

## Cuba urges int'l protest to halt war on Argentina



British Marines practice invasion at Ascension Island, where U.S. government has military base.

BY HARRY RING

MAY 12 — With increased U.S. support, the British government has moved to expand its war against Argentina.

Meanwhile, Cuba and other targets of imperialist aggression have acted to deepen their solidarity with Argentina.

On May 10 it was reported that in his capacity as chairman of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, Fidel Castro had called on the member nations of that body to help halt "imminent Anglo-American aggression" against Argentina (see text of Radio Havana report, page 2).

Three days earlier, the British government had announced expansion of its naval and air blockade to within 12 miles of the mainland Argentine coast. It warned that ships leaving their ports, or planes leaving their bases, faced attack.

When a London paper reported that the Tory cabinet had agreed, if need be, to bomb Argentine mainland targets, the government responded, "Not at the moment."

Meanwhile, on May 10, Washington disclosed that the British air force had

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## Nicaragua charts path toward socialism

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN  
AND JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA — The Nicaraguan revolution has entered a new phase.

Under mounting economic and military pressure to turn back, the revolution has instead declared its intention to continue mobilizing workers and peasants in defense of their international class interests, which are now publicly defined as socialism.

In every province, from north to south, this was the message as workers and peasants streamed into May Day celebrations under banners that read, "Defend the revolution, for the construction of socialism."

In response to imperialist-inspired attacks on the border and capitalist sabotage inside the country, tens of thousands of Sandinistas piled into trucks and buses or walked miles to attend a rally.

Apart from Managua, where two previous May Day rallies had been held, the plazas of other major cities had never seen such a turnout for May Day. In La Rosita, for example, the town nearest the Miskitu Indian resettlement villages, some 2,000 mine workers and Miskitus turned out.

The numbers overall — 100,000 in Managua and at least 70,000 in other cities — were the result of an extensive campaign of education and discussion carried out by the unions and other mass organizations.

### Countrywide discussion

Over the last two weeks Nicaragua has been transformed into an open classroom — a classroom where scientific socialism, the lessons drawn from history by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, have been put forward as the only consistent

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## Immigration cops arrest Marroquín

BY PAT NIXON

PHOENIX — On May 7, Héctor Marroquín, a 28-year-old socialist and anti-war activist, was arrested here by two agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The INS agents held Marroquín for close to an hour before they backed down and released him.

The INS has been trying to deport Marroquín, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance for over four years. On March 23, the Board of Immigration Appeals denied Marroquín's appeal for political asylum and threatened to deport him. Marroquín, who was born in Mexico, is currently appealing that decision in the federal courts.

The arrest comes in the wake of the nationwide series of terror raids by hundreds of agents of the INS under the cynical code-name "Project Jobs." The INS said it was going after undocumented workers who had taken jobs away from citizens. Nearly 6,000 people were arrested, and many of those have been deported.

The INS agents seized Marroquín as he began a national tour to publicize his battle to win political asylum, and to win support for the fight against deportations and other attacks on democratic rights.

In Phoenix, Marroquín spoke on numerous radio shows and at public meetings. In the coming weeks, he will tour a dozen other cities.

Marroquín's arrest was clearly a premeditated plan aimed at intimidating him and his supporters.

Two INS cops confronted Marroquín immediately after he spoke at a public meeting at Arizona State University. One of them flashed his badge and demanded that Marroquín show his "papers."

Marroquín doesn't have any "papers" because the government won't give him any. He does have legal documents showing his case is on appeal. These

were at the apartment where he was staying.

When Marroquín responded that he wanted to call his attorney, the cops refused. They forced Marroquín off campus and into an unmarked car. They then took him to the apartment so that they could see his "papers" and interrogate him.

On the way, the cops suddenly left the freeway and headed toward the airport. As they did this they made comments implying that they might deport him right then and there.

In response to his arrest, Marroquín's supporters quickly called the press and

organized an emergency picket line in front of the Federal Building. His supporters also called the offices of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), co-sponsors of Marroquín's tour with the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee.

As a result, while the INS agents were interrogating Marroquín, his attorney, Margaret Winter, was able to place a call through to the apartment and demand to speak with the INS cops.

Reacting very nervously, the two INS agents refused to come to the phone, told Marroquín that any questions would be answered by INS District Director Ern-

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## Federal agents attempt drug frame-up of Mason

DETROIT — Federal agents, claiming that they were looking for drugs, searched Mel Mason at Metro Airport here May 7 in a brazen display of harassment.

Mason is a socialist city councilman from Seaside, California, and is running an independent campaign for governor of that state. He was in Detroit to attend a national leadership meeting of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

At the airport, Mason was surrounded by five uniformed cops and two plainclothes officers who identified themselves as federal agents.

One of the agents, David McDougal, said:

"Mr. Mason, we have reason to believe you have been involved in narcotics traffic."

McDougal said a "big shipment of narcotics" was being brought in from California. He asked, "Were you on the California plane?"

"Right," Mason answered.

"Have you been in the terminal for the last 45 minutes?"

"Right."

McDougal asked Mason to submit to a

search "in a more private place." Mason declined, saying he preferred "to be searched here, in front of people."

McDougal then looked through Mason's garment bag. Of course there were no drugs.

The other federal agent, Finis Price, asked Bob Kendrick, who was at the airport to pick Mason up:

How did he know Mason?

Why did Mason come to Detroit?

How did Kendrick know to pick him up at the airport?

Answering his own last question, Price said he knew Mason had "called the Michigan Socialist Workers Party on Woodward [Street] for a ride."

Mason is a national leader of the SWP.

The agents also asked Mason if he was carrying any weapons. Mason said no.

Mason told the *Militant* that the phony drug search was meant to intimidate him and supporters of his campaign. It was also, he said, an attack on the NBIPP.

Other NBIPP leaders were concerned, he said, when he told them about the airport harassment.

"They saw this, like I do, as a racist

attack on me and as a threat to other Black leaders," he said.

It was also, he continued, a threat to other independent candidates who challenge the two parties of the employers, the Democrats and Republicans.

"Can you imagine," he said, "Thomas Bradley [mayor of Los Angeles and the leading Democratic Party candidate for governor] getting stopped on a drug charge?"

Mason ridiculed the very idea that Bradley might be arrested, noting that the mayor is a former cop.

Mason also told the *Militant* that a longtime friend had reported to him that Seaside police "were going to bust me on trumped-up drug charges."

His campaign has sent a letter to the Seaside police chief about this threat, demanding to see any files on Mason. Robin Maisel, attorney for the campaign, has protested to the chief as well.

Mason and his supporters are demanding answers to a series of questions raised by these drug allegations. Mason asked:

"What is the role of federal agencies — such as the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco

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# Cuba urges international aid to Argentina

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requested the loan of a U.S. long-range aerial tanker to refuel British bombers and reconnaissance planes operating from the U.S. military base at Ascension Island.

It was asserted that U.S. personnel would not be used to fly the jumbo air tanker.

But the Reagan administration employed time-worn allegations of a Soviet "threat" as the peg for warning of direct U.S. military intervention on behalf of the British.

James Reston, veteran Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, reported May 9 on an asserted Washington concern that the Soviet Union might provide Argentina with missiles so modern as to "put the British armada in extreme danger."

"Officials here agree," Reston said, "that the United States would have to intervene militarily, if necessary, to avoid the destruction of the British navy."

## Reagan's 'peace' talk

The readiness of the Reagan administration to go to war in Argentina underlines the duplicity of his May 9 declaration of willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union for an eventual reduction of nuclear stockpiles. Such talk is not simply a verbal concession to antiwar sentiment here and abroad. It is intended quite precisely as a smokescreen for new wars.

It is in the context of this rapidly escalating threat that Cuba and other nations have spoken out.

A Cuban May Day declaration stated: "It is necessary to halt the aggression and impose justice. The countries of Latin America have the duty to support Argentina with all necessary means. Cuba is ready, together with the peoples of Latin America, to comply with this duty."

Cuba's vice-president, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, declared in Paris May 5 that his country stood ready to aid Argentina "in every possible way, including military."

However, Rodríguez emphasized, "This support is for the Argentine people, for the Argentine cause, not to the junta in Buenos Aires."

Such concern is well justified. The grim British-U.S. determination to take back the Malvinas by any means necessary is not simply a matter of trigger-happy administrations in London and Washington.

The Tory government is trying, des-

perately, to hold together the remnants of a once-mighty imperialist empire. It cannot, in its unstable position, brook the kind of defiance of its rule represented by the Argentine decision to reclaim the Malvinas, to which Argentina has longstanding legal and moral claim.

For U.S. business and financial interests, the stakes are equally high.

While the United States today is the world's central imperialist power, it faces profound challenges from liberation movements around the globe.

And the most pressing challenge to its rule is being made in its very "backyard" — Central and South America and the Caribbean.

Like the British, American business and banking interests have substantial investments in Argentina. Their joint plunder of the country has brought them huge profits and, in the process, left the Argentine people to suffer the results of a crisis-ridden economy.

But the challenge goes beyond Argentina.

## Central America

It is aiding the junta's efforts in El Salvador to try to crush the liberation forces there.

# Radio Havana reports Fidel's message

The following was broadcast over Cuba's Radio Havana, May 10.

Fidel Castro, president of the Non-aligned Movement and president of Cuba, sent a message to the heads of state of the member countries of that organization, in which he exhorted them to take urgent steps to help prevent Britain, with United States support, from throwing its air and naval forces into new, large-scale acts of aggression against Argentina.

The message states that all attempts to negotiate between the two countries over the Malvinas are at a standstill, and the latest news dispatches report increasingly threatening statements from the rulers in London, backed by Washington.

The message sent by the president of the Nonaligned, Fidel Castro, stresses that a colonial war is about to reach its most grievous and criminal stage, which by its nature and evolution the imperialist powers are trying to turn into a lesson for all countries of the Third World that, regardless of their political

It is resuming full-scale arms shipments to the dictatorship in Guatemala, which also faces an insurgent people.

Today Washington is waging an undeclared war against revolutionary Nicaragua, and making ominous moves against the people of Grenada and Cuba, who dared take their destiny in their own hands.

It's in this context that a challenge by the Argentine people, including a powerful, radicalized working class, poses a new and serious threat to imperialist "stability" in the region.

In Britain, working people are being subjected to an incredible torrent of jingoistic war propaganda. Unfortunately, even the leadership of their own party, the British Labor Party, has joined in — although a left wing within the party, led by Tony Benn, has urged a policy of opposition to British aggression.

Yet despite the propaganda inundation, opposition to the war is developing in Britain.

Some of this development is reported in a London dispatch to the May 17 issue of *Intercontinental Press* by correspondent Brian Grogan.

Grogan reports that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which last year mobilized 250,000 people against the de-

ployment of U.S. Cruise missiles in Britain, has been sponsoring weekly demonstrations in London against the war. The most recent, May 9, drew 3,000 people.

A number of union bodies have taken a stand against the war (see resolution by the Liverpool union council on this page).

A strong stand was taken by Arthur Scargill, newly elected president of the important National Union of Miners.

Scargill declared, "Britain has no right to start talking about sovereignty over islands that are 8,000 miles away. . . .

"We have seen the price of British imperialism over the years," Scargill declared. "I thought we had learned a lesson in the labor and trade union movements.

"I want to see every trade union leader come out and condemn this Tory madness, which could lead us into a nuclear holocaust."

Here in the United States, it is vital that opponents of Washington's war drive in Latin America and the U.S. nuclear buildup recognize that Reagan's complicity with the British aggression against Argentina must be strongly opposed.

or social regime, defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The document adds that, in the interest of defending the rights of every one of our countries, and above all in the interest of humanitarian solidarity with

the Argentine people and with the British soldiers hurled into combat, we strongly condemn the continued hostilities and call for a negotiated political solution which respects the sovereign rights of Argentina.

## Liverpool union council blasts war

**Liverpool, in northern England, is a city with a very militant working-class tradition that has been hit hard by unemployment. The following resolution was passed at the Liverpool Trades Council meeting on April 15.**

This Trades Council condemns the war of the Tory government against Argentina — the sailing of the fleet to the Falklands and the sanctions on Argentina — as an imperialist adventure.

It is an attempt to maintain a base that was seized from Argentina over 150 years ago.

The policies of this war-government are neither concerned with military op-

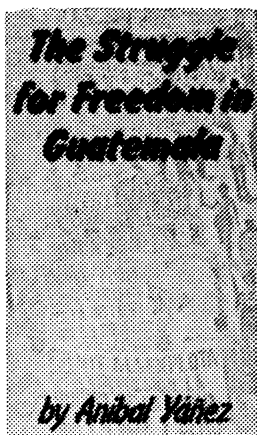
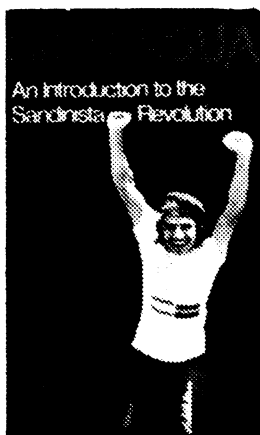
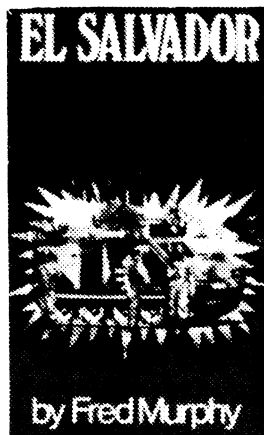
pression in Argentina nor with the interests of the Falkland population.

The Trades Council condemns the jingoistic support of imperialism by the Labour [Party] leaders. A victory for the Thatcher government abroad will mean increased aggression against the workers at home. We therefore demand the TUC [Trades Union Council] and Labour leaders that they stand by the principles of socialist internationalism with a policy of: "Down with the war. Mobilize the working class to bring down the Tory government."

We recognize the sovereignty of Argentina over the Falkland Islands and call for the recall of the British fleet.

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# Cuban May Day answers U.S. threats

## A million demonstrate in Havana in third March of the Fighting People

BY GEORGE JOHNSON  
AND MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA — A "human avalanche of Havana's workers," as the newspaper *Juventud Rebelde* (Rebel Youth) described it, poured into the Plaza of the Revolution here on May Day, International Workers Day.

Anything but a ritual May Day, it was the third March of the Fighting People, as Cuba continues its mass mobilizations against the threats of U.S. imperialism.

Like the marches in 1980 and 1981, this year's March of the Fighting People was a massive response by the Cuban people to growing U.S. involvement in the wars in the Caribbean and Central

America, and the escalating political, economic, and military moves directed against Cuba by the U.S. government.

There is no official estimate of the demonstration's size, but around a million marched here — about the same as last year. The streets of Havana, other than those around the Plaza of the Revolution, were virtually deserted.

Clearly, the majority of Havana's 1.9 million population had responded to the posters we had seen everywhere on the city's walls: "Everyone to the Plaza on May 1."

Massive demonstrations in other cities took place in the preceding week, building toward this mobilization: Santiago de Cuba, Las Tunas, Guama, Cien-

go de Avila, Cienfuegos, Matanzas, Boyeros, Arroyo Naranjo, Holguín.

In Santa Clara, 70,000 marched; in Holguín, more than 100,000. In Las Tunas, a check for 764,000 pesos (1 peso = \$1.18 U.S.) for the Territorial Troop Militia (MTT) was donated by the people; in Villa Clara, 1.01 million pesos.

### 'Pitch, Fidel' — the march begins

In the capital, the march began promptly on schedule at 9 a.m., as Fidel Castro, Raúl Castro, the heads of the Cuban Workers Confederation (CTC), and other leaders of the revolution filed into the plaza, followed by a contingent of exemplary sugar cane cutters. The crowd chanted, "Pitch, Fidel — Reagan can't hit!"

Fidel opened the meeting and introduced the only speaker of the day: Roberto Veiga, general secretary of the CTC.

"Today we are stronger and firmer; our revolution is irreversible," Veiga said. "This is a day of combat, of revolutionary reaffirmation, of commitment to our two basic tasks: production and defense."

Veiga called the international situation tense, and placed the blame for this on the U.S. administration, which "with its irresponsible policies, has taken the most reactionary positions on all world problems, and has created incalculable dangers for humanity."

"The Yankee imperialists' hateful and ferocious obsession with the victorious advances of the Cuban revolution and the growing and inextinguishable power of its example, create additional dangers for our country."

He recalled the continuing series of aggressive U.S. acts against the Cuban revolution and their 24-year history: the blockade; military attacks; maneuvers, including practice invasions on Cuban soil at Guantánamo; a war of slander and lies; and more.

But these aggressions, threats, provocations, and shows of force have been more than met by the courage of the Cuban people, he said.

In spite of economic difficulties, he went on, Cuban workers will continue to sacrifice in order to further advance the construction of socialism.

Veiga's speech was an internationalist salute to the workers of the world. He thanked the workers of the Soviet Union for their sacrifices and aid to the Cuban revolution, and paid tribute to those everywhere "who are fighting fascism, colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, racism, and apartheid; those struggling for a better world, for liberty, for peace, and for the progress of their peoples."

Singled out for special mention were Nicaragua and Grenada, whose people, he said, were resisting imperialist threats and aggression with valor.

He offered unqualified support to the people of El Salvador and Guatemala, "who are heroically fighting for genuine and permanent independence against genocidal governments supported by U.S. imperialism."

### Solidarity with Argentina

And he extended "on this occasion in particular, solidarity to fellow Argentine workers in this difficult moment of aggression by English imperialism backed by the repugnant form of U.S. imperialism."

Veiga spoke for 20 minutes. After he finished, the masses of Havana poured past the reviewing stand where Fidel, Raúl, and other Cuban leaders watched from 50 yards away.

Also on the reviewing stand were CTC leaders, delegations of model workers elected by their co-workers, and trade unionists from around the world. A special guest was Mohamed Abdelaziz, general secretary of the Polisario

Front, which is fighting for the independence of western Sahara.

The crowd had been massing since early morning. By 7 a.m., streets leading to the plaza were already filled for blocks in every direction we could see. With extraordinary patience and discipline, Havana's workers waited for the march to begin.

They talked and joked with the police and cheered a helicopter from the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) as it flew over.

The demonstration was organized into contingents from the 14 municipalities of Havana by the block Committees for Defense of the Revolution (CDR).

A group of American socialists in Cuba on a two-week political tour organized by the *Militant* and its sister Spanish-language publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, marched behind posters from the San Miguel district.

Marching Cubans who talked with the U.S. revolutionaries asked about the U.S. government's new ban on travel to Cuba, which is to go into effect May 15. The Cubans saw the travel ban as one more U.S. attempt to keep Americans from knowing the truth about Cuba, including the unified response of its people to U.S. imperialist moves as evidenced in the May Day demonstration.

### T-shirts, placards, pins, flags

There were few banners — they are difficult to hold in such a dense crowd; but we saw many homemade placards and political T-shirts that indicated Veiga's speech had expressed the opinions of his massive audience.

Virtually everyone wore a Cuban pin, carried a flag, or wore a T-shirt to show their backing for their government's resistance to U.S. imperialism's threats.

"We will never surrender our principles." "I am a free man." "Cuba si — Yanqui no." Or simply "Cuba."

There were placards supporting the revolutionary struggles in Guatemala and El Salvador; denouncing the aggression of British imperialism against Argentina; and solidarizing with revolutionary Nicaragua and Grenada.

A good number of people carried portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Che Guevara, José Martí, and other revolutionary leaders.

As the crowd marched into the plaza, Cubans spotted TV crews with U.S. media logos. Everyone waved and chanted "Fidel, Fidel," to emphasize their support for the Cuban government's policies.

As they passed the reviewing stand, the marchers waved and doubled their chants: "Fidel, for sure, hit the Yankees hard."

The last civilian marchers passed the stand at noon. Behind them stepped out a half-dozen select contingents of the FAR and MTT — from the infantry and artillery schools, air force troops, marines, sailors, men and women.

### Popular militia

Earlier, Veiga had talked about the increased readiness of the FAR and the development of the MTT, a mass voluntary popular militia that provides military organization and training for every single adult Cuban. The MTT was formed two years ago in response to the escalating threats by U.S. imperialism.

Since its formation, Veiga announced, Cubans have pledged 33 million pesos through donations to the MTT. It has been entirely financed by such contributions.

Support for the MTT was registered in enthusiastic cheers as they marched past smartly.

When the troops had passed, a 2,000-voice workers' chorus sang the "International," the anthem of the workers of the world. It was a fitting end to the celebration of May Day in the first free territory of the Americas.



March of the Fighting People: Havana, May 1

Granma

## Rally to open N.Y. SWP headquarters

Two Socialist Workers Party candidates in New York, Diane Wang for governor and Steve Wattenmaker for U.S. Senate, are to speak Saturday, May 22, at the grand opening of the new Manhattan Socialist campaign office.

Wang, a garment worker, has visited revolutionary Cuba and Grenada. She is a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Wattenmaker is a pipefitter for Conrail and a member of the Sheetmetal Workers International Association, Local 325.

The socialists are campaigning for an end to the U.S. war drive. They are urging everyone to demonstrate June 12 in New York City against U.S. intervention in Central America and against Washington's mammoth nuclear and conventional arsenal.

They call for a workers and farmers government to replace the present government of the ruling rich.

"The fight for such a government begins when working people break with the Democratic and Republican parties," the SWP campaign brochure explains. "We need our own party — a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement — to fight for our own foreign and domestic policies."

The other candidates on the SWP ticket are:

- Peter Thierjung, running for lieutenant governor, a member of Sheetmetal

Workers union Local 417 in the Albany area.

- Veronica Cruz, running for U.S. Congress in the 19th District, a social worker and former garment worker.

- Susan Jacobson, running in the 14th Congressional District, a garment worker.

- Eva Chertov, running in the 21st District, a transit worker.

- Patricia Mayberry, running in the 28th District in Albany, a rail worker.

The May 22 rally in New York City is to start with refreshments at 6 p.m.; the program is at 7:30. The address is 79 Leonard St. (near Broadway).



Militant/Larry Lane

Socialist candidate for governor Diane Wang.

# Nicaragua declares socialism is goal

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way to defend the gains of the revolution.

In every city and most rural areas, union meetings, Sandinista Defense Committee meetings, women's meetings, and even meetings of the Sandinista children's association have held discussions.

The speeches on May Day, given across the country by leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), struck a single main theme: workers and peasants were the main force who made this revolution, and as the ruling majority in the new society being created, they will be the main beneficiaries as well. No ifs, ands, or buts.

