separate meetings at military headquarters where they faced a united front of at least two dozen officers, representing the chiefs of all the major military branches, the zone commanders and the provincial brigade commanders.

"They said, 'Here are three names. Pick one,' related a politician who went to one of the meetings. . . .

"Alvaro Magaña was clearly the Army preference, the political leader said."

As of April 26 the assembly had still not voted on Magaña's election. ARENA and D'Aubuisson were reportedly maneuvering to block the U.S. choice. These rightists know they have Washington in a difficult spot.

U.S. aid to continue

"The United States has never cut off aid anywhere for very long or even entirely," a D'Aubuisson reporter told the *Washington Post*. "Reagan will never let the communists win here."

As if corroborating this assertion, U.S. ambassador Deane Hinton told reporters the same day that Washington's "aid for El Salvador . . . will continue in any case. . . ."

Hinton's declaration of the administration's intent points up the need for intensified efforts to mobilize the vast anti-interventionist sentiment that poll after poll have shown to exist among U.S. working people. "Proposals for further economic aid elicit solid disapproval," the *Wall Street Journal* admitted April 23. "The notion of sending troops, not surprisingly, is abhorred. . . .

"There is solid evidence that the surveys are accurate and that people understand the implications of the Central American situation. No matter how questions are phrased, no matter how the numbers are read, they reveal genuine hesitation to endorse any form of American participation in El Salvador."

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Black candidate opens fight to get on ballot

BY DICK ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES — "Powerful forces in this state do not want Mel Mason on the ballot. They don't want an antiwar candidate and they don't want a candidate who represents working people."

Barry Sheppard, coordinator of the Mel Mason for Governor campaign, was speaking at an April 23 campaign rally in Los Angeles. The rally at Convention Center kicked off a statewide petitioning effort to get Mason, running as an independent candidate, on the ballot. Mason is a socialist city councilman from Seaside, California.

Parallel to the effort to fill the petitioning requirements, Mason supporters will be fighting in court against the undemocratic California election laws. "We are fighting for nothing less than the right of working people to enter politics," Sheppard said.

The attempt to keep Mason from having a leave of absence to run his campaign is the opening shot of this battle, Sheppard explained.

On April 14 the Board of Trustees of Monterey Peninsula College, where Mason works, voted to deny him a leave of absence to conduct his campaign. A statewide effort has been mounted to reverse this decision.

"The denial of my leave," Mason told the rally, "sets a legal precedent for any boss to say to workers they cannot run."

"The Democrats and Republicans don't have to ask anyone's permission when they campaign. Mayor Bradley didn't ask you for a leave of absence," Mason said.

He reported that his lawyers have uncovered a case where the Monterey College Board did grant a lengthy leave of absence to one of its employees. In Oc-

tober Margaret Stembler, an assistant in the Learning Center, requested the spring semester off to take a sailing trip. On the proposal of the president of the college, the board approved the leave.

Mason noted that a suit will be filed in the Superior Court for Monterey County immediately, asking the court to order the trustees to grant Mason a leave.

Petitioning to get Mason on the ballot began April 24 in six cities. The first two days 7,670 signatures were collected.

Mason's supporters found the best response and strongest support for the campaign's position opposing U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Eliminating the war budget to pay for social services, no taxation of working people, and the right of working people to run for office were also popular demands.

"I really like what your flyer said about getting out of El Salvador," 20-year-old Fay Alexander told Mason. "I hope you get a lot of signatures. You have a better program than is being offered by other candidates."

Mason, who was petitioning at a Black shopping center in Los Angeles, found some people who supported Thomas Bradley, the Black Los Angeles mayor who is the leading Democratic gubernatorial candidate. But others expressed strong dissatisfaction with Bradley.

"Tom Bradley has done nothing at all for L.A. He especially hasn't done anything for Black people," one person said.

A number of Bradley supporters signed, saying they supported Mason's right to be on the ballot.

A literature table in the Bay Area attracted a large group of Nicaraguans and El Salvadorans who wanted to dis-



Militant/Della Rossa

Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, is in Los Angeles petitioning to be on ballot.

cuss Mason's campaign.

Many women were attracted by Mason's support for women's rights. The typical response of youth was "he's against the draft, sure I'll sign."

As petitioning showed, there is already broad support for Mason's right to be on the ballot and to have the time to campaign. This was clear at the April 23 rally here.

A message was read to the audience of 75 people from David Aroner, executive director of the Service Employees International Union Local 535. "Last weekend," it stated, "our State Executive Board, on behalf of the 10,000 workers we represent in the public and private sectors in California, unanimously voted to support Mel Mason's fight for a leave of absence to campaign for governor."

Other speakers included Chuck Sheehan, president of Los Angeles Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 593; De'lora Hunt of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Eleanor Smith of the

Young Socialist Alliance; Black playwright Frank Greenwood; and Tony Russo of the U.S. Vietnam Friendship Association.

Russo, along with Daniel Ellsberg, brought the Pentagon papers to light during the anti-Vietnam War movement. He sharply attacked the continued U.S. policy of hostility to Vietnam and urged the removal of Washington's "outrageous embargo on Vietnam and Cuba."

"Mel Mason is an important candidate," Russo said. "He is independent of the corporations and the defense industry and the Democrats and Republicans who have led us from one disaster to the other."

"Their warmongering foreign policy gave us the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Their entire policy is based on lies. If we are going to survive we have to change this. We will have to have people like Mel who will tell us the truth."

Another strong endorsement of Mason's campaign came in a statement from Paul Worthman, SEIU research and education director. "The time has come for working people to break with the illusion that riding on the coattails of the Democratic Party can solve the problems they face."

"We need a governor who supports working people and who recognizes that working towards socialism is the only way to solve California's and the nation's social and economic problems."

The Los Angeles rally raised over \$7,000 for the Mason campaign. Mason also spoke to a campaign rally in San Diego April 24 that raised over \$1,000.

Calif's undemocratic election laws

California has particularly onerous laws directed at keeping working-class candidates off the ballot.

Independent parties are required to file nomination papers with signatures of at least 1 percent of the registered voters in the state. This comes to 113,600 signatures that Mel Mason will have to file to get ballot status this year. Meanwhile the Democratic and Republican candidates have to file only 60 signatures.

Mason supporters are petitioning in two stages. The stage that opened April 24 is "in-lieu-of-filing-fee" petitioning. There is a filing fee of \$982. But this does not have to be paid if a certain number of signatures are handed in instead. Petitioning for the "in-lieu" stage is scheduled to last two weeks with a target of 20,000 signatures. These signatures will go toward the 113,600 required for the November ballot.

A second stage of major petitioning is scheduled for five weeks beginning June 7. In all, the Mason campaign is aiming to hand in 180,000 signatures — more than 60,000 over what the undemocratic laws demand.

In 1980 the secretary of state, Democrat March Fong Eu, ruled both the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party off the ballot. Because of this, the Mason campaign is launching a major effort to build support for the right to be on the ballot.

Iranian socialist fights deportation order

BY BETSY McDONALD

PHOENIX — Hamid Sodeifi is a young Iranian student who has been targeted for deportation because of his political views and activities.

On April 3, Sodeifi spoke here to an enthusiastic audience at a rally against Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) political deportations. Sodeifi, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, explained how the INS singled him out for his political activities, while claiming he was deportable because he dropped a class at school.

"When I went to the INS office, the immigration officer showed me a *Young Socialist* which was in my file. He said, 'What is this junk?' Our entire discussion that day was devoted to my membership in the Young Socialist Alliance."

"The INS is after me for my socialist ideas, not some technicality. What are these strange ideas that socialists have that the government is so fearful of them? One of our ideas the government is most fearful of is that we demand that the U.S. government should get out of El Salvador and let the people of El Salvador decide for themselves what type of government they'd like to have."

Maryann Beerling of Feminists United for Action at Arizona State University, where Sodeifi is a student, contrasted the treatment of the shah to the treatment of Sodeifi. "When you put the two together it is the shah who should have been the one deported and Hamid never, ever questioned," she said.

Karl Abrahamsen, of the Committee Against U.S. Aggression in Central America and the Caribbean, pointed out that only a handful of the approximately 15,000 Salvadorans who have asked for asylum in the United States have been granted it. The mass of Salvadorans are sent back to a country where thousands have already been murdered by their government and paramilitary groups, winked at by the U.S. government.

Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, another Iranian socialist facing deportation from this country, sent greetings to Sodeifi: "They are trying to deport us because they think they can deport our ideas. But that's not so easy. What are they going to do with the thousands of people who marched against U.S. involvement in El Salvador? Or with the majority of American people who agree that the U.S. should stay out of Central America?" Hariri-Vijeh is also a YSA member.

Sodeifi's supporters heard from Rob Roper, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, that the Bureau of Immigration Appeals had denied political asylum to Mexican-born Héctor Marroquín, a leader of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party. Those at the rally voted to send a telegram to INS demanding political asylum for Héctor Marroquín.

Shouts of "PATCO, PATCO, PATCO" greeted Jon Paisley, president of Local 419 of the air controllers union. Paisley said, "I admire a young man who is willing to take the risks and the responsibility to challenge the United States government."

John Heard, a long-time activist in the Arizona Black movement and a former peace corps volunteer in Iran, spoke against the government's racist immigration policy toward Haitian refugees.

The following day Sodeifi went to Tucson, Arizona, for an afternoon news conference held in the Northwest Neighborhood Center, in the heart of the Black community.

That night Sodeifi spoke on "The Iranian Revolution — Where It Stands After Three Years" at a YSA-sponsored forum at the University of Arizona. The majority in the audience were Iranian students.

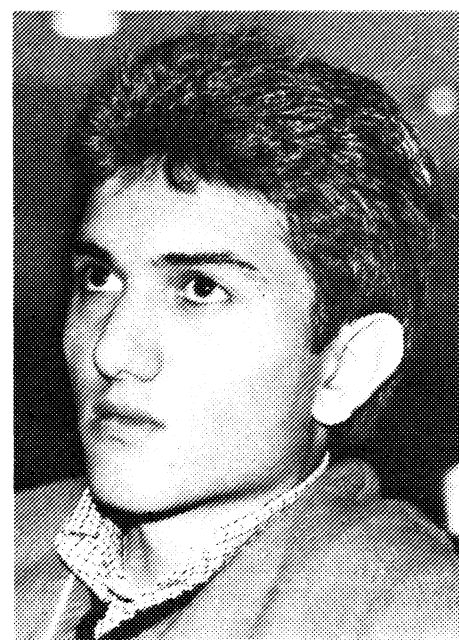
Sodeifi and a supporter also went to East High School in Phoenix, where the student body is mostly Chicano and Black. In a half hour, 25 students signed

a petition to stop Sodeifi's deportation. The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for him, has sent over 250 of such protest signatures to INS District Director Ernest Gustafson.

Supporters joined Sodeifi to picket the Phoenix Immigration office April 12. The demonstrators demanded that INS District Director Gustafson drop deportation proceedings against Sodeifi before the next hearings scheduled for June.

Two television stations, two newspapers, and one radio station covered the picket line. Supporters chanted "Stop the Deportations! Hands off Hamid!" and "Hamid Si! La Migra No!"

To stop Sodeifi's deportation, protests should be sent to Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Please send copies to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.



Hamid Reza Sodeifi

NY meeting debates disarmament question

BY SUZANNE HAIG

NEW YORK — A conference, "Protest and Survive: Poland, El Salvador, and Disarmament," was held here April 17 at the Riverside Church. It was attended by some 300 people.

The conference was sponsored by the Solidarity Support Campaign, which is currently organizing meetings across the country.

The opening plenary featured Dan Smith, chairperson of the Committee for European Nuclear Disarmament; Robert Armstrong of the North American Congress of Latin America and coauthor with Janet Shenk of *El Salvador: The Face of Revolution*; and Daniel Singer, author of *The Road to Gdansk*.

The actual purpose of the meeting, however, was not to discuss El Salvador or Poland.

Laying out the conference goals in her introductory remarks, organizer Joanne Landy said that the Solidarity Support Campaign hopes to "create a network, a current" that can intervene in the antiwar movement in this country.

Place equal blame

The political line this current would bring into the antiwar movement, Landy said, is to place blame for arms buildup and war on both Washington and the Soviet Union. In addition it would advocate that the antiwar movement take up the question of Poland as well as El Salvador.

Landy said the group will organize a contingent in the June 12 antiwar demonstration in New York. People in the contingent will carry signs "that express a concern about weapons East and West and the democratic rights of workers East and West."

Organizers counterposed their approach to that of focusing the U.S. antiwar movement on opposition to U.S. involvement in Central America and the Caribbean.

Landy also said that the removal of nuclear weapons in both "East and West" or "unilateral disarmament on both sides," should be called for by the movement here.

In closing remarks to the conference, Paul Robeson, Jr., another conference organizer, stated that "there are two dangers and threats in the world — both East and West.

"As to which danger is worse, one can argue that the United States danger has been around longer and in the overall sense is probably greater, but in a lot of places it is lesser.

"Ask the Poles," he said. "Ask the people in Afghanistan.

"There are two first-strike philosophies in the world today, not one. And their bombs are targeted on us, so it's our problem too."

Daniel Singer said that "some of the American radicals still have not gotten used to saying 'a plague on both their houses.' We have to convince people that the enemy of my enemy is not necessarily my friend."

Workshop panelist Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League and the Socialist Party had a similar perspective. The arms buildup, he argued, has two sides. Unlike in Vietnam, the United States is not the only culprit today, as the crackdown in Poland showed.

Debate over perspectives

Not everyone agreed with the perspectives of the conference organizers. There was debate on several questions.

Dan Smith, for example, attacked the recent *Foreign Affairs* article by McGeorge Bundy, Robert McNamara, and others, opposing their call for a U.S. escalation of conventional war preparations. Bogdan Denitch, a leader of the former Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and now "foreign and defense policy" spokesperson for the Democratic Socialists of America, defended the *Foreign Affairs* article.

There was also some discussion of the "nuclear freeze" proposal. Smith charged this is a ploy by U.S. politicians

to "diffuse and confuse" the antiwar movement. Others felt the "nuclear freeze" concept should be part of organizing against war.

A number of antiwar activists at the conference spoke on the need to focus on the actual U.S. war being waged today in Central America. A representative of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) raised the urgency of opposing U.S. involvement in that country.

Diane Wang, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed out that "the antiwar movement has to focus on the U.S. government. It can't lose sight of who has used and developed the bomb, who has escalated at every level with new military technology, and who, because of its profit motive, has reason to threaten the world.

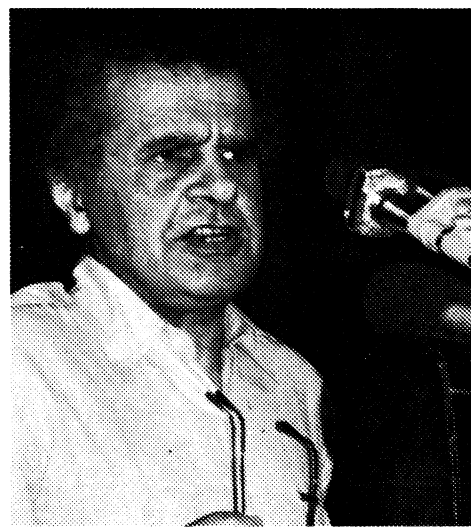
"To lose sight of this would totally sidetrack the movement," she stated.

Wang pointed out that the antiwar movement cannot ignore the war going on right now in Central America or view conventional war as a "lesser evil" to be ignored while fighting against nuclear weapons.

Nuclear blackmail against Moscow

The point was made that the nuclear buildup by the U.S. is directly related to revolutions in the colonial countries. Washington's bomb preparedness is a message to warn the liberation movements in El Salvador and elsewhere and those supporting them — like Cuba. And it is an attempt at nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union to prevent it from giving aid to these struggles should Washington decide to intervene with troops.

Placing equal blame for war on imperialism and the Soviet Union is often referred to as a "third camp" position. Those who advance this position reject the fact that the overturn of capitalist property relations in the Soviet Union was an historic gain for the world working class, a gain hated by imperialism. This is true despite the fact that an op-



Militant/Suzanne Haig

Conference speakers Daniel Singer and Joanne Landy.

pressive caste has usurped power from the workers in the Soviet Union.

According to Landy, for example, both the Soviet Union and the United States are "superpowers." Robeson believes that "the oppressive junta of Poland's General Jaruzelski is a military dictatorship just as we call Duarte's junta in El Salvador an oppressive dictatorship."

The "third camp" stance leads to failing to see the need to defend the Soviet Union and other workers states from imperialism. And, in fact, this social-democratic perspective — by taking the focus off the imperialists — ultimately results in adopting proimperialist positions.

How to aid Polish workers

By taking the heat off the real war-makers, this approach doesn't help those struggling for freedom anywhere in the world, including in Poland. It would be dead wrong to introduce the issue of Poland into today's antiwar movement. Doing so would only play into the hands of Reagan and Haig who use the "Soviet threat" as their justification for intervention in Central America.

Washington's hidden Nicaragua war

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The U.S. is at war.

This fact is not being reported on TV or in the newspapers. Congress has not declared war. So far nobody has been drafted. Coffins containing dead GIs have not yet appeared at U.S. ports. But it is war none the less.

The U.S. government is fighting a war against the workers and peasants of Central America. Washington's support to the murderous El Salvadoran dictatorship is becoming widely known. Already tens of thousands of people have taken to the streets of Washington and other U.S. cities to protest it.

Washington's support of another brutal dictatorship in Central America — the one in Guatemala — is becoming better known.

But still little known is the war being waged by the U.S. government against the people and revolutionary government of Nicaragua.

On March 25 Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega outlined the details of this war before the United Nations. The capitalist media suppressed his disclosures. [See the April 16 *Militant* for Ortega's speech]. Jeane Kirkpatrick, Reagan's ambassador to the United Nations, accused Ortega of "psychological projection." Yet the U.S. government has made no attempt to refute a single one of Ortega's charges.

The Nicaraguan leader noted in his UN speech that the U.S. government has pointedly *not* denied press reports that the National Security Council approved a plan to promote destabilizing and covert actions against Nicaragua.

He further pointed out that Somocista training camps are operating with impunity in the state of Florida in violation of the U.S. government's own neu-

trality act. Ortega also reported to the UN that 2,000 Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, are massed on the Honduran border.

