

Reagan deepens U.S. role in British war on Argentina



Antiwar march in Manchester, England, on May 1

Socialist Challenge

U.S. war on Nicaragua: the cover-up continues

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA — "Listen, *compañero*. They came around 9:30 in the morning. 'They began by shouting, 'Give up, or you're going to die!'"

And then the counterrevolutionaries opened fire.

Alberto Reyes was one of the lucky ones. A small farmer and head of the local militia unit in the little town of El Guabo in central Nicaragua, he and his 14-year-old daughter held off the terror squad during a two-hour gun battle May 6. Although he and his family were eventually able to slip out the back way, their house and all their belongings were burned to the ground.

You'll find no word of this in major U.S. newspapers. It has never been reported on U.S. radio or TV.

But the attack on the home of Alberto Reyes is part of an undeclared war against Nicaragua that is being organized and directed by the White House.

It was never voted on by Congress or approved by the American people.

Yet scores of Nicaraguans have been killed, hundreds wounded. One whole section of the country, the area along the northeast border with Honduras where the Miskitu Indians live, has had to be evacuated because it could not be defended.

Most of these attacks are mounted by forces based in camps located just across the border with Honduras. There, some 4,000 to 5,000 counterrevolutionaries are permanently based.

These opponents of the 1979 revolution that overthrew U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza are trained, armed, and paid by the U.S. government.

Most are former members of Somoza's hated National Guard. Others have been recruited from military forces throughout Latin America.

In recent months they have been joined by representatives of capitalist political formations based inside Nica-

ragua. These include businessman Alfonso Robelo, leader of the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), the main capitalist outfit.

Along with several of his associates, Robelo has now openly gone over to the side of armed counterrevolution. In voluntary "exile" abroad, he has joined forces with ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora, who has publicly called for overturning Nicaragua's government.

More than 60 clashes between counterrevolutionary forces and the Sandinista military have taken place so far this year — that is, since Reagan put into effect his \$19 million CIA program to "destablize" Nicaragua.

Most attacks have been along the Honduran border, but some have taken place deep inside the country, and at least three along the southern border with Costa Rica, including one May 20

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Iran wins major battle in Iraq war

BY SUZANNE HAIG AND FRED MURPHY

The streets of Tehran broke into celebration May 24 as news arrived that Iranian troops had liberated the city of Khorramshahr in Khuzestan province. This was the last major stronghold of Iraqi troops in the war against Iran.

Upon hearing the news, Iranians rushed to stores to buy candy and cookies as gifts for friends celebrating the victory. Dancing began in the streets. Drivers turned on their car lights and beeped their horns.

At 9 p.m. tens of thousands of Tehran residents went up on their rooftops and chanted "God is great!"

The celebration was especially big in south Tehran, the working-class area of the city. Many of the soldiers killed in the war had come from south Tehran. The population there had continual mo-

Antiwar protest in London

The U.S. capitalist press is trying to convince American workers that there is 100 percent support in Britain for Thatcher's war against Argentina. Nothing could be further from the truth: opposition is mounting in the British labor movement, despite government efforts to intimidate antiwar unionists.

More than 8,000 people turned out in London May 23 to demonstrate against the imperialist war in the Malvinas. During the demonstration, police broadcast warnings to the marchers not to chant "provocative slogans." They threatened to arrest those they deemed provocative for "breach of the peace."

Despite such intimidation, the demonstration went ahead as planned. Tony Benn, the leader of the Labour Party's left wing, told the crowd at Trafalgar Square that their action, and others like it taking place around the country, were "an antidote to the poison of nationalism and hate released in our society by the war."

Other speakers at the demonstration included Fire Brigades President Bill Dean, Tobacco Workers Union General Secretary Terry Marsland, and Rafael Runco, a former Argentine political prisoner.

In Edinburgh, hospital worker Kevin Holmes told 2,000 antiwar demonstrators: "We are not at war with the Argentine people. We are at war with Mrs. Thatcher. This is the war we should all be fighting."

Holmes appealed for support to the fight for higher wages now being organized by health service workers in Britain. Both the health workers and rail workers have come under attack for carrying out strikes during the war. They have been accused of "treachery" by the Tory press.

Demonstrations also took place in

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Pentagon rushes arms to Royal Navy

BY FRED MURPHY

As three more British warships were reported sinking in the South Atlantic, Washington declared it was increasing military aid to Margaret Thatcher's bloody invasion of the Malvinas Islands.

The U.S. government has now admitted it is shipping Sidewinder air-to-air missiles and other ammunition to the British, according to the May 26 *New York Times*. The *Times* said that British forces "were consuming missiles and other ammunition at a high rate to fight off attacks by Argentine aircraft."

White House officials also "suggested" to the *Times* that they were considering supplying Britain with "more advanced missiles."

While much of the actual U.S. involvement is still kept a secret from the American people, it is clear that the U.S. rulers intend to do everything possible to help the British imperialists restore their colonial grip on the Malvinas and deal a sharp blow to the Argentine workers and peasants.

"Not only does Britain urgently need immediate military equipment and intelligence assistance, but it also needs U.S. diplomatic backing over the long haul to ensure the islands have the kind of future Britain can accept," the *Wall Street Journal* said May 25.

"U.S. backing matters more and more as time goes on," says Col. Jonathan Alford of the [British] International Institute for Strategic Studies. "We would feel totally isolated without U.S. support."

Reagan officials coupled their announcement of more aid to Britain with threats against the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other Latin American nations. Defense Department spokesman Benjamin Welles declared that "any extracontinental involvement in the Falklands would be viewed seriously by this administration."

Welles specifically mentioned the Soviet Union, and Pentagon officials assured reporters the warning was meant for any "outside interference."

But the war in the South Atlantic is precisely about "outside interference" — by the British imperialists, who have invaded Argentine territory, and by their partners in the United States, who are escalating their own involvement.

The British rulers had hoped for a quick retreat by the Argentine regime in face of intense military, economic, and diplomatic pressure. Instead, confronted at home with massive expressions of anti-imperialist sentiment, the junta stood firm on its demand that London give up its 149-year-old colonial rule over the Malvinas Islands.

As a result, the conflict has escalated into a major confrontation between semicolonial Latin America and the imperialist powers.

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Reagan escalates military aid to Thatcher

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"Continental solidarity has taken firm hold around the contention that a rich European nation is punishing a poor Latin one," a *New York Times* dispatch from Brazil said May 22.

Demonstrations in solidarity with Argentina have taken place in various Latin American countries, including a march of some 200,000 persons in Lima, Peru, on May 12. Latin American federations of banking and communications workers have called for boycotts of British business. The revolutionary governments of Cuba and Nicaragua have declared their solidarity with the Argentine people and have even offered to provide military aid if requested.

Washington is already providing London with a staging area on Ascension Island in the mid-Atlantic, logistics and intelligence support, KC-135 tanker aircraft with U.S. pilots, and possibly advanced naval reconnaissance planes, also U.S.-piloted. A list of additional weapons and equipment that has been drawn up by the Pentagon for rapid shipment to Ascension Island includes surface-to-air missiles, land-based radar, portable fuel tanks for fighter jets, ammunition, and engineering equipment, the *New York Times* reported May 21.