"This is not a May Day rally like any other," FSLN Commander Tomás Borge pointed out in the main speech here.

## New phase in revolution

"It is a May Day where there have been important qualitative leaps in the Nicaraguan revolutionary process.

"We have assembled not merely to speak of this trouble with Nicaraguan workers, but to draw lessons from this trouble, to specify more precisely the role of the working class in this revolution.

"We must understand that a revolution faces different problems at different times," he said.

In the first phase, the war against Somoza, "it was correct to form broad national unities," to fight along with capitalists to "achieve a goal that was common to all our society."

With the victory over Somoza, however, "a new phase began." Serious internal contradictions "began to come to the surface" as the revolution's "political, economic, and social principles" forced it "to define which social sectors will have priority in the revolutionary process."

And as these conflicts arise, Borge stressed, the workers and peasants of Nicaragua will continue to make clear that they did not make this revolution "to allow a regime of exploitation to persist."

"This revolution," he said, as applause began to mount from the crowd, "was made to fight the ideological and political contamination of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to struggle against the philosophy of the wolves, to put an end to the philosophy of the claw and of the tooth. This revolution was made not to affirm the old society but to create a new one."

Borge then turned to a frank discussion of the problems that the revolution faces.

"Our economy has been able to recover, little by little, from the destruction of the war, the destruction and looting by Somoza, and the decapitalization some business sectors carried out immediately after the victory.

"But this recovery has run head-on into a drop in the prices of our agricultural exports, which has meant a drop in the foreign currency income, that is, in dollars for Nicaragua."

The Nicaraguan economy is still part of the world capitalist market, Borge explained, and has suffered sharply from the world economic crisis. The imperialists buy Nicaragua's products cheaply, but they continue to raise the prices of the manufactured goods it has to import.

## Caught in imperialist squeeze

The drop in the world price of Nicaragua's major exports — coffee, cotton, meat, and gold — will cost the country at least \$110 million this year. The situation is then further aggravated by continued decapitalization and a U.S. financial squeeze that has resulted in cutting off several lines of credit for badly needed machinery and spare parts.

This means, Borge said, that Nicaragua will have to use its scarce foreign currency for only the most important

imports — medicine, fertilizer, oil, fabric, and spare parts — "a decision that may well have consequences for workers" as well as for nonessential industries.

But in spite of all these economic limitations, Borge said, "we are in an infinitely better position than the workers of countries nearby and throughout Latin America."

In place of the galloping inflation, unemployment, and cuts in social services that are in general the rule throughout the rest of Latin America, "we are carrying out not only social programs, but more importantly, have already begun to work on enormous [hydroelectric and sugar mill] projects that are going to change in a planned way the entire structure of the Nicaraguan economy."

## 'Solidarity with Argentina'

Turning to the major international question today facing Latin America, the British attack on the Malvinas Islands, Borge declared Nicaragua's "unconditional solidarity with Argentina in a confrontation with a colonial power."

"Haig's statements against Argentina," he said, "are not just aimed against Argentina. They are aimed against all Latin America, including the Nicaraguan people, who are prepared to demonstrate their solidarity to the ultimate consequences."

As for the immediate threat facing Nicaragua from imperialism, Borge said, it is possible that Nicaragua's worldwide diplomatic and political campaign "has for the time being — I repeat, for the time being — made imperialism consider a direct aggression impossible."

But one thing to be sure of is that Reagan and Haig are turning to new forms of attack. "Imperialism is seeking to develop even further the tactics of destabilization being used against our revolution," Borge said, in a clear reference to the recent betrayal by ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora, who has now come out against the revolution, urging armed action to bring down the Nicaraguan government.

"Internal corrosion within the ranks

# Nicaraguan workers' view

MANAGUA — At the May Day rally here, two workers told the *Militant* what the discussions about socialism were like in their union, which organizes INE, the national light and power company.

"You know, the government can't just decree socialism," René Espinal began. He works as a truck driver. "The workers have to get behind it. And what's happening is that the revolution is pushing the working class to push socialism forward."

How many workers at INE are already convinced of the need for socialism?

"About 80 percent," Espinal answered. "Imperialist doctrines were very strong here, for 100 years. Twenty percent are still influenced by them."

And how do you go about convincing that 20 percent?

"In our mass organizations, we're convincing those workers through the practices of the revolution that this revolution is for real — that it benefits them."

"But also, when they see the *contras* [counterrevolutionaries] murdering teachers and militia members, they begin to see what is happening," Julio César Zárate added. He is in charge of the militia where he works.

Espinal, who had been reading about the history of International Workers' Day in the FSLN daily *Barricada*, had a question for this U.S. socialist: "You know, International Workers' Day began in Chicago with the fight for the eight-hour day. What are they doing there today?"

This reporter explained that in many



Militant/Michael Baumann

May Day in Managua. Nicaraguan people resolve they want new society which puts people before profits.

of the vanguard is just one of its objectives. To sow mistrust and internal violence inside Nicaragua. To give priority to the technical capability and fire power of the counterrevolutionary bands, especially in the northern areas of the country. They propose to increase sabotage, assassination attempts, and other forms of terrorism.

"They will try to confuse the people by encouraging ideological diversions, manipulating the religious feelings of the Nicaraguan people, and exploiting the consequences of our economic difficulties. They will try to bring together all the representatives of the counterrevolution and all the elements who, in one way or another, have come into conflict

with the working class and the revolutionary process.

"It is a kind of invasion with another type of soldier, the soldier of disorientation, the soldier of slander, the soldier of ideological diversion. It has weapons as dangerous, and maybe more dangerous, than the members of the counterrevolutionary bands."

## Age of conquistadors over

Then, referring to reports that capitalist opponents of the revolution are forming a "government in exile," Borge concluded:

"I believe that those who have conceived of this project are going to live and die deceived. I think that those who have conceived this project have not been able to understand our people, that our workers have gained complete awareness of their historical destiny.

"Here, during the Spanish conquest, they deceived the Indians with little glass marbles and mirrors. Those who dream of overthrowing the revolutionary government and its political leadership have not yet realized that the time of the conquistadors has gone, and that here the only thing we will conquer will be the establishment of a new and higher society." The crowd broke into thunderous applause.

"They do not know in which direction we are going."

The workers and soldiers in the plaza did: "Socialism!"

"But our working people know what direction we are going in," Borge continued, "and that is why I ask the workers and peasants of our country, what are we moving towards?"

"Socialism! Socialism!" the May Day throng as a whole chanted in reply.

From Intercontinental Press

# Soviet leader Brezhnev to visit

MANAGUA — Nicaraguan government leader Daniel Ortega reported the results of his six-day visit to the Soviet Union when he returned here May 10. Among the agreements reached by the Soviet Union and Nicaragua were the following, he said:

- The signing of a joint Soviet-Nicaraguan communiqué demanding "a halt to U.S. threats against Nicaragua, Cuba, and other states in Central America and the Caribbean," and denouncing "American interference in El Salvador."

The communiqué announced that Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev had ac-

cepted an invitation to visit Nicaragua.

- An agreement to provide low-interest loans for the purchase of \$100 million worth of Soviet agricultural, mining, and commercial fishing equipment.

- Agreement to aid Nicaragua in the construction of two giant hydroelectric projects.

- Establishment of two technical schools to train 200 graduate specialists a year in mining and fishing.

- A 400-bed hospital and clinic, plus 20 Soviet doctors to staff it for three years.

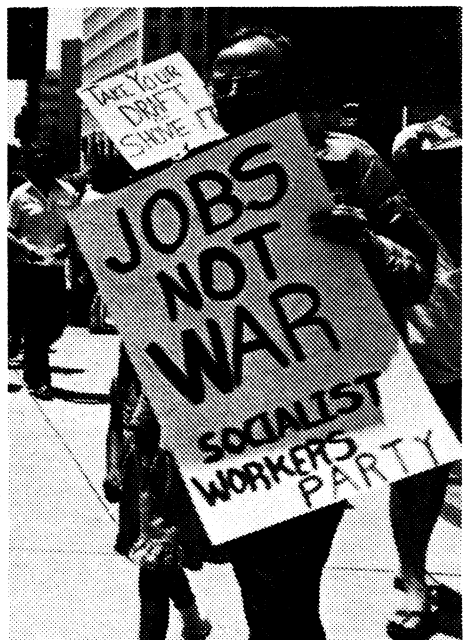


# Court upholds disclosure law challenge

## First Amendment victory in Communist Party case

BY JIM MACK

A federal appeals court ruled May 6 that the law requiring disclosure of names of campaign contributors cannot



Militant/Della Rossa

The Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party have mounted legal challenges to law that requires turning names of campaign contributors over to government. Law is aimed at intimidating independent working-class political action.

be applied to the Communist Party. The court held that to do so would violate the First Amendment guarantees of free speech and political privacy.

The decision is an important one, with nationwide ramifications. The disclosure law is a major legal obstacle in the road of independent working-class political action.

All candidates are obligated to file lists of contributors with the government. This poses no problem at all for Democrats and Republicans. But things are different for socialist and communist candidates, as they will be for independent labor and Black candidates who break from the two-party setup in the future.

Their contributors' lists would wind up in the files of the FBI and other police agencies, as well as on employers' private "security" indexes. Right-wing terrorist outfits also have ready access to such lists, which are public record.

Precisely for these reasons, the Socialist Workers Party has successfully challenged the law in courts around the country.

According to the May 7 *New York Times*, officials of the Republican and Democratic national committees condemned the decision. "They said," the *Times* reported, "political parties should not be exempt from the disclosure requirement, particularly the Communist

Party."

The Democratic and Republican parties are particularly upset at any rulings that establish democratic rights for working-class parties. Senator Robert Kasten, a Wisconsin Republican, has introduced a bill that would require the present law to "be applied to all persons, committees and organizations without regard to party size." Kasten's bill, which has 26 cosponsors, is explicitly aimed at negating the recent court rulings granting exemptions to the CP and the SWP.

The U.S. Supreme Court, which has not yet passed judgment on lower-court decisions declaring the law unconstitutional as applied to the SWP and the CP, will rule next year on the issue in a case involving an SWP challenge to an Ohio disclosure law.

The SWP has refused to turn over the names of any contributors since the law was enacted in 1974. Its campaign committees have instead submitted reports to the Federal Election Commission (FEC) with names and addresses of contributors blanked out.

In addition to this noncompliance the SWP, aided by the American Civil Liberties Union, went into courts around the country to challenge the constitutionality of the federal law and state laws modeled on it.

The ACLU and the SWP finally forced

the FEC to agree to exempt the party's campaign committees from the disclosure requirements. Under the terms of a consent decree, the party withholds the names of contributors, although it must keep records of them. The exemption lasts until 1984, when the SWP must seek to have it renewed.

The Communist Party took a different tack. The CP campaign committee simply reported many contributions as "anonymous," listing the names only of those who explicitly agreed to have them disclosed. When the FEC took them to court to enforce compliance, the party asserted that the First Amendment protects the anonymity of donors.

Last September, a federal district court judge in Manhattan upheld the CP legal stand, and dismissed the complaint by the FEC.

The CP has been able to force the government to admit that the FBI is currently engaged in an "active investigation" of the party. Citing the record of the FBI's operations against the CP, the district judge held that "severe abridgment of associational rights is likely to follow from the compulsory disclosure of supporters of Communist Party candidates."

In a finding that went beyond what the SWP has so far been able to win, the judge also ruled that the CP need not even keep records of the names of contributors. The judge concluded that "it is surely reasonable . . . for potential contributors to the Party to expect that the FBI would discover their identity through the use of informants or other investigative techniques, if their names were recorded in records maintained by the Committee."

The May 6 court of appeals ruling upheld the lower court in all respects. In a strongly worded decision, the three judges stated: "The power of a government to repress dissent is substantial and can be exercised in a myriad of subtle ways. Privacy is an essential element of the right of association and the ability to express dissent effectively. As a result, removing the cloak of anonymity from a political committee . . . threatens important First Amendment values."

The court based its decision largely on a line of cases won by civil rights forces against efforts by state officials to compel them to register the names of their members. In the landmark 1958 case, *NAACP vs. Alabama*, the Supreme Court said that the First Amendment prohibited the attorney general of Alabama from requiring the NAACP to give him its membership lists.

The appeals court ruled that the principle of privacy of association established by the NAACP must also apply to minority political parties. The judges stressed the "importance of fostering the existence of minority political parties." They observed that "a nation dedicated to free thought and free expression cannot ignore the grave results of [restrictive] election requirements."

The court of appeals concluded its opinion with harsh words for the FEC and its vindictive persecution of the Communist Party campaign committee:

"For the FEC to pursue so vigorously its demand for the names and addresses of the contributors to the Committee in the face of the clear chilling effect this activity will inevitably have is to exhibit an appalling disregard for the needs of the free and open political process safeguarded by the First Amendment."

The Communist Party campaign committee was represented by Attorney John Abt. Friend-of-the-court briefs were filed in support of the CP position by the New York Civil Liberties Union, and by Victor Rabinowitz for the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The FEC said it would study the opinion before deciding whether to seek review by the Supreme Court.

## Erased tape spurs protest in Mason fight

BY JANICE LYNN

SEASIDE, Calif. — At a May 7 news conference, Mel Mason, socialist city councilman, released a letter urging the Monterey Peninsula College Board of Trustees to reverse its April 14 decision to deny him a leave of absence to run for governor of California.

Mason, who is student activities director at MPC, is running an independent campaign for the governorship.

The next MPC board meeting is scheduled for May 12.

On April 29, Mason filed suit against the MPC Board of Trustees, charging the board with trying to prevent him from exercising his constitutional right to run for office. The suit was filed in the Superior Court of California in Salinas. The hearing date is set for May 21.

Mason charges the board of trustees denied the leave for political reasons. The board stated it would not grant the leave because it did not want to create a precedent. The board claimed leaves had only been granted for job-related, maternity, child-rearing, or health-related reasons.

After the leave was denied, the Mason campaign committee learned that Peggy Stember, an employee of the college, had been granted a leave to go sailing in the Pacific for the entire 1982 spring semester. Leave was granted at an October 21, 1981, meeting of the board.

The day after Mason's suit was filed, it was discovered that the tape of the October 21 meeting had been erased.

David Prince of the Mason campaign committee blasted this destruction of evidence: "This is an attempt to cover up the fact that Mason's leave was denied for political reasons."

The *Seaside Marina Tribune* ran an editorial in its May 6 issue entitled "Tape Erasure Clouds Mason/MPC Issue." The editorial noted, "It strikes us as a little more than ironical that the tape should have been erased at all."

"The college was fully aware of the importance of the tape in question," the editorial added. "If indeed the former employee was granted a leave for purely medical reasons, as alleged by board members, then the tape would have solidified their position and Mason's lawsuit wouldn't have a leg to stand on."

"On the other hand, if the tape did corroborate Mason's contention, and a

precedent had been set by allowing a leave for less than established reasons, then the board should have owned up to its responsibilities and granted him a leave."

Mason has received a letter from MPC President Max Tadlock, disassociating himself from the destruction of the tape. Tadlock also wrote, "I am prepared to stipulate that I stated to the board that Ms. Stember was requesting a leave for personal reasons, that she had an opportunity for an extensive sea voyage, and that I recommended that she be granted the leave."

In preparation for the court hearing, Robin Maisel, Mason's attorney, will be investigating who gave the order to destroy the tape. Maisel will also be inves-

tigating whether the Democratic and Republican parties were involved in the decision to deny the leave.

"Were any government agencies," David Prince asked, "such as the FBI, in contact with MPC about Mason's political activities? This takes on special importance, given the harassment of Mason by federal government agents in Detroit."

Anthony Carter, speaking on behalf of Youth for Mel Mason, told reporters: "Mel should be granted a leave because of all he has done for the community."

Chuck Darnell, California School Employees Association (CSEA) field representative, told the *Seaside Marina Tribune*, "The man is entitled to a leave of absence." Mason is a member of the CSEA.

## Attempted drug frame-up of Mason

Continued from Page 1

co, and Firearms or the Federal Bureau of Investigation — in surveillance of other independent Black or worker candidates for office?

"How did the police know I had called the SWP office in Detroit?" Government spying and harassment of the SWP, he noted, was supposedly ended by court order in 1976.

He continued: "Why was I singled out of 70 or more people on the plane and 10 or 20 Blacks — four with beards and about my stature — about a 'big shipment of drugs' from California?"

Mason was particularly outraged about the attempted frame-up on drugs: "They know I don't use drugs. They know I belong to two organizations, the NBIPP and the SWP, which have strict policies against using or even being around illegal drugs."

"Drugs weren't why they singled me out," Mason said. "They did it because of my politics; because I'm a Black activist and an elected official who's fighting the cutbacks in Seaside. It's because I'm a socialist and a workers candidate."

"We demand to see the files on me and my campaign from all the police agencies involved."

Mason also cited other recent attempts to intimidate his campaign supporters: the denial of his request for leave from Monterey Peninsula College

(MPC); harassment of his supporters by Seaside cops; break-ins of supporters' cars near campaign offices in Los Angeles; and a break-in of offices in Oakland.

In Seaside, two Mason supporters, Lynda Joyce and Larry Flint, were stopped by police and asked for ID cards as they left the new campaign office May 5.

Mason noted that friends and supporters of Thomas Bradley are among the top officials at MPC, and in Oakland, Detroit, and Los Angeles, where Bradley himself is mayor.

"This raises the question, what is the Democratic Party's role in attempts to disrupt my campaign?" Mason said.

Powerful forces, Mason went on, "are trying to stop my campaign. We are attracting support for our program, which is in the interests of workers and farmers and against those of the ruling rich and their two parties, the Democrats and Republicans."

"There is a broad coalition growing around this campaign."

"We just collected more than 22,000 of the 113,000 signatures we need from around the state to put my name on the November ballot."

"That's what this intimidation is all about. That's what they're trying to stop. That's what they're afraid of. "But it won't stop us."

# Outcry over Houston immigration raids



Militant/Miguel Pendas

BY LUIS CHÁVEZ

HOUSTON — "It's like what happens to people in El Salvador or Guatemala — paramilitary organizations rounding up people then shipping them off to isolated camps."

That was how Luis Wilmot, executive director for the Houston Center for Immigrants, described the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) massive sweeps and summary deportations of undocumented workers in this city, part of the so-called Project Jobs.

Day after day, from April 26 to April 30, INS agents reinforced by border patrol cops hit Houston area factories and businesses in a series of lightning raids, arresting over 1,000 workers, mostly Mexicans but also Salvadorans, Hondurans, and Guatemalans. About 550

workers are usually arrested by the INS in Houston each month in "routine" raids.

More than 200 workers were picked up on the first day of the raids, 135 of them at Trees Inc., a business that trims trees for utility companies. According to a company vice-president, wages at Trees Inc. for these workers were \$4.00-\$4.50 an hour. This contradicts INS spokesman Vernon Jervis, who stated, "We're not looking specifically for numbers, we're looking for illegal aliens at high-paying jobs."

In the course of the week, the largest raids hit workers at Krest Mark Industries, which produces aluminum window frames, where 55 were arrested; Earl Cambell Construction Co., where 59 were arrested; the Exxon Baytown Refinery, where over 70 workers employed by an outside contractor were arrested; the Aztec Manufacturing Co., a galvanizing and tubing company, where 79 workers were picked up; and Mid-West American Steel Co., where 108 workers were arrested.

## Deportations protested in Bay Area

BY MARILEE TAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO — On May 5, a picket line was held at the Immigration and Naturalization Service building here to protest the recent deportation raids on Mexican and Latin American workers.

The picket was called by the Coalición en Apoyo de los Indocumentados (Coalition in Support of the Undocumented).

Many speakers at the picket line al-

luded to the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill in Congress, which if passed would limit the legal standing of many undocumented workers, deprive many of them of public benefits, and establish a national ID card for workers. It would also put pressure on union hiring halls to discriminate against the undocumented, and other Latino workers, thus weakening the union movement as a whole.

Pedro Vásquez of the Héctor Marro-

quín Defense Committee also spoke.

The spirit of the pickets was high as they chanted, "Stop the deportations!" "Raza sí, migra no!" "Somos un pueblo sin fronteras!" (We are a people without borders), and other slogans.

One of the participants in the picket, Edmundo Anchondo, vice-president of the Far West chapter of the League of United Latin American Citizens, had this to say: "We are supposed to be progressing. We're not. Now the INS is investigating those who ask for bilingual ballots. My next question is, Are they going to light up the ovens?"

Another participant, Francisca Capolungo, summed it up well when she said: "This is an injustice! The United States says it is for justice for all. This is no justice. The U.S. is using people for scapegoats."

Referring to the Chicano community, Capolungo pointed out: "Raza creates. Raza works hard. The U.S. has the wrong priorities. They want to divide people, but it won't work. People will wake up. Today it is Raza, tomorrow it will be other minorities."

"The U.S. government's priorities are nuclear power and war. They should use the money for education and jobs instead. When they attack us like this, they unite us."

A statement by Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, was circulated by supporters of his campaign. Mason called for an immediate end to the deportations and for full rights for the undocumented, including access to health and other social services, schools, and decent jobs. Mason's statement was well received by the pickets.

## INS cops arrest Marroquín

Continued from Page 1

est Gustafson, and quickly vacated the premises, allowing Marroquín to go free.

Under questioning by Winter, Gustafson explained the reasons for Marroquín's arrest. Gustafson said he was very upset because Marroquín denounced the INS on a popular radio show.

Under further questioning, Gustafson claimed that as a result of an appearance by Marroquín on the Michael Dixon show Gustafson had received phone calls from "the irate public." These calls supposedly complained that Marroquín had boasted that he was in this country "illegally" and demanded that the INS apprehend Marroquín.

Gustafson then claimed that he didn't know who Marroquín was.

The INS knows very well who Marroquín is.

During the trip to the apartment, Marroquín reported that he overheard a report in the car radio pointing out that "Marroquín's case is on appeal."

On the night previous to his arrest, Marroquín had appeared on the Michael Dixon show, the show cited by the INS where he was supposed to have made his "boast." On that program, Marroquín explained exactly who he was and what his fight to obtain political asylum was all about. He also blasted the INS, "Project Jobs," and the deportation of thousands of undocumented workers.

Marroquín related his case to that of Hamid Sodeifi, an Iranian student and a member of the SWP and the YSA in Phoenix.

It was Phoenix INS chief Gustafson who revoked Sodeifi's visa because of Sodeifi's political beliefs.