To get some idea of the scale of these hostile actions it should be kept in mind that the population of Nicaragua is only a little over two-and-a-half million or just over one percent of the U.S. population.

Imagine if similar attacks were taking place in this country, with 100 times the population of Nicaragua. What would Washington say if 200,000 soldiers with the avowed aim of overthrowing the U.S. government by force and violence were massed on the Canada-U.S. border?

In the five month period ending in March, the Somocista forces penetrated Nicaraguan territory, killing 67 people and wounding 20. What would Americans think if raiders from Canada killed 6,700 people in Detroit while injuring 2,000? Would this not be considered an act of war?

The U.S. government acknowledges that the U.S. Navy destroyer *Caron*, equipped with sophisticated electronic technology, has been stationed off the Nicaraguan Pacific coast carrying out espionage against Nicaragua. On March 21 four planes from the U.S.-backed Honduran dictatorship attacked a Nicaraguan vessel.

What if a hostile fleet were massed off New York harbor and 400 planes attacked U.S. ships? Would this not be considered an act of war?

Between June 1981 and March 11 of this year, U.S. Air Force RC-135 planes have violated Nicaraguan air space 40 times.

On March 14 two strategic bridges vi-

tal for the defense and communication of Nicaragua were blown up. One, the bridge over the Rio Negro, was totally destroyed and the other, over the Rio Coco, suffered considerable structural damage, making vehicle transit impossible.

What would Washington say if hostile planes zoomed overhead while the George Washington bridge and the Golden Gate bridge were blown up?

During the month of November 1981, the U.S. Southern Command carried out a major military operation designed to monitor and/or cut off all communications in Nicaragua. Employed in this military operation were Phantom A-4C's, AWACS, and RC-135 planes.

In addition, since October 1981 camps situated in the eastern sector of the Panama Canal Zone have been the site of training by the notorious Green Berets of three companies of Somocista former National Guardsmen in paratroop landing techniques and use of explosives. These camps have been personally visited by General Wallace Nutting, chief of the U.S. Southern Command.

True this U.S. war has not yet led to the dispatch of U.S. troops to Nicaragua. But Reagan's destabilization plan authorizes CIA operatives to be active in Nicaragua and they are doubtlessly playing a key role in the direction of the anti-Nicaraguan war.

The U.S. war against Vietnam did not start with the landing of massive amounts of U.S. troops, either. It started much like the current war against Nicaragua has started, as a "special war." For a long time Washington tried to pretend that the U.S. was not really involved in a war in Vietnam but merely "advising" the South Vietnamese. We all know how that ended.

Should the left back abortion rights?

Social democrats buckle under capitalist pressure



Militant/Pat Hayes

Some social democrats and liberals now question whether demand "Abortion: a woman's right to choose" should be raised, claiming it discriminates against men.

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Provoked by the ruling-class offensive against abortion rights, a big debate is taking place over the question of whether women have a right to decide themselves whether to have an abortion.

This debate — and capitulation to ruling-class attacks on legal abortion — is sharply reflected in the press of various social-democratic groupings.

An eight-page special report, "Abortion Politics," appeared in the November 1981 issue of *Democratic Left*. This is the publication of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), which merged last March with the New American Movement to form Democratic Socialists of America.

In the introduction to this report, Jan Rosenberg, a member of the newspaper's advisory committee, asks, "Is anyone as sure of their stance on abortion as they were five years ago? Undercurrents of private doubt and ambivalence are bubbling to the surface of the abortion issue, even on the left."

What follows is a series of articles by DSOC leaders debating such questions as the moral status of the fetus, whether Democratic Party coalitions should include support for abortion rights, and whether DSOC should work in coalitions on issues of common agreement with anti-abortion groups.

Life-and-death question

Peter Steinfels, a member of the *Democratic Left* advisory committee and executive director of *Commonweal*, a liberal Catholic magazine, writes that "the moral status of the human fetus," is an issue that "cannot be wished out of bounds . . . as the Supreme Court and many prochoice activists believe."

"Is there any nonarbitrary reason why killing a retarded newborn infant . . . is morally and legally intolerable — while killing the same individual in the womb, three months earlier, is acceptable? It is not enough to say that the needs of others [i.e., women], even tragically pressing ones, require such deaths."

"The left," Steinfels concludes, "should continue the search for an alternative to the two unsatisfactory positions confronting us" — outright prohibition of abortion or the 1973 Supreme Court decision making abortion legal.

For all his talk about morality, Steinfels shows no moral outrage about the back-alley abortions, mutilation, and death that result from denying women abortions. In 1969, before abortion was legal in New York, for example, some 210,000 women entered New York City hospitals due to abortion complications.

In the April 1982 issue of *Progressive* magazine, Judith Paterson interviews men who think women don't have a right to decide on their own to have an abortion. One man, she says, "thinks women have 'trivialized' the issue by emphasizing the right to control their bodies." He believes "it is immoral to deny men a role in making such decisions" — that it "just gives women a hell of a lot of power."

Paterson asserts that "the much-needed advocacy of women's rights has hardened into a stance that is almost 'anti-man.'"

She writes that "the emotional and moral issues [of abortion] are as real as the political issues, and they are as real for men as they are for women. And we had better get on with facing all that — unless we want to settle for the mindless political polarization that has already reduced us to slogans like 'A woman has a right to control her body' or 'Life begins at conception.'"

These "mindless" slogans, however, are battle lines in the real world. Already, government funds for abortion have been cut off, with a devastating impact on working women, especially Blacks and Latinas. Laws have been passed severely restricting teenage abortion rights.

Paterson may claim to support women's rights, but she says nothing about these attacks. In this fight she is on the other side, helping to undermine the 1973 Supreme Court decision and echoing male-supremacist attitudes on the family.

Despite the leftist rhetoric and demagoguery, Paterson and Steinfels and others of their ilk are in reality advocating forced motherhood, a return of control over a woman's body to the state. And they are trying to convince men as well as women that this state control of people's lives is in their interests.

Too radical

Another twist to this discussion has been made by *In These Times* Associate Editor John Judis.

Judis believes that abortion rights are just too radical and, along with gay rights, are responsible for the defeats of the Equal Rights Amendment. "By unjustifiably identifying the ERA with questions of sexual behavior, feminists helped scare off many women who might have supported the ERA on its merits, but who became alarmed over what they believed were antifamily implications of the amendment," he wrote in the February 3 *In These Times*.

Kate Ellis, a member of DSOC's Fem-

inist Commission, echoes this view. She writes that "these issues certainly helped give the Moral Majority a weapon with which to attack the women's movement, and this attack probably tipped the balance against the ERA."

But what has emboldened the right wing and led to defeats for the ERA is not the fight for abortion rights or gay rights. Women's rights are under attack by the capitalist rulers of this country. It's their offensive that emboldens the right-wing groups, who are mere foot soldiers in the ruling class's campaign and a convenient excuse for Democratic and Republican politicians to explain why they vote against women's rights.

Behind the retreat

The ruling-class, bipartisan offensive aims to make the working class and its allies pay for the economic crisis, to demoralize and break them. Attacks on the rights of women, especially on abortion, are an important part of this offensive. And the social democrats have bent to this.

Tied as they are to the capitalist political framework — and the Democratic and Republican parties — they are caught up in those parties' motion to the right.

In particular, they are under pressure from their Democratic Party friends, with whom they seek to form coalitions for the 1982 and 1984 elections.

These big-business politicians do not want abortion heralded from their platform, just like they don't want busing, affirmative action, opposition to U.S. military involvement in Central America, and opposition to employee give-backs in their program.

So, Steinfels, Judis, and others are equivocating and backpeddling on many of these questions — not just abortion — to go along with the needs of the Democratic Party.

This is the case with the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

Although the organization formally supports abortion rights, its resolution refers to abortion as "often a personal tragedy," and calls for making "every effort to convince honest supporters of the right to life movement that this is the true 'pro-life' program."

But these "prolife" forces are women's opponents. Any honest ones will be won over by a powerful movement for abortion rights that does not equivocate on the character of this right.

Abortion and the liberals

Moreover, DSA views its major political task as building the Democratic Agenda, a Democratic Party coalition to elect liberals.

The Democratic Agenda program, which DSA would like the Democratic Party to adopt, makes no mention whatsoever of abortion rights.

A central issue of the debate in DSOC/DSA, in fact, is whether keeping silent on abortion rights is the best way to operate in the Democratic Party.

Steinfels supports the current Democratic Agenda, which is silent about abortion, and believes that "abortion should not be an issue that separates the sheep from the goats politically [and] determines what coalitions are possible or not."

Kate Ellis disagrees with Steinfels and the authors of the Democratic Agenda. She argues in the November issue of *Democratic Left* that the best way to build the Democratic Party is to take a stand on abortion. "In making abortion an issue in Democratic Agenda at the state-wide level as well as nationally, DSOC can play a valuable role in raising reproductive issues in progressive organizations whose primary focus is not women's rights as such."

This position is also argued by DSA member Christine Riddiough, who previously served on NAM's political committee. She writes in the March 1982

issue of *Democratic Left* that more must be done by DSA than just working in women's coalitions.

"We cannot relegate feminist issues to the fringes of the political spectrum. . . . We cannot segregate feminist concerns from our other concerns," she writes. "As voters, women are taking a close look at the stance politicians take on feminist issues. The Democratic Party has become a major arena for feminist activists."

But is the Democratic Party the place for feminist activists? Can the party be reformed to fight for abortion rights?

On the contrary, both capitalist parties are particularly eager to roll back abortion rights because they are fundamental to the liberation of women. And maintenance of women's oppression is crucial to maintenance of the social and economic inequality of capitalism.

The right to abortion begins the process of freeing women by giving them control over whether and when they have children.

This is a fundamental challenge to all the underpinnings of women's oppression. The capitalists' justification for denying women equality is that they are biologically different and therefore inferior to men. Their destiny is to raise children.

Denying the right to legal abortion is a major way of enforcing this. It makes it easier to discriminate against women in the workforce, to deny them full political and social rights, to maintain an image of them as unthinking sex objects, to keep them economically dependent in the family and in society as a whole.

Winning the right to abortion has helped women break through on all these fronts. And it ran directly counter to the ruling class's need to profit from women's oppression by superexploiting them in the workforce and foisting the social task of raising and caring for children onto them and their families.

This is why — as capitalism enters into a deeper and deeper crisis — the rulers must lash out at abortion rights and wage a big ideological campaign against them.

This ruling-class ideological campaign is aimed at making women feel guilty about having an abortion, and it provides the justification for passing legislation that further curtails the right to abortion.

Unfortunately, those in the current debate have bent to some of these backward ideas and, dressing them up in leftist garb, are peddling them, thereby aiding the rulers in their drive to reverse abortion rights.

Abortion is not a tragedy, as DSA asserts. It is not too radical, as Judis would have us believe. Nor is it a question of the life and death of fetuses, as Steinfels contends. It is a life-and-death question for women.

Abortion is a fundamental right of women denied for centuries. You can't be for women's rights and at the same time oppose the fight for abortion. The 1973 Supreme Court decision was a victory for women. It must be defended against attack, without any ifs, ands, or buts.

This means campaigning to defend abortion rights, and it means combating forcefully the confusion that is being sown by the rulers and their mouthpieces in the Democratic and Republican parties.

And finally, it means opposing the idea that women can defend abortion rights and achieve liberation by electing Democratic party liberals and reforming capitalism.

Those who support women's rights and want to create a socialist society but tie political change to working within the Democratic Party, are going to find themselves having to give up their principles and support a program that is alien to their goals.

This is the lesson of the current debate on abortion.

Challenges facing Coalition of Labor Union Women

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In mid-April, President Ronald Reagan discovered that the recession is not really as deep as the government's unemployment statistics tell us it is.

Why?

Because so many *women* are entering the job market that the unemployment rate is being "artificially" inflated.

The fact is that the real depth of this recession can be seen precisely in the declining rights and living standards of women, particularly Blacks and Latinas.

It's this reality that will be on the minds of the hundreds of trade union women gathering in Los Angeles April 29 to May 2 for the convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

CLUW was formed in 1974 by thousands of trade union women to fight for the interests of working women.

Never since CLUW was formed have those interests been under such attack. The blows raining down on women are part of the U.S. rulers' efforts to solve the current economic crisis by making U.S. industry more profitable — with working people footing the bill.

The recent vote on the General Motors takeback contract with the United Auto Workers union is also a sign of the times. The contract was nearly defeated, as tens of thousands of auto workers rejected the idea of sacrificing pay, holidays, and work rules to give GM more profits.

War at home and abroad

The war on our living standards at home is coupled with a war drive abroad, one that U.S. workers increasingly sense and are speaking out against. This is reflected in the numerous polls showing majority opposition to sending U.S. troops to El Salvador; the large number of youth who have refused to register for the draft; and the teach-ins, demonstrations, and debates going on in every corner of the country over the danger of U.S. nuclear weapons.

The fact is, the United States is *already* at war. And not only through the millions of dollars Reagan is giving to the dictatorship of El Salvador, or the millions he wants to resume giving to the rulers of Guatemala.

In Nicaragua, a country where workers and farmers have booted out U.S.-backed rulers, there are daily armed attacks from the Honduran and Costa Rican borders, which have killed dozens of people already. The U.S. government is surrounding the country with naval and air force bases, and with troops located in the Panama Canal Zone. President Reagan approved a plan last fall for a CIA destabilization campaign against Nicaragua. That plan clearly is in operation today.

Trade union women have every interest in building a movement to stop this war and stop the U.S. nuclear buildup that is part and parcel of it. And the opportunity to do so is on June 12, the date of a massive antiwar demonstration in New York. Scheduled to coincide with the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, the action has been endorsed by such unions as the International Association of Machinists and the United Farm Workers. Operation PUSH, the National Black United Front, and the National Black Independent Political Party are building it. Hundreds of antiwar and religious groups across the country are organizing buses.

CLUW's voice should be heard on this day, too, saying "No!" to Washington's war in Central America and "No!" to U.S. nuclear weapons.

The government's February unemployment statistics showed that the job-

less rate for adult women rose to 7.6 percent, the highest since 1976.

But when it comes to recording the real unemployment among women, the government's doctored figures aren't very reliable.

For one thing, they don't include part-time workers, who would like to have a full-time job but can't find one. Lack of child care makes it impossible for many women to work full-time, if they can work at all.

The cuts in welfare, Medicare, and other social services are forcing many working women to leave their jobs in order to still be eligible for much-needed benefits for themselves and their children.

This is increasing the "feminization of poverty," with older women and single mothers being the poorest. One-half of all families living below the government poverty level have women at the head of the household.

Affirmative action

The current layoffs, particularly in major industries like auto and steel, are being used to try and wipe out the important affirmative-action gains made by Black, Latino, and women workers in the 1970s.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, as of December 1981, 29.6 percent of all women working in the auto and parts manufacturing industries have been laid off. This compares with 19.5 percent for men. For Blacks, the rate is a whopping 36.7 percent, indicating that Black women have been a very hard-hit category.

The fight against the bosses' "last hired, first fired" practice takes on a new urgency today. The affirmative-action gains women, Blacks, and Latinos have made were a big victory for the entire union movement, strengthening it against the bosses' divide-and-rule strategy.

A fight is needed to prevent these gains from being wiped out by layoffs or by dismantlement of affirmative-action programs. CLUW should take up this fight, helping to lead the labor movement on this question by campaigning against discriminatory layoffs as part of a fight for jobs for all.

Defense of abortion rights

On July 17, in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, a coalition of women's groups is organizing an abortion rights demonstration to protest the national "Right-to-Life" convention taking place there, and government attacks on the right to choose.

This involves the most fundamental question facing all women — the right to control our own bodies.

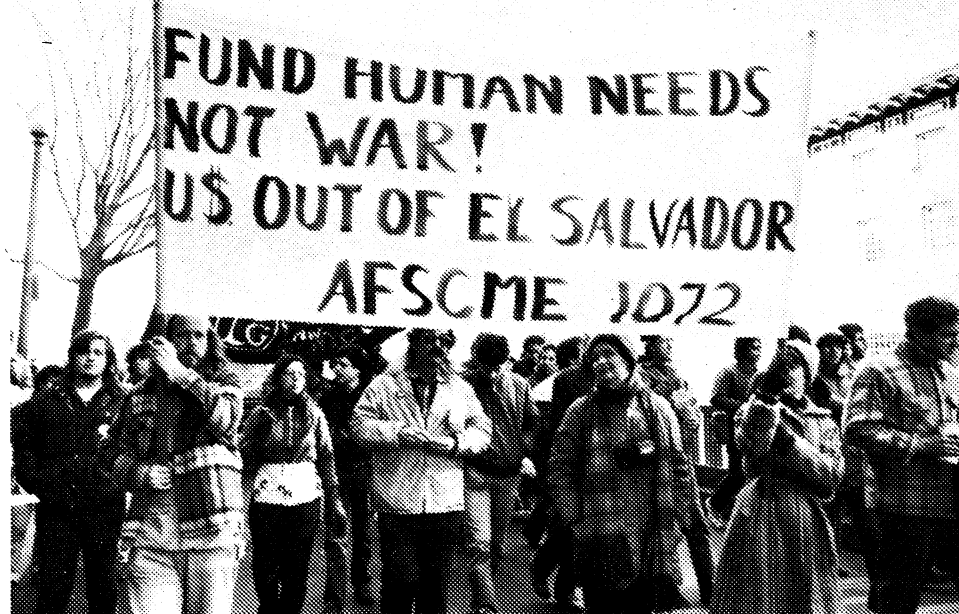
At its 1979 convention, a resolution reaffirming CLUW's strong stand in defense of reproductive rights was passed, and CLUW endorsed a week of abortion rights actions that were being organized at that time.

Since then, the Democrats and Republicans have launched an all-out offensive against the right to choose.

Medicaid funding has been cut off, and Congress is considering several constitutional amendments which would outlaw abortion completely.

Reagan's latest move against reproductive rights is the "squeal law," which would require federally funded clinics to notify the parents when women under 18 request prescription birth control.

CLUW's unambiguous support for abortion rights for *all* women stands in contrast to the retreat on this issue by many liberal and even radical forces. Supporting and building the July 17 demonstration would be a good way for



Militant/Lou Howort

It is important that Coalition of Labor Union Women add its power to growing antiwar movement. June 12 antiwar action is next big step.

CLUW to begin to enlist labor in this important battle.