The U.S. imperialists are looking out for their own interests by backing up their allies in Britain. They want to help London "teach a lesson" to the oppressed peoples throughout the semicolonial world. They want to demonstrate to working people in the United States and Western Europe that military might will be used abroad to defend imperialist interests, even in defiance of massive antiwar sentiment.

The task is turning out to be not as easy as Reagan and Thatcher had hoped. The British Defense Ministry has already admitted the loss of two warships and severe damage to a third, the downing of at least four Harrier jet fighters and nine helicopters, and the death of 70 personnel.

On May 26 it was announced that another British destroyer had been sunk, as well as a frigate and a supply ship.

Imperialist politicians and military figures are using the South Atlantic conflict to press their propaganda for a major buildup in conventional military forces. *New York Times* military analyst Drew Middleton pointed April 30 to some of the "lessons" NATO officials are drawing from the war:

"Officials at NATO headquarters in Brussels and at the Defense Ministry [in

London] say similar situations could demand that the United States or France make commitments outside Western Europe. . . .

"The diversion of much of the British armed forces creates a serious situation, alliance planners agreed. But more frightening prospects for them are outbreaks of limited wars in Southwest Asia, Africa or Southwest Asia. In some cases, they say, these would demand American or British intervention."

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has made this point explicitly to his West European counterparts, the *New York Times* reported May 16.

"Mr. Weinberger, the officials said, has been pointing to the crisis in the South Atlantic to reinforce the Administration's contention that members of the North Atlantic alliance have interests outside the boundaries of NATO and must be ready to send forces to protect those interests."

U.S. Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Thomas Hayward criticized the British government May 20 for its "significant error in judgment" in cutting back the size of the Royal Navy in recent years. Hayward said London should have sent an even bigger task force to the South Atlantic.

According to the May 22 *New York Times*, Hayward "suggested that he would have deployed a battle group of at least two, and probably three, nuclear-powered aircraft carriers with nearly 300 high-performance attack planes aboard. They would have been guarded by cruisers, destroyers, frigates and submarines, with the battle group including a Marine amphibious force of 20,000 troops."

Operations of this scope are not the fantasies of a few overheated members of the Pentagon's general staff who long for the days before the anti-Vietnam War movement changed the face of U.S. politics. They are central to Washington's plans for halting the spread of anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles in Central America, the Middle East, southern Africa, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere.

Thatcher's war against Argentina has become a crucial test of the imperialists' ability to carry out such foreign interventions. In the midst of a deep economic crisis that has brought massive unemployment and mounting social discontent and political radicalization, Thatcher has sent thousands of working-class youth to face possible death in an imperialist war.

Thatcher has managed to get away with this so far because the leaders of

the British Labor Party have criminally defaulted on their elementary duty to oppose a war that can only bring further hardship to British workers. Despite this, there are growing signs of opposition to the war inside the working class in Britain.

On May 19, for example, the annual conference of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF) voted to demand the recall of the British fleet from the South Atlantic. The *Times* of London described this as "a further demonstration of the British trade union movement's hostility to the Government's handling of the Falklands Islands crisis."

ASLEF General Secretary Ray Buckton told the *Times*, "Delegates continually stressed the fact that the overriding need was for the promotion of world peace which should not be lost sight of in waves of national fervour."

The rail workers' resolution comes from a union that has been engaged in a struggle with the Tory government over wages. It indicates the anger in the working class over Thatcher's readiness to spend billions on war while denying the most basic needs of working people. Opposition to the war has also come from coal miners' leader Arthur Scar-

gill, the Liverpool Trades Council, the Fire Brigades Union, and others.

Reflecting this growing rejection of Thatcher's war by the trade unions are the representatives of the left wing of the Labor Party led by member of Parliament Tony Benn. Thirty-three Labor MPs voted against a motion to support Thatcher's policies that was presented May 20. Three of these were front-bench leaders of the Labor Party not previously identified with the left wing, whom Foot and Healey are now threatening to remove.

Thus the image of near-unanimous support in Britain for the war against Argentina that the imperialist news media have presented is false. But because of the Tories' jingoistic campaign and the default of the Labor Party's top leadership, "the fears and reservations of many Britons about this war have not even been articulated, let alone debated," British journalist John Pilger wrote in the May 21 *New York Times*.

"The danger for Mrs. Thatcher and her war party," Pilger said, "is that public support is likely to be withdrawn suddenly when the British body-bags start to come home in ever-increasing numbers."

From Intercontinental Press

1,000 at N.Y. antiwar demonstration

BY STEVE BRIDE

NEW YORK — A crowd of about 1,000 marched through a steady rain here May 23 to demand that Britain and Washington end their colonial war on Argentina.

The march went to the United Nations, where demonstrators sang the Argentine national anthem and voiced their solidarity with that country's battle to reclaim the Malvinas Islands.

The mostly Argentine crowd was joined in the protest by supporters of Ireland's fight against British colonialism.

Earlier, the crowd had rallied at the edge of Central Park in midtown Manhattan, in front of statues of Latin American liberators José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar. San Martín in 1816 freed Argentina from Spanish rule, then joined with Bolívar to liberate most other Latin American countries.

Elsewhere, 40 people picketed British Airways in Seattle May 17. The protest there was sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the people of Argentina, and endorsed by Nicaraguan and Guatemalan solidarity committees, El

Centro de la Raza, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Among the chants that went up from the picket line were "British hands off Argentina! No U.S. intervention!" and "British out of the Malvinas, U.S. out of El Salvador!"

British protests

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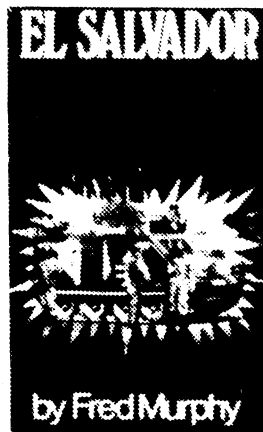
Glasgow, where 1,500 turned out, and in Manchester, Leeds, and Nottingham, each of which saw protests of about 500. These actions, along with the one in London, were the biggest yet in opposition to the war on Argentina.

Dick Withecombe, a representative of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, told the demonstrators in Manchester that the soldiers and sailors in the South Atlantic are "losing their lives in a war of hypocrisy, lies, and bloodshed."

Withecombe is a supporter of *Socialist Challenge*, British sister publication of the *Militant*. *Socialist Challenge* supporters played a leading role in organizing the demonstrations.

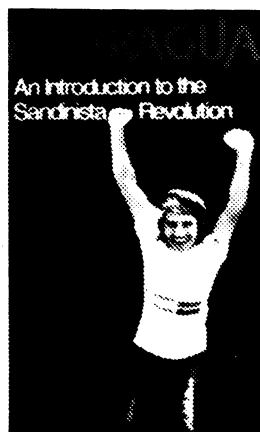
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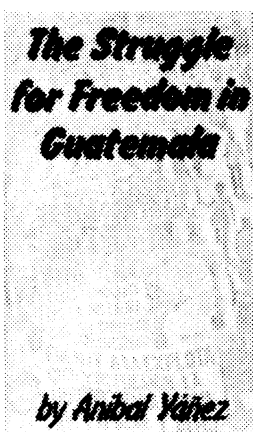
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May 15 march by veterans in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Osborne Hart

Disabled war veterans organize in Nicaragua

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — There are some 10,000 permanently injured veterans of the Nicaraguan revolution against dictator Anastasio Somoza.