After further questioning, Gustafson admitted that he had phoned the INS in Newark, New Jersey, where Marroquín lives, in order to find out more information about Marroquín.

No doubt another reason Gustafson is upset is the big success of Marroquín's tour in the Phoenix area. Instead of an "irate public," people were calling in and visiting radio stations where Marroquín had spoken in order to meet and talk with him.

During the tour, Marroquín was able to spend a day talking about his case with laid-off copper miners in the towns

of Hayden and Grove, where he was well received.

Many people liked what Marroquín had to say on Spanish-language radio station KPHX, and they drove by the station to say so.

In addition, Michael Dixon interrupted his prescheduled regular program to invite Marroquín to come back and explain what the INS had done to him.

The tour would up with a spirited rally at the Wesley Community Center, which more than 40 people attended. Over \$450 was raised for PRDF.

Marroquín explained the real reason the U.S. government wants him deported. "The reason they want to deport me is because of my political ideas, my political activism in the United States. But I want to stay here because of the social injustice and the exploitation that exist and have yet to be abolished. This is a country where war and deportations still exist."

"The government of this country has a war against the standard of living and the democratic rights of working people in the country, and a war in Central America against the Central American revolution. This is already another Vietnam," Marroquín said.

Several members of the Chicano Coalition for Justice, a local antirepression group, attended the rally. They invited Marroquín to speak at their meeting May 13. The coalition is planning a demonstration against "Project Jobs" and against deportations.

The sympathetic response that Marroquín has received in Phoenix, in addition to the opposition nationwide to the INS raids, is proof positive that working people can be counted on to support the rights of the undocumented worker.

INS harassment of Marroquín, and other acts of harassment and intimidation, will only strengthen the resolve of antideportation activists to fight against *la migra*.

All those who are outraged by this INS action are urged to send telegrams protesting this harassment and demanding that Marroquín be given political asylum to Alan Nelson, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies should be sent to the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, c/o PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

### MY STORY

By Héctor Marroquín



**The Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.**

16 pages, \$50. \$35 each on orders of ten or more. Order from PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

### 'Climate of mass hysteria'

The two major dailies in this city, the *Houston Post* and the *Houston Chronicle*, accompanied the raids with screaming headlines about the massive "nabbing" of "illegal aliens" aimed at "opening jobs to U.S. citizens." This underlines what was pointed out by Tony Bonilla, executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens. Bonilla was quoted by the *Post* as saying that the INS "is creating a climate of mass hysteria against the undocumented."

In the midst of the raids, leaders of several Latino, labor, and civil rights organizations denounced the operation as undemocratic in its methods, inhumane, and designed by the Reagan administration as a "smokescreen" to place blame for the current U.S. economic crisis on undocumented workers.

At a press conference on April 29, Stefan Presser of the American Civil Liberties Union noted the serious threats that the raids represent to the democratic rights of all Americans. "This is the Reagan administration's way of preparing us for citizenship requirements of documentation," he declared.

"They are taking people out of the factories who cannot prove citizenship, and at the present time there is no legal requirement for an individual in this country to prove citizenship."

"This," said Presser, "is an attempt to move toward a police state."

"It's this kind of scapegoating," he added, "that in the 1920s in the Palmer raids, swept up 'aliens' that were ideologically unacceptable to us." He pointed out that "as a result it became unacceptable to think outside of the 'Republican or Democratic' scheme." This, he said, is what is being attempted today.

Rumaldo Castillo, president of the Houston chapter of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, AFL-CIO, denounced the inhumane character of the raids.

### Disrupts organizing drive

José Medina of the La Raza Legal Alliance said that the INS raids were an attempt "to pit the U.S. worker against the immigrant worker," and demanded "that this type of activity cease immediately, that the rights of people and the dignity of human beings be respected."

Medina also related the raids to a current AFL-CIO organizing drive that, he said, "here in Houston to a large degree includes a lot of undocumented workers." The organizing drive, he said, has had some success, but "undoubtedly the raids will have an impact," particularly with the press and government spokespeople declaring they are creating jobs for U.S. workers.

"They are definitely pitting worker against worker in a situation that will make it harder for the Houston organizing project to work," he reiterated.



# Interview with Colorado GI: antiwar mood reaches deep into U.S. armed forces

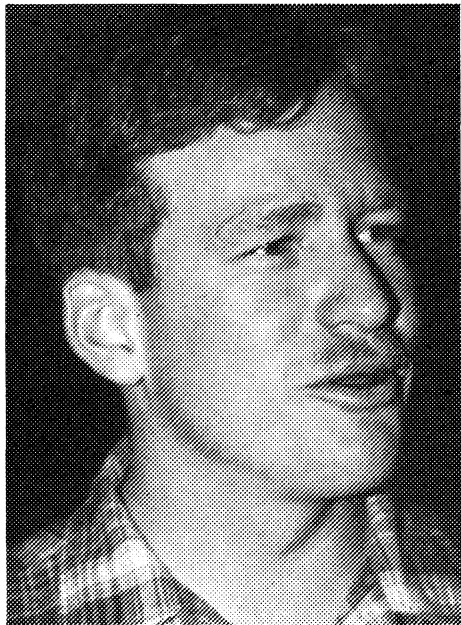
BY PAT SILVERTHORN

DENVER — Despite growing opposition, the Reagan administration continues dead on its course of war against the people of Central America and the Caribbean.

However, in order to wage this war it has to convince young workers in this country that those fighting for freedom in countries like El Salvador are the enemy.

Reagan hasn't done a very good job of this.

Figures on compliance with registra-



Robert Cuthbert, discharged from Army for opposition to U.S. war in El Salvador

tion for the draft show that, despite the threat of a \$10,000 fine and up to five years imprisonment, nearly 1 million draft-age youth have refused to register.

The profound antiwar sentiment that this reflects reaches right into the heart of the U.S. Army itself. Many young people currently in the army joined not with the idea that they'd be shipped off overseas to fight a war, but to learn a skill, see the world, or escape unemployment.

Robert Cuthbert, a 25-year-old former private first-class at Fort Carson, Colorado, was one such soldier. On April 30, he was given a general discharge from the Army, which had threatened to court-martial him.

Cuthbert's "crime" was participating in uniform in an antiwar demonstration March 21. When antiwar activists came to Cuthbert's defense, the Army backed down from the court-martial threat and discharged him.

When he joined the Army at age 23, it wasn't with the intention of ending up in El Salvador. "I was out of a job," Cuthbert pointed out in a recent interview with the *Militant*. "I wanted to see another part of the society. I think the real basic reason was that I needed to learn something . . . ."

"My motivations were basically practical, though: a job, work, go to Europe."

## Never got there

However, Cuthbert never got to Europe.

Cuthbert had been quite active politically before he decided to join the Army.

At age 18, he had helped the United Farm Workers in their struggle. He was an antinuclear activist in Santa Barbara, with a group called Santa Barbarans for Safe Energy and Full Employment, and active in other causes.

As a result, for most of the two years that Cuthbert served in the Army, he was under investigation.

"Because of my past political experience, I was pending investigation for 14 months at the same place where I had received my basic training," Cuthbert explained. "Up until last November, I was pending this investigation to find out whether I was a good guy or a bad guy. Apparently, they found out I was a good guy, because they gave me a secret clearance, which was later taken away from me."

This coincided with the March 21 demonstration in which Cuthbert participated.

Explaining why he had gone to the demonstration, Cuthbert pointed out: "It was a very hard choice for me to make. I'd been aware of what had been going on in El Salvador — American intervention and so forth — and in all of Central America."

"But, especially in the last several months, it's obvious that the American administration is trying to prepare not only the military but the American public for an eventual military intervention in El Salvador, very much like what we saw in Vietnam, perhaps on a smaller scale."

Cuthbert said it's also obvious that "the United States is supporting a mi-

nority, elitist government in El Salvador — one that wouldn't exist if it wasn't for U.S. military intervention."

Relating the U.S. war moves in El Salvador to U.S. attacks on Nicaragua, Cuthbert said: "The Reagan administration comes out and says the Nicaraguans are building up the largest military force in all of Central America. Well, of course they are. If we invaded them tomorrow it wouldn't be the first time in this century that we did it."

"The press says the Nicaraguans are paranoid. I can't blame them for being paranoid. That's the whole problem with American foreign policy."

"We're creating these antagonisms with countries and they have no choice but to build up militarily, and they'll go to anyone they have to. Because what's at stake is their survival as a nation, to maintain their self-determination. They're doing the most appropriate thing they can."

During the tail end of the Vietnam War, Cuthbert recalls that he signed up for the draft. He was quick to point out that he's a lot more aware now than he was then.

While Cuthbert felt that a draft during wartime might be necessary in the United States, he also asserted: "The draft during Vietnam, of course, I cannot agree with because it was an unjust, unfounded war. I think all I could really say is that unless there's a great injustice being committed somewhere in the world, or our nation is actually being invaded, there's absolutely no necessity for a draft."

"And the government has no right to draft people unless the circumstances warrant it: a severe situation; certainly not anything like Vietnam, Korea, or potentially what's going to happen in El Salvador."

## Mood among soldiers

According to Cuthbert, he is not the only one who feels this way among the soldiers on his base.

When asked what was the reaction of fellow soldiers to his joining an antiwar march, Cuthbert pointed out:

"I've been in the military for almost two years now, and I didn't expect the positive reaction that I've gotten. I've talked to hundreds of people. I've talked to NCOs and officers, and I'm basically getting a favorable response."

"The response I've gotten from military people as individuals is really surprising to me. It's a lot more positive. I really thought that I would be standing alone, out in the cold. But that's not true. There's a very strong concern, especially among the younger people in the military, about what's happening in El Salvador."

"You see, people in the military are the ones who are actually going to go there and fight. So, practically speaking, they think about it. It's a direct concern of theirs."

"I think you'll find that if you just go up to most military people, and if you could get an honest answer from them, they'd tell you just about what I've been telling you."

Cuthbert thanked the many antiwar activists who came to his aid when the brass threatened him with court-martial. "I know I wouldn't be free today — I would have gone to prison — were it not for the efforts of people in the antiwar movement."

# Feminist opposes U.S. intervention

The following is an interview with Beth Wood, a member of the Coalition for Human Rights in Latin America and a staff member of the Resource Center, which produces educational materials on Central America. A longtime activist in the women's liberation movement, Wood attended the Continental Meeting of Women for National Independence and Peace, held in Nicaragua March 24-26. The interview was conducted by *Militant* correspondent Bobbi Spiegler in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

**Question.** Who participated in the conference in Nicaragua?

**Answer.** There were women from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador at the conference. A delegation of women from Grenada brought a tremendous spirit and unadulterated support of the Sandinista revolution, and that was a very exciting part of the conference. I heard over 300 women attended, representing 67 countries, including Vietnam, Cuba, France, Spain, and Denmark.

**Q.** What were some of the issues discussed at the conference?

**A.** The basic issue discussed was that the entire region is being destabilized and is under threat of invasion. The whole tenor of the conference was that of defense.

The idea that women had contributed an amazing amount to the Nicaraguan revolution and other revolutions in numerous ways was detailed many times, as was the fact that now more than ever women's input is needed in supporting the revolution.

**Q.** What role do women play in the revolution in Nicaragua?

**A.** There are a lot of women in government positions. I don't think that in any country in the whole world that would ever happen in almost three years' time.

I feel that to see the progress they've made is amazing.

AMNLAE [Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women] was able in a very short time to get laws passed that support women's rights. The prohibition of sexist advertising is an example. Another law passed dealt with paternity. While there is not a high percentage of marriages in Nicaragua, there are a lot of children. The law provides that fathers have to pay mothers of their children child support. This is very progressive compared to many countries.

In education, AMNLAE participated on a massive scale in the National Literacy Crusade, where 60 percent of the teachers and 57 percent of the students were women. The army is 30 percent women. If you cut out that 30 percent where would the country be?

A colleague of mine met a woman from Nicaragua who is, I'd say, 60-65

years old. She is in a typical situation confronting many women in Central America. She spends a great deal of time raising children, her whole family lives in her house or complex, and this woman works all day. At night she attends her local Sandinista Defense Committee meeting.

She has a lot to say, a lot to do, and she realizes that she's a part of the revolution. I think that's a real good example of women's changing role in Nicaragua.

**Q.** What can women do in the United States to support the revolution in Nicaragua?

**A.** There has to be a recognition from the feminist movement that we live in an imperialist country. We cannot forget we are living in a country that exploits other countries. We need to get out and talk to women's groups and try to talk to as many feminists as we know.

The feminist movement is making strides toward a more international attitude. They are talking more about class issues and third world issues — more than they ever did before.

My feeling is that there is a lot of potential to talk more about Central America and the United States' role there, and how we as citizens of this country and as women have to hook up with the women in Central America.

Education is the biggest task. So far, in the little work I've done, I've seen a real good response. I think women are aware of the imperialism of the United States, and when given information about other women in other countries fighting back it's an inspiration.

In both Nicaragua and El Salvador, people say that the most important thing we can do is turn the people of the United States around so that they are aware of what the government is doing so they can respond. It happened in Vietnam. The American people helped end that war, and we have the power to get the United States out of Central America.

## As Reviewed by NACLA Nicaragua: An Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg,  
48 pp., \$95

"This brief pamphlet fulfills the promise of its name by placing the Sandinistas' struggle in an historical context, outlining problems the new power holders have, praising the revolution's accomplishments and candidly discussing the pitfalls and challenges of the Nicaraguan model."

— North American Congress  
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## INS raids spark protests

Outrage at the government dragnet of undocumented workers conducted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is growing.

In Dallas, more than 1,000 people marched and rallied in a protest sponsored by LULAC, Tejas Justice Association, GI Forum, and the Brown Berets on May 8. Supporters of SWP candidate for U.S. Congress Lee Oleson sold 32 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and 10 *Militants* to the crowd.

Sixty signatures were gathered on petitions to place Oleson on the ballot, and campaigners distributed 500 copies of a leaflet announcing a forum on the INS attacks. The forum took place that night and drew 30 people.

In Seattle, 200 people participated in a protest on May 8 organized by the Salvadoran Refugee Committee and supported by International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 37, a cannery workers section composed mostly of Filipino workers. Socialists sold 25 *Militants* and 6 *PMs* at the action.

Ike Nahem, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois, reports "an overwhelming response" to *Perspectiva Mundial* at an action of 200 people, mostly Latino, in Chicago on May 1. Nahem sold 13 copies of *PM* to the crowd, which he described as "antiwar as well as antideportation."

Miami socialists sold 50 pa-

pers at a May Day demonstration of 300 in support of Haitian refugees that took place at the Krome Detention Camp.

## Anti-Reagan protest

More than 700 people demonstrated against Reagan's economic policies in Chicago on May 10, in an action sponsored by the Coalition Against Reagan Economics. Socialists from Chicago and Gary sold 62 *Militants* and *PMs* to the crowd.

## Growing concern over Malvinas

Houston socialists report growing interest in learning the truth about the British-U.S. war against Argentina, especially in the Chicano and Latino community. Forty copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold at a *Cinco de Mayo* fair. One salesperson reports that "the Latino community and media are outraged that the U.S. has sided with Anglo power."

Socialists in Phoenix found similar interest at plant gates and mine portals. A team of supporters of SWP candidate for U.S. Senate Rob Roper sold 11 *Militants* and 3 *PMs* at a copper mine in Hayden, Arizona. Sixteen *Militants* and one *PM* were sold at an electronics plant in Phoenix, and seven *PMs* were bought by workers at a furniture factory.

At the national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), held in Los Angeles over the weekend of May 1, 30 copies of the *Militant* were sold, along with \$50 worth of socialist books and pamphlets.

One CLUW participant who bought a *Militant* said, "You can't tell me it [the Malvinas] belongs to the British if it takes them three weeks to get there."

## Soap-boxing for socialism

In the early part of this century, socialists and labor organizers got out their ideas by speaking from street-corner platforms.

Manhattan socialists set out with a bullhorn on Saturday, May 8, to 116th Street and Lexington Avenue, a Spanish-speaking section of Harlem, and held a campaign street rally. While socialist candidates spoke, campaign supporters sold 80 papers, including 30 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, 39 *Militants*, and 11 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

"War was the big thing on people's minds," explained Dick McBride, New York Socialist Workers campaign director. Eight people signed up for more information on the socialist campaign.

New York socialists plan to take their campaign back to the streets of Harlem, at 125th Street and Lenox, this Saturday.

— SANDI SHERMAN

## SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue # 17, PM issue# 8)				
Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Wash., D.C.	70/126	20/24	90/150	167
Houston	50/39	10/50	60/89	148
Baltimore	110/139	0/11	110/150	136
Phoenix	90/117	45/52	135/169	125
Salt Lake City	90/101	5/6	95/107	113
Newark	120/132	20/18	140/150	107
Iron Range	50/52	0/0	50/52	104
Birmingham	90/90	0/0	90/90	100
Piedmont	85/85	0/0	85/85	100
Portland	70/68	0/2	70/70	100
Tucson	30/25	20/24	50/49	98
Manhattan	75/67	25/24	100/91	91
Dallas*	25/9	15/26	40/35	88
Lincoln	40/35	0/0	40/35	88
Twin Cities	135/120	5/0	140/120	86
New Orleans	85/71	0/1	85/72	85
San Antonio	70/63	20/12	90/75	83
Cincinnati	70/58	0/0	70/58	83
Price	45/38	5/3	50/41	82
Gary	75/65	5/0	80/65	81
Toledo	50/38	0/1	50/39	78
Seattle	80/61	3/0	83/61	73
Cleveland	53/33	7/2	60/35	58
Brooklyn	140/50	30/40	170/90	53
Indianapolis	75/39	0/0	75/39	52
Kansas City	105/53	5/0	110/53	48
Albuquerque	65/32	15/6	80/38	48
San Jose*	60/31	20/6	80/37	46
Charleston	50/22	0/0	50/22	44
San Francisco*	100/43	20/7	120/50	42
St. Louis	90/36	0/0	90/36	40
San Diego*	50/22	15/2	65/24	37
Denver	80/25	5/1	85/26	31
Louisville	80/20	0/0	80/20	25
Morgantown*	90/20	0/0	90/20	22
Detroit	115/23	5/0	120/23	19
Tidewater*	70/13	0/0	70/13	19
Philadelphia*	140/27	15/0	155/27	17
Harrisburg*	50/5	0/0	50/5	10
Boston*	140/12	10/0	150/12	8
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>3,973/2,105</b>	<b>410/318</b>	<b>4,383/2,423</b>	<b>55</b>

Areas not reporting: Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles\*, Miami, Milwaukee, Oakland\*, Pittsburgh\*, Schenectady

\*Petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

# Socialists launch N.Y. ticket in Albany



Militant/Larry Lane

**Socialist gubernatorial candidate Diane Wang talks to press in Albany.**

BY RICHARD CAHALANE

ALBANY — Supporters gathered here April 24 to launch the Socialist Workers campaigns of Patricia Mayberry for U.S. Congress in the 28th District, Diane Wang for governor, Peter Thierjung for lieutenant governor, and Steve Wattenmaker for U.S. Senate.

The rally attracted railworkers, participants in the recent strike against General Electric in Schenectady, activists in the antiwar and anti-apartheid movements, and leaders of the NAACP and National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

The banner dominating the room declared: "Jobs not war" and "Workers should run the government."

Patricia Mayberry, who is running against Democratic Congressman Sam Stratton, spoke about the electrical workers strike.

"The labor movement needs to take the power that we saw on the streets during that three-day strike and turn it into a political fightback. That means organizing a labor party to fight in our interests and to form a government of workers and farmers that puts human needs before profits."

Diane Wang reviewed the U.S. war drive against Central America and the Caribbean, pointing out that the war isn't confined to there.

"Now we have Britain planning its version of *The Empire Strikes Back*. Suddenly the newspapers are full of stories about German Nazis who fled to Argentina after World War II and the brutality of the Argentine military junta. But where were the stories when the junta was attacking its own workers and opposition leaders?"

"The issue is not British 'democracy' versus Argentine 'totalitarianism.' The United States is simply backing Britain's right to use force against a semi-colonial country."

Wang also condemned the continuing U.S. attacks against Vietnam and Kampuchea, and the recent Israeli bombing of Beirut.

She noted the town hall meetings and state referenda urging a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons. She explained the SWP's opposition to the bilateral freeze proposal, branding it a gimmick to divert attention from the U.S. government's responsibility for war and to portray prowar Democratic and Republican politicians as "peace candidates."

Wang said that working people could solve the problems of war and economic recession with a truly democratic government. "What to do about unemployment? Legislate a 30-hour workweek with no pay cut and launch a crash program to build schools, hospitals and housing. Where to fund Medicaid and schools and everything else we need?"

Take over the \$1.6 trillion Reagan proposes to spend on war over the next few years.

"The fact is, you or I — all working people together — could run this state and country better than the Democrats and Republicans. It's not a question of expertise and experience, but of knowing whose interests come first. That kind of government — a government of workers and farmers — would be truly democratic."

Odell Winfield, cochair of the Albany NBIPP, spoke about Black students' response to a racist attack at the State University of Albany, and about the 1982 elections.

"I want to talk about electoral politics and the NBIPP," Winfield said. "The two-party system is based on capitalism and capitalism is based on slavery. The two-party system is there to protect capitalism. NBIPP can't endorse candidates, but we can say that the SWP platform is progressive. Jobs, not war — Black youth understand that and agree!"

## Mason: 'Open books of water company'

BY LYNDIA JOYCE

SEASIDE, Calif. — If you use less water, you pay more. That's what concerned citizens of Monterey Peninsula learned while attending a water rate-hike hearing April 22.

A vice-president of the California-American Water Co. told the audience that working people have to pay 62% more for water in order to offset an increase in California-American's federal income taxes, so the company can get a better return on their investment and obtain an improved rate of return for their stockholders. Businesses, industry, and golf courses will pay a much smaller increase because they use more water.

"Black youth often have no other option but to enlist, even as their antiwar consciousness is on the rise. So we wholeheartedly endorse this platform tonight."

Frank Fitzgerald, professor at the College of Saint Rose and cofounder of the Committee for a Dialogue with the Cuban People, outlined the war moves against Cuba and El Salvador. "The U.S. is seeking to increase both its conventional and nuclear capabilities in order to neutralize the Soviet Union and facilitate intervention in the Third World," Fitzgerald charged.

"The choice before us is obvious: socialism or Stratton; socialism or barbarism. I endorse Pat Mayberry's campaign because she is the only socialist opposing Stratton and because we need a mass socialist party in the U.S."