Equal Rights Amendment

The deadline for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) is June 30, 1982. Despite clear majority sentiment for this important constitutional amendment, the Democrats and Republicans have sabotaged it.

Their attitude on this issue is parallel to their stance on other women's rights, Black rights, and union rights. From busting the air controllers to slashing social services and raising the war budget to unprecedented levels, Washington's policies have been bipartisan. It becomes clearer every day that this government is run by and for the employers through *both* the Democrats and Republicans.

It's in this light that the November 1982 elections are posed. The Democrats tell us to "fight Reaganism" by electing them. This is echoed by the AFL-CIO officialdom, leaders of the National Organization for Women, and traditional Black organizations.

At the AFL-CIO convention last year, this campaign to elect Democrats was

projected under the name of "Solidarity Day II."

In reality, Solidarity Day II is the opposite of Solidarity Day last September 19, when half-a-million unionists, fighters for Black and women's rights, pensioners, and young people marched on Washington. That demonstration showed the potential strength of the labor movement when it unites with its allies independent of the two capitalist parties.

It points in the exact opposite direction from electing Democrats in 1982. It points in the direction of labor running its own candidates and forming its own party, a labor party that would fight for a different kind of government, one that defends the interests of workers and farmers.

This perspective, not that of electing more Democrats, should be discussed and embraced by CLUW. Union women have the most to gain from a real fighting labor party. And CLUW has a lot to contribute by helping organize and lead such a party.

The Los Angeles CLUW convention is a good place to begin the discussion.

Electrical workers fight for affirmative-action rights

BY ELLEN BERMAN

LYNN, Mass. — A precedent-setting fight against sex discrimination is currently taking place in the electrical industry. The case stems from an out-of-court settlement in 1978 in which General Electric (GE) was forced to pay \$32 million in job training, incentive bonuses, and retroactive wages because of discrimination against women and minorities. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) approved this settlement, which was one of the largest cases in its history.

But the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201, which represents workers in the four Massachusetts GE plants, didn't think the settlement went far enough. Arguing that provisions for women and minority workers were "too weak," IUE Local 201 filed lawsuits on behalf of women in the four plants. GE challenged the union's ability to represent its female members on sex discrimination issues, claiming it represented a conflict of interest between male and female members. When the courts upheld GE's position, IUE Local 201 vowed the fight the ruling but advised the women to hire their own lawyer in the meantime. The union has continued to support the case and has worked closely with Nancy Gertner, the women's lawyer. They have been trying to negotiate with the company ever since.

Last spring the local staged a demonstration in response to the sexual harassment of one of its members by two managers on National Secretary's Day. This incident also touched off a one-day walkout by male and female co-workers when they discovered that the company

planned to take no action against the two bosses.

GE's track record on providing equal opportunity for women and minorities since the 1978 settlement has proved that IUE was right. According to recent statistics published in the IUE Local 201 *News*, the breakdown of workers hired from 1978 to 1980 is as follows: 77.9 percent white men, 6.9 percent minority men, 13.8 percent white women, 1.4 percent minority women. And the distribution of workers in the plants as a whole is 83 percent white men, 8 percent white women, 8 percent minority men, 1 percent minority women.

One of the major provisions of the 1978 settlement was for the company to spend \$9.9 million for job training programs. But the company did not fulfill its affirmative action obligations. In 1980 trainees filed a complaint with the EEOC against GE, charging that the program discriminated against minorities and women in entrance exams, grading, placement, and pay rates.

Access to training was another problem. Of the four plants, the two which employ the most women, West Lynn and Wilmington, had the least access to the training program.

With contract time rolling around (the current contract ends in June) GE recently initiated a new round of conciliation talks on the discrimination case. Issues taken up in the case include training, layoff and transfer procedure, recall rights, maternity benefits and leave procedure, initial assignment, retroactive remedies and, for the West Lynn and Wilmington plants in particular, wage structure, upgrading, and job posting.

'Militant' at antiwar events

A series of activities took place throughout the week of April 18 on the dangers of nuclear war, sponsored by a Washington-based group, Ground Zero.

Portland socialists report that over 1,000 people attended an all-day conference on "The Medical Consequences of Nuclear War," sponsored by Physicians for Social Responsibility, at Lewis and Clark College. A total of 26 *Militants* were sold there.

Socialists in Indianapolis sold 25 *Militants* at antiwar events. Fifteen were sold at Ball State University in Muncie and 10 more copies were sold at a forum in Indianapolis where environmentalist Barry Commoner spoke.

Many activities are being organized around the country leading up to the June 12 antiwar march in New York City. Sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at these events will play an important role in explaining the socialist view of how to stop war.

Socialist opposes mine shutdowns

In the face of falling copper prices, the giant copper corporations have shut down a number of mines in Arizona, affecting 80 percent of the state's 25,000 copper miners. Supporters of Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, Rob Roper, lost no time in responding to this at-

tack on Arizona workers.

A campaign and sales team went to the mining towns of Morenci, Clifton, Ajo, and Douglas for three days last week. Many of the miners in this area are Chicano.

Roper reported that there was a very warm and friendly response to his campaign, especially from younger workers. A local radio station in Clifton played a half-hour interview with him.

A total of 30 papers were sold during the campaign effort, and plans are underway to go to Hayden, Arizona, next week, where a Kennecott copper mine and mill is being closed.

Petitioning aids sales drive

Petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot is taking place in many states throughout the spring. The scoreboard this week shows that 17 areas participated in this ballot effort.

West Virginia socialists have just completed a giant petitioning effort to place Bill Hovland and Adrienne Benjamin on the ballot, collecting 18,000 signatures.

Bob Miller reports that Charleston campaigners plan to follow up on the gains they made through the petition drive. "Through petitioning, thousands of people have gotten to know about the SWP," says Miller. "It will be that much easier to reach these people with the *Militant*."

This Saturday, campaign tables will be set up in downtown Charleston, featuring the *Militant* and a new campaign brochure put out by the West Virginia Socialist Workers campaign. Teams will be organized to return to areas visited for the first time during the petition drive and follow-up visits are being planned to those people who signed up for more information on the socialist campaign.

Transit workers discuss contract

Rick Congress reports that a total of 46 papers were sold to transit workers in New York the week ending April 17. Socialists working in the transit system sold 26 *Militants* and 20 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

Sales were spurred by interest in an article on the General Motors takeback contract. The New York Transit Authority is demanding similar givebacks in contract discussions. Copies of the article will be used in future weeks to continue discussions around this issue.

— SANDI SHERMAN

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SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue #15, PM issue #7)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Milwaukee	90/158	10/7	100/165	165
Portland	70/79	0/0	70/79	113
Phoenix	90/102	45/46	135/148	110
Birmingham	50/53	0/0	50/53	106
Piedmont*	85/89	0/0	85/89	105
Seattle	80/83	0/0	80/83	104
Baltimore	110/113	0/0	110/113	103
St. Louis	90/91	0/1	90/92	102
Louisville	80/81	0/0	80/81	101
Indianapolis	75/75	0/0	75/75	100
Twin Cities	135/115	5/13	140/128	91
San Antonio	70/65	20/13	90/78	87
Oakland	60/55	5/0	65/55	85
New Orleans	85/69	0/1	85/70	82
Tucson	40/31	10/10	50/41	82
Iron Range	50/40	0/0	50/40	80
Salt Lake City	90/74	5/1	95/75	79
Cincinnati*	70/55	0/0	70/55	79
Schenectady	90/69	0/1	90/70	78
Denver	80/59	5/1	85/60	71
Lincoln	40/28	0/0	40/28	70
Toledo*	50/35	0/0	50/35	70
Wash., D.C.	70/52	20/11	90/63	70
San Jose	60/52	20/2	80/54	68
Houston	50/36	10/4	60/40	67
Dallas	25/25	15/0	40/25	63
Price	45/25	5/2	50/27	54
Newark	120/57	20/14	140/71	51
Gary*	75/28	5/10	80/38	48
San Diego	50/27	15/3	65/30	46
Cleveland*	53/22	7/4	60/26	43
Brooklyn*	140/56	30/11	170/67	39
Boston*	140/49	10/2	150/51	34
San Francisco	100/37	20/3	120/40	33
Los Angeles	140/26	25/26	165/54	33
Charleston*	50/15	0/0	50/15	30
Miami	60/15	10/5	70/20	29
Atlanta	100/25	0/0	100/25	25
Kansas City*	105/20	5/0	110/20	18
Philadelphia*	140/9	15/2	155/11	7
TOTAL	3,963/2,211	397/196	4,360/2,409	55

Areas not reporting: Albuquerque, *Chicago, *Detroit, *Harrisburg, *Manhattan, *Morgantown, *Pittsburgh, *Tidewater.
*Petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

Jersey court rules socialist off ballot

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

NEWARK — A state three-judge panel turned down an appeal by Laura Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Newark, to order city officials to place her name on the ballot.

Attorney Ramon Irizarry argued that city and county election officials had denied Garza the right to review voter registration records in order to challenge their claim she lacked sufficient valid

petitions. Garza had submitted over 2,000 signatures, more than twice the number needed.

In an earlier lower court ruling, Judge Frances Cocchia had said that Garza, a twenty-three-year-old garment worker, would have had to have gone into court the very same day she received notice she was being denied a ballot spot. In response to attorney Shelley Davis' plea that it took Garza time to se-

cure legal aid, Cocchia admitted that the law was not written for workers, but Democratic and Republican politicians with full time staffs of lawyers.

More than a dozen Garza supporters picketed outside the Hall of Records April 19 to protest the ballot exclusion and the undemocratic court ruling.

In announcing a vigorous write-in campaign after the appeals court ruling, Garza said: "This decision upholds the attempt by Mayor Kenneth Gibson to deny the right of the citizens of Newark to hear real answers to the problems they face. Gibson and the other Democrats in the race have nothing to offer except more cops and more misery."

Campaign workers have mapped out a vigorous round of campaigning on the streets, door to door, and at antiwar activities in the Newark area. The election will be held May 11.

Part of this campaign will be to gain media coverage. The New Jersey *Afro-American*, a Black weekly, has already carried front page coverage of the Garza campaign.

More than 80 people turned out here April 17 for a rally for Garza and Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Gibson and City Council President Earl Harris, also a mayoral candidate, face trial on charges of dispensing a no-show job to an 80 year-old former city councilman and cop now living in Florida.

"The corrupt practices of this administration are just one more example of why workers need an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties," Garza said. "The whole point of my campaign is that it's time that working people ran things instead of the parties of big business. We need a workers and farmers government that would put hu-

man needs before profits."

In her remarks Claire Moriarty, an oil refinery worker, spoke on the growing movement against U.S. wars.

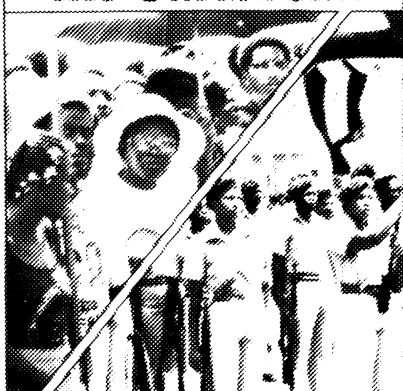
The rally drew twelve workers from the Exxon refinery where Moriarty works.

Among them was a worker who had campaigned for Gibson when he became one of the nation's first Black mayors in 1970. Like many, he is now disillusioned with Gibson, and was attracted by publicity for Garza's rally.



Laura Garza (center foreground), Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Newark, pickets with supporters outside Hall of Records April 19.

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W. Va. rally boosts miner's ballot fight

BY CHRIS HORNER

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — In defiance of both right-wing attacks and harassment from state election officials, the first socialist election campaign rally in decades took place here the evening of April 17.

About 50 people crowded into the campaign headquarters to celebrate the collecting of 13,800 signatures to place West Virginia coal miner Bill Hovland, a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2095 and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, on the November general election ballot. In addition, 4,000 signatures were collected for SWP candidate for Congress in the 3rd District, Adrienne Benjamin.

The rally marked the completion of a five-week effort that surpassed its organizers' most optimistic projections. 5,000 signatures are required for the Senate race and 1,800 for the House seat.

During the course of the drive campaign supporters met people in every corner of this state — which ranks fifth nationally in unemployment and where factory-closings have become a weekly event. These people were wide open to seeing a fresh alternative on the ballot, especially with a coal miner heading the ticket.

"Sure he should be allowed to run," was a common response. "The politicians we've got now sure aren't doing any good."

Support went well beyond agreement with the socialists' right to be on the ballot. Petitioners came across increasing numbers of people who have begun to ask, "What is socialism? What do you stand for?" Many agreed with the platform, 20,000 copies of which were handed out. Others weren't sure yet but wanted to know more: "I don't know much about socialism, but I sure know capitalism isn't working."

State officials scared

It is exactly this response by thousands of West Virginia working people that has Democratic and Republican politicians here running scared. Acting as their point-man, Secretary of State A. James Manchin recently mounted a major campaign in the media branding SWP petitioners "unethical and misleading." Officials even tried to threaten people with jail if they signed the socialists' petitions but also voted in the Democratic or Republican primaries.

Putting muscle behind their words, state politicians unleashed their police. Socialists counted 25 separate incidents of police harassment during the drive, ranging from cops staring over the shoulders of petitioners as they talked to potential signers to threatening petitioners with arrest for campaigning at public-access shopping malls and supermarkets.

Most ominously, the campaign whipped up by state politicians created an atmosphere that has emboldened right-wing goons into escalating their attacks against the SWP headquarters and Militant bookstore here.

In the pre-dawn hours of April 17 four shots were fired through the windows and door of the storefront office, located on a busy street three blocks from the State Capitol building and the Governor's mansion. Taking place the very day of the campaign rally, it was a clear warning to anyone planning to attend that they should think twice.

This was the fifth attack since the headquarters was opened five months ago. Large plate glass windows have been repeatedly smashed.

Socialists have won broad support against the attacks, including three major editorials in the state's leading daily, the *Charleston Gazette*, over the past three months. Feeling the pressure, Manchin himself felt compelled to issue a statement on April 20, hypocritically and piously denouncing the attacks as "un-American and uncalled for."

In her speech opening the April 17

rally, congressional candidate Adrienne Benjamin made it clear why Bill Hovland's and her campaign is under fire. "The people who run this state don't want a coal miner on the ballot. They are afraid of the example it sets. They are afraid the example could catch on and lead to the formation of a labor party based on the unions."

One of the evening's most popular speakers was Cliff Bryant, a former miner and retired rail worker in his 70s who comes from Cabin Creek, West Virginia. Bryant, who has been waiting since the late 30s for socialists to run for office again in this state, told the audience: "The political mix-up is that the Socialist Workers Party is called a third party. The fact is, you are the second political party. What there has always been is one political party, which is a two-headed monster, one part called Democrat and the other called Republican."

Chuck Hollowell, an area Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) leader, was greeted with prolonged applause. "It's good to be among friends," he said. "I'm sure I won't be invited to any Democratic or Republican campaign rallies." After describing PATCO's ongoing struggle, Hollowell expressed his frustration with Democratic "friend of labor" politicians like West Virginia Senator Robert Byrd who repeatedly answered his appeals for support by saying, "There's nothing I can do."

Support from miners

John Hawkins, a national leader of the SWP and a Pennsylvania coal miner, pointed out that "there is already a political party in existence that has broken with Democrats and Republicans and charted a course that is an ex-

ample for the entire labor movement — the National Black Independent Political Party."

Bill Hovland, the evening's main speaker, was introduced by fellow United Mine Workers member Dave Nine. Nine, who has worked underground for 30 years, first got to know the Socialist Workers Party last fall through members who work with him at the Blacksville #2 mine in the northern part of the state. Now he is campaigning

for Hovland.

Hovland's speech sent a clear message to state officials that the socialist campaign does not intend to be intimidated or muzzled. "The petitioning drive was not the end but just the beginning. In 1982 we'll be making history. The SWP will be on the ballot in West Virginia," he declared.

Campaign supporters pledged over \$3,500 at the rally to finance the next stage of the campaign.



Adrienne Benjamin, candidate for 3rd Congressional District, and Bill Hovland, candidate for U.S. Senate, told rally that their campaign would not be intimidated or muzzled by state government and cops.

S. Africa tied to Seychelles coup attempt

BY STEVE BRIDE

A former South African intelligence agent is reportedly telling officials in the Seychelles Republic that the apartheid regime was behind a botched coup attempt there last November.

According to the April 22 *New York Times*, these officials say the ex-operative, Martin Dolinchev, has admitted South Africa gave arms and logistic support to the white mercenary army that tried and failed to unseat the Seychelles government.

Authorities plan to have Dolinchev, who was captured in the Seychelles right after the abortive coup, repeat all this at an upcoming trial of six others being held for their part in the attempt.

The Seychelles are a group of 92 islands in the Indian Ocean, 1,000 miles east of Africa. They are considered strategic because they are within military reach of Africa, India, and the Persian Gulf. They also command the main shipping lane for tankers leaving the Persian Gulf.

The present government, headed by President France Albert René, came to power in 1977 after toppling dictator James Mancham, who had close ties with the South African regime.

Since taking office, the René government has:

- Instituted a minimum wage, a housing program, free education and health care, and old-age and unemployment benefits.
- Been active in the Nonaligned Movement.
- Supported various African liberation movements, most recently in an appeal to South Africa to spare three members of the African National Congress who are sentenced to die in that country.

- Called for dismantling the U.S. military base on nearby Diego Garcia Island.

In connection with the latter, Washington has accused René of turning the

Seychelles into a Soviet outpost.

René, meanwhile, has accused imperialism of mounting three attempts to reinstall Mancham.

In November's try, 50 or so mercenaries arrived at Victoria Airport in the Seychelles, posing as a rugby team delivering Christmas presents to disabled children. Trouble began when a customs officer noticed a gun barrel poking out from amongst the toy trucks.

A 20-hour shootout ensued, at the end of which 45 of the mercenaries commandeered a plane and made for South Africa. International protest later forced the apartheid government to bring charges

against them.

According to Dolinchev, he told South African authorities well in advance that a coup was in the works, and they offered to provide backup.

In fact, South African press reports indicate Dolinchev himself was sent by that country's National Intelligence Service to the Seychelles to be of whatever help he could. They also assert that details of the plot were arranged the day after a dinner party for high-level intelligence officers.