These veterans have formed the Organization of the Revolutionary Disabled. About 20 vets have also organized themselves into the Ernesto Che Guevara Platoon, to help militarily defend the country from counterrevolutionary attack.

"We worked out equivalents for all the military drill orders," explained Felipe Paz, who helps coordinate the work of the group, many of whose members are in wheelchairs. "Left! Right! Attention! The members figured out what was the best way to roll out of their wheelchairs and fall into firing position."

The revolutionary disabled were integral to the Sandinista movement long before they were able to form their organization in 1980.

"There were *compañeros* who did clandestine work. There were those who did propaganda work, those who made arms, and those who delivered mail. They went around by wheelchair and tucked their pistols under the pillow of their chairs," Paz said.

And being handicapped was no protection from Somoza's National Guard, including for a local Sandinista poet who, at a very early age, became a quadriplegic. The National Guard threw him in jail and tortured him unmercifully.

Families tied to the Somoza clan made a quick beeline for Miami after the revolution, leaving behind a number of attractive homes. Two such homes have been transformed into a headquarters for the organization and a training center for the disabled.

A lot of activity is organized out of these two homes. Some of the center's members created a cultural brigade that rehearses there and often performs at Sandinista Defense Committee meetings.

What used to serve as a front room of one house is now used as a wheelchair repair workshop. The vets' basketball team is busy gearing up for a competition with a Costa Rican team. The vets are also working with the army to figure out how they can further aid the country's defense efforts.

Several ministries have come together to form the National Council of Integral Rehabilitation (CONARI), which attends to disabled vets' special health, education, and job needs. The vets themselves place particular emphasis on their ability to independently take care of themselves. To that end, they're put-

ting out a book on self-care.

Was there anything they wanted to say to Vietnam vets?

"Yes," said Freddy Trejos. "Tell them that if today they have a disability from a struggle that can't be compared with ours, that didn't benefit them — they still have the opportunity to fight a different kind of fight — a fight that *will* benefit them."

"Here we feel proud even though we have physical limitations. We had to pay for liberty and it can be expensive. Even though we have some disabilities, we're still continuing the process."

U.S.-backed raids on Nicaragua continue

Continued from Page 1

in which a Sandinista border guard was killed.

Adding to tension along the southern border was a military "state of alert" declared by Costa Rica following the most recent clash, based on rumors circulated by associates of Pastora that Nicaraguan troops had crossed the border.

The Costa Rican government later admitted it had "no information" on the supposed incursion, and ordered Pastora deported from the country.

In Nicaragua, armed confrontations with the counterrevolutionaries just this month have included:

- May 2-3. A gang that had been operating since October, terrorizing the area near the northern port of Corinto, was captured by security forces. Identifying themselves as members of the "Anti-Communist Revolutionary Brigade" (BRAC), they were stocked with leaflets and periodicals published by counterrevolutionaries based in Miami and Honduras.

- May 4-5. On the Atlantic side of the country, in Zelaya Province, a unit of 120 counterrevolutionaries attacked the small, isolated town of Alamikamba, killing one soldier and wounding two. Sandinista reinforcements sent in to pursue the band broke it up, killing 20.

- May 6-7. In a two-day clash near Matagalpa, in the center of the country, a recently formed band was broken up by the army. Five counterrevolutionaries were killed in the fighting, eight were captured.

- May 14-15. Three major attacks took place near the Honduran border. In a May 14 ambush on a military convoy a few kilometers south of the boundary line, four were killed. One of them was Andrés Valle Gutiérrez, a journalist heading toward the frontier to film a TV documentary on the border attacks.

Vietnam vets say: 'No to unjust wars'

BY OSBORNE HART

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "We're not going to follow Exxon to El Salvador, Nicaragua — not to any country fighting for self-determination," said Vietnam veteran Walter Klemps.

"We don't want to fight in any unjust wars anymore," Klemps declared. He was speaking at a May 15 rally of veterans held here at the construction site of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

The action was part of a series of protests held May 12-15, organized by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and called "Operation Dewey Canyon IV."

"No intervention in El Salvador" and "No more Vietnams" were central themes for the more than 200 vets and their families, representing 20 vet organizations, several unions, and peace groups, who traveled here from 40 cities.

"We weren't fighting [in Vietnam] for freedom and democracy," Klemp told the crowd. "We know better. It was for ITT, Dow, and the Du Ponts. We were mercenaries for the whole Fortune 500 list."

Prior to the rally, the vets conducted a wreath-laying ceremony at Arlington Cemetery.

As the vets marched from Arlington to the rally site carrying "No draft, No war" banners and chanting "Test, treat, compensate Agent Orange!" taxi drivers, tourists, and joggers raised fists and responded with shouts of "Right on!"

The four days of protests included: congressional lobbying; a candle-light procession at the White House; picket lines at the Veterans Administration, Office of Budget and Management, and Department of the Interior. The actions culminated with a rally on the Capitol steps.

National Association of Concerned Vets representative Bruce Perry ex-

plained that they came to the nation's capital to "talk about El Salvador, Agent Orange, nuclear war" and other issues concerning not only vets, but everyone in this country.

"We're here to demand decent health care for everyone," Perry said. "Everybody in this country has a right to a job."

Jobs, income, and benefits for vets and their families were the focus of lobbying efforts and pickets at the various government agencies.

George Narrow, a Black vet who served in Vietnam in 1968-69, told the *Militant* he is demanding "decent health care for vets to treat Agent Orange exposure." Narrow — an unemployed father of eight — receives no benefits from the Veterans Administration.

The VVAW estimates that there are 719,000 jobless Vietnam vets. In the special demonstration issue of the *Veteran*, the VVAW reports that of those unemployed vets, "250,000-plus are between 30 and 35" years old.

Aside from the general economic crisis, the VVAW attributes some of the unemployment to the "less than honorable" discharge given many by the military. The VVAW demands retroactive "single type discharges" for all vets that simply states they served. This will remove from the military the power to judge a person's life and decree that a particular individual will suffer under a bad discharge for the rest of his life.

Vets are also calling for treatment and compensation for Agent Orange victims and their children. The chemical defoliant used in Vietnam is the subject of several law suits pending against government and chemical corporations.

The VVAW and other veteran groups plan to return to Washington on November 11 for a demonstration during the dedication of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

That same day, an eight-hour fire fight occurred as some 120 counterrevolutionaries tried to overrun the Playa Hermosa border post. Sixty returned at dawn May 15 in another attempt, but were driven back across the border after a 10-hour battle.

- May 18. In San Marcos, a small town near Matagalpa, a 21-year-old grade school teacher was gunned down as he returned home from a day's volunteer work in the campaign to vaccinate all Nicaraguan children against polio. His roommate, an activist in the local Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), was also murdered.

The choice of victims in such attacks is not accidental.

Víctor Guevara, a member of the reserves and one of the survivors of the Playa Hermosa raid, pointed out that the counterrevolutionaries "seek out our best people, strike them down, and torture them. They want to sow terror and lower our morale. But they won't succeed."