Vera Michelson, a leader of the Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism, also brought greetings to the rally.

The rally was chaired by Peter Thierjung.

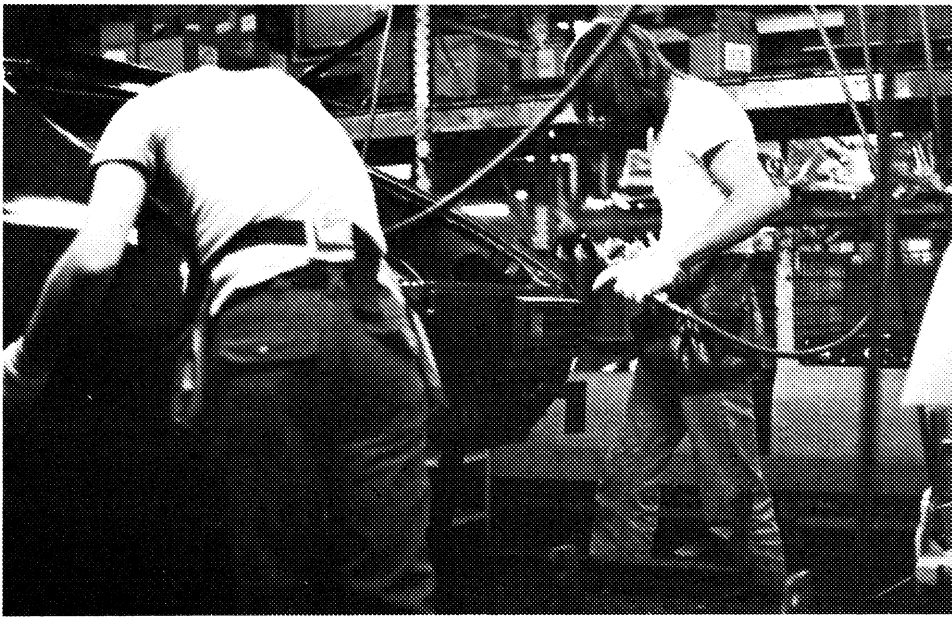
Independent candidate for governor of California Mel Mason was at the meeting and answered the company's spokesman:

"This rate increase does not take into account the economic situation in this country and how it affects working people. We're talking about a basic need — water — and you're complaining that the company does not make enough profit."

"Working people need to see the Cal-Am books to learn how they're being ripped off. These utilities ought to be nationalized and put under workers control."



# Does protectionism save steel, auto jobs?



The following article is from the April 26 *Socialist Voice*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada.

BY DAN GRANT  
AND ROBERT SIMMS

HAMILTON, Ontario — Stelco, Canada's largest steel producer, has joined with the auto makers in a campaign to convince workers that the present crisis in the auto industry and the resulting layoffs in auto and steel are due to an influx of Japanese cars.

Stelco has launched a \$500,000 advertising blitz to urge working people across Canada to "Choose North American" cars. At Stelco's Hilton Works in Hamilton, North American cars are displayed at the gates with catchy slogans pasted on the windows: "Wheels mean wages," and "These are the cars that drive Canada's economy."

United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Local 1005 at Stelco has endorsed the company effort. "Certainly no one was more surprised than I," says Local 1005 President Cec Taylor, "to learn that the company and the union are

both concerned about the health of the auto industry and looking in the same direction for solutions." Taylor would go even further; he is urging an all-Canadian car industry.

## 'Buy North American'

Is there really a solution to auto and steel layoffs in Stelco's flashy ad campaign to "Buy North American?"

The answer is no.

Stelco's "Buy North American" campaign falls under the heading of protectionist measures. It boils down to a call from Stelco for workers in Canada to boycott Japanese cars (and German and French ones too, although Japan is the main target).

Harsher protectionist measures could mean higher import duties and taxes to make Japanese car prices higher, thereby discouraging buyers. This, in turn, would allow North American car makers to hike their prices. More stringent import quotas could be imposed. The Canadian government is now demanding further "voluntary" import quotas from Japan.

Protectionism doesn't save jobs. If any of these measures begin to bite deeply

into Japanese auto sales here, they invite retaliation.

For example, suppose the "Buy North American" campaign results in a big sales decline of Japanese cars. Faced with an attack on vital interests, Japanese bosses are likely to demand that the Japanese government do something.

Japan could put big import duties on Canadian products, such as lumber and newsprint for which it is a big customer, to encourage Japanese buyers to find other suppliers who weren't pinching off Japanese exports.

Forest industry workers in British Columbia and Quebec would see their jobs disappear, and they would be unable to buy North American cars, or any cars for that matter. That is the grim logic of protectionism.

In the early 1930s, the onset of the Great Depression forced manufacturers to step up efforts to find buyers worldwide. To protect domestic markets, import quotas and duties were widely used. These grew rapidly into an all-out trade war, which made the Great Depression even worse.

## Your money or your job

With this "Buy North American" campaign, what Stelco is really telling us is that it's either our jobs or those of Japanese workers.

But what's good for G.M. and Stelco isn't good for us. And as it turns out, what's good for Japanese workers helps us.

For example, G.M. workers in the United States were bullied recently into accepting big wage concessions. G.M. gave them the story that U.S. autoworkers were paid \$16.85 per hour in wages and benefits in 1981; Canadian workers, \$12.52, and Japanese workers, \$7.76. We can't compete, said G.M. Accept lower wages or we close more plants. The Japanese workers had shown more "restraint" over the years, said G.M.

Japanese workers lived under years of brutal military dictatorship prior to and during World War II. They suffered

atomic bombings, and post-war U.S. occupation. Their unions were weakened. They couldn't win wages as high as ours. That's how they "showed restraint."

If Stelco's "Buy North American" drive succeeds, Japanese car sales will decline; Japanese auto companies will go to their auto unions and demand concessions; and those unions will be in a weaker position to fight them.

In turn, union defeats in Japan could egg on auto and steel bosses here to demand more and more concessions. And we are the losers.

Behind Stelco's "Buy North American" argument is the argument that workers have to protect the health of Stelco's balance sheet. And if the ad campaign doesn't work, then union wage concessions will be in order. That will be Stelco's line.

During our four-month strike last year, Stelco tried to argue that steelworkers had to look out for the company, that our wage demands would make them uncompetitive.

We recognized then that Stelco's aim was to drive down our wages and working conditions. Our interests were in bettering them.

Our interests can't be reconciled with the company's. Unfortunately, union support to Stelco's ads will weaken our arguments when Stelco comes looking for auto-style concessions. "You recognized company profitability as your concern in the ad campaign," Stelco will say.

## Racism used

The anti-Japanese imports campaign has gone so far as to promote racism and hatred for things Japanese. A TV ad shown in Barrie, Ontario, for a G.M. dealership shows two youngsters talking about how their fathers are out of work because of Japanese imports. Every time the word "imports" is used, a sequence comes on in which a Datsun or Toyota explodes into bits.

Because production under capitalism is in private hands, with no coordinated planning, economic chaos results. Periods of boom are followed by periods of bust, and the busts are growing ever deeper. The current recession and layoffs are worldwide. Cutthroat competition between companies and countries is on the order of the day.

The problem is not imports but the capitalist system itself. That's why we need to look for new *socialist* solutions.

## Discussion of solutions

Last October, the Canadian Conference of the United Steelworkers adopted some pretty far-reaching proposals to meet the crisis, proposals of a new type.

Lower interest rates, steelworkers said at that conference. A massive program of public works in housing, urban transit, and expansion of social services will create jobs, and therefore increase the demand for goods to put steelworkers and autoworkers back to work. Finance those programs with heavy corporate taxes. Use public ownership, starting with nationalizing the banks and oil giants, to help promote planned economic growth in the interests of workers rather than corporate profits, the conference voted.

These are good steelworker solutions. Stelco doesn't support a single one. In fact, like the rest of big business, it finances the Liberals and Tories, the employers' political parties, to make sure such a program is never implemented.

The USWA sees the need for political action, the need to put the New Democratic Party, a labor party based on the unions, into government and see that Ottawa implements policies like these.

It would be better for Local 1005 to put its heart and soul into the fight for these solutions rather than dead-end company protectionism.

Dan Grant works at Stelco's Hilton Works and is a member of USWA Local 1005. Robert Simms writes regularly for *Socialist Voice*.

# Ky. socialist rips ban on travel to Cuba

BY BOB HILL

LOUISVILLE — Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 3rd District in Kentucky, blasted the Reagan administration for banning travel to Cuba at a socialist campaign rally here April 17.

Reagan's travel ban "affected me directly," said Honts. The socialist was on a tour to Cuba that was delayed when

the U.S. Treasury Department shut down the main airline flying to the island.

The previous day, Honts, a Teamster pipefitter at the Jeffboat shipyard in Indiana, held a news conference protesting the travel ban to Cuba. Two people who heard what Honts had to say over a local radio station decided to come to the campaign rally to find out more about

Cuba and the socialist campaign. One was a worker at International Harvester in Louisville, and the other a laid-off pipefitter.

Also speaking at the campaign rally was Herman Dozier, field director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Dozier had been one of the main organizers of recent jobs demonstrations in Louisville that brought out close to 1,000 Black youth. The main demonstration was aimed at City Hall, run by Democratic officials.

Dozier pointed to the hypocrisy of government officials. "Thousands of people here in Louisville are without jobs, don't have lights, don't have gas, water, or food," he said. "Yet the government is spending \$6 billion to build some tanks, and Reagan goes to Barbados to have some fun, while we can't work here in Louisville!"

Beth Julien, a recently laid-off General Motors worker and the SWP senatorial candidate in Indiana, also spoke. "Working people need a party of our own, a labor party, that can lead the fight to form a workers and farmers government so we can effectively end the ravages of war, racism, and unemployment that the present system produces," she said.

Other speakers were Mattie Jones of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Steve Henry, an activist in the Louisville Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador who attended the March 27 anti-war demonstration in Washington D.C.; and Corbin Seavers, who gave greetings from the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) in Berea, Kentucky.

# Jobless in Flint sign SWP petition

BY JON OLMSTED

DETROIT — Residents of Flint, Michigan, where unemployment is officially at 26 percent, gave an enthusiastic response to Socialist Workers Party supporters in their recent petitioning drive to get the SWP ticket on the state ballot.

The city is dominated by General Motors and has been devastated by plant shutdowns.

On one Saturday, two socialist petitioners collected 400 signatures in only four hours in Flint. The *Flint Journal* interviewed SWP candidate for governor, Tim Craine.

The Michigan Socialist Workers campaign filed over 25,000 signatures May 3 to place the party on the ballot in November. This is well over the 18,000 required. It will mark the first time since 1976 that Michigan voters will have a chance to vote for the socialist alternative.

In March an SWP lawsuit overturned a Michigan law that forced third parties into a special primary, after which they could only get on the ballot if they received 4,000-5,000 votes.

At a press conference in Lansing, the

state capital, Elizabeth Ziers, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor and member of United Auto Workers Local 600, spoke of a new mood among Michigan workers:

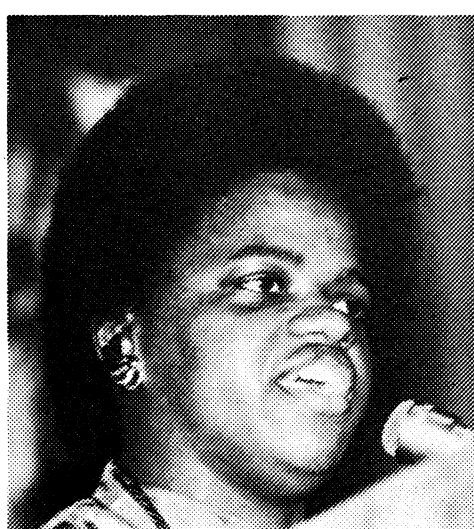
"Faced with a depression (700,000 unemployed), Michigan workers are looking for an alternative. Many signed our petitions to support our right to be on the ballot. Thousands signed because they agree with our proposal for 'Jobs, not Bombs.'"

A statement was read from Susan Apstein, a railworker and the SWP candidate for Congress. She was in Cuba during the news conference on a fact-finding tour. She denounced Reagan's new plan to bar U.S. citizens from traveling to Cuba.

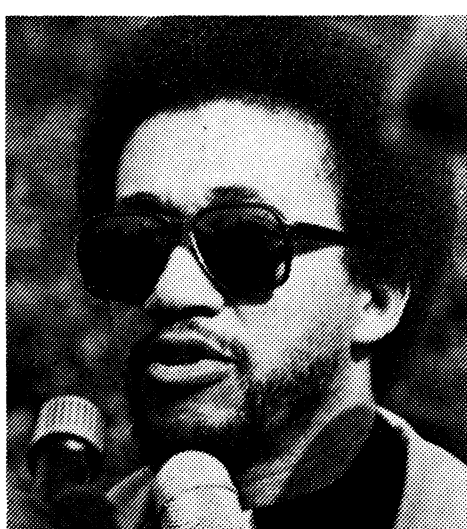
Campaign supporters gathered signatures in over 20 cities across the state.

During the drive, 75 people signed up for more information or to contribute time or money.

Elizabeth Ziers petitioned on her line at the giant Ford River Rouge complex. One night she started the board down the line, and every worker on her line signed.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Larry Lukeart



Militant/Stu Singer

From left: Barbara Arnwine, Rev. Ben Chavis, Mel Mason, Rev. Herbert Daughtry

# Black leaders discuss antiwar struggle

Continued from Page 20

"I fundamentally believe," Chavis said, "that the determining factor of whether June 12 will be a success will be the level of participation of Black people and other Third World people in the demonstration."

"If there are 500,000 white, middle-class people in the streets minimally concerned — out of fright — with whether or not there is going to be a nuclear holocaust, then I would say that the demonstration has failed."

"But," Chavis continued, "if the demonstration on June 12 — no matter the size — has a sizeable contingent of Black and other Third World people militantly raising the issue of no U.S. intervention in the Third World, raising the racist use of the nuclear arsenals of the imperialist powers, raising the issue that in the face of the nuclear threat we must do even more for the liberation movements to help them overcome that threat — then that demonstration will be a success."

"That is why, particularly in the New York area, we have, in the name of the NBIPP, been working actively with the Third World and Progressive Peoples' Coalition (TWPPC) to achieve that success."

## Southern Africa and Caribbean

"The NBIPP would take the stand that in the international arena our primary concern is the liberation of the Caribbean from imperialist threat, intimidation, exploitation, and domination," said Chavis.

"In speaking about the Caribbean, I'm talking about both the English-speaking and Latin-speaking nations. They are all interlinked. That's why the NBIPP took such a strong stance against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and participated in the March 27 protest in Washington."

"I hope and know," the NBIPP spokesman emphasized, "that at the June 12 action around the question of disarmament we will be raising the issue of the struggle in southern Africa. Keep in mind on this point — and this is something that has not been talked about — the racist, apartheid regime of South Africa has nuclear capability. But there is virtual silence about that in the so-called peace movement."

Regarding proposals for a bilateral nuclear freeze, Chavis said that it is "the primary responsibility of the so-called peace movement in this country to make the United States of America disarm its nuclear arsenal *unilaterally*. That's because the greatest threat to world peace is the USA. The U.S. government has already established its proclivity toward dropping the bomb."

"And the government will not take this step toward worldwide nuclear disarmament unless the American people make it. That's what June 12 should be about," Chavis said.

"Anything else is a diversion — like the Kennedy-Hatfield bilateral freeze proposal. To freeze nuclear weapons is not disarmament. A freeze will *maintain* the nuclear arsenal. And I'm saying that maintaining nuclear arms at their

present level poses not only the threat of nuclear holocaust, but it poses a threat as to whether the liberation movements can achieve liberation."

"I think," Chavis added, "that right now South Africa poses a nuclear threat to the African continent. Right now the U.S. — and its allies like those in NATO — pose a significant threat to liberation movements all over the world."

"Look at the whole attempt to destabilize the Caribbean. First in Jamaica, and now we have Reagan saying how Grenada must be stopped and Cuba must be stopped. What the U.S. has clearly said is that because it is a nuclear power, any nation that doesn't move in the U.S.'s interests is in danger of being annihilated or faces military repression, subversion, or U.S. intervention."

## Argentina

Chavis also spoke about the British-U.S. war against Argentina.

"One of the main reasons that the U.S. has sided with Britain in the war over the Malvinas Islands is that a war is in the interests of the U.S.," he said.

"The United States would like for Britain to take not only the Malvinas, but would like for Britain to take Argentina, would like for Britain to take South America. That's what is at stake. The hemisphere is at stake — not just a group of islands. And my view is that the imperialists can't be given even a single foothold in Latin America — or anywhere else for that matter."

"The June 12 demonstration," Chavis said, "should take up the issue of the struggle over the Malvinas Islands as well as the fight against the apartheid regime of South Africa. That is because the sooner we rid the world of the racist South African regime, the sooner we will have peace."

"As for the Malvinas," Chavis continued, "if the British are allowed to reestablish a beachhead in South America, it will serve as a launching pad for further imperialist interventions in South America. Just look at how the British used Ascension Island to launch its bombing raid of the Malvinas. That Vulcan bomber could just as easily have been flown to Angola."

"We must understand," Chavis said, "that peace — from a progressive perspective and certainly from an African perspective — means living a people's life in the absence of intimidation, in the absence of exploitation, in the absence of forceful intervention in a 'peaceful' situation."

"The reason why there is a violent conflict in the world today is because of imperialist greed, because of the desire of a small segment of the world's population to monopolize the majority of the world's human and material resources."

"There can be no peace in the world until there is a redistribution of the wealth of the world. There can be no peace in the world until oppressed peoples attain liberation and self-determination."

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Barbara Arnwine, the other national representative of the NBIPP, stated why she thought the June 12

demonstration is important.

"Overall," she said, "I'm glad to hear about the June 12 action because it shows that the American citizenry is beginning to catch up with the disarmament movement in Europe."

"I'm speaking against nuclear arms not just because their buildup redirects funds from human needs, but it's also a direct threat to human life," Arnwine said.

"It's the kind of issue we're concerned with," she added. "Our party's charter takes it up."

## Black United Front view

Another one of the important Black leaders fighting for an antiwar and anti-racist perspective in the June 12 action is Rev. Herbert Daughtry. Daughtry is the national chairman of the National Black United Front, which has been active in antiracist and anti-imperialist struggles around the country.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Daughtry explained the process that led to the formation of the Third World and Progressive Peoples' Coalition, in which NBUF plays a central role. The NBUF chairman said that the old-line peace groups, like SANE and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), undemocratically excluded Black and Latino forces from the committees organizing the June 12 action.

Faced with this exclusion, Daughtry said, "We decided to move ahead with the building of the June 12 action. The Third World countries called for this action. We felt that we had the moral authority to build for the rally."

In Daughtry's opinion one of the underlying reasons for the exclusion from the June 12 Rally Committee was politics. "Groups like the Riverside Church, SANE, AFSC, Greenpeace, and Physicians for Social Responsibility," Daughtry said, "want to see this movement be right-of-center."

Daughtry referred to an April 20 *Village Voice* article that dealt with the political struggle within the June 12 Rally Committee. In that article Mark Roberts, the national campaign director of Greenpeace, is quoted as saying, "I think it's fair to say that if anything significant is going to happen on disarmament, this rally can't be too far left."

"I personally would like to see more right-wing and conservative groups involved, since they are also concerned about the arms buildup because it causes deficits," Roberts added.

Groups like Greenpeace, Daughtry said, "are trying to hold off and disassociate themselves from Third World and left forces to make themselves more appealing to the 'mainstream.'"

But, Daughtry asserted, what actually needs to be done is to differentiate the June 12 rally from the "mainstream."

"We must raise the issues of racism and nonintervention by the U.S.," Daughtry said. "People on the right aren't prepared to deal with these questions."

"Also," Daughtry continued, "you can't deal with nuclear disarmament without dealing with conventional weapons. Eighty-five percent of the defense

budget goes to conventional weapons. And dealing with conventional weapons means dealing with U.S. intervention in the Third World."

The demands of the TWPPC are: (1) unconditional disarmament by the U.S.; (2) fund human needs, earmarking the communities of the oppressed nationalities; and (3) no U.S. intervention in Central America and the rest of the Third World.

## 'Educate American people'

"Blacks need to be here in New York on June 12," Daughtry said, "to make sure our concerns and demands are heard. . . . We want to raise these demands at June 12 and in the movement as a whole. Thousands of people will be able to hear that the U.S. is lying about the liberation struggle in South Africa; that they're lying about Cuba; they're lying about Grenada; they're lying about Nicaragua."

"We want to educate and raise the level of consciousness of the American people," Daughtry stated.

The *Militant* also interviewed Mel Mason, a Black socialist city councilman in Seaside, California. Mason is running an independent campaign for governor of California.

Mason was asked why there was such significant Black participation in the building for the June 12 action.

"In a way it's simple," Mason answered. "Black people suffer disproportionately from the social ills that are connected with the U.S. government's war drive. We suffer disproportionately from the increasing unemployment. We suffer disproportionately from the cutbacks in social services. And when the U.S. intervenes with troops we are the ones who suffer disproportionately on the battlefields."

"That's why Blacks are in the forefront of the fight against the U.S. government, its wars, cutbacks, and attacks on democratic rights."

"Militarism is racism," Mason continued. "The vast resources that are being poured into the U.S. war machine could be used to help solve the social ills that afflict the Black community and other working people. Black people know that, and that's why we are among the most outspoken opponents of things like the U.S. war in El Salvador today."

"But," Mason warned, "El Salvador isn't the only place that the U.S. government is carrying out a war. There is a shooting war going on today against the workers and farmers of Nicaragua — a war financed and backed by the U.S. We also see the U.S. backing British imperialism in its attempt to retake the Malvinas Islands."

"Any demonstration that is supposed to be for peace," Mason continued, "must protest the concrete wars the U.S. is waging. That's why as a city councilman I've been outspoken against the U.S. war drive. And I've urged my campaign supporters to throw themselves into building a statewide June 12 demonstration here in California."

Mason, who is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, believes the potential

Continued on next page



# Chi. May Day rallies antiwar fighters

BY JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — It was an evening of solidarity with the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenada revolutions on May Day here, in a rally to protest Washington's war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

The rally, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, drew more than 300 people, many of them from outside Chicago, with some coming from as far as Cleveland, Minnesota's Iron Range, and Lincoln, Nebraska.