The mercenaries left behind in the Seychelles now face trial on treason charges.

Cops go free in Texas murder case

BY LEE OLESON

DALLAS — An all-white jury on April 17 acquitted three Limestone County police of "negligent homicide" in the drowning of three Black youth at Lake Mexia last year.

The three teenagers were arrested by police on marijuana charges during a heavily attended celebration of June 19, the anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in Texas in 1865.

After the arrests, the cops put the three teenagers aboard a small boat, which lacked safety equipment. The boat, overloaded by some 450 pounds, capsized and the three Black youths drowned.

Under Texas law, "negligent homicide" is a misdemeanor punishable by a year in jail or a \$2,000 maximum fine.

The Dallas jury also declined to find the three cops guilty of violation of the Texas Water Safety Act, a law punishable only by a fine.

Attorneys defending the cops made open racist appeals to the jury.

The cops were forced to put the youths in the boat to escape the Black crowd at the June 19 celebration, the cops' attorneys said.

"The state would have you believe that we white people have nothing to be afraid of in a crowd of Blacks," attorney James Stafford told the jury. "I dream, I hope that someday there will not be a need for a June 19 celebration, that there will not be a need for you to walk out of a grocery store . . . and feel intimidated when two Black men walk toward you."

Evelyn Baker, mother of drowning victim Carl Baker, 19, said she expected the acquittal "because this is white folks."

The other two victims were Anthony Freeman, 18, and Steve Booker, 19.

The Comanche Three Committee for Justice was organized in half a dozen Texas cities to demand justice for the Mexia victims. After the case was moved to Dallas, a March 13 demonstration of 250 marched on Dallas city hall to support that demand.

Despite calls for the Justice Department to file civil rights charges against the three cops, federal authorities have not yet decided to do so, a spokesman for the Justice Department said after the acquittal was announced.

How Britain and the United States

Behind the Malvinas conflict, a 100-year history of colonial exploitation



Left: Argentine workers demonstrate in support of reoccupation of Malvinas Islands. Above: British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig confer in London on their next move.

BY WILL REISSNER

In the current conflict between the Argentine and British governments over the Malvinas Islands, the hypocritical commentary in the big-business media focuses on the fact that Argentina is now ruled by a military dictatorship while Britain has a parliamentary democracy.

This obscures a much more fundamental difference between the two countries — that Argentina is a semicolonial country while Britain is one of the major imperialist powers in the world.

Decisive control over Argentina's economy is not in the hands of Argentines, but in the hands of the capitalist investors from abroad. This fact explains both how the Argentine economy has developed and how it has been misdeveloped.

Argentina is one of the most highly developed, and one of the most industrialized, of the semicolonial countries. But comparisons between semicolonial Argentina and imperialist Canada show the limitations of industrial development in the semicolonial world.

Argentina and Canada have many similarities. Both were settled overwhelmingly by Europeans. Both are important producers of grain and livestock. Both export large amounts of food and raw materials. Both have educated and skilled workforces. Both are largely urban.

But the following chart shows the tremendous difference in their levels of economic development.

	Argentina	Canada
Population	27,300,000	23,940,000
% Urban	72%	75.5%
Gross Domestic Product	\$61.5 billion	\$245.8 billion
Imports	\$6.7 billion	\$62.6 billion
Exports	\$7.8 billion	\$67.5 billion
Electricity produced (kilowatt hrs.)	29.05 billion	335.71 billion
Crude steel produced (metric tons)	3.2 million	16.1 million
Autos in use	2.03 million	9.02 million
Autos manufactured	135,000	1.14 million
Trucks manufactured	45,480	610,800
Rail freight (net ton = km) ..	10.37 billion	215.35 billion
Telephones	2.6 million	14.5 million
Beef production (metric tons)	3.19 million	1.06 million
% 5- to 19-year-olds in school	59%	76%
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	59.0	12.4

The reason for the gap between the two countries is explained by the principal difference between them: Argentine economic development has been de-

formed and distorted by the predominant role that foreign capital has played in the development of industry, and by the fundamental influence that imperialist companies exert on the Argentine state.

Power of landowners

Argentina's economic development has been largely determined by an alliance between Argentine landowners and imperialism. The landowners, who raise grain and livestock on huge estates (*estancias*), have traditionally been content to export their produce and import industrial products, which are generally cheaper and better made than domestic production.

Their power rests on the staggering concentration in landownership in Argentina. Only two-tenths of 1 percent of the landowners control 65 percent of the country's acreage and employ 50 percent of the agricultural labor! Two land companies alone own as much land as the total areas of Belgium and Switzerland put together.

While 160,000 farmers cultivate 1.5 million hectares, the 2,100 largest landowners cultivate 53.5 million hectares. Two out of every three farmers do not own the land they work.

While in absolute terms Argentina's agricultural exports are enormous, its agriculture is inefficient by advanced capitalist standards, being based on minimal cultivation of huge tracts. According to 1964 and 1966 figures com-

pared by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), Argentine farmers used 19 times fewer tractors per arable acre than their Brit-

ish counterparts, and 140 times less fertilizer than West German farmers.

The fact that Argentine exports are overwhelmingly agricultural make it particularly vulnerable to shifts in the world market.

While the large landowners are mainly Argentine, imperialist investment became the dominant factor in Argentine industrial development in the third quarter of the 19th century. That investment, largely from Britain until the 1940s, was initially concentrated in railroads and the meat export trade.

But investments in the railroad system were made to further the interests of British capital rather than the internal needs of the Argentine economy. Lines were laid out in a fan pattern, to move exports from the interior to the port of Buenos Aires, and to move imports from Buenos Aires to the interior. No grid was built to facilitate internal trade and communication between the cities and regions of Argentina itself.

The second major focus of early imperialist investment was in the meat-packing industry. The development of refrigerator ships in 1876 made it possible for the first time to transport large amounts of Argentine beef to European markets, and by 1890 a fleet of 278 refrigerator ships was constantly moving between Buenos Aires and Britain.

For all intents and purposes, Argentina had become a British colony by the turn of the century. Fully 80 percent of all foreign investment in the country came from Britain, and British influence permeated all aspects of Argentine life.

By the 1930s, British capitalists controlled three-quarters of the railroad mileage, most of the urban transit systems and utilities, much of the meat-packing industry, and had large stakes in other industries as well. Capitalists from other countries also had a substantial presence in Argentina.

Growth of Argentine industry

During the 1930s and 1940s there was considerable development of consumer-oriented "import substitution" industries in Argentina. Due to the worldwide capitalist depression, markets for Argentine exports to Western Europe shrank, leaving the country with less money to purchase manufactured goods abroad. And when markets for Argentine agriculture picked up with the outbreak of the Second World War, Argentina was still unable to purchase industrial goods due to the conversion of European industry to war production.

By the close of the war Argentina had

built up gigantic foreign currency reserves, and the nationalistic government of General Juan Perón used that money to buy out the holdings of British capitalists in the country and establish state-owned companies to develop new areas of the economy.

Opportunity missed

At the end of the war, Argentina seemed to be poised for large-scale independent industrial development. It had established a considerable industrial base in the previous two decades, it had bought out the largest imperialist holdings, and it possessed large amounts of capital built up during the war. But the hoped-for independent development did not take place.

With the end of the war, the imperialist corporations could again turn their attention to Argentina. By the early 1950s, foreign corporations, now predominantly U.S., were again entering the country in large numbers, often purchasing Argentine-owned companies that had been built up in the preceding two decades.

In 1954, a study of the 100 most important companies functioning in Argentina, found that at least 89 were controlled by or closely connected with foreign capital.

Another study in the 1960s examined the country's largest companies, as defined by sales, and found that half of the total sales volume went to foreign-owned firms, one-third to state-owned firms, and only one-sixth to private companies owned by Argentine capitalists.

The trend toward imperialist purchases of existing Argentine industries is continuing. Of the 50 large state enterprises that the Argentine government turned over to private control between 1963 and 1968, 29 passed into the hands of U.S. corporations.

'Argentine' auto industry

The evolution of the Argentine automobile industry illustrates the growing control of imperialism. In 1960, 21 automobile companies were functioning in Argentina, of which only 4 had majority foreign ownership. The remainder were either entirely or majority Argentine owned, and operated under license from imperialist firms. In 1963, locally-owned auto firms still accounted for more than 50 percent of total production.

Leaving aside the fact that all the locally-owned companies were already tied to imperialist corporations through licensing agreements, these figures show that there was still significant Argentine participation in the industry in the early 1960s.

Today the story is totally different. The Argentine producers have folded or been bought out and the remaining five automobile companies are all foreign owned.

In a study of the Argentine auto industry, British scholar Rhys Jenkins points out that the imperialists take far more capital out of the country than they invest in it. He reports that "between 1958 and 1964, that is, the period during which most of the foreign investment in the automotive industry was made, the inflow of \$33 million into the industry was exceeded by the outflow of dividend payments that amounted to \$52.3 million."

Jenkins adds that the situation got even worse in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when annual payments of dividends and royalties to foreign owners exceeded the total new foreign capital invested over a six-year period.

This pattern is not unique. In fact it is the norm. Contrary to the myth ex-

es 'underdeveloped' Argentina

ation

pounded by generations of proimperialist economists and politicians, foreign investment does not result in an inflow of capital to the semicolonial world and does not necessarily result in the creation of new industrial capacity.

A study by the United States Department of Commerce shows that between 1950 and 1965, U.S. private investment in Latin America totaled \$3.8 billion, while in those same years the flow of profits from Latin America to the United States totaled \$11.3 billion.

In addition, most "foreign" investment does not bring new capital into the semicolonial countries from the imperialist countries. According to a U.S. Department of Commerce study, 96 percent of U.S. foreign investment in Latin America is actually raised in Latin America.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America points out that "the growing tendency of foreign investors in recent years to purchase all or part of industrial enterprises that are already operating in Latin America, far from providing a stimulus to industrial activities in the region, entails an increasing outflow of financial resources, without the creation of new production capacity to justify it."

This pattern — imperialist investors borrowing Argentine capital to purchase Argentine industrial plants and sending the profits out of Argentina — has another pernicious impact besides the export of capital from the country. It also establishes Argentine industry as a branch office operation, in which imperialist firms satisfy the local internal market through their own local production rather than through imports. But all research, development, technical innovation, engineering, and the like is carried out in the "home" office.

Development of classes

The degree of imperialist control over Argentina's industrial production has had a big impact on the relationship of class forces within the country. As Argentine economist Gustavo Polit notes, "Since its birth Argentinian industry has been centralized in a few hands, inextricably intertwined with the landholders and foreign capital." As a result, the degree of concentration of ownership and production is higher than in the advanced capitalist countries, which developed in a more organic and rounded manner.

Argentine corporations were huge from the start. As Polit shows, they emerged in the economic arena of Argentina as fully developed offspring of large foreign enterprises."

Already by 1936, still in the early stages of Argentine industrial development, 47 individual factories (one-tenth of 1 percent of the total) employed 15 percent of all workers — a degree of concentration that was 10 times higher than in the United States at the same time. By 1954, the 69 largest establishments alone were responsible for 20 percent of the value of production.

The Argentine working class, therefore, was from its beginnings concentrated in large factories, which are the most conducive arena for the development of working-class consciousness and organization. As a result, the Argentine working class has traditionally been one of the most class-conscious and militant in the capitalist world.

This huge, powerful working class confronts a stunted Argentine capitalist class. In face of competition from huge foreign corporations, most Argentine capitalists are content to play the role of junior partner to imperialist firms, or avoid industrial investments totally.

The Argentine capitalist asks himself, says Polit, "Why should millions be invested in such items as blast furnaces if a much smaller capital investment will bring high and immediate profits when invested in land, elegant buildings, the stock market, or textile enterprises?"

This stunted and deformed Argentine capitalist class finds itself sandwiched between two giants — the Argentine workers and the imperialists. Unable to control and contain the working class on its own, it must rely on brute force by the military to keep the workers in check, and it turns over the reins of government to representatives of imperialism.

In 1970 and 1971 James Petras and Thomas Cook carried out interviews with the top executives of the 150 largest corporations and industrial associa-

tions in Argentina. They found that 55.4 percent of the top executives of foreign-owned corporations have held Argentine government posts as cabinet ministers, cabinet advisers, or ministerial subsecretaries. But only 19.7 percent of the top executives of Argentine-owned companies had held similar posts.

Argentina at impasse

Today Argentina is in the midst of a terrible economic crisis characterized by years of triple-digit inflation, a rising wave of bankruptcies and bank collapses, unemployment that is officially 10 percent but is thought to be nearly double that figure in reality, and a dizzying fall in the living standards of Argentine working people.

The military, which has ruled since 1976, has no solution to the economic crisis. In 1981, five different officers oc-

cupied the presidential palace. One after another was swept out by the deepening depression.

Today Argentina faces the dead end of semicolonial development. Because of the penetration of imperialist investment, Argentina sends massive amounts of capital to the imperialist centers in the form of remitted profits, and then has to turn around and borrow that same capital from British, U.S., European and Japanese banks to finance infrastructural development. Argentina's foreign debt now stands at more than \$35 billion.

The Argentine working class, in its millions, with its fighting traditions, is the only force capable of breaking the hold of imperialist capital on Argentina and taking charge of the country's destiny.

From Intercontinental Press

Eyewitness report from Argentina: 'Workers could not be held back any longer'

The following is an interview with Lucía Gómez, an Argentine socialist who currently lives in the United States. At the time of the Malvinas takeover, Gómez was in Argentina visiting her family. The interview was conducted in New York City on April 22, shortly after Gómez's return to the United States.

Question. Perhaps you could first explain how the Argentine people have viewed the question of the Malvinas Islands historically.

Answer. When I was growing up in Argentina in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the government of Juan Perón was in power. He carried out social reforms and nationalizations of industry and told the people that Argentina was establishing economic independence from imperialism.

One of the first sentences I remember learning in school was, "The railroads are Argentine." They taught us that the post office and the telephone company were also being made "Argentine."

Every one of those things had been owned by the British. Colonialism was ending in Argentina — this was emphasized in all the schools.

So everyone felt this kind of national-

ism, this anti-imperialism. And it is still there. No other form of imperialism was ever so obvious, so open for the Argentine people as British colonialism was. It was the one you could see every day.

The last British stronghold was the Malvinas. The Argentine people had always felt humiliated — we had taken over everything else, but the British were still there on the Malvinas.

Q. Why do you think the government chose this particular time to recover the Malvinas?

A. The military regime was on the verge of collapse. The economy is a total disaster. People are going hungry in a country where there has always been plenty of food.

The refusal to clear up what happened to the thousands of "disappeared" was evoking growing outrage. Even soccer stars and other prominent persons who aren't usually involved in politics were speaking out about this.

The workers could not be held back any longer. Before, they had stayed quiet because of the repression and because they had to hold onto their jobs to survive. Now, with massive layoffs, they have absolutely nothing to lose. They had to take to the streets.

On March 30, the General Confederation of Labor [CGT] called for mass demonstrations in the main industrial cities.

In Buenos Aires, three huge columns of marchers converged on the Plaza de Mayo. The turnout was tremendous. The government went to great lengths to prevent the marchers from reaching the plaza — it was cordoned off for 20 blocks around by the police and army. The subways were closed down and people who worked in the area were sent home early.

Still, many marchers were able to break through and get near the plaza. There were confrontations with the police. About 2,000 persons were arrested in Buenos Aires, including the entire CGT leadership.

The government was in a difficult spot. The CGT declared itself in "permanent session" — meaning that there would be an ongoing series of actions. They first called for a general strike on April 1, but postponed this to negotiate the release of the union leaders.

At that point, the government decided to occupy the Malvinas.

Q. How did the workers movement and the political opposition respond?

Continued on Page 17



Late Argentine President Juan Perón addressing 1954 rally in Buenos Aires. In response to wave of anti-imperialist sentiment following World War II, Perón's government carried out extensive nationalizations of British holdings in Argentina.

Cuba sends Grenada internationalist aid

BY PAT KANE

ST. GEORGE'S — During the early morning hours of March 13, most Grenadians were too busy dancing and celebrating the third anniversary of the revolution to notice a large cargo ship dock in the harbor of this capital. It was the *González*, a Cuban ship loaded with the latest batch — and the largest so far — of gifts from Cuba for the people of Grenada.

In the days of colonialism, gifts were cheap: beads and mirrors given by imperialists to trick people into a false sense of security before their countries were plundered. In the era of proletarian revolution things are different. Gifts from one revolution to another are helping Grenada toward economic development.

Aboard the *González* were a complete prefabricated housing plant, an ice plant for storing fish and agricultural products, a tile-making plant, a paint-making plant, and hundreds of tons of cement. Grenada will also receive technical assistance to train workers in the assembly, running, and maintenance of these vital additions to the country's fight against underdevelopment.

Aid for development

Raul Freire, head of the Cuban Economic Office of Cooperation, attached to the Cuban embassy in St. George's, explained his country's aid policy toward Grenada:

"Our government's policy is based on collaboration between brother countries in different areas, so they can strengthen and develop their lines, their revolutionary aims, and accomplish *their* plans. This policy of help is certainly unconditional."

Because the Cuban government is led by revolutionaries, it has different principles than the imperialist governments. "The political principles that are guiding collaboration between Cuba and Grenada," explained Freire, "are based on our internationalist policies toward all those countries that are fighting for their independence. Cuba gives its aid without any interest. Cuba receives no material profit from this aid. Cuba receives requests from many of these countries throughout the world. Cuba is also a poor country, but from what we have we give to other countries to consolidate their independence."

Cuba has provided aid whenever it has been asked by the government of Grenada. The generosity of the people of

Cuba can be seen in every sphere of the development process, a generosity which transcends the criminal blockade enforced by the U.S. government over the past 22 years. This blockade has hampered the economic development of Cuba, but it does not stop the aid from being given to other countries.

In contrast, along with imperialist aid come the profit-seekers. Suddenly, there is a new branch of a U.S. bank downtown, a Coca-Cola distributor, and other U.S. businesses. Then the supply of spare parts for machinery becomes an important political weapon in the hands of the imperialists, as was so clearly shown in the destabilization campaigns against Chile and Jamaica. None of these things happen in Grenada as a result of Cuban aid.