Vidal Rosales Ramos, a 22-year-old farmer and militia member wounded in the raid on Alamikamba, expressed similar determination from his hospital bed.

"My family and I worked a small piece of land in another area for a while," he said. "But there the counterrevolutionary bands stole our crops, kidnapped peasants, and raped the women. My own father was once kidnapped by them, but managed to escape. We never agreed with them, which is why they hated us. So we came to Alamikamba, where I joined the local militia unit."

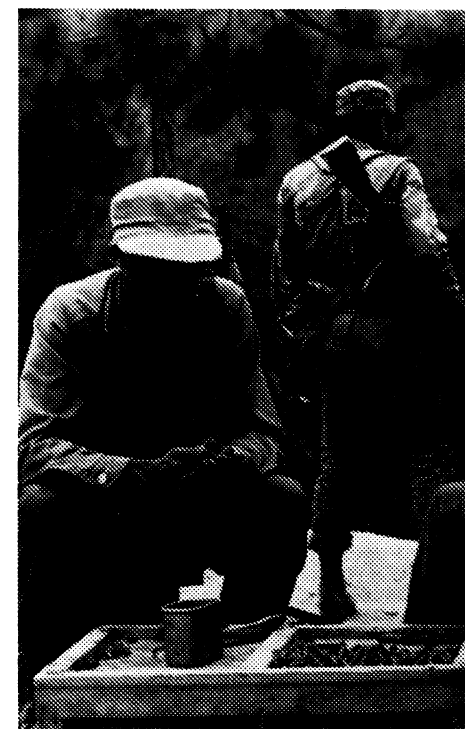
"I was wounded," he said, pointing to the bandage across his abdomen. "But I'm going to return to the militia because all of us who have been victims of the bands have to fight back to win our homes back — although I don't know if

ours even exists any longer, because the bands set out to destroy and rob everything."

The raids are clearly growing increasingly bold.

According to Commander Lenín Cerna, head of State Security, this appears to be the result of the CIA decision to seek unification of the various bands, so as to increase their "capacity to strike effectively."

Much bigger raids are expected soon, Cerna said in a recent interview. Foreign pilots — mercenaries recruited by the CIA — have begun appearing in Honduras and Costa Rica, signaling preparations for further escalation of the undeclared war.



Militant/Michael Baumann
Sandinista soldiers at Los Planes post near Honduran border.

Over the top in Phoenix

"The Phoenix branch is hot. We're way ahead, we hit the spot. Together we will lead the nation, but it starts with participation." So goes an excerpt from a poem the branch of the Socialist Workers Party in Phoenix has composed as it continues to surpass its goal each week of the sales drive.

They see sales of the revolutionary press as a way of fighting back — against Washington's war in Central America and against the war at home on our democratic rights and living standards.

Following up on the success of the tour of Héctor Marroquín, a socialist activist fighting for political asylum and against deportation, and on the outrage in Phoenix over Immigration agents' detention of Marroquín May 7 in nearby Tempe, Phoenix socialists mobilized to sell the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*. In just one week, they sold 214 papers — 106 *Militants* and 108 *PMs*.

Many of the *PMs* were sold to undocumented workers and other Latinos at grocery stores in South Phoenix, at a furniture factory, and at a Motorola plant.

Garment workers and Malvinas

Newark salespeople are finding a lot of interest on the part of garment workers in the *Militant* and *PM's* coverage and explanations of the U.S.-British aggres-

sion against Argentina. In one day, two teams of salespeople in garment districts in Hoboken, N.J., and Manhattan sold 32 papers — 15 *PMs* and 17 *Militants*.

Martin Koppel reports that he introduced the papers by saying that they support Argentina's struggle against Britain. He got into a number of discussions. One group of people asked why the U.S. was supporting Britain. Koppel explained that the U.S. government always supported oppressors. They nodded, and chipped in to buy a copy of the *Militant*.

Petitioning in North Carolina

In Winston-Salem, N.C. supporters of the SWP campaign of Meryl Lynn Farber for U.S. Congress have been on a drive to collect 5,000 signatures to place Farber on the ballot.

Petitioning at the Northside shopping center where regular *Militant* sales have occurred, they found that people eagerly signed the petitions when they learned that Farber agreed with the *Militant's* views and that the *Militant* was her campaign newspaper.

Campaigning in Michigan

Socialists in Detroit spent the first part of the sales drive collecting thousands of signatures to place candidate Tim Craine on the state ballot.

Now they were following up

on the gains made in that successful effort by widely circulating the *Militant* and *PM*.

In Lansing, a city where many signatures were gathered, a campaign table was set up and 15 copies of the *Militant* were sold.

Selling to auto workers is another goal of the sales drive in Detroit. Last week, nine papers were sold at the River Rouge Ford plant; two of these were *PMs* sold on the basis of the paper's support to Argentina against British colonial aggression.

Militant at plant gates

Both the Baltimore and St. Louis branches report consistently high plant gate sales. Two weeks ago, socialists in Baltimore organized 12 plant gate sales, netting a total of 37 papers. These papers were sold to workers in the garment industry, in steel, rail, auto, and to machinists.

Again this week, they sold 21 papers in eight different sales; the largest amount to rail workers.

One of the aids that the branch uses to help familiarize workers with the *Militant* is to reprint articles from the *Militant* about issues facing particular unions. These reprints also include a subscription form.

In St. Louis, over 10 papers are consistently sold at McDonnell Douglas. The regular coal mine sale continues to be a success, with eight papers sold this past week.