The event, which highlighted a week-end socialist educational conference, pinpointed the upcoming June 12 demonstrations as an organizing target for antiwar forces.

As rally speaker Larry Seigle, a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party, told the crowd, "The heart of solidarity is to mobilize everyone in this country who will march against war, against U.S. intervention in Central America."

For those assembled here on May Day, the rally was a powerful expression of the necessity for antiwar forces to mount a massive movement against all forms of Washington's war drive — from its "secret" war against Nicaragua, its military aid to the bloody tyrannies in

El Salvador and Guatemala, its increasing acts of hostility against Cuba and Grenada, to its gigantic nuclear arms build-up.

The latest ingredient of imperialism's assault on the toilers of Latin America, Britain's war against Argentina over the Malvinas, was denounced by Sharon Grant, a YSA national leader who opened the rally.

The crowd heard appeals for solidarity and action against the war threat from Ricardo Melara, an official representative of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR); Pedro Abad and Jose Velásquez from New York's Casa Nicaragua; and Luis Castellano from the Chicago-based Organization of Solidarity with Guatemala (OSGUA).

Glenda McQuillen, a leader of the Grenada Revolutionary League, seemed to speak for them all.

She told the audience her country's revolution will continue because "our people know there are people like you who would support them. They have confidence that the working people, the conscious people throughout the world, are with them."

"We do not stand alone," the young Grenadian said to a burst of applause as she finished her speech. The crowd rose

and chanted the popular watchword of the Grenada revolution, "Forward ever, backward never!"

"Imperialism," Casa Nicaragua's Abad told the rally, "is threatening to drown Central America in blood."

"American spy planes violate Nicaraguan air space." More than 260 people have been killed in the last seven months by U.S.-trained counterrevolutionaries, he said.

Working people in the United States "bear the price of arms," Abad continued, as imperialism "increases its arsenal, building chemical, nuclear and biological weapons."

"We know who really wants war," Abad said, "and who really wants peace."

Peace is what El Salvador's revolutionary movement wants, the FDR's Melara said. "We seek a political solution with the intent of avoiding further bloodshed," he said, "but the Reagan administration has turned its back on our approach."

American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt blasted Washington's war moves against Nicaragua and its destabilization efforts hinged on driving the country's Indian population into opposition against the Sandinistas.

He hailed the FSLN's policies toward the Miskitu and other Indians, scoring "imperialism's attempt to drive wedges between the Sandinistas and the 80 million native peoples of Central America and Latin America."

"All of us here are united in our determination to bring into being a new antiwar movement in this country," the SWP's Seigle said, "to fight against Washington's war on the people of Latin America, to say we don't want another Vietnam or another Bay of Pigs."

"We have to face reality," he told the crowd, "open our eyes and catch up with events. The war we are fighting against has begun. It's started."

Seigle described the U.S. role in the war now under way in Nicaragua, including the presence of U.S. Green Beret "advisers" in Honduras, the staging ground for large-scale raids into Nicaragua on an almost daily basis.

June 12 should be, Seigle said, a "genuine antiwar demonstration."

"Because to demonstrate for 'peace' in general without focusing in on the real, actual war under way will make June 12 a fake, a sham."

Appealing to the crowd, Seigle explained, "If we do our job then June 12 can be the beginning of a powerful movement that will advance the struggle of working people to defend our rights, our living standards here in this country, while it advances the worldwide fight against imperialism."

Also speaking at the rally was Palestine Liberation Organization representative Abdul Hamid Salem.

A fund appeal by YSA National Committee member Tamar Rosenfeld raised \$1,000 to help sustain the Managua, Nicaragua, bureau of *Perspectiva Mundial*. SWP candidate for governor of Wisconsin, Pete Seidman, who a day earlier had returned from a tour of Cuba, read a telegram to the U.S. government demanding an end to Reagan's ban on travel to the island, which goes into effect May 15.

## Balto. socialists hold campaign event

BY OSBORNE HART

BALTIMORE — Washington's war drive is a central issue for the 1982 Maryland Socialist Workers campaign for U.S. Senate.

Speaking at the campaign kickoff rally here May 2 was Yvonne Hayes, socialist senatorial candidate and laid-off steelworker. She emphasized the event's theme: "No more Vietnams! No more Hiroshimas!"

"Tied to every single reduction in our

standard of living," Hayes told the audience, "is the threat of another Vietnam. Every day, the Reagan administration takes us one step deeper into war. And every step increases the danger of nuclear annihilation."

Glenn White, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee member, pointed out that "the Reagan administration's warmongering is aimed at the revolutions of Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada."

White, recently returned from anniversary celebrations of the Grenadan revolution, highlighted the accomplishments of the People's Revolutionary Government there that is "setting an example of what a people can do when they take their destiny in their hands."

Bob Baer, a former leader of the Baltimore New American Movement and an antiwar activist, endorsed the Socialist Workers alternative for 1982 — particularly the SWP's call for a labor party based on the unions.

Baer posed the question, "Why is it in the U.S., a supposed democracy, that we don't have a government that represents the majority of the people?"

"This is the only 'democracy' in the world that doesn't have a party that represents workers."

Concluding his talk, Baer urged all-out participation in the June 12 antiwar demonstrations that will coincide with the United Nations disarmament session.

Picking up where Baer left off, Hayes reiterated the importance of the developing antiwar movement among the American people.

"This movement is being fueled by the growing fear of nuclear war. Working people are drawing the conclusion that the U.S. government is serious about war and serious about using nuclear weapons."

"We should never forget that the U.S. government is the *only* government which has ever used nuclear weapons."

Hayes explained that Democratic and Republican politicians are mounting a campaign against the new antiwar movement.

"The Kennedys, Goldwaters, and McNamaras are on a campaign to make us think they're for peace and that the Soviet Union is the enemy of the American people," she said.

Hayes called proposals for a "bilateral freeze" of nuclear arms "a trap."

"The real danger is these arms are in the hands of the U.S. rulers, who have demonstrated that no amount of human suffering is too big a price to pay to protect their profits," she said.

John Monahan, a local YSA member who chaired the rally, introduced Billy Brown, a member of Machinist Lodge 1784, recorded "Solidarity" — a song dedicated to the September 19, 1981, Solidarity Day demonstration of 500,000 unionists.

Brown performed the tune and donated copies of the record to those who made financial pledges to the Hayes campaign. More than \$1,062 was raised at the gathering.

## Threats by Colombian death squad

The Colombian death squad that calls itself "Death to Kidnappers" (MAS) is carrying on a campaign of harassment and intimidation against human rights activists and leftist political figures. The MAS is purportedly organized by big-time drug dealers, but is widely believed to have close ties to the Colombian military.

In mid-April the MAS issued death threats by mail or telephone against Miguel Antonio Cano, an attorney who defends political prisoners; Alejandro Angulo Novoa, a Jesuit priest who heads the People's Research and Education Center (CINEP); and Sen. Humberto Ciales, a member of the Colombian parliament who has spoken out against repression.

In an act of psychological terrorism believed to be the work of the MAS, an elaborate funeral wreath was sent anonymously to the home of Socorro Ramirez in Bogotá in late March. Ramirez, a central leader of the Revolutionary So-

cialist Party (PSR — Colombian section of the Fourth International), has played a prominent role in the Standing Committee for Defense of Human Rights.

Similar threats and harassment have been directed against other leaders of the committee. Its president, ex-Foreign Minister Alfredo Vásquez Carrizosa, was singled out by the MAS as a prospective murder victim on a list issued in mid-March. Also on the list was the prominent Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez.

Leading human rights attorney Jorge Enrique Cipaguata Galvis was shot to death on a Bogotá street in the second week of March. The MAS claimed responsibility. On March 7, the terror squad bombed the residence of journalist María Jimena Duzán. A series of articles by Duzán on the guerrilla war being waged in southern Colombia by the April 19 Movement (M-19) was then appearing in the Bogotá daily *El Espectador*.

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## Black leaders on June 12

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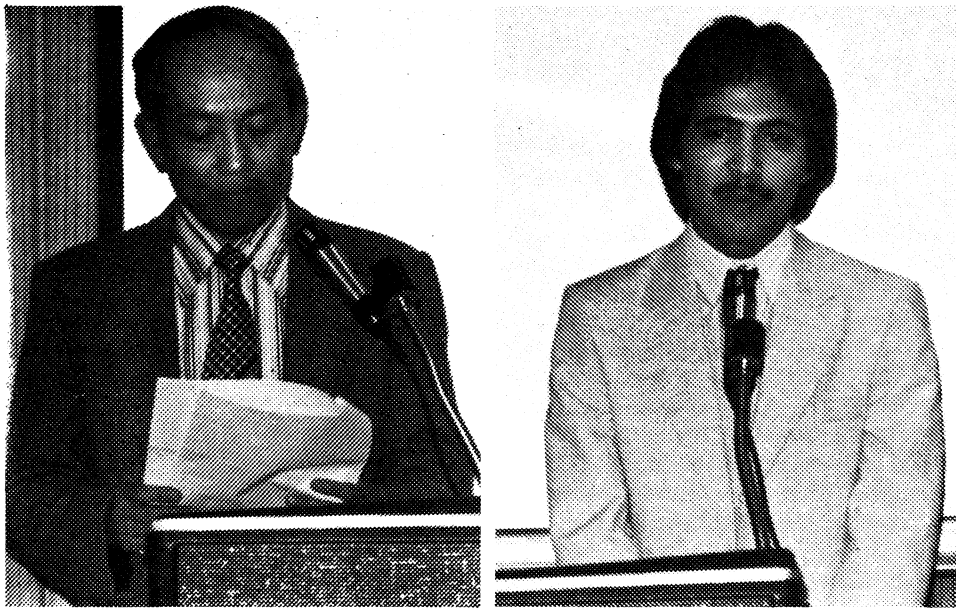
for building an antiwar movement is enormous. "That's because of the level of consciousness of the American people around the war question. Black people, as we have been in the past, are more out front in opposing the U.S. war drive. But most other working people are against the U.S. intervention in Central America, too. I've found that to be true in campaigning around the state."

"The most important thing about the June 12 action for me," Mason said, "is the opportunity it provides for bringing that antiwar sentiment out into the streets. We need to mobilize the Black community and other working people against Washington's wars. It seems to me that the *decisive* thing in building an antiwar movement that can stop the U.S. war machine is involving the American labor movement. Then you're talking about some power, you're talking about the kind of force we need."

"One of the exciting things about the developing antiwar struggle is that it can help deepen the *class* consciousness of American workers. It can help them see the need for independent political action," said Mason.

"And that's why," he explained, "the Democrats and Republicans are out to derail this movement. They fear what it can become. That's what all this talk about a bilateral nuclear freeze means. The capitalist class is trying to freeze the antiwar struggle. They're trying to divert the movement into the Democratic Party."

"So," Mason explained, "a lot is at stake for workers and farmers abroad and right here at home. And there's a big responsibility for those who want to build an antiwar movement to fight for that perspective in the June 12 demonstration and beyond."



Militant photos by Phil Norris  
**Nguyen Khac Thin, director of Vietnam News Agency's UN bureau, and Oscar Chacón of Farabundo Martí Solidarity Committee at May 7 celebration of Vietnam's liberation.**

# Rally marks 7 years of free Vietnam

BY SANDI SHERMAN

NEW YORK — Despite an attempt by some 60 right-wing Vietnamese at violent disruption, a meeting organized to celebrate the seventh anniversary of the liberation of Vietnam was held here May 7, attended by over 100 people.

The meeting was sponsored by the May 7th Committee, which included the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S.; Clergy and Laity Concerned; the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; and the Southeast Asia Resource Center. Co-sponsoring the event were Harlem Fightback, U.S. Peace Council, War Resisters League, Socialist Workers Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, and others.

The meeting opened with a film, *Eco-cide: A Strategy of War*, which documented the effects of U.S. use of poison chemicals against Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos during the war.

Debby Weisburd spoke for the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. She briefly described the Vietnamese people's decades-long struggle for liberation, and explained the impact that struggle has had on world politics.

"We honor the Vietnamese because their struggle has helped to create an antiwar movement in other countries and in the U.S. that is spearheading the struggle to prevent a nuclear holocaust," she said.

Citing the continuing attempts of the U.S. government to prepare the ground to send military forces to El Salvador, Weisburd explained that "support for the struggle of the Salvadoran people is the cutting edge of the struggle against U.S. imperialism." She called for an intensification of efforts to stop U.S. aid to El Salvador's junta.

She ended her presentation by reiterating the demands of the meeting, which included ending U.S. hostility toward Vietnam; ousting Pol Pot from Kampuchea's United Nations seat; an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador; U.S. hands off Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, the Mideast, and Southern African

freedom fighters; and defeating the U.S. war policy.

Oscar Chacón, from the Farabundo Martí Solidarity Committee, spoke, noting that "without the victory of Vietnam, there wouldn't be the advance of the struggle in El Salvador." He also urged stepped-up efforts to put an end to the U.S. government's intervention in El Salvador.

Other speakers at the meeting included Morton Sobell, a codefendant in the Rosenberg frame-up trial, representing the U.S. Committee for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam; Ngo Thanh Nhan of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S.; and Chan Bun Han, a Kampuchean national.

A collection was taken for the Vietnamese Children's Hospital in Ho Chi Minh City.

A statement was read to the meeting from Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, deputy representative from Vietnam to the UN. Nguyen Khac Thin, director of the Vietnam News Agency bureau at the UN, presented her message.

Madame Dung and Soubanh Sirthirath, ambassador to the UN from the Lao People's Democratic Republic, were scheduled to speak at the event, but were prevented from doing so by a right-wing disruption attempt.

Before the meeting began, some 60 right-wing Vietnamese showed up. At first pretending they had come to join the celebration, they later broke out in chants like "Communism is slavery" and physically assaulted people entering the meeting.

Laotian Ambassador Sirthirath was blocked by the disrupters from entering the building. A Vietnamese family attempting to enter was attacked. In an attempt to protect them, one supporter of the meeting was punched in the face. A young Vietnamese participant in the celebration was badly beaten by a group of the right-wingers.

The attackers were eventually dispersed and the meeting took place. This was an important victory for those forces organizing against the U.S. government's continued war against the peoples of Indochina.

## N.J. conference demands Vietnam reconciliation

BY DIANE WANG

PRINCETON, N.J. — Lessons of the Vietnam War and the continuing U.S. aggression against Vietnam become ever more important as the U.S. government prepares to escalate its war in Central America and threatens nuclear holocaust. A whole new generation of antiwar activists need to learn about Vietnam's past and ongoing struggle.

This was a main theme of the Conference on Reconciliation with Vietnam held here on May 1.

"Any movement that tries to get at nuclear disarmament without getting at the causes of war — of what was done to Vietnam — will fail to grasp what's at stake," declared longtime antiwar activist Dave Dellinger in his keynote speech.

Tony Russo urged people: "Be sure that you connect El Salvador and Central America with Vietnam, that you connect Agent Orange with nukes. We've got to get not just at war, but at the causes of war." Russo was a defendant in the Pentagon Papers case during the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Gloria Emerson, who covered the Vietnam War as a journalist, suggested that in Washington's eyes "El Salvador is the next Vietnam, because the first one was spoiled" by the antiwar protests here and the revolution's victory.

Don Luce of the Southeast Asia Resource Center outlined how Washington is carrying out its policy, as Secretary of State Alexander Haig described it, "to make Vietnam feel pain in every way we can."

The United States has refused to allow food shipments from this country to Vietnam and is pressuring other countries to join the embargo. It does this although the massive defoliation of Vietnam by the United States has caused unusually severe floods that damage harvests.

Vietnam still copes with 150,000 tons of unexploded bombs that endanger farmers and children. Yet Washington has refused to provide maps showing where bombs were left or technology to defuse the bombs.

Washington pursues efforts to destabilize Vietnam, Luce said, as it has done against Iran, Chile, Nicaragua, and Cuba. This includes urging dissatisfied Vietnamese to steal boats to leave the country rather than going through the Orderly Departure Program established by the Vietnamese government.

Several conference participants discussed the "disinformation" campaign being organized against Vietnam. Michael Uhl of Citizen Soldier reviewed recent books that "try to rewrite history and drown out the living evidence of the war." He concluded that "for every falsification, hundreds of Vietnam vets will refute them."

As part of its campaign to silence the truth about Vietnam, the State Depart-

ment would not allow the Vietnamese deputy representative to the United Nations, Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, to leave the 25-mile radius around the UN to speak at the Princeton conference.

Madame Dung's greetings were read to the conference by Prof. Steve Slaby instead. (The greetings are reprinted in the May issue of *International Socialist Review*.)

Prof. James Dwyer of the U.S. Committee on Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam explained that the tons of Agent Orange and other herbicides dumped on Vietnam are today being studied intensively by the Vietnamese to determine their consequences.

Dwyer and Russo emphasized that the dioxin of Agent Orange is not just a problem for Vietnamese. GIs stationed in Vietnam, chemical workers, and farmers in this country are also exposed to the deadly chemical.

This highlights, Russo concluded, "that every day that goes by without reconciliation with Vietnam cheats workers here. But that's nothing new."

"This is a corporations' government that cares nothing for workers. That's why we have to change this government."

In addition to discussing the problems Vietnam veterans face from exposure to Agent Orange and the horrors of the war, conference participants also talked about the political role veterans play.

Michael Uhl pointed to the recent trip by Vietnam veterans to Vietnam, saying that veterans "can't be seen as a prowar, paramilitary grouping" like the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars always tried to organize.

The conference was cosponsored by the Southeast Asia Resource Center, Citizen Soldier, and several Princeton University organizations. Tod Ensign, director of Citizen Soldier, urged that it be the first of several such educational activities.

## Student strike demands upgrading of New York Black college

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

NEW YORK — Students at Medgar Evers College have organized a sit-in, demonstrations, and a six-day strike to demand improvements in the conditions of the college and the resignation of its president, Richard Trent.

Medgar Evers is 90 percent Black and 73 percent female. The students have been demanding day-care facilities and

a Black studies program. The demand to oust Trent, who is also Black, came after charges of his misappropriation of funds and his insensitivity to the needs of the students and faculty.

The students have organized the Student-Faculty-Community Coalition to Save Medgar Evers College. At a March 26 meeting, the faculty voted 88-26 for Trent's resignation. Many community organizations, including the Black United Front and the Coalition of Concerned Black Women, have also rallied in support of the student demands.

On March 25, the students and their supporters held a demonstration of 1,600. On April 20, the students began a six-day strike and 60 students sat in at the office of the president.

Trent has responded to the students' charges by firing a faculty member and demoting an administrator. He has also refused to meet with the student body to discuss their demands.

Ever since the 1975 New York City budget cuts began, the administration of Mayor Edward Koch has continued to undermine the quality of the public university system.

Medgar Evers has taken a big portion of the cutbacks in education. It was reduced to a two-year school with a few four-year programs remaining. The school now stands to lose a \$624,000 federal grant.

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# South African group answers U.S. charges

The following is a statement by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa on hearings that were held in late March before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. The committee, chaired by Senator Jeremiah Denton, has been seeking to smear the ANC and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule, as "terrorist" organizations.

The ANC's statement, which is taken from the March 30 issue of the *ANC Weekly News Briefing*, published in London, was signed by ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo.

The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker has condemned what he calls "terrorist activities" and other "violent efforts" by SWAPO and ANC. Testifying before the U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism on March 22, 1982, he said that these two organizations receive 90% of their military aid and 60% of their overall aid from the Soviet Union.

The derogatory reference by Dr. Crocker to the just struggle for national independence waged by the national liberation movements as "terrorism" is but a feeble attempt by the Reagan Administration at concealing its role as the mainstay of terrorist regimes throughout the world.

This Administration, which has self-righteously proclaimed its mission to be the fight against international terrorism, spends huge sums of dollars to prop up fascist dictatorships such as those in El Salvador to continue with their genocidal policies.

It is also the same Administration which supports the Pretoria racists not only to conduct a reign of terror against the majority of the people in our country, but also to carry these acts of terror into the neighbouring states with complete disregard for life and property.

Neither the ANC nor the Soviet Union made any secret about the selfless support that the Soviet Union, the Socialist Community and the progressive forces the world over are granting to the people fighting against oppression, exploitation and human degradation.

What, then, is the real objective behind this "revelation" of Soviet assistance to the liberation movements?

For the people of South Africa the latest manoeuvres of the Reagan Administration in Central America are instructive. U.S. imperialism, having failed in its machinations to subdue the people of Cuba and to reverse their revolutionary gains, was confronted with yet another humiliating defeat with the triumph of the struggle of the people of Ni-

caragua. Added to these defeats the U.S. Administration is now confronted with the increasing tempo of popular struggles, namely in El Salvador and other countries in the region.

In response to these developments the U.S. Administration has adopted a desperate and aggressive stance towards Cuba and Nicaragua.

Similarly, in Southern Africa, imperialism, which has suffered great losses as a result of the victories of the revolutionary struggles waged in the region, seeks to reverse these advances by throwing its full weight behind the racist Pretoria regime.

Fearing the destruction of its stronghold in Africa by the liberation forces led by the ANC and SWAPO, imperialism now seeks to find a pretext for its aggression in the region. However, this time the excuse for intervention is not Cuba or Nicaragua, but the Soviet Union for its assistance to the liberation movements.

It is now clear that the strategy of international imperialism, in particular the United States, is to suppress the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia, and to use the racist South African regime to attack the front line states for their assistance to our cause.

The ANC therefore calls on progres-



The real terrorists in South Africa are not the liberation fighters, but the apartheid regime, backed by Washington.

sive mankind to condemn these dirty manoeuvres by the United States and to give all possible support to the national liberation movements and to the front line states in our sub-continent. For our

part we in the ANC shall not rest until we destroy the apartheid monster and create a South Africa that will stand for peace, democracy and social progress.

AMANDLA! MAATLA! [Power!]

## NAM: How a 1970s radical group ended up supporting the Democratic Party

BY SUZANNE HAIG

In March the New American Movement (NAM) merged with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee to form Democratic Socialists of America.

NAM was formed in 1971 by antiwar activists, former members of Students for a Democratic Society and the Communist Party, and individuals involved in community organizing.

During its 10 years of existence, NAM declared socialism to be its goal. Now, with this merger, NAM has ended up openly subscribing to a perspective of reforming capitalism through working within the Democratic Party — under the name of democratic socialism.

Writing in the last issue (before the merger) of NAM's newspaper, *Moving On*, longtime NAM leader Roberta Lynch outlined the evolution of the organization.