Cuba came to the aid of the Grenada revolution in the first month after the overthrow of the proimperialist dictator Eric Gairy. The government of Grenada appealed for aid and assistance, especially after a series of radio broadcasts by Gairy from San Diego, California, calling for the overthrow of the revolutionary government. Gairy appealed to the U.S. government for support and aid for a mercenary attack on Grenada.

The Grenadian government asked several governments for assistance, including those of the United States, Canada, and Britain. They received some support from Guyana and Jamaica — and on April 7, 1979, a delegation arrived from Cuba.

U.S. expresses 'displeasure'

The response of the U.S. imperialists was swift. They did not send the food, medical supplies, arms, and technicians that the Grenadians needed. Instead they dispatched their ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean, Frank Ortiz, who arrived April 10, 1979.

Ortiz left the Grenadians in no doubt as to the U.S. government's views. They would "view with displeasure any tendency on the part of Grenada to develop closer ties with Cuba."

Ortiz dismissed the justified worry of the Grenadian government about a possible invasion. When asked for aid to help overcome 400 years of colonial rule, Ortiz left a check for US\$5,000 from his discretionary fund.

On April 13, in a broadcast over Radio Free Grenada, Maurice Bishop outlined the revolutionary leaders' rejection of imperialist domination. He announced

sent several hundred of their workers, and they sent over 100 pieces of important equipment.

They have not been able to assist, of course, in the areas of finance, or oil — things that they themselves do not have — but their assistance was the key to getting the airport project moving in the first place.

They have also helped us with the quarries and the stone-crushing and asphalt plant. This is a very important complex for us, and provides the capacity to get the asphalt mix for use on the roads. Once the airport is finished, and the asphaltting of the surface is done, that particular complex is going to help tremendously in the infrastructural work that we have to complete.

Yesterday morning there arrived in Grenada the Sandino Plant. This is a plant which makes prefabricated concrete units, and will have the capacity to build 500 houses a year. We will also use the concrete units for other purposes. Along with this will be a tile-making plant and a block-making plant.

From all that I have said, I'm sure you realize that the relations therefore at the level of aid and in other ways, between ourselves and Cuba, have proceeded at the highest levels of fraternal



Maurice Bishop (center), Grenada's prime minister, joined Fidel Castro and Daniel Ortega, a central leader of Nicaraguan government, at 1980 May Day celebration in Cuba.

to the world that Grenada was "not in anybody's backyard." The next day Grenada established diplomatic links with Cuba, and Cuban aid began to arrive.

When President Ronald Reagan announced that his Caribbean Basin "aid" scheme would exclude allies of Cuba, the Grenadians explained that *they* would pick and choose their own friends in the world.

Types of aid

Cuban aid is mainly in the construction of Grenada's international airport. But it also extends to health care, culture, housing, sports facilities, advisers on planning and the collection of statistics, agro-industries, the construction of a new radio station, transportation, and the maintenance and development of the island's electricity system.

"We have around 400 Cubans here advising on these affairs," said Freire. "All salaries and wages are paid for by the Cuban side. Cuba is a socialist country, which applies the internationalist principles of socialism."

"The aid that Cuba gives is very different from that given by the capitalist countries. The imperialist countries may offer some aid, but they just do it with the aim of obtaining some profits. They don't give this aid with the aim of helping development. We give our aid simply to fulfill the aims of our principles."

"Cuba is presently under blockade, so we know perfectly what imperialism does, because we have felt it in our own case. In any attempt by the imperialists to blockade Grenada, Cuba will *always* go to the international organizations that we belong to, and will condemn any aggression. This will *always* be our position."

cooperation. They have *never*, ever made *any* request of us to do anything in return for any aid.

There has never been any attempt to compromise any of our principles, or make any suggestions to us about how we should conduct any aspect of our foreign or domestic policy. In other words, they have been giving a lot of assistance, yet making no requests or demands.

On the other hand, the United States government, which has been giving no assistance, is the one that is making all the requests and demands.

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One Cuban currently working in Grenada is Sonio Aguila Setien, who is head of the Cuban medical brigade and a professor of gynecology and obstetrics. There are 15 Cubans in the brigade, spread throughout the country. They also have a base in Carriacou, the sister island of Grenada. There are three dentists and 12 doctors.

"Grenada has a fairly healthy population," said Aguila. "There are no really serious illnesses. In my field we have a lot of high blood pressure and premature births. The island's nutrition is good."

"The brigade has been here since the first few months of the revolution. We arrived in June 1979. We Cuban doctors felt strange at first. It's a different country, with a different language and culture. It took awhile to get acquainted with the population."

In 1981 alone, the doctors saw 52,900 patients. Due to a lack of facilities, the dentists have only been carrying out extractions, but they will soon be engaged in other work. The treatment is free, and the Grenadians stand in line from before sunrise. Private fillings cost up to EC\$60 (one East Caribbean dollar is equivalent to US\$0.38).

"We are now fully integrated into the medical establishments, in all our different jobs. We also have a general practitioner working with the army," Aguila added.

New links between peoples

Cubans are now a frequent sight throughout Grenada. They celebrate the anniversaries of their own revolution, and many Grenadians attend. Small "Che" buttons can be seen on the caps of the island's youth. There is a Grenadian branch of the Cuban Communist Party and, as in Cuba, all Cuban workers are encouraged to help in voluntary work.

Several Grenadians have married Cubans, and dozens of Grenadian young people are studying on scholarships in Cuba. Delegations from the various Cuban mass organizations are frequent guests in Grenada. The Cubans also hold social, sports, and cultural events, which Grenadians attend.

The links, and respect, between the two peoples increase daily.

Similar links have been established with Nicaragua. Daniel Ortega, the Nicaraguan leader, visited Grenada for the first anniversary of the revolution. Nicaragua's own economic problems have prevented it from sending aid, but Grenada has sent youths to assist in Nicaragua's literacy campaign in the English-speaking areas of Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast.

Grenadians can see for themselves that the lies told by the Gairy regime about Cuba were indeed lies. The present press campaign of lies and distortions about their own revolution has forced many Grenadians to think again about what they themselves were told about Cuba by the proimperialists throughout the region.

The links with Cuba are, like the Grenada revolution itself, getting stronger. And no one will be able to dictate to the Grenadian people that they should be broken.

From *Intercontinental Press*

Cuba's aid: 'not your classic handout'

In answer to a question from *Intercontinental Press* reporter Pat Kane, Maurice Bishop, the prime minister of Grenada, explained the relations between Cuba and Grenada at a press conference held on March 14. The following were his remarks.

Our relations with the Cubans and the kind of aid that we have received from Cuba has been all-round. It has been disinterested. It has been speedy. And it has gone into areas that have helped to leave us with a capacity to continue to be self-reliant. In other words it hasn't been your classic handout model, or just moving into areas that would assist private investors.

It has been things like helping us get a fishing fleet. We now have gifts of seven Cuban boats as part of our fishing fleet. They have helped us establish the fishing school. So we now have the ability to train our own fishermen.

They have helped in education, particularly in the literacy campaign. There has been massive assistance in infrastructure. The international airport — it was Cuban assistance that was really responsible for the project getting off the ground in the first place. They

New life for Nicaragua's Miskitu Indians

Resettling the victims of Washington's destabilization campaign

The following article has been abridged from *Intercontinental Press*.

BY CATHY GANDER

WASMINONA — This village in northeastern Nicaragua is one of five that have become the new home for 8,500 Miskitu Indians who were moved here by the Sandinista government early this year.

Residents say they regret leaving behind their ancestral lands and their belongings, but are relieved to be away from the northern border where terrorist gangs from Honduras raped, killed, and kidnapped villagers. Meanwhile, far from the calm of Wasminona, an international propaganda war rages over the relocation of the Miskitus.

U.S. destabilization plan

This propaganda war is part of a larger U.S. plan to destabilize the Nicaraguan government.

After the 1979 revolution that overthrew dictator Anastasio Somoza, the victorious Sandinistas tried to create a legitimate political representative for the indigenous people, called MISURASATA. The local strongmen who quickly assumed the leadership defended their personal interests rather than representing all Miskitus or other ethnic groups.

Steadman Fagoth, who the Miskitus had elected as head of their organization, made all the benefits the Sandinistas brought to the province of Zelaya appear to stem from his personal power. He began to plan the secession of Zelaya from the rest of the country.

After admitting charges that he had been a Somoza agent while attending the university, Fagoth and many of his followers fled to Honduras, establishing a base there for anti-Sandinista activities.

Miskitu villagers were told by Honduran-based radio broadcasts, by armed contingents of former Somoza guardsmen, and by Miskitus already under Fagoth's influence to resist the so-called Communist takeover of Nicaragua that would claim their land, their autonomy and their religion.

The Reagan administration strategy, meanwhile, called for the manipulation of the Miskitu and Spanish population in the isolated Atlantic Coast as a weapon against the Sandinista government. It sought to create separatist sentiment to serve as a justification for U.S.-backed intervention.

In March 1982, the *Washington Post* reported details of the CIA's plan to destabilize Nicaragua by funding Somozaist bands in Honduras and financing acts of sabotage within Nicaragua, such as blowing up bridges, hydroelectric plants, and key industries.

Events leading to relocation

The violence against the Miskitu villages along the Río Coco stepped up drastically in November and December of 1981. Gangs from Honduras conducted terrorist raids, raping and kidnapping villagers and killing a total of 60 civilians and Sandinista soldiers. The Sandinista Popular Army compiled a detailed record of the atrocities committed in this "Red Christmas" campaign, so named by the anti-Sandinista forces for the blood it would shed.

The bands from the exile camps were made up of an unlikely alliance of ex-National Guard members, and Miskitus from both sides of the border trained by the Guards.

By December 1981, the quality of life of the Miskitus in the area of the Río Coco was seriously threatened by constant ambushes and thefts of crops, livestock, and goods. Villagers hid in the mountains to avoid being forced to fight against their own people and some families fled across the river to Honduras to escape the invading bands.



Barricada

Member of Sandinista People's Army works with Miskitu Indians to build home in one of several new settlements in northern Nicaragua. Miskitus were moved here from Honduran border after raids by counterrevolutionaries had decimated their villages.

The invaders finally cut off the Río Coco, the area's vital artery of transportation, supply, and communications. Food and medicine became very scarce.

Nicaraguan government moves

Recognizing that the path of any future invasion would be from the northeast, the Sandinistas decided to create a security zone from the Río Coco to the site of the new settlements, 60 kilometers to the south. With only six hours' notice, the Sandinistas began to move 8,500 people to the new settlements. Another 7,000 chose to cross the river into Honduras.

The Miskitus who went to Honduras met with living conditions worse than those they had left behind, and many then were used as new fodder for the Somozaist plan.

Those who went to the new villages further inland in Nicaragua had to leave behind most of their belongings and domestic animals, because the relocation required a few days' walk. The villages abandoned near the Río Coco were burned to prevent their use as camps by the anti-Sandinista forces.

'In Wasminona we are safe'

Among the 1,690 residents of Wasminona, one of the five new villages under construction, there are many people who regret leaving their ancestral lands, but acknowledge that the villages represent a brighter future for them.

Reyna Escobar, a Miskitu woman in her 40s, explains that her family was torn apart by the "Red Christmas" campaign. She has had no news of her husband since he was taken captive by former members of Somoza's National Guard. Her mother and sisters are in Honduras, and she is now alone with her children.

"The hardest thing is that my family is split up, and I have never been without them," says Escobar. "They must come from Honduras to be here with me."

The new villages have been constructed to respect the family groupings in the old settlements and the Sandinista government has encouraged Miskitus in Honduras to reunite with their families in Nicaragua.

Juan López, a young Miskitu farmer, says Miskitus were persecuted by gangs from Honduras, who ordered the Miskitus to stop working in the fields and do the bidding of the invaders.

"I didn't stop working, because I had children to feed," says López. "They came looking for me one night to slit my throat, but they did not get me because I was at a friend's house."

López explains how many men chose to hide in the mountains so they would not be carried to Honduras to fight, or to be killed. "No one could rest easy . . . if we had not moved, we would no longer be alive. In Wasminona we are safe, we are free."

The provisional housing is still spartan, with dirt floors, plastic roofs, sack hammocks and crude wooden tables.

Development plan

Although the move was precipitated by the attacks upon the Miskitus along the Río Coco, the new site had been under study by the government team since late 1980.

The site for the new villages was chosen for its geographical and ecological resemblance to the traditional lands along the Río Coco. The government will spend \$2.2 million to build close to 2,000 wooden dwellings with thatched roofs. The houses will be larger than most of the houses in the former settlements, and each will be surrounded by a large garden space.

For the first time in their history, the Miskitus will receive clear title to agricultural lands, which will be cooperatively owned and managed. Each family will also receive title to its own house and lot.

The government has set a goal of self-sufficiency in basic grain production by 1983. Until that goal is reached, a total of \$5 million will be spent to guarantee three nutritious meals a day for all.

Health care and education

While along the Río Coco medical attention was very scarce and the nearest hospital several days' journey by boat, doctors and nurses are resident in the new villages. Information campaigns and immunizations against polio, measles, tetanus, diphtheria, and malaria are under way. An ambulance is available to take cases of serious illness to the hospital in Rosita, just half an hour from Wasminona.

The old settlements had neither an ambulance nor medical care. The new highway just completed by the Sandinistas linking the Atlantic to the Pacific is the first major road to connect the Miskitu settlements to the rest of Nicaragua.

In the school that community members are building, 10 teachers are giving classes in Miskitu, to more than 500 young students. Adult education classes are held in the evenings.

Jerónimo Ralf, an elder of the community and the village story-teller, explains: "We were taught to read and write Miskitu in the crusade last year.

One is never too old to keep learning."

Seen from the hilltop, Wasminona is both serene and busy. Colorful banners in Spanish and Miskitu stand out against black and blue plastic roofs. Clothes lines flutter with a bright array of garments, and smoke from wood fires curls up from the shacks.

Men and boys hammer furiously as they build the new clinic, and in the distance machete-wielding agricultural workers are clearing the fields. Girls and women bathe and wash clothes on the stones of one of the rivers.

Fagoth's role exposed

An elderly Miskitu woman in Wasminona said of Fagoth:

"He seemed honest, to truly care about his people. Now we know he lied to us . . . he used us for his own power." The woman said that Miskitus in Nicaragua now regard Fagoth as a traitor to his people.

For their part, the Reagan administration and the imperialist media have charged the Nicaraguan government with carrying out a campaign of brutal repression against the Miskitu people.

However, a spokesperson for the Honduran government categorically denied the allegations of Fagoth, made most recently in Washington this March, that a massacre of Miskitus by the Sandinistas took place on Honduran territory.

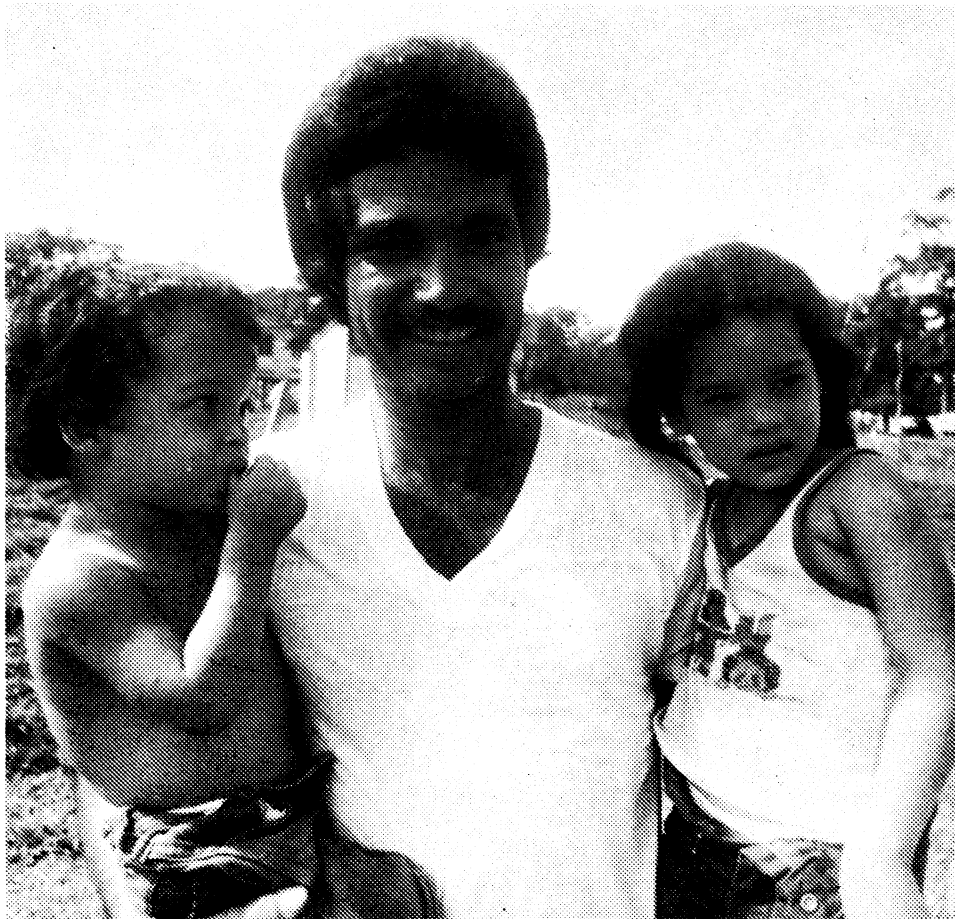
Delegations to the new Miskitu villages from legal, religious, human rights, and Indian organizations have uniformly praised the Sandinista government for its approach to the indigenous population. The harshest critics are those who have not visited the villages.

A returning delegation of 15 Christian groups spoke at a Managua news conference March 15 of the contrast between the "imperialist lies" and the concrete proof of improvements in health care, education and general quality of life in the new Miskitu settlements. Complete freedom of religious worship exists there, they noted.

"This [trip to the Miskitu villages] gives us proof to mobilize Christians of the world so that they can halt the negative forces which threaten Nicaragua," said Sergio Denis García of the Christian organization at the Polytechnic University in Managua.

U.S. Congressman Tom Harkin said his visit to the settlement project in late February helped him understand the necessity for the move. Harkin declared himself impressed with the treatment accorded the Miskitus, noting that although many were sad to leave their traditional lands, they appeared to be grateful for the actions and attitude of the Sandinista government.