— NANCY ROSENSTOCK

SALES SCOREBOARD

| (Militant issue #19, PM issue #8) | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------|
| Area | Militant Goal/Sold | PM Goal/Sold | Total Goal/Sold | % |
| Phoenix | 90/106 | 45/108 | 135/214 | 159 |
| Atlanta | 100/108 | 0/0 | 100/108 | 108 |
| Iron Range | 50/53 | 0/0 | 50/53 | 106 |
| St. Louis | 90/95 | 0/0 | 90/95 | 106 |
| Baltimore | 110/114 | 0/1 | 110/115 | 105 |
| Manhattan | 135/110 | 30/60 | 165/170 | 103 |
| Lincoln | 40/41 | 0/0 | 40/41 | 103 |
| Schenectady | 90/92 | 0/0 | 90/92 | 102 |
| Salt Lake City | 90/87 | 5/10 | 95/97 | 102 |
| Birmingham | 90/91 | 0/0 | 90/91 | 101 |
| Indianapolis | 75/75 | 0/0 | 75/75 | 100 |
| Newark | 120/114 | 20/26 | 140/140 | 100 |
| Seattle | 80/77 | 3/2 | 83/79 | 95 |
| Twin Cities | 135/116 | 5/14 | 140/130 | 93 |
| Louisville | 80/72 | 0/0 | 80/72 | 90 |
| Portland | 70/58 | 0/0 | 70/58 | 83 |
| Brooklyn | 140/102 | 30/21 | 170/123 | 72 |
| Tucson | 30/22 | 20/14 | 50/36 | 72 |
| Detroit | 115/83 | 5/2 | 120/85 | 71 |
| Kansas City | 105/72 | 5/5 | 110/77 | 70 |
| Denver | 80/57 | 5/1 | 85/58 | 68 |
| Wash., D.C. | 70/42 | 20/16 | 90/58 | 64 |
| Cincinnati | 70/42 | 0/0 | 70/42 | 60 |
| Toledo | 50/28 | 0/0 | 50/28 | 56 |
| Albuquerque | 50/28 | 10/5 | 60/33 | 55 |
| Philadelphia | 140/84 | 15/0 | 155/84 | 54 |
| Milwaukee | 90/46 | 10/5 | 100/51 | 51 |
| Cleveland | 65/34 | 10/4 | 75/38 | 51 |
| Los Angeles | 140/44 | 25/26 | 165/70 | 42 |
| Miami | 60/15 | 10/13 | 70/28 | 40 |
| Morgantown | 90/34 | 0/0 | 90/34 | 38 |
| Chicago | 125/35 | 15/17 | 140/52 | 37 |
| Boston | 140/52 | 10/2 | 150/54 | 36 |
| San Antonio* | 35/14 | 15/2 | 50/16 | 32 |
| Harrisburg | 50/15 | 0/0 | 50/15 | 30 |
| Charleston* | 50/14 | 0/0 | 50/14 | 28 |
| San Jose | 60/20 | 20/2 | 80/22 | 28 |
| Piedmont* | 85/20 | 0/0 | 85/20 | 24 |
| San Diego | 40/10 | 5/0 | 45/10 | 22 |
| Dallas* | 25/7 | 15/0 | 40/7 | 18 |
| Totals | 3,985/2,329 | 398/356 | 4,383/2,685 | 61 |

Areas not reporting: Gary, Houston*, New Orleans, Oakland, Pittsburgh, Price, San Francisco, Tidewater
*Petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

June 12 organizers predict big turnout

BY JIM GOTESKY

NEW YORK — A very big turnout is expected for the June 12 demonstration that will coincide with the UN disarmament conference.

According to Leslie Cagan, a principal organizer for the June 12 Rally Committee, more than 1,500 buses are expected from around the country.

Boston already has 150 buses slated, and 125 are scheduled from Philadelphia. Long Island, N.Y., activists will be using six trains. There will be two charter flights from Minneapolis and bicycle contingents are expected from Washington, D.C., and western Massachusetts.

Cagan estimates that people are organizing in 500 cities for the demonstration.

There will also be a large international participation in the march and rally. Up to 10,000 people are expected from other countries.

A mass Japanese delegation will present to the United Nations a mammoth petition bearing the signatures of 35 million Japanese appealing against nuclear weapons.

Marchers will assemble in the area immediately north of the United Nations in Manhattan and at 10 a.m. will begin marching past the UN and then proceed across to Central Park for a

rally at the Great Lawn.

Confirmed speakers at the rally include Coretta Scott King; Monsignor Bruce Kent of the Committee for a Nuclear Disarmament in Great Britain; Roman Bedor of the Committee for a Nuclear Free Pacific; Cleveland Robinson of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the National Black United Front; former congressman Bella Abzug; Yolanda Sanchez of Hispanics for Survival and Disarmament; Norma Becker, chair of the War Resisters League; and Randy Forsberg of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Invited speakers include Guillermo Ungo of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front; a representative of the Grenadian government; Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers; William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; Carlos Zenón of the Association of Vieques Fishermen which is fighting to end U.S. military use of that Puerto Rican island; and a representative of the American Indian Movement.

Representatives of the Japanese anti-nuclear movement and others are also expected to speak.

The work of publicizing the action is expanding. Posters are being distributed and activists have already dispersed 300,000 leaflets.

Thousands of special posters and leaflets are being distributed by the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition, Hispanics for Survival and Disarmament, the Afro-American Coordinating Committee, and the Asian-American Caucus for Disarmament.

The leaflets demand: "Unconditional U.S. Disarmament"; "No U.S. intervention in Asia, Africa, Middle East, Latin America, Caribbean"; and, "Redirect resources from the military to meet human needs, especially in minority com-

munities — hardest hit by the cutbacks."

The Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition contingent will assemble at 9 a.m. on 48th Street between 1st and 2nd avenues.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is organizing a march contingent focusing on the demand for U.S. hands off El Salvador. The committee is also preparing a special June 12 leaflet explaining the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

On June 11, the evening before the demonstration, a speakout is being organized against U.S. intervention in the Third World. Sponsored by the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition, the meeting will feature speakers from the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador and supporters of the revolutionary governments of Grenada and Nicaragua.

Labor participation is growing. Victor Gottbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees announced formation of a steering committee of major union officials who have pledged to bring out their members for a labor contingent.

At a May 15 state conference, the New Jersey National Organization for Women adopted a resolution endorsing the demonstration and pledging a strong, visible NOW contingent. They invited others to join the contingent, which will assemble at 10 a.m. at Broadway and 58th Street before proceeding to the UN.

We Demand:

Unconditional U.S. Disarmament

- Redirect resources from the military to meet human needs especially to minority communities—hardest hit by the cutbacks
- No U.S. intervention in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and the Caribbean

June 12 — U.N. Special Session on Disarmament
U.N. Plaza — Central Park (New York)



Leaflet distributed by the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 5 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.



Refugees from Iraqi aggression in Khuzestan Province, anticipating return home.

Jubilant Iranians take to the streets

Continued from Page 1

square-mile area north of the current fighting.

Saddam Hussein's aim in invading Iran in September 1980 was to strike a blow against the Iranian revolution, because he feared its impact within Iraq. This was spelled out to *Wall Street Journal* correspondent Karen Elliott House in April by Hussein's deputy prime minister, Tareq Aziz. "We have to keep fighting, we have no choice," Aziz said. "Iraq is a dam. If the dam collapses then the Iranian flood will wash through the whole area."

The "Iranian flood" Aziz fears is the ongoing fight of the Iranian workers and peasants to defend and deepen their revolution. A key part of this is the mobilization for the war effort. Thousands of Iranian workers and youth are fighting at the front as part of the Mobilization Corps of the Oppressed (Baseej-e Mustazafin). Many more are taking part in support activities behind the lines.

In a letter published in the May 4 issue of the Iranian socialist newspaper *Hemmat*, a reader reported a conversation with a woman who had been working as a volunteer at Shush, near Dezful:

"This sister talked about the high morale of the fighters, the active participation of women behind the lines, and the presence of very young people among the fighters. Of the women's activities, she said, 'The mobilization to send women is continuing. Some sisters could not go to the front, so they are working in the neighborhoods to gather material aid, weave clothing and bedding, and donate blood.'"

Pro-U.S. regimes 'frightened'

The Iraqi regime's concerns at the regional impact of the Iranian revolution are fully shared by Washington and its local clients throughout the Middle East. According to the May 16 *New York Times*, "Virtually all the Arab governments with which the United States is on reasonably good terms are vitally interested in the survival of the Iraqi regime of President Saddam Hussein. They are badly frightened by the prospect of an Iranian military victory, which could make Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic revolution a force in neighboring countries."