"We began with exaggerated ideas about the possibilities for radical change and our own role in them," she states.

"We began with an emphasis on 'anti-imperialist,' politics that often led us to

useless rhetoric and sectarian left coalitions. . . . We began with an almost extra-parliamentary approach to elections and a scorn for participation in any form in the Democratic Party.

"Today we are developing a working knowledge of the levers of political power and a progressive presence within the existing arenas of electoral activity."

In *Moving On*, Lynch and another NAM leader, Dorothy Healey, inadvertently touch on the political and organizational weaknesses that ultimately determined NAM's direction.

Healey speaks proudly of NAM's "non-doctrinaire multi-tendency" approach. Lynch contrasts NAM to "a left tradition that is itself prone to rigidity and dogmatism."

This all-inclusive approach meant that NAM did not act as a unified organization on a clear political line once a vote was taken. It was condemned to go off in a myriad of different, often contradictory, directions, never achieving a clarity of position.

NAM, for example, never took an official position in favor of working in the Democratic Party. But neither did it oppose such an orientation.

The organization had members who opposed working in either of the two big-business parties, and members who were very active in campaigns of various liberals.

At one point during the fight to desegregate Boston schools, one NAM chapter supported busing, while another, adapting to the call by the racists for "neighborhood schools," counterposed to busing the demand for "community control" of schools.

One of the major issues that threatened the merger with DSOC was NAM's support for recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization, a position it held along with support for Israel.

Under pressure from DSOC, NAM leaders agreed to drop support for the PLO from their program and substitute support for the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people.

The position taken in the merged organization, DSA, calls for "support [for] the right to self-determination expressed in the Jewish state of Israel — and the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people." And it states that "the U.S. should continue to provide such aid as is necessary to guarantee Israel's secure existence" — aid that

is used precisely to deny the Palestinian people their right to self-determination.

Though NAM said a lot at its meetings and conventions about the evils of capitalism and the need for socialism, it never developed a program based on a coherent class analysis on a national and international scale that could set a course of action against the capitalist system, its wars, its economic crises, its oppression of Blacks and women.

It was more a discussion club than a revolutionary party whose goal is to lead the working class in a struggle to replace capitalism with socialism.

Thus, while calling itself "anti-imperialist," NAM actually abstained from building the anti-Vietnam War movement, claiming the movement did not link the struggle against the war with socialism.

With this excuse, NAM refrained from participating in one of the most important political developments in the country in the last 20 years, a movement which helped the Vietnamese workers and farmers score a historic victory over U.S. imperialism.

NAM, Lynch says proudly, "rejected a reliance on either the methodology or the symbols of other revolutions."

What she means is that NAM developed no overall theoretical framework for determining the class character of the Soviet Union and the other countries where workers and farmers revolutions have occurred. Having such a position was not considered important.

Instead, members held a wide range of positions. Some called the USSR imperialist. Others said it was socialist; still others, state capitalist.

In merging with DSOC, NAM leaders have finally taken a formal position — totally rejecting the progressive character of the property relations in the workers states.

"We are firmly committed to democracy as the only political means to the economic and social power of the people," the DSA merger document states. "Thus, we oppose bureaucratic and dictatorial state ownership as hostile to socialist emancipation."

But democracy for workers and farmers is impossible as long as the means of production are in the hands of the capitalists. DSA's position is to support the return of the banks, factories, railroads, and land to capitalists and landlords in the workers states — the same goal Washington has.

## Stop the apartheid hangings!

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Three members of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa face imminent execution by the apartheid regime, following the Supreme Court's April 7 rejection of an appeal against their death sentences.

In response, an emergency international campaign has been launched to save the lives of these three young freedom fighters.

They are Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo, and Naphtali Manana.

As part of this international campaign, the United Nations Security Council on April 9 unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the South African regime commute the death sentences, and calling on all governments and organizations to act "to save the lives of these three men."

Within South Africa, a campaign has also been launched to save the three from hanging, as well as three other ANC members who are likewise on death row: Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes

Shabangu, and David Moise.

Lubisi, Mashigo, and Manana were sentenced to death on Nov. 26, 1980, by the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court in Pretoria, following their conviction on charges of "high treason." They were accused of attacking the Soekmerkaar police station in Soweto, a large Black township just outside Johannesburg. No one was killed during the attack.

During their trial, evidence surfaced that the defendants in the trial had been tortured while in detention.

A statement by the ANC pointed out that the three had been sentenced to death for their active opposition to the racist system of apartheid.

"In South Africa," it said, "it is treason to fight for basic democratic rights which most of the rest of mankind take for granted. These three young South Africans are patriots who were prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice in order to achieve freedom for their people. . . ."

# UE strikers turn down company offer

## Tell American Standard they want safeguards for 22 fired workers

BY LISA KANNENBERG

PITTSBURGH — On May 9, the membership of United Electrical Workers Union (UE) Local 610 gave the American Standard Corp. a powerful demonstration of the unity and determination that have kept them strong on the picket line for 191 days.

That day, 2,000 strikers rejected a company scheme to settle the six-month strike without resolving the fate of 22

workers fired for alleged picketing violations.

The May 9 action capped a week of intense activity for Local 610. Early in the morning of May 3, negotiators had reached tentative agreement on all contract issues except that of the fired strikers.

The union demanded total amnesty and reinstatement of the workers. The company proposed submitting all 22

cases to arbitration, with no time limits or safeguards for the rights of the fired workers.

Reaction from the rank and file was swift. Shop stewards and strike activists immediately began organizing in support of the 22 fired strikers. Strike activists staffed the phones at the local's hall around the clock to explain the situation to strikers calling in for information.

They wrote a leaflet describing some of the charges against the fired strikers: "allegedly kicking a car," "allegedly swore at a boss." This underscored the triviality of the charges and the real motives behind the company's intransigence: to split the membership and set a precedent that would weaken the workers' ability to protect themselves when they returned to the job.

Meanwhile, the union negotiating committee worked out a proposal. First, no further firings and no new charges against those already fired. Then, the union proposed that the firings be handled by the previously successful method used for firings inside the shop; that is, company-union meetings to try to settle the firings before going to arbitration.

Cases that could not be settled this way would be submitted to an arbitration procedure that would guarantee protection of the rights of the accused strikers and set strict time limits for resolving the cases. All would be settled within one month.

The company rejected this proposal.

By week's end, debate on the union's course of action raged through the local's hall, the picket lines, and the whole community. Responding to the senti-

ments of the rank and file, the executive board of the local voted unanimously to recommend no acceptance of the tentative agreement. The negotiating committee refused to sign the agreement and submit it to membership vote until the issue of the fired strikers was resolved.

On Saturday the stewards council unanimously endorsed this position.

But the real test of the strikers' resolve came at the May 9 membership meeting, where the rank and file discussed the issue and voted on the executive board's proposal.

By 11 a.m., 2,000 strikers had poured into the auditorium. The atmosphere was tense. Dan Marguriel, business agent of Local 610, opened the meeting with a report on the 22 fired strikers. He discussed the union's proposal and placed a motion on the floor to support that position.

Then the floor was opened to the rank and file. What followed was a wide-open discussion of every aspect of the company's move. Time and again strikers rose to express solidarity with the fired workers. They pointed out that the company was using the firings in a last-ditch effort to break the unity of the membership and bring them back to work in disarray: divided and weakened.

This would give the company a clear field and set a valuable precedent for further harassment and firings.

"Any one of us on that picket line could have been among those 22," said one striker; "3,700 of us went out in November, and 3,700 will go back in."

Many strikers were angry at this latest attempt to blame the strike on the workers. American Standard has constantly tried to split the rank and file from the leadership, maintaining that the length of the strike was due to the leadership's refusal to make "reasonable" concessions, and urging the ranks to pressure their leaders to settle on company terms.

In fact, at every juncture of the strike, the rank and file has consistently demonstrated its support for the union's fightback position. For example, the final round of negotiations that produced the May 3 agreement came in response to a spirited rally at American Standard's downtown Pittsburgh headquarters in March, which forced the company to resume negotiations.

One striker put the blame on the company, saying, "It's the company who forced us out on strike. It's the company who kept us out six months. It's the company who fired these people, and the company who won't bring them back."

Another worker underscored the union-busting intent of the company when he said, "We're not voting today for or against these 22 people. We're voting on whether or not we'll have a union that can protect us when we go back in the shop."

As the discussion went on, it became clear that the sentiments of the ranks were mixed. After six months of striking in the midst of a depression, the workers are hurting and anxious to get back to work. The proposed contract, a good one for the times, would undoubtedly have had widespread support.

Everyone in the local wants to end this long and bitter strike. And many members expressed doubts and misgivings at such a difficult choice. Nevertheless, in a stand-up vote, nearly 95 percent of the workers voted to reject the company's proposal and to support the leadership's position.

Once again, the members of UE Local 610 have sent a clear message to the company. Results of the vote were transmitted immediately to the company, and the union has requested final negotiations to wrap up the contract.

As one striker put it, "Yeah, sure we all want to go back. But we won't go back on those terms."



Pickets protest American Standard in Pittsburgh

Militant

## Iranian socialists remain in prison

Two leaders of Iran's Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Bagher Falsafi, are still being held without charges in Evin Prison in Tehran. The HKE is one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International.

Atai, a member of the HKE's Political Bureau, has been held since March 29. He was detained at that time by the Tehran Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office, three weeks after the HKE's weekly newspaper, *Kargar*, had published an extensive interview with Atai detailing his experiences during a previous term of imprisonment at Evin.

After the interview with Atai was published, the authorities stepped up harassment of *Kargar* and the HKE. On March 15, Falsafi, who is responsible for printing the newspaper, was arrested by officials from the prosecutor's office. And on March 26, the newspaper's publication was suspended on the orders of the same office.

During the first week of April, a young soldier in Ahwaz named Hassan Sadegh was sentenced to 10 years in prison by a military court. The charge was that he had read *Kargar* and distributed it to his fellow soldiers.

Other publications of the Iranian workers movement have come under similar attack. The weekly newspaper of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party was forced to shut down, as were the publications of the two tendencies in the majority faction of the Fedayan. On May 1, however, socialists in Iran reported that the paper of one of these tendencies had begun circulating again.

Both the Tudeh Party and the two Fedayan tendencies have opposed the counterrevolutionary terrorism of the Mujahedeen and pro-shah forces.

Efforts by those who support the revolution and oppose U.S. imperialism's at-

tacks on it can help to free Atai, Falsafi, and Sadegh. Telegrams such as the following should be sent to Hojatolislam Mousavi Tabrizi, Prosecutor General, Islamic Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran. Send copies to *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, Tehran, Iran:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and opponent of the U.S. govern-

ment's threats against it, I urge you to release the anti-shah, anti-imperialist fighters Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Bagher Falsafi, who are being held without charges at Evin Prison in Tehran. I also urge the release of the anti-imperialist soldier Hassan Sadegh, who has been unjustly sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in Ahwaz."

## Mercenary names S. Africa, CIA in Seychelles coup plot

BY STEVE BRIDE

The man who led a bungled coup in the Seychelles Republic last November has told a South African court that the apartheid government and the CIA both had a hand in the attempt.

Mercenary Col. "Mad Mike" Hoare testified May 3 that South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha's cabinet approved plans and supplied weapons for the takeover of the islands. He produced as evidence an invoice from the South African Defense Force certifying delivery of those weapons to his home.

A day later, Hoare added that he had also gone over the operation with a CIA operative in the South African capital of Pretoria.

Hoare and 43 other mercenaries are on trial for hijacking a plane out of the Seychelles after their coup attempt was foiled by security forces there. The group landed in South Africa and — after considerable international pressure was brought on the apartheid regime — were eventually charged.

According to Hoare, the United States was interested in the coup because of "the strategic value of the Seychelles." The islands are located in the Indian Ocean, within striking distance of Africa, India, and the Persian Gulf. They al-

so straddle the main route for tankers leaving the Persian Gulf.

The Seychelles government is headed by President France Albert René, who unseated dictator — and South African ally — James Mancham in 1977. René has called for the closure of the U.S. military base at nearby Diego Garcia Island, and his government has instituted important social and economic gains.

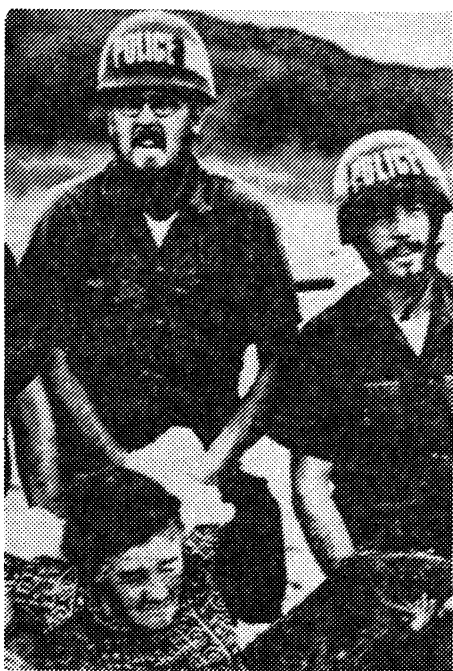
The November raid, which never made it past the Seychelles' airport, was the third known try at the René government.

The testimony of Hoare substantially confirms earlier admissions by former South African intelligence officer Martin Dolincheck, one of seven mercenaries left behind in the Seychelles. In fact, said Hoare, his initial contact with the Botha regime was through Dolincheck, then employed by South Africa's National Intelligence Service.

Dolincheck reportedly has told officials of the René government he was in the Seychelles on assignment from the National Intelligence Service to help out with the coup.

Hoare is known to have had close ties with the CIA during the 1960s, when he led a band of white mercenaries in the Congo.





Navy police evict Vieques citizen during protest against U.S. maneuvers.

# Meeting backs islanders' fight to boot Navy off Vieques

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

NEW YORK — More than 100 people attended a meeting here March 30 in support of the people of the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico, and their struggle against the continued presence of the U.S. Navy on their land.

The people of Vieques have suffered for more than 40 years the expropriation of their land and fresh water sources and restriction of their fishing waters by the Navy, which uses the island for military maneuvers and, since the mid-1970s, for target practice with live ammunition.

The Navy base in Vieques is central to the U.S. government's interventionist policy in the Caribbean and Central

America. The marines who invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965 were first trained in Vieques. Last year, Vieques was used to stage a practice invasion of a "fictitious" island governed by "forces hostile to the United States." This "fictitious" island was none other than an ill-disguised version of revolutionary Grenada, the Caribbean country whose Black population overthrew a U.S.-backed regime in 1979.

Currently, Washington is staging the biggest maneuvers since World War II in the Caribbean, called Ocean Venture '82. In April it held the so-called Readex-2-82 exercises in the same area. The Navy's presence in Vieques is essential for these maneuvers to take place.

At the March 30 meeting, organized by the New York Committee in Support of Vieques, Severino Ventura Cintrón, a fisherman from Vieques, spoke. He explained the struggle against the Navy led by the fishermen — who are most directly affected by the use of the island, its land, beaches, and shores as a shooting range. In the early 1940s, Ventura's home and land, like those of countless other Viequesenses, were expropriated by the Navy.

Ventura noted that the U.S. military is training Puerto Ricans, including Vieques youth, with the clear purpose of using them against their brothers and sisters in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and other Latin American countries.

Another speaker at the meeting was Pat Wagner from the Afro-American Executive Committee for June 12. Wagner spoke of the importance of the antiwar movement arising now in this country and the demonstration and rally scheduled to be held at the United Nations in New York on June 12.

She stressed that the struggle for disarmament, in which the issue of Vieques plays a very important part, should not be limited to the question of nuclear weapons. Conventional weapons, she indicated, make up a larger part of the military budget than nuclear weapons, and are already being used to put down struggles against U.S. domination around the world.

Three short plays were performed by the New York theater group Pregones, and there was a presentation by the Puerto Rican dance group Bambulé. A movie on Vieques was also shown.

For more information on the struggle to get the Navy out of Vieques, write to: New York Committee in Support of Vieques, P.O. Box 1017, New York, New York 10009.

## For Balto. garment workers, rumors and promises on new nat'l pact

BY TUVAL FOGUEL

BALTIMORE — At Joseph A. Bank Co. the main discussion lately has been about our new contract. The 580 workers at Bank's are covered by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) tailored clothing industry contract, along with 72,000 other workers and 35,000 retirees nationally.

The contract expired on March 31, and workers at Bank's were expecting to be asked to give back wages and benefits. The feeling among many was that clothing workers are already the lowest-paid industrial workers, and that we have nothing left to give. One worker said that he'd rather be like the air controllers, who still have their dignity, than the Ford workers, who will starve anyway. Another worker said that she could see how auto workers can take a cut in pay when they make \$10 an hour. But we make much less and the men's tailored goods industry is booming, not nearing bankruptcy like the auto industry.

The union leadership promised us that we would move forward with this contract. To make that point more strongly, Jack Sheinkman, the union's secretary-treasurer, toured our shop personally, and the joint board held two meetings in the course of one month.

These meetings were attended by over 1,000 ACTWU members from the Baltimore district. They came with the intention of discussing the contract. Instead, the podium was used to lead a pep rally for the Democratic Party. Both Congresswoman Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.) and Steven Sachs, Maryland's attorney general, were featured speakers at the first meeting. Workers were encouraged to contribute to COPE and told to vote Democrat in 1982.

Up until April 1, when the contract was signed, we heard nothing but rumors about the negotiations. Even so, workers were ready to walk out. At both joint board meetings, the vast majority voted to authorize a strike.

Not until a week after the strike deadline did we get any official word from the union on the contract. We then

learned that our wages had been frozen until October.

When my co-workers asked questions about a cost-of-living allowance, and about a wildcat strike at another Baltimore shop, the union official present did not answer.

Two more days passed before we were told anything else. At the shop ratification meeting we heard an oral summary of the contract.

Members wanted more clarification about what we had been forced to give up in order to receive a seniority system for the first time and paid jury duty. The only answer we got was "I don't know."

The meeting was held in the shop itself, right under the eyes of management. When the vote was taken, we were simply told to raise our hands.

Questions have been raised about why we can't vote by secret ballot at the union hall, where workers wouldn't be intimidated from voting their conscience.

One Italian worker asked why we couldn't get a written summary. He thought workers should be able to read the contract in their own language before voting. Many of the members here are Greek, Italian, and Latino.

Workers need to be informed from the beginning about negotiations and contract issues. After all, this document will affect our lives for the next 38 months.

*Tuval Foguel is a member of ACTWU Local 51 and works at Joseph A. Bank Co. in Baltimore.*

## Salvador support in a Texas clothing plant

BY JANE MCCOMSEY

At the Levi-Strauss plant in San Antonio, employing nearly 1,000 people, workers usually celebrate birthdays by bringing in paper badges with candy attached for all their friends. The badges say "Happy Birthday" and the name of the worker. Often people bring cakes for special occasions, too.

Last January garment workers who are members of the San Antonio Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in El Salvador brought in a cake decorated with slogans demanding the United States get out of El Salvador. We got a positive response.

So on March 24, the second anniversary of Archbishop Romero's assassination by right-wing death squads in El Salvador, we made up hundreds of badges that read, "In Commemoration of Archbishop Oscar Romero — U.S. Hands Off El Salvador," with black ribbons attached to them. Fact sheets about the brutality of the U.S.-backed junta and petitions to Reagan went along with the badges.

The petitions demanded an end to U.S. intervention and included a quotation from Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of our union, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, opposing U.S. involvement.

One older Chicana said she thought Reagan was afraid of communism because it takes from the rich and makes everyone equal.

A Black co-worker said Spanish-speaking Americans would never go to war against the people of El Salvador, any more than Blacks would fight the people of Africa.

A Vietnamese woman told us her people had kicked the United States out of her country, and she couldn't understand why they wanted another Viet-

nam in El Salvador.

Another woman had seen an episode about El Salvador on "20/20" the night before. She hoped we were supporting the guerrillas.

By the end of the first break, the yellow badges could be seen all over the plant. People sitting at row upon row of sewing machines were wearing them. Co-workers began helping hand them out. One demanded a petition so that

her friend could sign.

More than 40 signatures were gathered the first day, and many discussions took place about El Salvador. Some workers wanted to know how they could get involved in an organization opposed to U.S. involvement.

*Jane McComsey is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Local 1158.*

## Rail workers march for pension plan

BY DAN DICKESON

OGDEN, Utah — more than 500 retired and active rail workers marched here April 20 to protest the Reagan administration's plan to abolish the Railroad Retirement system.

The march and rally in front of the Federal Building were called by the Ogden Area Retired Railroad Employees Club. Club President Lou Wyatt told the marchers, "There was never a time when the working people, active and retired, needed to stand together as much as we do now."

Among those marching were members of several different unions on the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific railroads, as well as other unions in the area.

The Railroad Retirement system, which covers over a million retired rail workers, provides substantially higher retirement and disability benefits than those available under Social Security.

Although Railroad Retirement benefits are paid through a federal agency (the Railroad Retirement Board), they are funded entirely by special taxes on rail workers' wages and matching payments by the carriers in lieu of Social Security taxes.

Under the proposed budget now before the U.S. congress, part of the Railroad Retirement system would be merged with the Social Security Administration, while a new, private pension fund would be set up to pay additional benefits on top of Social Security.

The Office of Management and Budget claims that total benefits to retired rail workers under this scheme will be equivalent to what Railroad Retirement pays. But there are no guarantees of this, and railroad unions are justifiably skeptical about these claims.

Marchers at the Ogden protest were in a fighting mood. A representative of Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), who had been invited to speak at the rally, was met with a chorus of boos.

Supporters of Sara Smith, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress from Utah, distributed campaign statements that called for "Hands off Railroad Retirement," and for eliminating war spending to provide funds for a secure and comfortable retirement for all workers.

*Dan Dickeson is a member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1223 in Salt Lake City.*

### American Labor Struggles 1877-1934

By Samuel Yellen  
416 pp., \$6.95  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.  
Please include \$.75 for postage.

**Good thinking** — The Agriculture Department initially approved a request from the National Pork Producers to permit use of pork from tubercular pigs



**Harry Ring**

in hot dogs, bologna, etc. But then the department decided

that even though such pork is "safe" when properly boiled, adverse consumer response might cost more than the \$4 million or so per anum in wasted meat.

**Sociological note** — In displaying those gift dresses Nancy Reagan gave to museums, curators might consider a special note on the ones from designer Adolfo. An injunction has been issued against his New York subcontractor, barring him from giving out homework, a traditional means of flouting minimum wage, child labor, safety and health laws.