Puerto Rican community fights eviction



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Residents of Villa Sin Miedo

The following article is scheduled to be published in an upcoming issue of *La Verdad*, the newspaper of the International Workers League of Puerto Rico, a sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Alexis Irizarry is the editor of *La Verdad*. The translation is by the Militant.

BY ALEXIS IRIZARRY

SAN JUAN — The Supreme Court of Puerto Rico has given a green light to authorities to remove the settlers of Villa Sin Miedo.

Villa Sin Miedo is a very poor community near the Las Dolores farm in Rio Grande. It is made up of 250 settlers

who have occupied the land for over a year. The settlers have organized an agricultural collective and constructed pathways, a church, school, and park.

Villa Sin Miedo has occupied a prominent spot in the news and in public debate for the last 16 months. On November 2, 1981, at the request of the Land Authority and the Department of Housing, the superior court judge of Carolina ordered the settlers to vacate.

A national campaign in solidarity with the people of Villa Sin Miedo was organized in response, and the settlers began constructing barricades to block any attempt by riot police to remove them.

However, a public outcry forced Puerto Rican Governor Romero Barceló to accept a request to postpone the removal order. The request was presented to the supreme court by the lawyers for the settlers.

At the same time, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD), a bourgeois opposition party, promised to draft legislation that would give ownership of the land to the settlers. But this turned out to be a total fraud.

The legislation gave the settlers ownership of only 40 of the 65 acres that they already controlled. It allotted the miserable sum of \$250,000 for the purposes of constructing a sewage system and sanitary facilities.

If this legislation passed, the community would be under the jurisdiction of the Department of Housing. All the settlers would be thrown off the land and the government would determine who was qualified to live there.

A small number of names would be selected from among the current settlers by the head of the Department of Housing, Jorge Pierluissi, who has led the attacks against Villa Sin Miedo. These names would then be thrown into a lottery with the names of thousands of other people who have filed requests for land in the Rio Grande area.

The legislation was unanimously rejected by the settlers in a general assembly meeting held this March.

Although the PPD later withdrew the bill, it was used to confuse public opinion on the real issues involved. The courts took advantage of this confusion and issued another removal order. They based their ruling on the belief that the "right to private property" is a higher right than the right to housing.

Ada Rivera, a spokeswoman for the settlers, called the decision "unjust." She said, "I find it difficult to understand how the supreme court could think that the right to private property is more important than the needs of families."

The Internal Committee of Villa Sin Miedo Residents, the Committee in Support of the Settlers, and other organizations have initiated a campaign to block the removal of the settlers.

The residents of Villa Sin Miedo have been constructing barricades to protect themselves from government attempts to remove them, as well as from the constant provocations by the police, who have used high-powered rifles to shoot up the settlement several times. In addition, national guard helicopters have flown dangerously close to houses in the settlement in an attempt to terrorize the inhabitants.

The police have initiated a campaign of harassment and persecution of organizations such as the Committee in Support of the Settlers and the International Workers League.

In these decisive moments Villa Sin Miedo must be defended. What is at issue is the right of working people and the poor to have a decent and dignified existence.

It is important that unions, churches, civil rights organizations, and political parties that believe in social justice unite to stop the government's use of force against the people of Villa Sin Miedo.

Gov't cuts federal aid to college students

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

In his April 10 radio address, broadcast live from a mansion overlooking the Caribbean, President Reagan complained that students had been "incited to stage protest demonstrations against what has been called Draconian cuts in student aid."

The protests are occurring because student aid programs that have grown up over the last 25 years are now under massive attack.

Starting in 1958 the federal government established programs of financial aid to college and university students, opening up the opportunity for working-class youth to get a college education. Over the years these programs have been expanded. More than 6 million college and university students now benefit from these programs.

Today the Republicans and Democrats are launching a major attack on the right of working people to receive government aid for higher education.

Among the programs that are being cut are the Pell Grants. Before Congress approved Reagan's proposal to cut these last year, a needy undergraduate could receive up to \$1,750 in government grants per year. Last year this was cut to \$1,670.

Now Reagan is proposing to cut it further, to only \$1,600 by 1983-84.

In addition to cutting back on the amount of aid available under the Pell Grants, Reagan wants to reduce the number of students that are eligible. The Department of Education (which Reagan also wants to abolish) admits that some 800,000 students who come from families earning \$18,000 to \$26,000 a year would lose their Pell Grants entirely. The supplemental grant program would be completely eliminated.

Another program that the White House wants slashed is the Work-Study Program that finances student jobs. Reagan wants to reduce it to \$398 million per year from the current \$528 million. A quarter of a million student

workers would lose their jobs.

Reagan is also proposing a reduction in government financed student loans and government support to students seeking loans from private banks.

Up until last year, a student could borrow up to \$2,500 a year from a bank. He or she would not have to begin payment until six months after graduation. The rate of interest was only 9 percent, "low" by present standards.

Last August, however, Reagan and Congress imposed an "origination fee" of 5 percent. In effect a student can now borrow only \$2,375. Reagan wants to double the origination fee to 10 percent.

Graduate and professional students would be deprived of guaranteed loans entirely. About 325,000 of the nation's 650,000 graduate students now receive government guaranteed bank loans.

Altogether spending on student loan programs would be reduced by \$2.15 billion in 1987. The impact will be all the greater because of rising tuition costs and general inflation.

These cuts have an especially severe impact on Blacks and Latinos. Already, in New York state, Black and Latino enrollment in medical schools has fallen by more than a third in the last five years. As the new cuts take effect the situation will get worse.

Even some capitalist politicians fear the extent of the Reagan education cuts. Some industrialists fear that they may face a lack of skilled technicians and engineers.

The *Chicago Tribune* worries that the cuts "could have grave consequences for the nation's economy and defense."

While the needs of the monopolies and the Pentagon tend to put a certain floor under the natural sciences and engineering, liberal arts are being allowed to shrink drastically. Even before the cuts, the shortage of jobs was forcing students to concentrate in areas that are of interest to profit-hungry employers.

For example, at the Bronx Community College the number of students ma-

joring in liberal arts has fallen by one-half since the recession of the middle 1970s.

With budgets being slashed, public and private colleges are dropping more and more liberal arts courses from their programs.

Crisis-ridden capitalism has little use for fields of learning that don't have any direct connection with profit making or the defense of profit making.

S. Africa sentences youth leaders

Khotso Seatlholo, a prominent Black youth leader, was sentenced to 10 years in prison by a South African court March 11. Convicted with him was Masabata Mary Loate, who received a five-year term.

Both were convicted for their active opposition to the apartheid system under the draconian Terrorism Act, which outlaws a broad range of political activities. Specifically, they were accused of spreading the aims of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO) — of which Seatlholo was president at the time of his arrest — and of recruiting members to the organization.

Seatlholo first came to prominence in 1976, when he emerged as a leader of the massive youth rebellions in Soweto and other Black townships. He was forced to flee the country in early 1977 to avoid arrest. Loate was not so lucky; she was detained for a year and a half.

Seatlholo continued his activities against the white supremacist regime from exile and helped found the SAYRCO. He toured the United States in 1977. Occasionally he traveled clandestinely back into South Africa. It was on one of these trips that he was arrested with Loate in June 1981.

When Seatlholo finally came to trial in December, he was brought into the courtroom in leg irons. During the trial, evidence surfaced that Loate had also been mistreated by her jailers, and her

mother filed a suit against the minister of police to halt the assaults against her.

Five other Black activists were also jailed for their refusal to testify against the two defendants. All five were sentenced to 18 months in prison.

As soon as the judge in the case sentenced Seatlholo on March 11, the 25-year-old activist was promptly rearrested by the police, indicating that he may be brought to trial yet again on other charges.

From Intercontinental Press



Militant/Susan Ellis

Khotso Seatlholo



January 1981: demolition of Dodge Main in Detroit. "Buy American" campaign is no solution to U.S. auto crisis.

Local Content Law: will cutting imports save auto jobs?

The real story on plant closings and layoffs

BY SUSAN ANMUTH
AND GEORGE JOHNSON

The Fair Practices in Automotive Products Act, H.R. 5133, also known as the Local Content Law, is before the House of Representatives.

The bill is being pushed strongly by the leadership of the United Auto Workers union. UAW literature claims the bill, if passed, would put 500,000 Americans back to work.

It would require cars sold in the United States to have a certain percentage of domestically manufactured content, either parts, labor, or both: 25 percent for 100,000 cars or small trucks sold; 50 percent for 150,000; 75 percent for 200,000; and 90 percent for 500,000 or more.

Many auto workers and others support content legislation in the belief it can solve or soften the crisis in the domestic auto industry. Many steelworkers believe import restrictions can help save their jobs, too.

And Canadian UAW officials, who oppose UAW President Douglas Fraser's concessions to the auto corporations, argue for a Canadian content law, using much the same reasoning — "Sell here, build here."

The crisis auto workers face.

Auto workers have been hit by plant closings and layoffs as the recession deepens and sales of the cars and trucks they build plummet.

They see a higher percentage of a declining market go to cars built in other countries, and use a higher percentage of foreign-built components in U.S. assembly plants.

They know that many of the foreign cars and parts they see are built in plants owned in whole or part by the same corporations they work for. General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler have large foreign holdings and operations.

Much of the profits from the concessions workers are being forced to make to the auto barons will be invested in foreign plants, or in nonunion manufacture here.

And, where the corporations actually do invest in new equipment here, as they must do to remain competitive, workers will lose jobs as the new labor-saving technology is installed.

The content bill promises to bring the big corporations under control. But will it?

To answer this question, we have to look at where the crisis in the auto industry comes from.

Imports aren't the problem

Imports are not the cause of the crisis. Car imports have risen only slightly in numbers. From 1978 through 1981, they rose from 2 million to 2.3 million, a 15 percent increase. Their share of the market during that period rose from 18 percent to 27 percent as total sales plummeted from 11.2 million in 1978 to 8.5 million in 1981.

Sharpening world competition is part of a much deeper crisis of the capitalist system as a whole.

The recession, which is deepening here and extending worldwide — including Japan — is a feature of the capi-

talist, or "free market," system.

Recessions are caused by overproduction. Seeking to sell more goods, the capitalists overproduce. When sales slump, they lay off workers, which compounds the problem: laid-off workers can't buy goods or services.

This irrationality of the capitalist system — not workers in other countries — is to blame for layoffs. The auto bosses themselves have brought this crisis about. As a result of the recession, U.S. auto makers have to drive down wages and speed up productivity more to be competitive.

The content bill won't solve these problems.

There are other aspects of the capitalist crisis that affect auto workers:

- **Monopolization** on a world scale — as seen in joint production and sales with foreign companies by GM, Ford, Chrysler, and AMC — is the capitalists' solution to their crisis: rather than invest in technology, buy out the competition.

- **World production**, including the "world car" and increasing production of parts for assembly, and the assembly itself, in different countries.

These last two trends further the possibilities, and deepen the necessity, of workers in different countries joining together in common action against their increasingly common oppressors.

Worker against worker

The UAW leadership's support of the content bill is part of a campaign to curb imports. That is seen in their campaign to "Buy American," repeated on bumper stickers, in *Solidarity* and *Ammo* (UAW publications), in newspaper ads, and on radio and TV.

"Us Americans," workers and bosses, against "the Japanese" is an internationalization of the old bosses' tool of divide and conquer: Black against white, male against female, young against old, foreign against native-born.

Smashing Japanese cars and barring them from UAW parking lots puts the blame on Japanese, including the workers who produce them — as well as on workers here who buy them — for a crisis U.S. corporations are responsible for.

This "Buy American" chauvinism puts auto workers in the position of fighting fellow workers in Japan, Mexico, Europe, and elsewhere, rather than joining them in a joint struggle to win higher wages and better working conditions.

The content bill also points away from this necessary direction.

Dangers of protectionism

The employers sometimes join this anti-import campaign, which only reinforces the idea that protectionism will "save U.S. industry" and thereby save "American" jobs.

When the bosses differ over "free trade" versus "fair trade," they are arguing about how each of them can make the most profits for themselves. They are not discussing how to hire more workers. Their sole interest is profits, not the welfare of workers either here or abroad.

Does protectionism save jobs? All evidence points in the opposite direction. The Great Depression was deepened by retaliation for U.S. protectionism.

The world economy is much more interdependent now than it was in the 1930s — the auto industry is a striking example.

With the recession spreading worldwide, the danger of its being deepened by protectionism is real. A worsening recession will only result in the layoff of yet more auto workers.

The rest of the Fraser strategy

The content bill is one part of a program offered by the UAW leadership. As spelled out by officials trying to sell UAW members the takeback contract with GM, it is:

Accept concessions to keep "our" companies going until we can elect enough Democrats to turn around the Reagan-caused recession. We'll have the content bill then, sales will be up, and all will be well.

But it won't. The Reagan program of forcing concessions on workers and slashing social services is supported and carried out by the Democratic Party, too.

The bosses have carried out their antiworker onslaught through Democratic and Republican administrations

and congresses. Both parties want workers to sacrifice more to raise the bosses' profits.

What way out?

The economic crisis we face cannot be solved within a framework that puts profits before human needs.

Restrictions on imports will not solve this crisis. But there is a way out.

We need a shorter workweek, with no cut in pay. This would give millions of people jobs.

We need a massive public works program to build needed public transit, hospitals, schools, decent low-cost housing, and more.

We need to halt layoffs and the closings of plants. If the corporations won't agree to this, they should be nationalized.

Funds for this are available in the war budget, which is used to suppress the workers and farmers in other lands.

But the capitalist government we have will not carry this out. That can happen only when we have a government that represents workers and working farmers.

And that kind of government won't come about through the Republicans or Democrats. To fight for a government that represents us, we need to form a labor party based on the unions.

Demonstrators in Seattle, Austin slam U.S. war, nuclear weapons

BY MIKE SHUR

SEATTLE — Over 12,000 people marched through Seattle demanding peace and nuclear disarmament on April 17. It was the largest antiwar action here in over a decade.

On the previous weekend over 200 people attended a teach-in on war in Central America. The conference was sponsored by Students Against U.S. Intervention in El Salvador, a campus affiliate of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

April 14 Dr. Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz spoke to over a hundred people on the situation of the Miskitu Indians in Nicaragua. Ortiz, a member of the International Indian Treaty Council, has toured Nicaragua twice and pointed out that Nicaragua has the only government that supports the rights of indigenous people.

On April 15, 120 people attended a CISPES organizing meeting. A large number of the participants signed up to work with CISPES on future activities.

BY TONY PRINCE

AUSTIN, Tex. — Five thousand people marched against the threat of nuclear war here on April 17.

The march and rally were sponsored by the Austin Peace and Justice Coalition, a broad coalition of pacifist, religious, antiwar, antinuke, and political organizations.

The main theme of the action was nuclear disarmament, but opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador was stressed almost as much in the many

signs and posters carried by the marchers and in the speeches at the rally. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) was an endorser of the march, and a local priest, Father John Korcsmar, spoke for CISPES at the rally.

He made the connection between the movement for disarmament and the movement against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, pointing out that U.S. involvement there could possibly take the form of the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

Other speakers included Sissy Farenthold, former head of the National Women's Political Caucus; Austin City Council members Roger Duncan; John Henry Faulk; and Ron Wilcox, president of the American Federation of Teachers in Austin.

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The golden years — Donald and Evelyn Newman, criminologist and gerontologist, respec-



Harry Ring

tively, report a big surge in crime by the elderly, especially "at the end of the month before

Social Security checks arrive." They suggest it's not reasonable to give a senior with but a few years to go the same sentence as someone in their prime. They favor "a separate system for apprehension, court processing and correctional treatment of elderly criminals."

Note to Vietnam vets — The book so many have been waiting for. From *U.S. News & World Report*, the *Vietnam Order of Battle*. Lists all units that

served, their insignias and badges. With an intro by Gen. Westmoreland. Only \$49.95.

Sure, they're all bums — "Experts Agree Koch Picks Judges Impartially." — Headline in *New York Times*.

Could be a good move — What with students and faculty at Nixon's alma mater, Duke University, taking a dim view of accepting his library, other sites are being solicited. A current

prospect, it's reported, is Leavenworth, Kansas, home of the federal pen. Now, if they accepted it for the prison, and sent Dick along as custodian . . .

Pentagon bake sales? — The president says we could cut the federal food bill for the hungry if the rest of us started tithing — giving 10 percent of our income to charity. The Reagans claimed charitable deductions of \$5,965. Combined with the deduction they took for Nan-

cy's dresses, that comes to about 2.5 percent of their \$418,826 income. An aide said the prez gives 10 percent, but the rest is to nondeductible charities.

Doing the best they can — The Reagans just squeaked through this year with only a \$14 rebate on their federal income tax. Actually they would have been hit for added payment, but Nancy took a \$5,930 deduction for seven dresses she gave to museums for posterity.

—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.

ALABAMA Birmingham

Is There Life After Reaganomics? Speaker: Andy Rose, chair, Alabama Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Sat., May 1, 8 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

Why Alabama Needs A Workers and Farmers Government: Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Martin Boyers, steelworker and candidate for governor; Reba Williams-Dixon, leader of Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from revolutionary Grenada. Sun., May 9, 7 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

No To Deportations: Political Asylum for Héctor Marroquín. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Hamid Sodeifi, threatened with deportation to Iran; Juan Rascón, El Salvador Refugee Program; others. Sat., May 8, 7:30 p.m. Wesley Community Centre, 1300 S 10th St., Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

Tucson

Stop the Deportations Rally. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, fighting for political asylum in U.S. Tues., May 11, 7:30 p.m. Southside Presbyterian Church, 317 W 23rd St. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (602) 622-8288.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

El Hajj Malik El Shabazz. Film on the life of Malcolm X. Discussion on "Malcolm X: His Ideas and their Meaning for Today." Sat., May 8, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9640.

Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment. Speakers: William Wipfinger, president, International Association of Machinists; Chuck Sheehan, president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 578; Jerry Gordon, chair,

Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, former chair, National Peace Action Coalition; Tony Russo, copublisher, *Pentagon Papers*; leaders of Mexican nuclear and electrical workers unions. Workshops, slide shows, and music. Sat., May 8, beginning 8:30 a.m. Holman Methodist Church, 3320 W Adams Blvd. Ausp: Southern California Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment. For more information call (213) 935-4228.