Hussein's war has been largely bankrolled by the Saudi Arabian monarchy and by the rulers of Kuwait and some of the smaller princedom around the Persian Gulf. In January, King Hussein of Jordan — a staunch U.S. ally — called for Arab "volunteers" to join the beleaguered Iraqis. According to the April 1 *Wall Street Journal*, the king has sent some 4,000 troops to Iraq.

More recently, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has come to Baghdad's assistance. "We sympathize with Iraq and will not hesitate to do whatever we can," Mubarak said in late March. Ac-

cording to the May 16 *New York Times*, Cairo "in recent weeks has stepped up its military assistance to Iraq, becoming that country's principal military partner."

U.S. 'neutral' — like in Malvinas

As for Washington itself, its formal diplomatic stance in the conflict has been "neutrality."

In March, however, the Reagan administration formally removed Iraq from its list of countries alleged to support "international terrorism." This cleared the way for the Boeing Co. to sell the Iraqi regime five aircraft, delivery of which has already begun.

The imperialist news media have accused the Iranian government of both plotting a counterinvasion of Iraq and of inciting a sectarian revolt against Hussein by followers of the Shi'ite branch of the Muslim faith (who make up a majority in both Iraq and Iran). Iranian President Ali Khamenei rejected these charges in a speech in Tehran in March.

"Propaganda mouthpieces are trying to make the world, especially Arab countries, believe that Iranian forces are going to invade them," Khamenei said. "Our Muslim brethren in Iraq, both Shi'ite and Sunni, are supported equally by us. But our support does not mean that we shall move our forces into Iraq. We are not foolishly over-ambitious, like the Ba'athists."

It is clear that U.S. imperialism is deeply concerned over the latest round of Iranian victories in the war. Some of these concerns were outlined in an April 14 *New York Times* column by William Olson, a research associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) at Georgetown University in Washington. The CSIS is a think-tank founded by ex-CIA officials; it has close ties to the Reagan administration.

Olson presented his prognosis for the Persian Gulf region:

"A victory [for Iran] would feed the Iranians' sense of moral superiority and make them a more destabilizing influence in the region. Though they are unlikely to launch major attacks on their neighbors, menacing gestures and aid to subversive forces could threaten regional security. . . .

"For Iraq, defeat would mean wrenching self-criticism that could produce a coup against President Saddam Hussein or, conversely, a purge of the army. Though it is unlikely that the Iranians could sustain a major offensive into Iraq, the consequences of an Iraqi defeat could mean years of political upheaval."

Olson's fears are already starting to materialize. Saddam Hussein is now facing a big rise in protests by the oppressed Kurdish nationality of northern Iraq. The Kurds make up one-quarter of the Iraqi population. Throughout the 1960s, and into the 1970s, the Kurds fought an on-and-off civil war against the Iraqi government. They were only

put down in 1975 after Hussein enlisted the help of the shah of Iran in closing the border between the two countries, and mobilized most of the Iraqi army against the Kurdish areas.

According to the May 15 *Le Monde*, the most recent Kurdish protests began April 24 when several thousand persons in the town of Qala-Dizi tried to march in commemoration of a massacre perpetrated there in 1974. Iraqi security forces opened fire, killing nine persons.

Kurdish strikes, demonstrations

On April 25, *Le Monde* continued, "strikes and demonstrations spread through many towns of Kurdistan, including Halabjah, Penjwin, Ranya, Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk, and, reportedly, Mosul, where the confrontations continued until May 13."

Le Monde described how the war has affected the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan:

"Since the beginning of the Iraq-Iran war, Baghdad's security forces — the majority of which have been transferred to the front — have had a hard time controlling the situation in Kurdistan. . . . Despite the curfew imposed from sundown in certain towns, guerrilla attacks by various Kurdish organizations have multiplied.

"With the latest military reverses at the front, a dual process has come to light: on one hand, a letup in vigilance by the security forces, which, to safeguard their own future, have accepted tacit compromises with the Kurdish resistance. And on the other, immense au-

dacity on the part of the population, who seem to no longer give credence to the dire threats of the Ba'athist regime."

Morale among Iraqi troops at the front is reported to be extremely low as a result of the recent Iranian victories. In the March-April fighting, Iraqi units surrendered en masse without a fight. This happened again in Khorramshahr. According to a dispatch from the front by correspondent David Hirst of the London *Guardian*, Iraqi troops "evolved techniques of surrender which evaded the vigilance of Ba'ath party loyalists whose task it is to shoot would-be deserters from the rear."

Hirst also encountered members of an "Arab brigade" — supposedly volunteers — among the prisoners of war captured by the Iranians. "They included two Lebanese Druzes, one of whom had been taken from a building site a week before, and the other as he arrived at Baghdad Airport. Darwich Shehadeh, who had received all of two days' military training, begged Lebanese cameramen to tell his family where his prized Iraqi 'work permit' had got him to."

Citing "Western diplomats" in Baghdad, *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner reported from there May 10 that "a major question now is whether the Iraqi forces can make a controlled retreat with their strength intact, thus avoiding the impression of a military rout. The question is crucial, diplomats say, not only for the outcome of future negotiations but also for the prestige of President Saddam Hussein and the future of his regime."

March hits training of Salvadorans

BY ANDREÉ KAHLMORGAN

FT. BENNING, Ga. — Demonstrators marched here May 16 to protest the training of Salvadoran troops in this country. These troops are being sent back to El Salvador to fight the popular liberation forces.

Called by the Concerned Citizens for Latin America in Columbus, Georgia, more than 125 people marched three miles to the entrance of the fort where they were met by army brass. The leaders of the march presented the brass with the demands: No U.S. intervention in El Salvador, No Salvadoran troop training in the United States.

At a premarch rally, the keynote speaker was Victor Rubio, a representative of the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador. Rubio began by talking about Nicaragua.

"The Nicaraguans," he said, "are now in the process of building a society where hunger and exploitation don't exist. They are setting a good example for the people in El Salvador, Guatemala, and around the world."

Rubio said that the very fact that it

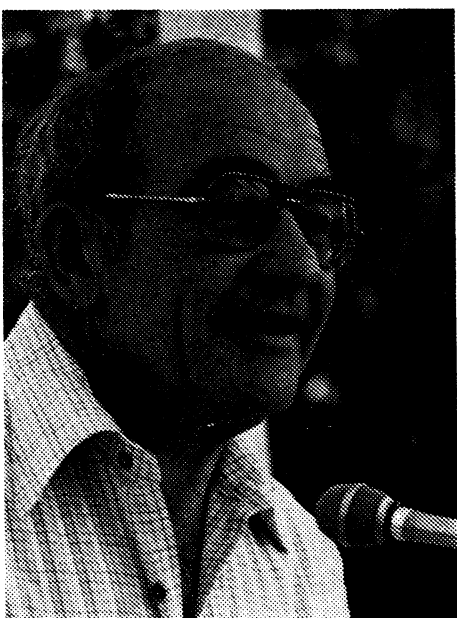
was necessary to bring Salvadoran troops to this country for training indicated the successes being registered by the guerrilla forces.

Responding to Washington's charge that Cuba and the USSR are responsible for the war in his country, Rubio declared, "The Salvadoran dictatorship came into power before Fidel Castro was born, and before the Soviet Union existed. Salvadorans don't need anyone to tell them we are hungry and being slaughtered."