**Required reading** — Sometimes we think we can do without the *New York Times*, but then comes an indispensable item. Like reporting that some local shops carry Chateau Cheval Blanc, a "supreme" wine. A bit on the high side — 1966 vintage, \$147, etc. But there's the '77 for a mere \$25. It's only "mediocre," but for that modest sum, the *Times* advises, you can get an idea of what the good stuff's like.

**Silver lining dep't** — "In this economy there is a potential. People are out of work, so you

sell them a correspondence course." Jack Oldstein, purveyor of direct mail lists.

**Silver lining dep't (II)** — "The world's hazardous materials problem is formidable." — an executive of Battelle Memorial Institute, which sells hazardous waste disposal training kits to corporations. Cited in the *New York Times* "Careers" column.

**Free-advice dep't** — According to Nancy Reagan, children reading news stories about the therapeutic effects of a chemical

in marijuana will get to believe that "if you smoke pot you won't get cancer or have to wear glasses."

**Our rational society** — A cosmetics company will spend \$9 million advertising Gloria Vanderbilt perfume.

**Better than window gates** — John Jacob Astor VIII has decided to dump his British castle. Sits on 3,100 acres and includes gardens, forests, farmlands, a lake, and, for security, a moat around the castle. \$25 million.

## —CALENDAR—

### COLORADO Denver

**Jobs Not War. Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Alan Gummerson, SWP candidate for governor; Lois Remple, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Eileen Thournir, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st District. Guest speakers: Robert Cuthbert, ex-GI victimized by army for speaking out against U.S. involvement in El Salvador; Staten Fuller, president of Denver Student Board of Education; Kiko Martínez, activist lawyer fighting frame-up. Sat., May 22, 7 p.m. Executive Tower Inn, 1405 Curtis St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### ARIZONA

#### Phoenix

**Israeli Independence Day: 34 Years of Repression Against Palestine.** Speakers: Jim Altenberg, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Stop the Deportations! Héctor Marroquín: His Fight for Political Asylum.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, socialist who faces deportation from U.S. for his political beliefs; others. Traducción al español. Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**American Indians: Their Fight for Land and Justice.** An eyewitness account of the struggle in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Speaker: Russell Means, leader of the American Indian Movement. Traducción al español. Sat., May 22, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### San Diego

**U.S. Presses Effort to Deport Héctor Marroquín.** Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, socialist facing deportation for his political beliefs. Sun., May 16, 3 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

**Labor Unionists: How Can We Challenge Company Takebacks?** Speakers to be announced. Sat., May 22, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Iran: Which Way Forward? A Debate.** Speakers: representative of Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas; Bob Schwarz, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 798-3478.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Stop the U.S. War in El Salvador! Stop the Training of Salvadoran Troops!** Rally and march at Fort Benning in Columbus. Sun., May 16, 2 p.m. Buses leave Atlanta at noon

from City Hall parking lot (\$8 round trip). For more information call (in Columbus) Concerned Citizens for Latin America (404) 323-6706; (in Atlanta) Atlanta Committee for Latin America (404) 659-6236 or 688-9298.

**Reagan Vs. Workers' Rights.** Speakers: Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California; Tom Fiske, Lockheed worker, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709; Sidney Colbert, shop steward, Teamsters Local 528. Sat., May 22, 7:30 p.m. Martin Luther King Community Center, 450 Auburn Ave., room 252. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**Reagan Vs. Workers' Rights: Defend Civil Liberties.** Speakers: Jean Savage, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709, fired by Lockheed; Adlene Abstain, organizer, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Anne Braden, civil rights activist; Victor Rubio, representative of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front; Corbin Seavers, National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., May 22, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. Lampton Baptist Church, 850 S 4th. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**Rights and Lives in Danger: Issues Facing Women.** Speakers to be announced. Sun., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**U.S., British Hands Off Malvinas Islands!** Speakers: Mike Galati, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sun., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

**Rally in Defense of the Right to Protest.** Speakers: Fateh Azzam, Arab-American University Graduates Association; Harris Freeman, fired from McDonnell Douglas for his political ideas; others to be announced. Sat., May 22, 7 p.m. social hour, 8 p.m. rally. Emmanuel Church, 15 Newbury St. Ausp:

## Bernadette Devlin McAliskey 'Freedom Only Comes If You Take It!'

Irish freedom struggle leader Bernadette Devlin McAliskey pays tribute to the ten prisoners who died on hunger strike in the H-Blocks of Northern Ireland. She assesses the lessons of the struggle for building a movement to win a free and united Ireland. 24 pp., \$1.25. Order from New York H-Block/Armagh Committee, 135 West Fourth Street, New York, New York, 10012. (Please include \$.75 for postage). Write for information about bulk rates and for information about the committee's activities.

PRDF. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**British Hands Off Malvinas!** Speakers: Robert Kendrick, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sun., May 16, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA

#### Twin Cities

**Israeli Aggression Against the Palestinians: Recent Events on the West Bank.** Speakers: Brian Elam, SWP National Committee; Palestinian speaker to be announced. Sun., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

#### Statewide Campaign Rally and Banquet.

Speakers: Kathy Wheeler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota; Bill Onasch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., May 22, 6:30 p.m. refreshments, 7 p.m. banquet, 8 p.m. rally. 508 N Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$5 banquet, rally free. Ausp: 1982 Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325 or (218) 749-6327.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Stop Britain's War on Argentina!** Speaker: Diane Shur, Socialist Workers Party. Traducción al español. Sun., May 16, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**Hear Jody Curran, Socialist Candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri.** Sat., May 15, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

#### The Malvinas Islands Crisis: British Hands Off!

Speaker: Greg Zensen, Young Socialist Alliance; others to be announced. Sun., May 22, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**INS Raids: Attack on All Workers.** Speakers: Angel Dominguez, Farm Workers Rights Project, ACLU; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Puerto Rico and Disarmament, Militarism and the Caribbean.** Speaker: Jorge Rodríguez Berouff, professor at the University of Puerto Rico, director of Research Project on Militarism in Puerto Rico. Fri., May 28, 8 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W 21st St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. For more information call (212) 989-6820 or 741-3131.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**Jobs, Justice, and the Voting Rights Act.** Speakers: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Sarah

Gardner, president, Cincinnati chapter of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Charles Hughes, Cincinnati chapter, National Black Independent Political Party; Art Slater, executive director, Cincinnati chapter of NAACP; Teresa Brown, chairwoman, Cincinnati Anti-Klan Network. Sun., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

### Cleveland

#### British Hands Off Malvinas Islands!

Speaker: Louise Haberbusch, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., May 15, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

#### Reagan Vs. Workers' Rights. An Evening

to Protest Witch-hunting in the Workplace. Reception for Barry David, member of International Association of Machinists, fired by McDonnell Douglas. Sat., May 22, 7 p.m. Cleveland State University, 22nd and Euclid, 2nd floor lounge. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Tribute to Malcolm X.** Film and discussion. Sun., May 16, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**Americas in Transition.** Film on U.S. role in Central America, narrated by Ed Asner. Sun., May 23, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Charleston

**Film. Malcolm X Speaks.** Sun., May 23, 7 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

#### Disarmament and the New Antiwar

Movement: What Strategy is Needed? Speakers to be announced. Sun., June 6, 7 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

### PENNSYLVANIA Harrisburg

#### Statewide Socialist Campaign Rally.

Speakers: Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania; Katherine Sojourner, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Cathy Emminizer, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Dan Miller, Young Socialist Alliance; Dave Nack, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (organization for identification only). Special guest speaker: Maceo Dixon, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia. Taped message from Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California. Sat., May 15, reception 6 p.m., rally 7 p.m. Party to follow. United Steelworkers Hall, 1024 Herr St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Pennsylvania SWP 1982 Campaign. For more information call (717) 234-5052.



# Articles from Soviet samizdat magazine

**An End to Silence: Uncensored Opinion in the Soviet Union.** From Roy Medvedev's underground magazine, *Political Diary*. Edited with introductions by Stephen Cohen. Translated by George Saunders. W. W. Norton & Co., New York 1981. 375 pages, \$19.95.

BY FRANK LOVELL

This is a collection of underground *samizdat* writings about the years of Stalinist terror in the Soviet Union, and subsequent events related to those times. The Soviet publisher, author, and collector of this material in the underground samizdat is Roy Medvedev. He and his twin brother Zhores were themselves victims, being children of an "enemy of the people." Both are well known to the English-reading public as serious Marxist opponents of Stalinism.

A brief introduction by the American editor of this collection, Prof. Stephen Cohen of Princeton Univer-

## BOOK REVIEW

sity, is a useful reminder of the events that helped condition the Medvedevs' lives and prepare them to undertake this project.

The Medvedevs were born in 1925. Their father, an officer in the Soviet army and a Moscow professor of philosophy, was purged in 1938 when the twins were 12. He died in one of Stalin's forced-labor camps in 1941, at age 42.

Stigmatized by their father's fate, the sons were raised by their mother, a musician, in south Russia and Soviet Georgia. They served in the Soviet army during World War II, and both managed to acquire the equivalent of a doctoral education, Roy in pedagogy at Leningrad University and Zhores in biochemistry.

After Khrushchev's 1956 revelations of some of Stalin's crimes, their father was posthumously exonerated and the sons rose to prominent positions in their respective fields. Together they sought to reform the governing institutions of Soviet society and became dissidents after the downfall of Khrushchev.

Books in English by Roy Medvedev include *Let History Judge* (1971), *Problems in the Literary Biography of Mikhail Sholokhov* (1977), *On Stalin and Stalinism* (1979), and *The October Revolution* (1979). Zhores wrote *The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko* (1969), an exposé of Stalin's terror in Soviet science. They coauthored *A Question of Madness* (1971), an account of Zhores's incarceration in a Soviet mental hospital.

After dismissal from his research position, arrest, and confinement in 1970, Zhores was released as a result of a protest campaign in the Soviet Union. In early 1973 he was allowed to go to London to work at a research institute and, while there, the Soviet authorities revoked his citizenship. He has lived and worked in London since then.

Roy, despite police searches of his apartment, confiscation of his archives, periodic interrogations, and threats of arrest, remains in Moscow. He continues to work as a nonconformist historian and political dissident.

The selected essays that comprise this book under its title, *An End to Silence*, were all printed originally

in the samizdat monthly collection now referred to as *Political Diary*, which appeared from October 1964 until March 1971. There were about 80 issues, many of book length. So these selections are only a small portion of the original, but they are typical of the anti-Stalinist struggle in those years.

In a brief introduction to these selected essays, Roy Medvedev explains that each month he would edit, comment upon, and distribute reports of events and writings of special interest to a select group of no more than 50 readers. Only five typescript copies of each monthly edition were produced. The readers of this material were members of the Soviet Communist Party or intellectuals close to the ruling group in government. The purpose was to sustain the reform movement within the Soviet bureaucracy that gained momentum under Khrushchev and was thwarted when Brezhnev came to power in 1964.

In the 11 years since *Political Diary* was discontinued, a great deal has happened in the Soviet Union and the world, but these more recent developments will be better understood in light of the social process described in this book. The false notion that the Soviet Union is a huge monolith in which social struggle and political change do not occur is demolished by these clandestine writings of Soviet intellectuals, and by the defiance of government injustice by its millions of victims.

Professor Cohen has arranged the Russian material for English readers in such a way as to give us a sense of the development of the anti-Stalinist movement and the countervailing forces at work during the Khrushchev regime, which finally gained control.

The chapter headings show how he brings this about. Beginning with "The Crimes of the Stalin Era," the book moves on to examples of "Guilt and Responsibility" and the establishment of "Neo-Stalinism."

In Stalin's concentration camps torture was widespread. Summary executions by prison authorities were common. But there were survivors who lived to tell it all. In these accounts it is told in prose and poetry, in anger, and in shame and sorrow.

The years of the terror, 1935-53, claimed millions of innocent victims. Some estimates exceed 20 million dead, excluding wartime casualties. Whole nations of minority peoples were uprooted and driven from their homelands to distant desert areas.

In a long introductory essay, "The Stalin Question since Stalin," Professor Cohen notes that there were two categories with an intense personal stake in that question after 1953: "victims of the terror and those who had victimized them." Both groups were very large. Seven or eight million people were eventually freed after Stalin's death, some having served 20 years in prison. Their tormentors were equally numerous, including high government officials, the Stalinist secret police system, jailers, and stool pigeons.

Those who speak through the pages of this book are intellectuals, military and government officials, and relatives of those in high office. Included are Pyotr Yakir, son of an illustrious army commander who was executed in 1937; Lev Kopelev, distinguished literary scholar and World War II army major, arrested in 1945 and held 10 years in prisons and labor camps; Andrei Sakharov, famous physicist presently

under arrest in the Soviet Union; Aleksandr Tvardovsky, poet and prominent literary figure during the Stalin era, later a severe critic of Stalin and editor (1958-70) of the official anti-Stalin journal *Novy mir*; Yevgeny Yevtushenko, popular Soviet poet of the post-Stalin era and defender of the 1968 Czechoslovak revolution; and many others.

Several essays by Roy Medvedev are reprinted, including his polemics with other dissidents — such as former Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, Sakharov, Valentin Turchin, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn — who became anticommunists. Medvedev, unlike the others, has never abandoned his faith in the socialist future.

One of the most revealing accounts of the post-Stalin heritage of fear and mistrust is about the trial of an obscure Moscow school teacher, Valeria Gerlin, who signed a protest against the "gross violations of correct legal norms" in the 1966-68 trials of dissidents.

Gerlin was guilty of defending the legal rights of these "enemies," and her "union" demanded her dismissal as a teacher. Her background was against her. She was orphaned at age seven when her father, a communist, was shot in 1937 and her mother sentenced to eight years imprisonment for associating with an "enemy of the people." Gerlin was naturally suspect and sent to prison when she was 19. She was later "rehabilitated."

After being found guilty in this instance by other teachers in her school (the vote was 35 against her, 5 in support, and 2 abstentions), Gerlin told them: "I am ashamed . . . for you, comrades. Because you cannot hear and understand, you cannot think, because many of you have shown yourselves to be even more unprincipled than I thought you were."

Such courage and tenacity of purpose is more characteristic of the Soviet working class, where Valeria Gerlin has her roots, than is generally understood by many opposition leaders, like Medvedev, who expect the bureaucracy to reform itself.

The potential role of the working class is one of the questions skirted by Roy Medvedev in an essay written in 1975, subsequent to any of the material in this book. Entitled "Problems of General Concern," it appears in *A Discussion with Roy Medvedev — Detente & Socialist Democracy* (Monad Press 1976, distributed by Pathfinder).

The Russian people are more responsive to world events, especially political developments in the countries of Eastern Europe, than is commonly known here in the United States. The chapter in *An End to Silence* on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, titled "August 1968: The Winter of Communist Reform," clearly shows opposition from a Marxist viewpoint inside Russia. Many Soviet intellectuals were deeply sympathetic to the reform movement in Czechoslovakia. It mirrored their own hopes and aspirations.

Fourteen years later it is reasonable to assume that the Russian working class is deeply sympathetic to the heroic struggles in 1982 of the Polish workers to cast off the Stalinist yoke. Undoubtedly this political revolution mirrors the hopes and aspirations of the Russian workers. Those socialists who today look "Toward a Moscow Spring" will see the first material signs of it when the industrial workers of the Soviet Union begin to stir.

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

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**UTAH:** Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19. P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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

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

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

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

## Washington's war 'games' in Caribbean

Forty-five thousand U.S. soldiers are currently at war in the Caribbean.

But the Reagan administration doesn't call it "war" — they call it war "games."

The 45,000 troops are part of "Ocean Venture 82," a massive U.S. military maneuver that involves 60 warships and 350 airplanes. The three-week operation — involving U.S. bases in Florida, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guantánamo in Cuba — lasts until May 16.

The official story is that these maneuvers are just an exercise, but the mock combat situation created for the "exercise" leaves little doubt what the soldiers are training for.

According to the May 9 *Miami Herald*, the soldiers carried out a practice invasion on the island of Vieques in Puerto Rico May 7. The *Herald* described the script prepared for the GIs by the Pentagon:

"Vieques represented a mythical country known as 'Brown.' The United States, committed to protecting the vital, but precarious sea lanes in the Caribbean, was at war with Brown, which had interfered in the region and shipped arms to Central America. Brown's forces at Vieques — numbering about 1,000 — were outfitted in brown uniforms and helmets similar to those worn by Soviet Union soldiers."

That the maneuvers are a dry run for an attack on Cuba, Nicaragua, and/or El Salvador couldn't be more blatant, right down to the racist code name "Brown" for the people U.S. GIs are being trained to shoot at.

Just like Reagan's other war operations in Central America and the Caribbean, Ocean Venture 82 has not been widely publicized in the United States. No Democratic or Republican politicians have spoken out against it. It's being downplayed in the media in the same conscious manner that the actual *shooting* war organized by Washington in Nicaragua is being treated. For months there have been almost daily raids into Nicaragua from the Honduran border by counterrevolutionaries openly trained by U.S. Green Berets and other "advisers."

What has been played up by the capitalist media is Reagan's May 9 speech proposing a joint reduction of U.S. and Soviet nuclear warheads. Reagan's speech was hailed in the *New York Times* as "a major shift in his own thinking."

Nothing could be further from the truth. The speech charged that the Soviet Union — which has

never dropped the bomb — is responsible for the nuclear buildup. And while Reagan talked about "reducing the risks of war," he was threatening Argentina with U.S. military action if it refused to heel to Britain. His 45,000 troops were practicing their invasion of "Brown." His CIA agents and Green Berets were launching more terror raids into Nicaragua.

Whenever the U.S. rulers talk about "peace" and "reducing the risk of war," the workers of the world should be on their guard. The imperialists are talking peace to better prepare for war. In fact, just a few days after Reagan's speech, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved his proposal for \$60 million in military aid to the Salvadoran junta.

Reagan's speech was designed as one more move to portray the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other countries where working people have abolished capitalism as the threat to peace, in order to defuse the growing protest against U.S. war policies. It was designed to cover the very real war moves Washington is carrying out, moves that do threaten nuclear war.

It is U.S. workers and farmers — like the 45,000 training right now in the Caribbean — who will die along with workers and farmers abroad in the wars the U.S. rulers want to wage.

The U.S. workers and farmers are paying already for these wars by the devastating social cutbacks to feed the war machine, by the massive unemployment gripping the country, by the intensified attacks on democratic rights that always accompany imperialist war.

The U.S. labor movement has a giant stake in fighting against Washington's war — at home and abroad. And it has an opportunity to do so with the June 12 peace demonstrations scheduled in New York and other cities. These actions — coinciding with the United Nations session on disarmament — are a chance to tell Reagan we oppose his dirty wars in Latin America, a chance to get out the word to millions about the war danger emanating from Washington.

It is only by recognizing and speaking out against the U.S. war drive abroad that labor can effectively combat Washington's war at home: the massive buildup of U.S. nuclear and conventional arms at the expense of funds for schools, health care, and jobs; the stepped-up union-busting and antilabor legislation designed to stifle union protest; the sharpening attacks on Blacks, Latinos, and women.

## Labor's answer to unemployment crisis

According to the U.S. government, the unemployment rate was 9.4 percent in April, the highest since 1941. For the first time since the Great Depression of the 1930s, the number of officially unemployed rose above the 10 million mark — to 10.3 million.

But these figures are not the whole story. For example, according to the government, 5.8 million people were forced to work part time in April because they could not find full-time jobs. Yet the government counts these people as "employed."

In some states, the rate of unemployment was well above 9.4 percent, even according to official figures. In the state of Michigan, for example, official unemployment is 15 percent.

In manufacturing, the nationwide official unemployment rate was 11.3 percent; in agriculture it was 14.6 percent; in construction it was 19.4 percent.

In the United States, unemployment is a racist institution. While the official unemployment figure for white workers was 8.4 percent, it was 12.5 percent for Latinos and 18.4 percent for Blacks, more than twice as high as the white rate. Among Black teenagers, the government admits an unemployment rate of 48.1 percent.

It must be remembered that the official unemployment figures — at best — count only those who are actively looking for work, not those who want work. In reality it can be safely assumed that unemployment far exceeds 50 percent among Black youth.

The jobs crisis is all the more severe because more and more workers are exhausting their unemployment benefits. Yet the government has refused to extend unemployment insurance an additional 13 weeks as was done during earlier, less serious recessions.

Neither the Democrats nor Republicans have any answer to the problem of mass unemployment. Instead the government is looking for scapegoats. The recent raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which led to the deportation of thousands of mainly Latino workers, were designed in part to shift blame for the capitalist-caused crisis

onto undocumented and Latino workers.

The impact of the worst unemployment crisis in more than 40 years is being greatly aggravated by the bipartisan budget cuts. Social Security statistics show that the government has cut off payments to 106,000 disabled people since October alone. In many cases people who are legally eligible for benefits even after the Reagan cutbacks have had their benefits cut off by government officials.

Is there any solution to the unemployment crisis?

As long as the capitalist minority holds *political power* mass unemployment and periodic recessions and depressions will continue.

How would a government that represents the majority, a workers and farmers government, deal with the problem?

It would launch a massive program to construct new public housing, schools, hospitals, and mass transit — especially in the Black and Latino communities — which would provide work for millions.

How would this be financed?

It would be financed by elimination of the imperialist war budget that consumes hundreds of billions of dollars per year, and through taxation of the rich and the corporations.

If corporations tried to shut down plants and throw workers out onto the streets, a workers and farmers government would require that they open their books to public inspection. If they were unwilling or unable to operate the plants, the plants would be nationalized.

The workweek would be shortened with no cut in pay. Instead of the introduction of new technology in order to make higher profits for the rich and lay off workers, improved technology would be used to improve the working conditions and living standards of all.

The fight for this kind of program and this kind of government is urgently needed today. Labor needs its own political party to effectively wage this fight and effectively challenge the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for unemployment.

## Fidel Castro on how imperialism robs colonial world

The following are brief excerpts from Cuban leader Fidel Castro's speech to the Second Congress of the Association of Third World Economists on April 26, 1981. In the speech, Fidel explains how imperialism "underdevelops" the colonial and semicolonial world, and how this exploitation is sharpened by the economic crisis in the imperialist countries themselves.

All the economic evils of developed capitalist societies have highly amplified repercussions on most African, Asian, and Latin American countries. There is no reasonable correspondence between economic stagnation and retrogression, rampant inflation and growing unemployment, and what is happening on the other side. The capitalist crisis has sharpened the permanent features of underdevelopment that all of us know so well.