COLORADO

Denver

Fundraising Picnic for Central America Solidarity Coalition. Guest of honor: Pfc. Robert Cuthbert, fighting for soldiers' rights to speak out against U.S. policy in El Salvador. Also: food, cold drinks, games. Sat., May 1, 12 noon. Washington Park (NE corner, near the firehouse). Donation: adults \$5, children \$2. Ausp: Central America Solidarity Coalition.

Undocumented Workers Under Attack. Speakers: Lalo Delgado, Colorado Migrant Council; others. Fri., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA

Miami

British Hands Off Malvinas Islands. Speaker: Ed Shaw, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

Rally to Protest Reagan's Attacks on Workers Rights. Speaker: Harris Freeman, fired from McDonnell Douglas for his political ideas. Fri., May 14, 7:30 p.m. New Covenant Presbyterian Church, 4300 NW 12th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Film: The Last Epidemic. Produced by

New York Vietnam Festival

Hear: representatives from Vietnamese and Laotian Missions; Chan Bun Han, Kampuchean nationalist; speaker from Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Morton Sobell; Don Luce; member of Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S.; member of Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. Film: *Ecocide*. Music and Vietnamese Food.

Friday, May 7, 6-9:30 p.m. United Nations Church Center, 777 UN Plaza (44th St. and First Ave)

Sponsors: Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S.; Clergy and Laity Concerned; Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos; Southeast Asia Resource Center

Co-sponsors: American Indian Movement; Citizen Soldier; Harlem Fightback; People's Antiwar Mobilization; U.S. Peace Council; Socialist Workers Party; Youth Against War and Fascism; Women Activists for Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos; War Resisters League; New York State National Lawyers Guild; Steve Clark, editor, *Intercontinental Press*

Physicians for Social Responsibility. Panel discussion on dangers of nuclear warfare. Speakers: Pat Leegan, director of Peace Education Project; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 7, 7:30 p.m. 809 E. Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. 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

War in the Middle East? Speakers: Sharif el Musa, Palestinian activist, graduate student at MIT; Jane Roland, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore Sq. T-stop). Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

Open House: Meet the Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, 1980 SWP presidential candidate; Valerie Eckart, SWP candidate for 9th Congressional District. Refreshments, live music. Sun., May 2, 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. St. Stephen's Church, 419 Shuwmut Ave. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

Mesabi Iron Range

Film: Danger Radioactive Waste, NBC documentary. Speakers: Cassandra Dixon, project director, Don't Waste America; Gordon Harris, Northwind Alliance; Amy Goldsmith, Northern Sun Alliance. Mon., April 26, 7 p.m. 1012 Second Ave. S, Virginia. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Behind Israeli Terror: Crisis in the Middle East. Speakers: John Rosen, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., May 9, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Israel and the Arab Revolution. Speakers: Priscilla Schenk, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., April 30, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Protest Reagan's Attacks on Workers Rights. Speakers: Alison Beckley, fired Lockheed-Georgia worker; Joanne Heisel, member, Coalition for Human Rights in Latin America; others. Sat., May 8, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. program. 1417 Central NE. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Reagan vs. Workers' Rights: Stop Government Spying. Speakers: Irv Joyner, civil

rights attorney; Harris Freeman, member of Young Socialist Alliance fired from McDonnell Douglas for his political beliefs; Howard Wiley, coconvenor, Winston-Salem Black Independent Political Party; Stephen Kirk, president, A&T student government; representatives from NAACP and Greensboro Justice Fund. Sat., May 1, 7:30 p.m. Greensboro Four Seasons Holiday Inn, 3121 High Point Rd., Maple Room C. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

NORTH DAKOTA

Grand Forks

The Fight Against War Today. Speaker: Kathy Wheeler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota. Tues., May 4, 7 p.m. Alumni Room, Student Center, University of North Dakota. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

OREGON

Portland

Portland Workers Under Attack: How We Can Fight Back. Campaign reception with Paul Freeman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Portland City Council. Sun., May 9, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Revolutionary Cuba and Grenada: First-Hand Reports. Speakers: Nan Bailey, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee, attended Grenada National Youth Council; others. Sat., May 1, 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

Dallas

Black Rights Under Attack: From Mexia to Ft. Worth. Speakers: Bill Stoner, Black rights activist; others. Sat., May 8, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Protests Rock Israeli Regime. Speakers: Ahmad Dhaher, Palestinian professor of political science visiting University of Utah from University of Kuwait; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 8, 7 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

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Freedom demanded for Irish hunger striker

BY WILL REISSNER

One year ago, on May 5, 1981, Bobby Sands died in a British prison in Northern Ireland at the end of a 65-day hunger strike. Nine more young Irish freedom fighters lost their lives in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh jail before the fasts ended on October 3.

But for Sean McKenna, who took part in an earlier hunger strike, the agony continues. More than 16 months after his fast ended, McKenna remains in a prison hospital.

McKenna was one of seven hunger strikers who took part in a fast from October to December 1980, demanding that nationalist prisoners in British jails be allowed to wear their own clothing, receive more visits and mail, be eligible for time off their sentences for good behavior, and be exempted from prison work.

After 53 days without food, McKenna lapsed into a coma. The following day, however, the British authorities granted the demands of the hunger strikers

and the fast ended. Later the authorities reneged on this agreement, prompting the renewed hunger strike that took the lives of Sands and his comrades.

When the British yielded, McKenna was taken to the intensive care unit of a hospital in Belfast, where he was fed intravenously for several days.

But his ordeal took a lasting toll on McKenna's health. His mother described his current state in the April 1 *An Phoblacht*, an Irish republican weekly newspaper.

"His eyesight, which was badly affected due to protein deficiency during the hunger-strike, is almost totally gone. He has difficulty balancing himself and has to hold on to something. He cannot stand for any length of time and most of the time is totally incoherent, not knowing who is visiting him or what they are talking about."

McKenna is scheduled to remain in jail into the 21st century. His mother fears that he will never recover in pri-

son, where he is receiving little treatment.

Sean McKenna was only 17 years old when the British military began interning Irish nationalists without trial on August 9, 1971. Sean and his father were both interned without charges on the first day, and Sean was not released until February 1975.

Thirteen months later, he was again picked up by the British army and charged with "attempted murder" in connection with assaults on British army and police posts.

Held without bail for 14 months, McKenna was convicted by a special juryless court in 1977 and sentenced to 25 years in prison. Since his internment at age 17, Sean has spent only 13 months in freedom.

While on his hunger strike, McKenna wrote an open appeal to the youth of Ireland, explaining the protest. "We here on protest were youths like yourselves when we came into prison," he wrote.

"We believed then, and today believe more strongly, in our political convictions, and now we face death for those same principles and shall die if called on to do so."

In recent years, British authorities have been forced to grant "compassionate releases" to three Irish republican prisoners, all women, whose health had seriously deteriorated. Sean McKenna deserves a similar release.

A commemoration of the 10 Irish freedom fighters who died during last year's hunger strike will take place in New York on May 5.

It will begin with a 6:15 p.m. vigil at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Fifth Avenue and 50th Street, followed by a 7 p.m. march to the Church of All Nations, 777 United Nations Plaza.

The commemoration is sponsored by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee.

'The workers could not be held back any longer'

Continued from Page 11

A. The response of the people was first of all immense joy that the Malvinas had been recovered. But this did not translate into popularity for the government. In fact, people were saying things like, "For once, the military is doing what it should be doing — defending Argentina — rather than running the government."

The CGT leaders, who were supposed to have been jailed indefinitely, were all released within two days and invited by the government to attend the installation of the new authorities on the Malvinas. The CGT's response was a statement saying something like this:

"As everybody knows, this organization does not exist so far as the government is concerned. We have been considered illegal. So there is no way that our organization can accept an invitation from a government that does not even recognize our legal right to exist. Nonetheless, the ranks of the army are made up of workers and the sons of workers. So we CGT leaders are going to go to the Malvinas to congratulate the soldiers on behalf of the Argentine people."

The newspapers all published this statement, and the government had to let the union leaders go to the Malvinas.

Q. What about the role of the U.S. government — how was this viewed by the people?

A. The reaction was immediately one of suspicion. The occupation of the Malvinas took everyone by surprise, so the first thing many people said was that the junta had seized them in order to turn them over to the Yankees. As this rumor spread, the government had to come out and state clearly that it was establishing Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas and had no intention of giving them to anybody else.

Washington miscalculated. They thought it would be easy to get the regime to back down — that the junta was in a desperate situation and would not have the backing of the Argentine people.

The junta miscalculated too — they thought they would have U.S. support, or at least real neutrality. Once Reagan's position became clearer, the regime had no choice but to mount a show of popular support for the taking of the Malvinas.

The day Haig was to arrive for the first negotiations, the radio and television — all government controlled — called for a big rally at the Plaza de Mayo. The opposition parties all lent their support to this. As for the CGT leaders, they responded by saying they could not participate officially, because that would mean giving support to the government. But they called on all workers to go as individuals and as Ar-

gentines to celebrate the recovery of the islands.

When Haig's plane landed, he could easily have been brought by helicopter to the roof of the Casa Rosada [presidential palace]. But instead the government had him driven by car all the way from the airport. The entire highway was lined with people. They drove him right into the Plaza de Mayo, which was filled with nearly 300,000 people waving Argentine flags and chanting slogans. Haig must have been scared, but he could see how much the Argentine people support the recovery of the Malvinas.

The majority of the crowd was made up of working people — public employees and industrial workers. Many middle-class people turned out as well. And many of the chants were the very same as those chanted on March 30. You never heard any slogans like "Long live the junta" or "Long live Galtieri."

Instead, a favorite chant was "The English are gone, and now it's Alemann's turn!" Roberto Alemann is the minister of the economy, and the main target of the workers' discontent. People also chanted "Viva Perón!" and even, "*Se va a acabar, la dictadura militar!*" [The military dictatorship is coming to an end!]

Leftist groups like the Montonero Peronist Movement and the Communist

Party participated openly in the rally. The CP youth had a big banner, and led chants of "The people united will never be defeated."

At one point, General Galtieri came out on the balcony and declared that he and Haig were going to represent the Argentine people in the negotiations with Britain. People responded with booing and whistling — their way of saying, you don't represent the Argentine people, we do!

Four weeks ago, the Argentine armed forces were talking openly about sending troops to help the U.S. imperialists in Central America. Now their relations with Washington are extremely bad.

Inside the country, the situation has turned completely around. The working class is gaining confidence and coming out of six years of the worst defeats in its history. The government has been weakened tremendously in relation to the workers.

Before March 30, there was the danger of another big wave of repression. But now the government is in no position to do anything other than grant more and more concessions. Even if Galtieri were to fall and some other general take power, they would immediately have to give concessions. And if they back off from fighting Britain, the Argentine people will take things into their own hands.

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New attack on free public education

More than a century ago, working people in this country were fighting for the right to free public education. Today, that right is under renewed attack.

In the 19th century, public, tax-subsidized education was opposed by the wealthy, who felt that learning wasn't a good thing for working people — particularly if the rich had to foot any of the taxes for it.

Today, the Reagan administration is leading a similar attack against public education.

There have been heavy cuts in federal aid to education, with more in store. School desegregation is under fierce government attack. And now Reagan is proposing tax subsidies to private schools.

Since most private schools are church-operated, it would be too blatant a violation of separation of church and state to offer the subsidies directly. So Reagan proposes to do it through the subterfuge of granting tax credits to parents of children enrolled in private schools.

Reagan made his proposal in an April 15 Chicago speech before a national convention of Catholic educators.

He said he would recommend congressional legislation to grant a tax credit of up to \$500 for each child in a private elementary or secondary school.

He added that only "budgetary constraints" inhibited him from including private colleges at this time.

Reagan asserted that his proposition was not a "divisive threat" to public education. In fact, he assured, it would improve the quality of public education by spurring "competition."

That's really a grim joke. Slash funding from an already impoverished public school system, and give a billion-dollar-a-year subsidy to private schools (that's the estimated tax cost). Then say, OK let's have a contest.

In his speech, Reagan even included a thinly veiled attack on separation of church and state, with the pious assertion that his proposition would help "families who still believe that the Lord's Prayer will do them less harm in the schoolroom than good."

A major factor in the push toward "reprivatization" of education is the administration's war on Black rights.

Private schools have been a big weapon in the hands of segregationists fighting school busing.

Reagan said that his plan will specify that no tax credits go to families of children in segregated schools. Take that for what it's worth from the man who only recently called for reestablishing tax exemptions for private schools that are openly Jim Crow.

Senator Ernest Hollings, a South Carolina Democrat, responded that the Reagan tax credit plan would "proliferate substandard, segregationist academies."

But the reactionary character of this move goes beyond an attack on Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. It is in fact an attack on all working people.

Reagan hypocritically claimed his tuition tax credit will help working-class families hit with high education bills. It's true that many families — including some Black families — have resorted to paying for private schools because public education is so abysmal.

But instead of a crash program to build new public schools, hire more teachers, and improve facilities, the administration's answer is to cut deeper into public education, lay off teachers, and close schools down.

This fits into the pattern of gutting other federally funded programs, like jobs training. Reagan is trying to abolish some of these programs, too, while setting up low-wage bonanzas for big business through his "enterprise zones," which allow companies to set up shop in areas with high unemployment and waive such requirements as paying the minimum wage to youth.

The war on education is not just Reagan's — it's bipartisan. The Democrats and Republicans have joined hands to carry out this offensive — approving a gigantic military budget at the expense of public education, passing antibusing bills, encouraging sharper attacks on teacher's wage demands and their very right to strike.

We need more and better public education. And we should not permit the government to add insult to injury by having us foot the tax bill for one more club against free public education.

Protest U.S. ban on travel to Cuba

All those who oppose the U.S. government's intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, the increasing attacks on our democratic rights, and the escalating U.S. nuclear and conventional military buildup have a stake in fighting the ban on travel to Cuba announced by the Reagan administration April 19.

What is involved goes way beyond the right of the American people to travel — important as that is. The travel ban is a new step in a whole series of moves by the Reagan administration to drag us into a new Vietnam in our hemisphere.

The war raging throughout Central America today is Washington's war. Three articles in this issue of the *Militant* illustrate this:

- The report from the Nicaragua-Honduras border on the raid by 100 counterrevolutionaries that left four Sandinista border guards dead. Major U.S. newspapers have revealed that the Reagan administration approved a plan to promote such raids. Reagan has pointedly refused to deny this.

- The report on the latest massacres by Salvadoran death squads. It is no secret that these death squads are U.S.-trained and armed government troops.

- The report on Reagan's proposal to resume giving military aid to the Guatemalan military dictatorship, which is battling a growing rebel movement, composed in large part of Indians.

The Reagan administration imposed its ban on travel to Cuba claiming it is the "source" of the revolutionary upsurge in the region. The administration warned that, on top of the travel ban, additional measures "designed to make Cuba more fully bear the cost of its adventurism" will soon be announced.

But the real "source" of the struggle in Central America is not Havana, but Washington. The real source is the decades of imperialist exploitation, military dictatorships, and illiteracy, poverty, and hunger.

Cuba's real crime, from the point of view of the American rulers, is the example it has set. Cuba showed that military tyrants could be overthrown, that the people of Latin America could take control of their destiny out of the hands of U.S. monopolies, that

poverty and hunger could be eliminated.

Cuba showed that the way to do this is to establish a government of the workers and peasants that puts human needs above private profit. And Cuba showed, above all, that a people and a government could survive and prosper in this hemisphere in defiance of Wall Street's dictates, its travel bans, blockades, and CIA plots.

For 20 years the Cubans traveled on this road alone. Then, in 1979, they were joined by the toilers of Grenada and Nicaragua.

That is why Reagan is punishing Cuba. And that is why he has decided he cannot afford to let American working people see the truth about Cuba with their own eyes. Because Cuba shows what the people of Latin America and the United States are fighting for: jobs for all, free universal education and medical care, land to those who work it, and a government committed to ending racism and sex discrimination.

The rulers' fear of American people knowing the truth about Cuba has been heightened by the burgeoning antiwar movement in this country. Starting from varying concerns and issues, such as solidarity with Nicaragua, opposition to U.S. intervention abroad, or apprehension about a holocaust provoked by the U.S. nuclear buildup, masses of people have begun to mobilize against Washington's war drive.

In the context of this antiwar sentiment, a campaign needs to be carried out to educate American working people about the Cuba travel ban: the real stakes involved and the need to fight through every available means. One good way to begin such a campaign would be protest forums and meetings sponsored by the broadest possible array of forces. Such meetings could hear the truth about Cuba from Americans who have visited the island.

The ban should also be challenged in the courts. It is an outrageous violation of constitutional rights that must not be ignored. If the rulers of this country meet no resistance to their denial of the right to travel, they will press further, faster, against other democratic rights. Finally, all those opposed to the ban should join the antiwar forces organizing for the massive June 12 demonstration in New York.

How a Black writer challenged ban on travel to Cuba in '60s

BY CONNIE ALLEN

The recent ban on travel to Cuba is not the first time the U.S. government has attempted to cut off travel to that island. In the early 1960s the State Department forbade travel to Cuba by any U.S. citizen without its permission. Then as now, in the context of escalating military threats against the revolution there, the government attempted to hide the truth about what was happening in Cuba.

One person who defied this ban was William Worthy, a foreign correspondent for the Baltimore *Afro-American*, the largest Black newspaper in the United States at the time. For this "crime" he was sentenced to three months in jail.

This case was repeatedly covered on the front page of the *Militant* between May and August of 1962.

Worthy traveled to Cuba in July 1961 without a passport. The State Department had refused to renew

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

his passport after he traveled to China in 1955, defying a ban on travel to that country. Worthy returned in October, entering the United States with a copy of his birth certificate and a smallpox vaccination certification.

Six-and-a-half months later he was indicted under the 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, which made it illegal for a U.S. citizen to leave or enter the country without a valid passport.

Worthy was the first person to be indicted under this provision of the act. The fact that he is Black and told the truth about the Cuban revolution was seen by many as the real reason for the government persecution.

As the June 25, 1962 *Militant* explained, "For the past two years the globetrotting newsman has vexed Washington by telling his readers that 'just 90 miles off our shores' lies the island of Cuba where racial equality became overnight a living reality."

Worthy's defense received support from the Black and civil liberties movements. Among those who came to his aid were A. Philip Randolph, then AFL-CIO vice-president; James Farmer, then director of the Congress of Racial Equality; Roy Wilkins, then executive-secretary of the NAACP; and Bertrand Russell.