"Ronald Reagan is trying to stop a historical process taking place in El Salvador. This process cannot be stopped any more than Johnson could stop Vietnam."

Sidney Hunter, speaking for the National Black Independent Political Party, talked about why Blacks should oppose American intervention in El Salvador.

"Blacks are the first to go to the front lines and die," he said. "We are the last to get any benefits from defending this so-called democracy. We have no interest in the murder of people of color like ourselves."



Ed Asner

Militant/Harry Ring

Protests defend 'Lou Grant'

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On May 17, 1,500 people picketed CBS Studios in Los Angeles to protest the cancellation of the popular "Lou Grant" TV show. The show stars Ed Asner, an outspoken opponent of U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The previous Monday, 1,200 people came out for a picket.

Demonstrators chanted, "Asner yes, CBS no! Censorship has got to go!" and "If you must fire an actor, fire Reagan!"

CBS canceled the show claiming its Nielson ratings were too low. However, the network plans to run a show with an even lower Nielson rating in the same time slot as "Lou Grant," and has renewed other shows with lower ratings.

A letter sent out by two assistants to Asner, who are organizing a letter-writing campaign to have the show reinstated, points out that "according to our sources, one of the reasons for the cancellation is the 'controversy' surrounding the show — such as Ed's involvement in El Salvador."

Asner is the founder of Medical Aid to El Salvador, which has raised tens of thousands of dollars toward medical supplies distributed by the rebels of the Revolutionary Democratic Front to the people of El Salvador.

Asner, who is also president of the Screen Actors Guild, told a press conference in New York that as a result of his stand on El Salvador moves had been or-

ganized to boycott sponsors of the "Lou Grant" show.

In addition, one advertiser, the Kimberly-Clark Corp., withdrew its sponsorship as a direct result of Asner's announcement last February 15 that he was organizing to raise \$1 million for medical supplies to El Salvador. Kimberly-Clark owns a big manufacturing plant in El Salvador, and has large investments there.

Asner denounced CBS for bowing to political pressure. He pointed out that the cancellation evoked the 1950s, with its "muzzling of the First Amendment and blacklisting."

When Asner was asked if he thought a new wave of blacklisting was imminent, he replied, "If it is, it's going to have to be a lot more sophisticated, because they're going to find a lot more outspoken people."

He also noted that the right of unions to be involved in politics is at issue. Within the Screen Actors Guild, opposition to Asner's stand on El Salvador has been led by Charlton Heston, who accuses Asner of "politicizing" the Guild.

Organizers of the picket in front of CBS Studios included the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and others. They vowed to continue picketing CBS until "Lou Grant" is reinstated.

Utah coal miners discuss June 12 rally

BY DAVE HURST

PRICE, Utah — A forum sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance heard a panel of speakers condemn nuclear weapons and urge mass participation in an antiwar rally called for June 12 in Salt Lake City. The majority of those in attendance were union coal miners.

Speaking at the gathering, which was held May 19, were David Meyer, a coordinator of the Castle Valley Coalition for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze; Rev. Alan ReKate, pastor of Good Shepherd Catholic Church in East Carbon City; Jeff Misner, a draft-age union coal miner; and Kari Reddington, a union coal miner and member of the YSA.

A slide show prepared by the MX Information Center in Salt Lake was also shown.

David Meyer spoke in favor of a freeze on U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms. "Although the Soviet Union has made some mistakes in its handling of the arms race," he said, "the United States bears the main responsibility for propagating the massive expansion of nuclear weapons programs."

ReKate asked: "Can we count on Ronald Reagan to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons? No! Will Alexander Haig stop nuclear weapons? No! *They* scare me. . . ."

"We the people will be the ones to stay the hands of madness."

Jeff Misner said he did not want to be drafted to fight in El Salvador. "I registered for the draft, not because I wanted to, but because they threatened to throw me in jail and fine me if I didn't. But I don't understand why I should be torn away from my wife and kids to go fight in another country against people who are just like you."

Kari Reddington declared: "Our country is already at war. First, there's the war at home, the war against the rights and living standards of U.S. working people — everything from the mine

safety cuts that kill our coal miners to the social service cuts that kill our poor by starvation.

"This country is at war abroad, too. It is waging an undeclared war in Central America and the Caribbean."

Reddington cited the recent ban on travel to Cuba, a practice invasion of Grenada, and the hostilities against Nicaragua as examples of the secret war being carried out by the United States.

Such aggression, she said, increases the nuclear danger. Just as the U.S. rul-

ing class used nuclear weapons on human populations in the past, they will not hesitate to use them in Central America if they think they can get away with it.

The meeting ended with a call to organize people from Castle Valley to go to Salt Lake on June 12. Plans are under way for car pools from Carbon and Emery counties to bring coal miners, students, office workers, warehouse workers, and others to the antiwar rally.

Asian-Americans protest war, nuclear arms

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — The Asian American Caucus for Disarmament sponsored a teach-in here May 23. Seventy people attended.

David Chen, coordinator of the caucus along with Yuri Kochiyama and Yee Ling Poon, explained why the group was organized.

"Beginning with the atomic bombing in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the nuclear testing in the Pacific, the war in Vietnam and other Asian countries, Asian people have repeatedly been the victims of U.S. armament policy," explains a statement by the caucus.

"While these brothers and sisters are being massacred by these murderous weapons paid for with our tax money . . . oppressed nationalities are forced to suffer the genocidal social consequences of budget cuts in social services and entitlement programs."

Nuclear physicist Michio Kaku described the experience of Japanese-Americans during World War II, when they were put into camps in this country while relatives were victims of the bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Kaku pointed out that there have been 27 accidental bomb drops in this country and Europe which have only narrowly avoided disaster. These included incidents in South Carolina in 1958, North Carolina in 1961, and Spain in 1966.

"The American military fights for someone's interests and those interests are not yours but those of the transnationals, such as Chase Manhattan," Kaku concluded. "That's why they lost in Vietnam and will lose in El Salvador."

"There is one thing the military fears more than nuclear missiles, one thing more than the Russians," he said. "That is you, me, the American people."

Bhaichand Patel from the United Nations Disarmament Office spoke about military spending. One million dollars is spent on war every minute, he said, emphasizing that 85 percent of that is spent on conventional weapons.

Reverend Sato, international liaison representative of the World Peace March, also spoke.

A representative for the Union of Democratic Filipinos pointed to the cause of U.S. war policy, Washington's efforts

"to stem the tide of national liberation movements" such as those in El Salvador and the Philippines.

Other solidarity messages were given by representatives of the Black Veterans for Social Justice and the Chol Soo Lee Support Committee.

Presentations by a variety of Asian artists concluded the meeting.

The Asian American Caucus for Disarmament is organizing a contingent to march with the Third World and Pro-

gressive Peoples Caucus on June 12 around the slogans: "U.S. Reverse the Arms Race"; "Unconditional Resumption of Negotiations — Use Resources For Human Needs"; "No U.S. Intervention in Asia, Africa, Middle East, Latin America, Caribbean"; "End Racism in the U.S."; and "Oppose All Government Violence and Repression against the American People."