In contrast, transnational monopolies keep increasing their dividends and achieving impressive financial accumulations. For example, during the 1970-1978 period, the total flow of these monopolies' direct investments in underdeveloped countries amounted to \$42.2 billion. During the same period,

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

transnational enterprises remitted \$100.2 billion in repatriated profits to their home countries. This means that for every new dollar invested in underdeveloped countries during the period concerned, an average of \$2.40 was withdrawn in repatriated profits.

During the same period, U.S. investments in the Third World amounted to \$8.7 billion, \$39.7 billion being repatriated to their sources as profits. This represents an average \$4.50 income into the U.S. balance of payments for each new dollar invested in underdeveloped countries.

Transnationals exert an impressive control over trade in commodities. They market 50-60 percent of sugar and phosphates; 70-75 percent of bananas, rice, rubber, and crude oil; 75-80 percent of tin; 85-90 percent of cocoa, tea, coffee, tobacco, wheat, cotton, jute, timber, and copper; 90-95 percent of iron ore and bauxite.

This marketing provides huge profits, tens of billions that are swallowed up by the transnationals' coffers, dispossessing and decapitalizing underdeveloped countries even more.

An outstanding example refers to the prices assigned by these monopolies to commodities in underdeveloped countries, thus deepening unequal exchange, foremost cause of those countries' indebtedness.

On the other hand, underdeveloped countries' industrial products are discriminated against through the establishment of quotas and high tariffs that prevent their entry in developed markets.

As if this were not enough, a calculated and persistent policy prevails aimed at winning over scientists, technicians, and qualified workers from underdeveloped countries. It is especially aimed at those with the highest scientific qualifications, and is widely known under the name of "brain drain." The chronic shortage of experts and technicians in underdeveloped countries has become more acute.

It is within this framework of pressure and plunder that the action of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund takes place. These institutions, dominated by the metropolises, unscrupulously manipulate the monetary and financial crisis which affects the Third World more strongly.

Although the exact data are not known, the underdeveloped countries' foreign debt already attains or exceeds the fabulous and nearly incredible figure of over 500 billion dollars. On the other hand, their industries are scarce and their productivity generally low; they are chiefly producers of intermediate goods or foodstuffs and light industry articles, and generally belong to the labor-intensive category. Non-oil-producing countries are in an even worse position, for they lack the essential energy, spend a good deal of their few resources importing it, and consequently do not compensate for this drain with the sale of their products.

The public debt of underdeveloped countries grew at an average annual rate of approximately 21 percent during the 1970s. For debt servicing alone, our countries paid \$44.2 billion in 1979.

As may be appreciated, this is bankruptcy. The unbearable burden of the debt and its servicing unsettles the life of Third World nations and ties them, more and more, to the owners of the financial capital. The greater part of humanity is hungry and stands in need of clothing, housing, schools, hospitals, factories in which to work, of means of agricultural production.



# Are 'price controls' the way to halt inflation?

BY WILLIAM GOTTlieb

This week we are running a letter from reader Richard Morgan asking whether the April 2 editorial in the *Militant* indicates a change in position on the question of price controls (see below).

The sentence quoted by reader Morgan was a slip on the part of the *Militant*. The *Militant* remains op-

## AS I SEE IT

posed to the price-control slogan. This is not because we're opposed to controlling prices, but because under capitalism it is not possible.

Under the capitalist system, prices are determined by thousands of transactions that occur daily. Movements of prices are at the heart of the regulation of production under the anarchy of capitalism. As long as production remains unplanned, it will not be possible to plan prices.

In addition, monopoly capitalism in decline has a built-in tendency toward inflation. Wars such as those in Korea and Vietnam lead to inflationary price hikes. So do economic and financial crises that cause massive currency devaluation. Every so-called war against inflation waged by the government has been followed by a new and worse outbreak of inflation.

The government often links price controls to wage freezes in order to con workers into accepting the latter. But under such "wage-price control" schemes, there are no serious mechanisms to enforce price controls. Yet every boss, big and small, is eager to and will enforce wage controls. "Wage-price controls," in

practice, are simply a method of boosting profits at the expense of wages.

Workers have learned through the years that the only way to protect themselves against inflation is to win escalator clauses in contracts — that is, the provision that wages rise automatically to fully match each increase in the cost of living. These have been extended to Social Security payments.

Even where these measures have been won, they have been inadequate. And today, under the blows of the employers' offensive, they have either been lost or severely eroded. The bosses are using the pressure of massive unemployment to blackmail workers into going along with the weakening or loss of cost-of-living escalator clauses.

In the name of fighting the federal deficit, President Reagan and Congress are also trying to eliminate the cost-of-living escalator from Social Security.

The only way that the workers can combat the devastating effect of skyrocketing prices on their standard of living is to demand that cost-of-living escalator clauses be strengthened and extended to all those who live on unemployment insurance, welfare payments, and pensions.

One weakness of the current cost-of-living escalator clauses is that they depend on the government's consumer price index, which underestimates inflation. Recently, the government has been on a successful campaign to revise the official index so it shows even less inflation.

In order to combat this, unions in each city, together with consumer groups, ought to organize price-watch committees and develop their own reliable price index based on what workers are really paying for goods and services. Wages and other payments

workers receive should then be raised in line with this index.

The unions could then focus their collective bargaining demands on real-wage increases, instead of always facing an uphill battle just to make up losses from past inflation. The struggle for full protection against inflation should also be linked to the demand for shortening the workweek with no reduction in pay, to make jobs available for all.

The bosses try to use constant increases in the cost of living to drive a wedge between workers and farmers. For example, working farmers are now suffering from falling prices, while the price that workers pay for food continues to climb. The bosses claim that higher prices for farmers would mean higher food prices for workers.

Price committees made up of workers and working farmers could demand that the books of the giant food monopolies be opened. The increasingly fewer corporations that have concentrated most of the distribution and processing of food into their hands should be made to show their real profits, production statistics, technological possibilities, political payoffs, and tax swindles. The full extent of the profits they make by paying low prices to working farmers and charging high prices to city workers would then become known. We could then see how they are rigging prices, deliberately causing shortages, hoarding reserves, and creating unhealthy products.

It would become clear to all who is really responsible for the high cost of living. This would be a giant step forward in the struggle to establish a workers and farmers government that could move toward replacing the capitalist system once and for all.

## LETTERS

### Price controls?

The editorial "War, recession and the '82 elections" that appeared in the April 2 *Militant* contained the following sentence: "To end the effects of inflation by price controls and by insuring that wages keep up with inflation." In articles I've seen in the *Militant* before you opposed such price control schemes by the government. So I'm a little confused about what you're proposing now. Have you changed your position?

Richard Morgan  
New York, New York

### 'Displacement'

Doug Jenness's book review of *Displacement: How to Fight It* in your April 23, 1982, edition left out the ultimate irony. The authors of the book are about to be displaced out of their jobs! I know because I work for the same corporation that they do.

The authors work for (and the book was published by) the Legal Services Corporation, which is a federally-funded corporation that provides legal representation to poor people.

Reagan tried to abolish the program last year, but there was enough resistance so that the program was maintained. However, the cost was high. For the first time since the 1930s, Congress has barred nongovernmental workers the right to strike; also our right to represent women seeking abortions, those seeking desegregation of the schools, undocumented workers, and homosexuals was restricted.

This year once again Reagan is seeking to abolish Legal Services. Only our union (District 65 of the United Auto Workers), the rest of the labor movement, and all its allies can prevent this attack on democratic rights.

Eric Poulos  
Brooklyn, New York

### First strike

Until the 1960s, U.S. officials religiously created the impres-

sion that the U.S. would never consider a nuclear first-strike policy. It was deemed shrill and radical to suggest that such a policy was exactly what they had in mind. Since then, discussion of a U.S. first-strike policy has gradually become more acceptable.

Finally, three mandarins of the liberal Democratic establishment — ex-Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, and George Kennan (joined by Nixon's strategic arms negotiator, Gerald Smith) — came forward on April 7 at a news conference prompted by a joint article of theirs for *Foreign Affairs* magazine, to acknowledge that a first-strike capability has indeed been the policy of the U.S. and NATO for 33 years, and to advocate that the first-strike policy should now be abandoned in favor of a strictly deterrent policy against an opponent's first strike.

But on the very next day, McNamara denied that he had ever presided over a first-strike policy, insisting instead that a first-strike capability had been merely a proposal of the Air Force after the Cuban missile crisis, and that he had argued against it.

The press seems not to have noticed the contradiction in McNamara's stories. McNamara opposes Reagan's opinion that the Soviet nuclear buildup was designed to obtain a first-strike force, but holds rather that it was prompted by the U.S. buildup and rumors of a U.S. first-strike policy.

What emerges from all this is that the world nuclear buildup can be laid at the door of the U.S., and that U.S. officials maintain a capacity for lying, even though not all may wish overtly to maintain a first-strike capability. Nuclear weapons and nuclear energy plants threaten all our lives, and we should demand that they all be dismantled.

Reagan and Haig may be offending the deans of the U.S. establishment with the cruder forms of their brinkmanship, but for the time they are proba-

bly doing an efficient job of keeping the war pots boiling in Central America, South America, and the Middle East, so as to make themselves useful to the Pentagon and its associated industrialists, and thus avoid placing their positions in any imminent danger.

Lawrence Daley  
Detroit, Michigan

### 'Twisting' issues?

After reading your paper for three months I realize that anyone can take an issue and "twist" it to their advantage. I've decided that socialism as presented by your paper lacks one thing. And that is a genuine concern for peace. You want the U.S. out of Central America (I agree), but you turn right around and advocate revolution, bloodshed for socialism. I can do without that. I'm going to build a better world with peace in it — through Christ's name. Shalom.

A reader  
Austin, Texas

### Abortion & left

This is in regard to the article by Suzanne Haig in the May 7 issue. When I first read the headline, "Should the left back abortion rights?" I assumed the article was an elementary discussion of the right of women to control their own bodies. Reading on, I became outraged. I had no idea this basic right was being challenged or even questioned by the social democrats.

Looking back on it, I suppose I shouldn't have been shocked. The social democrats have no faith in the working class leading a real fight to defend women's rights. As Suzanne said, they buckle under the capitalists' attacks. They have no principles or program which puts forward a working-class strategy for women's liberation. They rely on bourgeois "morality" to justify their support to the ruling-class attacks on workers' rights.

The confusion which the social democrats do by this back-



stabbing, hurts all those fighting for women's rights. The Democratic Socialists of America dirties the word socialist and miseducates the working class. Socialists know defending a woman's right to choose and to control her own body is fundamental in furthering the cause of women's liberation.

Thank you for the article and I look forward to more articles on the debates within the women's movement.

Eileen Thournir  
Denver, Colorado

### Math ability

I thought that *Militant* readers would be interested in the following item from the March 20 issue of *Science News* concerning sex differences in mathematical ability; a subject which has gotten some attention recently.

About a year ago, Julian C. Stanley and Camilla Persson Benbow of Johns Hopkins University reported the results of research which purported to demonstrate that girls were inherently less capable than boys of learning math. This was given significant play in the popular press.

It isn't at all surprising that contrary evidence should get little or no notice in the bourgeois media (at least I haven't seen any coverage).

According to *Science News*: "Zalman Usiskin and Sharon Senk [of the University of Chicago] will report this week at a meeting of the American Educational Research Association that a test of 1,366 high school students revealed no significant sex-differences in the ability to perform geometrical proofs.

Such a specialized mathematical task is a powerful indicator of the ability to learn math, according to Usiskin, because students almost never learn geometrical proofs on their own. As a result, he said in an interview, testing proof-writing ability minimizes the effects of experience — parental encouragement, for example — on math performance.

In addition, Usiskin noted, geometrical proofs test both abstract reasoning and spacial ability, two cognitive areas in which girls are supposed to be weaker than boys."

Steve Bloom  
Brooklyn, New York

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.

## Support grows for Missouri farmer jailed by bankruptcy court

BY KEITH ROSS  
AND SHEILA OSTROW

ST. LOUIS — Wayne Cryts is in jail today because he refuses to tell a judge the names of the people who helped him repossess 31,000 bushels of his soybeans from a grain elevator. Cryts has been jailed indefinitely for "civil contempt."

Cryts, a national leader of the American Agricultural Movement, gained national attention in February 1981 when he and 2,000 to 3,000 supporters removed the soybeans from a bankrupt grain elevator in New Madrid, Missouri. Cryts had rented space in the elevator to store his grain. Farmers came from a dozen states to support Cryts in this effort.

Cryts's beans had been locked up since mid-summer of 1980 when the Ristine elevator, owned by the James Brothers Farm Centers Inc., filed for bankruptcy.

Because of the class-biased federal bankruptcy laws, state courts can decide whether banking institutions have precedence over the farmers in filing claims against the grain elevator.

Judge Charles Baker of the U.S. Bankruptcy Court in Little Rock, Arkansas, ruled that the contents of the elevators would be considered assets of the James Brothers, and that the farmers would have to wait in line with the rest of the company's creditors.

Cryts stated that the question of the ownership of the beans was clear, and that he did not recognize the validity of the law. After waiting for final word on negotiations in Washington, which never came, he and his supporters set out to repossess his beans.

When the farmers approached the Ristine elevator, they were met by a line of U.S. marshals across the elevator driveway. Alvin Jenkins, a farmer and a national leader of AAM, scrambled atop a red grain truck and shouted to the farmers, "We, members of the Agricultural Movement, believe in freedom and the right to feed the American family at equality of 100 percent parity. If you are not willing to give your life for what you stand for, get out of the way."

As the trucks moved forward, the marshals parted and allowed the farmers to remove all 31,000 bushels of Wayne Cryts's soybeans. Throughout the whole ordeal, FBI agents took photographs and notes of the actions and participants.

Cryts's action came at a time when grain elevators were closing around the country. Four grain elevators closed in one month across the river in Illinois.

As the first of the soybeans gushed into the back of Wayne Cryts's truck, he climbed atop and said that their victory was a victory for all farmers everywhere, and that their action would ensure the security of all grain stored across the country. Cryts then took his grain to another elevator in Bernie to be stored.

On July 22, 1981, Cryts and others took the 31,000 bushels of soybeans from the grain elevator in Bernie to the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation office in Bloomfield, Missouri. He offered them as payment for a \$140,000 loan which the Commodity Credit Corporation was demanding be repaid.

Agricultural officials, however, refused to accept the beans because they said they were under the control of the U.S. Bankruptcy Court in Little Rock.

Cryts considered the loan repaid. "I've got my grain home and it's in my cus-

tody. I've got title to it, and so I should be able to sell it."

At a hearing on February 9, 1982, Cryts refused to answer questions about his repossession of soybeans from the Bernie elevator. After the hearing had been recessed, a federal judge granted Cryts immunity from criminal prosecution and told him to give the court the names of people who helped him. When the hearing resumed on April 28, Cryts still would not answer that question.

Cryts told Baker: "Your honor, I cannot in good conscience force myself to answer any questions. I'm not doing this to be contemptible. I feel I have been denied my basic rights and freedom."

Baker said a stay behind bars might change Cryt's mind about answering.

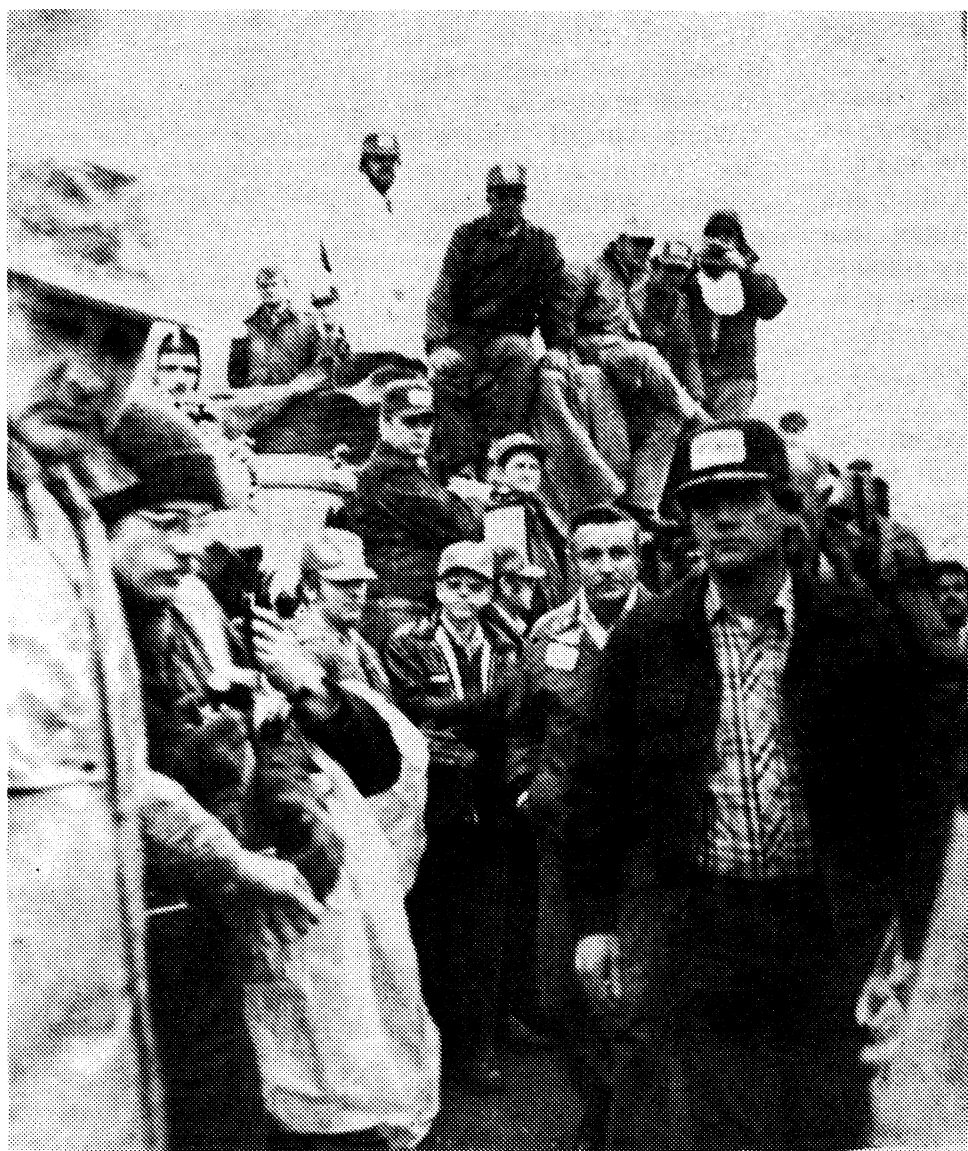
Called to the witness stand a few hours after Cryts's jailing were his wife, father, and two others. Copies of newspapers containing photographs from last July, introduced into the proceedings, showed the four assisting in the grain removal.

Each refused to answer the more than 20 questions they were asked about the incident, using the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination. The judge then approved a motion to seek immunity from federal prosecution for the four. If granted, this would remove their right to use the Fifth Amendment. They could be compelled to answer the questions or, like Cryts, be jailed for contempt of court.

Support for Cryts has been widespread. About 90 people, many members of the American Agricultural Movement, were in the courtroom when Cryts refused to answer. About 50 farmers continue to protest his jailing by picketing outside the federal courthouse in Little Rock. Cryts is being held in a county jail in Russellville, Arkansas.

A radio station in Moberly, Missouri, (KRES-FM and KWIY-AM) has raised \$13,500 in cash and pledges for a legal defense fund for Cryts, established in Puxico, Missouri, Cryts's home town.

The station suspended regular programming and opened the phone lines on



American Agriculture News  
Wayne Cryts (right) with supporters in Missouri, in February 1981, when he repossessed his soybeans from bankrupt grain elevator.

May 5. They received solid phone calls from 6 a.m. until noon. The fundraising effort drew a response from farmers, unionists, businessmen, and area residents.

Three thousand dollars was brought to the station in cash or checks and dumped into a bushel basket. The rest was pledged in telephone calls from 15

counties. Most of the contributions were \$10 or \$15. Many cash donations were accompanied by letters of support for Cryts.

So far the Wayne Cryts Defense Fund has raised more than \$22,000. Checks can be made out to the Wayne Cryts Defense Fund and sent to Puxico State Bank, Puxico, Missouri 63960.

## Black leaders discuss how to advance struggle against Washington's wars

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

One of the most significant aspects of the fight against war in this country is the involvement of a number of important Black leaders. Their participation reflects the depth of antiwar sentiment in the Black community.

There is a big discussion going on among antiwar forces about how to build a movement against the U.S. war drive. The *Militant* interviewed a number of Black leaders about their views on this subject.

The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), for example, has been outspoken in its opposition to the U.S. war in El Salvador and U.S. intervention elsewhere in the colonial world. NBIPP activists in New York have played an important role in bringing together antiwar forces who are mobilizing for the June 12 demonstrations coinciding with the United Nations disarmament session.

Rev. Ben Chavis is a national representative of NBIPP and was one of the Wilmington Ten defendants. He re-

ferred to the NBIPP's charter in an interview with the *Militant* about the party's view of the emerging antiwar movement.

"In answering the question of why Blacks and others should mobilize for the June 12 action," Chavis said, "let me refer to the party's charter, under the section entitled 'Peace and Disarmament.'"

"That section says: 'We believe that Black people have a vital stake in working to avert nuclear holocaust, which no one will survive. We believe that the United States' military establishment and its arms policy pose the greatest threat to world peace and humanity. We believe that the huge increases in the military budget will seriously further deteriorate the United States' economy and will bring about deeper and more severe cutbacks in vitally necessary social programs for Black and poor people.'"

"I think," Chavis continued, "that the onus is upon all African-Americans to be more vocal, now more than ever, on

the disarmament issue. There are a couple of reasons why I feel this way.

"Firstly, I think that the NBIPP is correct in its charter, which pointed to this issue some time ago.

"Secondly, the world's population is certainly predominantly a Third World population. So it is in the interests of the peoples of this world, who are predominantly people of color, that we, people of African descent in the United States, address this issue forthrightly.

"We must not look at this issue as being some appendage to the overall struggle for liberation and self-determination. It is a vital part. If there is no life on earth, then there can be no self-determination, no liberation. There will be no control of the land.

"So it is a very pragmatic view that I have," Chavis observed. "We should take a *vanguard* position on this issue of disarmament in the interests of the liberation movements, in the interests of the continued existence of Third World peoples.

Continued on Page 10