The Americans Right to Travel Committee organized a picket line at the annual convention of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association June 22, where Attorney General Robert Kennedy was scheduled to speak. Subsequently, Worthy was also asked to speak at the convention. Another picket was held June 23 at the U.S. mission to the United Nations in New York.

Worthy was convicted on August 8 following a two-hour trial. In a statement reported in the August 27, 1962, *Militant*, Worthy explained:

"In 1957, when two other newsmen and I challenged the ban on travel to China, the State Department first threatened us with fines and imprisonment under the 1917 Trading With the Enemy Act. Subsequently, the Department withdrew that bluff and then offered us new passports if we would sign oaths promising not to return to China. . . .

"In 1956, I entered the Union of South Africa without a visa to get an important news story. . . . I consciously risked a jail sentence in an unspeakable police state. . . .

"In a cabled dispatch from Havana, published in the October 13, 1960 issue of the Baltimore *Afro-American*, I scooped the entire U.S. press on CIA preparations for the invasion of Cuba. Subsequently, I repeatedly ridiculed the fantasy, nurtured by our press and government, that the Cuban people would rise up and embrace an invading force. Our law enforcement agencies promptly set out to 'get' and silence me. After long and exhaustive efforts the 'illegal re-entry' indictment was the best they could come up with."

Worthy was sentenced September 17 to three months in jail and nine months probation.

On the Saturday before the sentencing, 750 people rallied in Harlem to protest the conviction. A broad range of speakers included Percy Sutton, then president of New York NAACP, and Allan Morrison, then New York editor of *Jet* and *Ebony*. Supporters included Malcolm X, Ossie Davis, and Ruby Dee.

The conviction was immediately appealed by William Kunstler, and a friend-of-the-court brief was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union. On February 20, 1964, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the conviction and declared unconstitutional that section of the McCarran-Walter Act.

'Every pink slip should carry a health warning'

BY DIANE JACOBS

In 1848 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* that capitalism "has resolved personal worth into exchange value."

What does this mean in human terms?

When our sense of self-worth is inextricably tied to the fluctuations of the capitalist marketplace, we are bound to be crazy.

Statistics on layoffs and the shrinking dollar tell only one side of the story. We get a fuller picture when we examine the human costs of capitalism in its decline — a time of more frequent, deeper recessions and shorter periods of upturn.

On April 6 the science section of the *New York Times* ran an article by Maya Pines entitled "Reces-

AS I SEE IT

sion Is Linked to Far-Reaching Psychological Harm." In it Pines compiled the results of recent studies by sociologists and social scientists. Much of their research was inspired by a 1976 report to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress by Dr. Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins University:

"When unemployment rises," Pines wrote, "1 percent point . . . 4.3 percent more men and 2.3 percent more women are admitted to state mental hospitals for the first time; 4.1 percent more people commit suicide; 5.7 percent more are murdered; 4 percent more people wind up in state prisons; and over a six-year period, 1.9 percent more people die from heart disease, cirrhosis of the liver, and other stress-related chronic ailments."

Dr. Brenner added that these figures represent "a very conservative estimate" based on the 1970 slump (a 1.4 percent rise in unemployment linked to an additional 51,570 deaths by 1975).

Today's recession is much more profound; unemployment is the highest it's been since World War II.

Other scientists are getting the same results as Brenner.

Dr. Paula Rayman of Brandeis University has been interviewing laid-off Pratt & Whitney aircraft workers from Hartford, Connecticut, for the past two years. Her findings: one out of eight reported worsened marriages, many of which ended in divorce, and 15 percent were having more conflicts with their children.

Dr. Ralph Catalano of the University of California at Irvine discovered a significant increase in child abuse in Los Angeles when unemployment went up.

A psychiatrist, Dr. Abraham Heller, studied the effects of plant closings on mortality rates in Dayton, Ohio, a city which lost one fourth of its industrial jobs in three episodes from 1970 to 1980. His research is still incomplete, but he found increases which, "on surface inspection, would absolutely compel one to be concerned."

More dramatic and disturbing conclusions came from Dr. Louis Ferman, research director of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Michigan:

"... we now feel the relationship between unemployment and physiological or psychological stress is so strong that every pink slip should carry a Surgeon General's warning that it may be hazardous to your health."

On the apologists for the present economic crisis, Ferman had this to say:

"Economists are funny ducks. They talk a lot about trade-offs between inflation and unemployment, and about 'temporary inconveniences.' Well, obviously death is not just a temporary inconvenience. Nor is cardiovascular disease, nor the kind of emotional illness that makes people permanently unemployable."

Most of us who have been laid off from more than one job in a short period of time can confirm Dr. Ferman's findings that instability and upheaval are even worse for the health than unemployment. Mov-

ing from a better to a worse job is also extremely stressful.

And if losing the job weren't bad enough, we blame ourselves for being out of work instead of questioning the logic of the profit system, which requires a certain level of unemployment. Dr. Elliot Liebow, chief of the Center for Work and Mental Health at the National Institute of Mental Health in Rockville, Maine, has studied the phenomenon of self-blame. It is so destructive, he claims, because of "the assumption that we live in a society where we get what we deserve therefore, 'being unemployed is our own fault.'"

The stopgap solution most of these researchers propose is better counseling and job-placement services; but the irony of such "solutions" is that funding is drying up for mental health centers, CETA training programs, and other human services. At the same time, inflation is eating up savings that cushion the shock of layoff.

Pines's article didn't mention the more devastating effects of economic decline on women and minority workers, many of whom were just hired through affirmative action programs and are being laid off first. Nor did it deal with the feelings of powerlessness and alienation that result from having no control over our workplace or what we produce.

Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian Revolution, wrote, "this lack of stability, the uncertainty of what tomorrow will bring in the personal life of every worker, is the most revolutionary factor of the epoch in which we live."

He meant that as the vicissitudes of capitalist economy make our lives unbearable, we'll be forced to struggle for a more rational system.

In a socialist society, unemployment won't exist. What we've come to regard as a fact of life in this country — a safety valve to guarantee a certain level of profits and what Marx called a "reserve army of labor" to keep wages down — is an evil that can be done away with.

LETTERS

Argentina

The headline of the April 23 *Militant*, "Stop British Warships, Hands off Argentina!" is a welcome counter to the boastful glorification of empire found in the daily newspaper. Nevertheless, the position of the *Militant*, taken as a whole, is incomplete in that it does not place prime responsibility for the crisis on the United States, who has armed and supplied the Argentine government, which itself could not exist if the Yankees did not breathe for it.

To put it another way, it is unlikely that territorial annexations by a capitalist state, be it client or semicolonial, taken anywhere in the world, particularly in Latin America, occur without the instigation by or benefit to the Rockefeller group of Chase Manhattan-Exxon.

Or, in the words of Will Reissner, writing in the same issue: "In the postwar period, U.S. capitalists have surpassed their British counterparts in terms of direct investment in Argentina." And to rephrase his next sentence, only \$6 of \$32 billion foreign debt of Argentina, or about 18%, is owed to British banks. Let that 1/5 equal one bloody finger. Clearly the hands to be kept off Argentina are the United States.

The British working class has nothing to gain from such holdings as Gibraltar, Hong Kong, and the "Falklands." And it must organize to halt the British military adventure and the unnecessary gush of social wealth it entails. Not only is the "character of the current Argentine regime" not a "starting point for working people in determining their approach to the British aggression," it is irrelevant. No war for empire, period.

But, the class nature of the Argentine state is not irrelevant, yet the *Militant* ignores it. Annexations of territory, or if you argue, in the case of Argen-

tina, reclamations of territory, conducted by a capitalist state do not benefit the working class of the annexing or reclaiming country. All use of land, labor, and resources will be exploited by the capitalist mode of production.

The *Militant's* comparison of the Argentine dictatorship of a capitalist state, vis-à-vis the working class of that state, to an undemocratic trade union official's conduct of a strike, vis-à-vis the rank and file unionist, is not analogous. Two different classes are involved, as well as struggle between those classes, and the *Militant's* statement is quite foolish.

The Argentine workers should not be cannon fodder for their capitalist government's adventures, nor serve as proxies in a war between the Rockefellers and the Rothschilds as to which empire will exploit the resources of the Malvinas. Down with the Galtieri government! Nationalize the Malvinas! Trade union control of all future development! Yankee and John Bull go home, we are not your spoils! These should be the demands of the Argentine workers.

North American workers should demand that Haig park his plane, that the Malvinas are not for Exxon, and that Britain should give up and go back home.

Sterne McMullen
Salt Lake City, Utah

Blacks in space

NASA just announced that the United States was going to send the first Black man on a space flight next year, a Vietnam veteran named Guion S. Bluford.

It's true that since 1961 all 44 U.S. astronauts have been white men, and the 10 crew members of the next three shuttle flights — according to NASA — will also be white men.

Maybe the U.S. government thinks this is proof that America is a land of equal opportunity and progress. To me that record shows nothing but racism. And I doubt such tokenism is going to make people forget today's record Black unemployment, or the recent lynchings in Georgia, or Reagan's cuddling up to racist South Africa.

But actually, the first Black in space is not an American, but a Cuban. His name is Arnaldo Tamayo, and he went on a joint space flight with Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Romanenko in 1980.

I met Tamayo on a visit last year to Grenada, where he was hailed as a national hero. That's because Tamayo is not only the first Cuban, but the first African, the first Latin American, the first Caribbean cosmonaut.

In Grenada he spoke about how imperialist governments like the U.S. use their space programs (like the space shuttle that Bluford will be flying) not for the benefit of society, but to develop their military capabilities. They're already producing "killer satellites" and other space weapons that will soon put *Star Wars* to shame.

In contrast, as Fidel explained in a speech honoring Tamayo, "because of the revolution, socialism, and internationalism, [Cuba is] not only the leading Latin American country in public health, the leading Latin American country in education, the leading Latin American country in social development . . . but also the leading Latin American country in space."

It's the kind of country that can produce a revolutionary Black cosmonaut like Tamayo.

P.S. NASA also claimed to have selected the first woman astronaut. Of course, the first woman in space was Valentina Tereshkova from the USSR — in 1963.

Martin Koppel
Jersey City, New Jersey



Militant/Kara Obradovic

Cuba's Arnaldo Tamayo (left), the first Black cosmonaut, in Grenada last year with that country's minister of national mobilization, Selwyn Strachan.

Security cops

Here in San Antonio "security" is a booming industry. Security guards patrol grocery stores, restaurants, bowling alleys, and shopping malls in growing numbers. Many neighborhoods on the city's largely white and well-off North Side — and some of them walled — are patrolled by private security forces.

Recently a security guard at a church dance shot and killed a pregnant woman riding in a truck away from the scene of a fight (she was not involved in the fight).

These security guards fulfill the function of cops, but are even more dangerous, without even the police pretense of public accountability. I think many people don't realize what this "industry" represents.

Mark Chalkley
San Antonio, Texas

Intelligence

Albert Cassorla's letter in the April 23 *Militant* deserves an answer. Neither Stephen J. Gould's book *The Mismeasure of Man*, nor Claire Moriarty's re-

view of it in the February 1982 *International Socialist Review* take an "antimaterialist position," as Cassorla claims.

Attempting to measure the intelligence quotient of a person is like attempting to measure the "drivability quotient" of a car. Any automobile company can design tests which will rank its cars the best. "Drivability" is an abstraction which can be arbitrarily defined in many different ways. Intelligence is also an abstraction, one which the ruling class has learned to manipulate, as Gould demonstrates in his book.

Of course, human brains, like automobiles, do have objective characteristics which can be measured. Intelligence is not one of them.

Tom Vernier
Denver, Colorado

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.

Blacks organize antiwar forces to build June 12 action

Forum demands non-intervention, calls on U.S. to disarm

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

NEW YORK — Rev. Herbert Daughtry, national chairman of the National Black United Front (NBUF), and Rev. Ben Chavis, a national representative of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), were the speakers at a forum here on April 20. The forum was entitled, "Black Perspective on the Disarmament Movement." The gathering was sponsored by the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition (TWPPC).

NBUF has organized significant

struggles, especially in the New York area, against police brutality and for the civil and human rights of Blacks.

Chavis, besides being a national leader of the NBIPP, is well-respected in the broader movement against racist oppression and is active in the fight for political rights.

Both of these leaders play an important role in the TWPPC. The TWPPC forum was called to explain their views on the disarmament question. The meeting was the first in a series of activities aimed at helping to coalesce the antiwar

and antiracist forces building for the June 12 disarmament demonstration.

At the forum Chavis said that the question of nuclear disarmament is an international and a political question. After pointing out that the United Nations' Second Special Session on Disarmament was called by Third World nations, the NBIPP leader said, "We come to join with our brothers and sisters of the Third World to express our concerns."

"We have," Chavis continued, "a special responsibility to speak out against nuclear weapons because the U.S. government is the only one to have ever dropped the bomb. That's why the NBIPP is a firm supporter of the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition."

The TWPPC was formed in March following the exclusion from the June 12 Rally Committee (the national body organizing the action) of forces that wanted the demonstration to be against U.S. intervention in the Third World and racist oppression here at home as well as against the bomb. The TWPPC has sought to draw together all the antiwar and antiracist forces who are mobilizing for June 12.

At the same time the TWPPC is discussing with the June 12 Rally Committee how the two groups can work together.

The TWPPC is building June 12 around these demands: unilateral and unconditional disarmament by the U.S.; no U.S. intervention in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean; and redirect the resources squandered on the military to human needs, earmarking, in particular, the communities of oppressed nationalities.

'Disarming imperialism'

Referring to his party's charter, the NBIPP representative pointed to the U.S. government as the greatest threat to world peace. "We must be clear," Chavis pointed out, "when we talk about disarmament, we're talking about disarming imperialism."

"No revolution has been won without arms. We stand forthrightly with SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organization] and the ANC [African National Congress] and all other African freedom fighters struggling against the racist, apartheid regimes in southern Africa," Chavis concluded to enthusiastic applause.

"The June 12 action," Chavis said, "must be the beginning of an ongoing organizational effort in our community to do what Malcolm X called 'agitating' our people. We must unify and organize our community to fight as one people against our enemy — our real enemy: the socio-economic system."

In this framework, Chavis argued, antiwar forces should seek to build the broadest unity around the June 12 protest.

Daughtry, pointing out that this meeting was the first time that the NBUF and the NBIPP had shared a platform, said, "It's a good sign that NBUF and NBIPP are working together" in the antiwar movement. The NBUF national chairman likened the relationship to that of a "courtship before the marriage is consummated. In

this case, the courtship may have to continue awhile, but as long as the courtship is amiable, the marriage is certain."

Blacks' stake in antiwar fight

Daughtry said there were important reasons why Blacks should participate in the antiwar movement, including in actions against nuclear weapons. "A blownup world is not any good for anybody," he pointed out.

"We must find a way to prevent this holocaust . . . and we can't do this by ourselves. We need the mightiest movement yet. We must join with everyone who is moving our way, who is against nuclear war and for redirecting resources to human needs."

Secondly, Daughtry pointed out, Blacks are always the guinea pigs for experimentation. This policy would also be followed in testing out the viability of nuclear war.

"The third reason we should be involved," Daughtry said, "is that there's a movement moving. Do we want to get on board? We should to give it our 'special touch,' to bring to it our demands: support of the liberation movements and the Grenadian revolution — Nicaragua and Cuba too. We need to bring the demand of money for human needs, not for war."

Black participation in last year's antiwar action in May 3 and in the recent March 27 action against the U.S. war in El Salvador helped shape the character of those demonstrations, Daughtry said.

"We seek to do the same with the June 12 action," Daughtry said.

Chavis on Kennedy 'freeze' proposal: 'a diversion'

During the discussion period on "A Black Perspective on the Disarmament Movement," Rev. Ben Chavis was asked what he thought of the campaign for a nuclear freeze. The following is part of his response:

The nuclear freeze that is being advanced by Kennedy and Hatfield is inadequate. They are simply arguing for a conventional arms buildup. It's a diversion. Look at how the British navy is being used against the Argentines — with the backing of the U.S. military.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans are committed to maintaining the U.S. as the superior imperialist force in the world.

The question is whose hands these weapons — conventional or nuclear — are in, and in whose interests they are used. The U.S. nuclear arsenal is used as a threat to shore up dictatorships like those in Chile and El Salvador. The U.S. nuclear arsenal is used to intimidate the peoples' liberation movements from legitimately taking state power.

Again, look at what's happening today in Argentina. The Argentine government has invoked the Rio Treaty — watch how many American states respond. Many will be intimidated.



Militant/Harry Ring



Militant/Stu Singer

Left: Rev. Ben Chavis, a leader of National Black Independent Political Party. Right: Rev. Herbert Daughtry, chairman of National Black United Front. April 20 antiwar meeting was first time two groups had shared a platform.

Court frees Milwaukee cops in killing of Black youth

BY MINDY BRUDNO

MILWAUKEE — At a hearing on the morning of April 26, circuit Judge Janine Geske dismissed charges of misconduct in public office against two Milwaukee police officers involved in the July 1981 killing of an innocent Black youth.

Ernest Lacy, 22, died in police custody following his arrest for a rape it was later learned he did not commit.

The dismissal of misconduct charges follows the earlier dismissal of homicide charges against Thomas Eliopul, the cop who, according to numerous civilian witnesses, knelt on Lacy's neck and raised his arms, handcuffed behind his back, to a position perpendicular to his body.

The misconduct charges against officers George Kalt and James Dekker were for their failure to take any action whatsoever to revive the unconscious Lacy, who was in their custody.

Over 150 people attended an emergency meeting on the night of the decision, called by the Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy.

In his opening statement, Michael

McGee, president of the coalition, restated the coalition's position that justice for Ernest Lacy means punishment of the killer cops. "We may get a lot of things in Ernest Lacy's name," he said. "We may get a new Black police captain. We may get better 'police-community relations.' But that's not justice for Ernest Lacy."

The coalition approved a three-pronged campaign to put pressure on the mayor and the Fire and Police Commission to dismiss the killer cops from the force:

First, continuation of an economic boycott of major downtown department stores that was begun April 3.

Second, a letter-writing campaign to the Fire and Police Commission as well as the mayor.

Third, a rally to be held as soon as possible to draw national attention to the case.

Myrtle Lacy, Ernest Lacy's mother, summed up the spirit of the meeting in her remarks. "We're going to continue to fight for justice as long as we have breath in our bodies."