For more information call coordinator David Chen at (212) 233-5734.

'Militant' Cuba tours canceled; new Nicaragua trips scheduled

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

The organizers of Militant/Perspectiva Mundial tours have announced that, due to the U.S. travel ban that went into effect May 15, all Militant/PM tours of Cuba have been cancelled.

Instead of the scheduled Cuba trips, two additional tours of Nicaragua have been planned: a one-week miners tour at the end of June and a two-week tour in July.

The one-week miners tour had originally been slated to go to Cuba, and the two-week tour had originally been programmed to visit both Cuba and Nicaragua.

The miners tour is set for June 27 — July 4. It will visit Managua and several other cities. A special trip to the silver mines and a meeting with the miners union have been requested. The tour cost of \$775 round trip from Miami includes all transportation, food, hotel, guide service, and translation. The deadline for a deposit of \$150 is May 31. Full payment is due by June 15.

While the tour schedule is designed with miners in mind, anyone can participate.

The two-week tour of Nicaragua is set for July 17-31. It will join thousands of Nicaraguans in celebrating the anniversary of the revolution on July 19 in Managua. Then it will travel to Matagalpa, Estelí, León, and the Black, English-speaking area of the Atlantic Coast — Bluefields and Corn Island. The round-trip cost from Miami is \$1000. The deadline for a deposit of \$150 is June 15. Full payment is due by June 30.

Mimi Pichey, coordinator of Militant/

PM tours, said that the cancellation of the Cuba trips "was not a decision we wanted to make, but was forced on us by the U.S. government."

Pichey said that, under the new regulations, both travel directly from the United States as well as through third countries is banned, and anyone violating the rule faces up to \$10,000 in fines and 10 years' imprisonment. The only exceptions are for people with close relatives in Cuba, working journalists covering a story in Cuba, and scholars engaged in professional research.

"It's clear that the government especially sought to eliminate political tours of Cuba, such as those we were conducting," Pichey said. "At a time when the Reagan administration is stepping up its intervention in Central America and threats against Cuba, the last thing Reagan wants is for working people in the United States to be able to go to Cuba to see the truth for themselves."

For more information or to make reservations on the Militant/PM tours contact the tours at 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014; (212) 242-5530.

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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To our subscribers

With this issue we have updated our sorting procedure for second-class mailed subscriptions. It is our hope that subscribers will receive the *Militant* faster. Please let us know if this improves delivery time.



YSA leader Nan Bailey presented political report for discussion at Young Socialist Alliance meeting.

'Imperialist wars are at center of world politics'

Young socialists map antiwar strategy

BY MARY ZINS

NEW YORK — The Young Socialist Alliance National Committee met here April 24-27, amidst a deepening of the U.S. government's war throughout Latin America and growing opposition to that war by the U.S. working class.

The leadership meeting took place as Washington stepped up CIA-organized border raids into Nicaragua and aid to the bloody regime in El Salvador.

Britain had just invaded the South Georgia Islands and begun its military assault on the people of Argentina, with U.S. backing. And just days before the YSA meeting, Reagan announced a new ban on travel to Cuba.

Thus, Washington's wars and the fight against them were at the heart of all the young socialist leaders' deliberations.

These discussions were based on the political experience of the YSA as an organization that is firmly rooted in the industrial working class, with a growing number of members who are Black or Latino. The big majority of the 90 YSA leaders attending the meeting work in garment, steel, coal, oil, and other industries. Oppressed nationalities make up 23 percent of the YSA's membership and 40 percent of its elected national committee.

Imperialist war sets framework

"Imperialist war sets the framework for all of politics today," said Nan Bailey, a New York garment worker who presented the major political report for the YSA National Executive Committee (NEC).

Washington's wars, Bailey explained, are aimed directly at "the workers and farmers of the world, who are rising up against imperialism."

"U.S. imperialism's central target is the Central American and Caribbean revolution — the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, Grenada, Cuba, El Salvador, and Guatemala, who are fighting to advance the world socialist revolution.

"More and more American workers," she explained, "oppose U.S. intervention in Central America, the Middle East, or elsewhere. Many sense that another Vietnam is beginning in El Salvador."

Bailey said that the fight against imperialist war is the "axis of the working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation." Progress in the fight against racism, women's oppression, attacks on democratic rights, and union-busting is dependent on what the working class and its allies will say and do in response to Washington's wars.

"Our central task today as revolutionary Marxists is to help deepen workers' consciousness of this fact in order to help forge a working-class movement against imperialist war," Bailey said.

Three powerful forces

She pointed to three powerful forces that are the basis for constructing a movement against Washington's wars:

1. An increasingly conscious and radicalizing working class. The organized labor movement, she explained, will be the determining factor in the development of an antiwar movement.
2. The organized forces with an anti-

imperialist perspective in the Black movement, in particular the National Black Independent Political Party and the National Black United Front.

3. The sizable and growing Central American and Caribbean population in the United States, which will play a big role in leading and educating U.S. workers and farmers about the real nature of U.S. foreign policy.

Bailey reported that the YSA has its largest industrial concentration in the garment and textile industry, where many workers are from Central America and the Caribbean.

In the course of the discussion, many YSA leaders took the floor to explain that the question of war — and opposition to the draft — is uppermost in the minds of the young workers they talk with in the garment shops, mines, and steel mills.

"The decision we made to place our members in industrial jobs," said Bailey, "puts us right at the center of the powerful working-class forces who will be essential to constructing a movement against imperialist war."

June 12 demonstrations

The meeting discussed the June 12 demonstrations coinciding with the United Nations disarmament session as a major opportunity for antiwar forces to mobilize opponents for U.S. wars abroad.

Some of the official organizers for the June 12 actions oppose the formation of a massive movement against the wars Washington is waging today. They have counterposed such demands as a "bilateral nuclear freeze" on Soviet and U.S. atomic weapons.

"The aim of these misleaders," said Bailey, "is to confuse the question of who is to blame for war and to divert massive antiwar sentiment into support for prowar, capitalist politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties.

"These misleaders reject focusing the June 12 demonstration on opposition to the U.S.-British war on Argentina or the U.S. war on the workers and peasants of Central America. They oppose calling for unilateral U.S. nuclear disarmament.

"Such a strategy is dead wrong. Any genuine movement for peace in this country must express its clear, unequivocal opposition to the wars the U.S. government is waging right now. Our fire must be directed at the real threat to world peace — Washington.

"Washington is the only government that ever dropped the nuclear bomb. Moreover, it is precisely in the so-called conventional wars under way today that the threat is posed of U.S. nuclear weapons being used."

Antiwar forces

Important forces are fighting along with the YSA and Socialist Workers Party to change the character of the June 12 actions.

A special report by NEC member Melvin Chappell explained the important role the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and the National Black United Front (NBUF) are playing in helping construct an antiwar movement and mobilizing the power of

the Black community against U.S. war policy.

After being excluded from the "official" June 12 rally committee, groups like NBIPP and NBUF united to form the Third World and Progressive Peoples coalition (TWPPC).

The TWPPC is fighting to focus June 12 against the U.S. government and its wars. The coalition demands unconditional U.S. nuclear disarmament, an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and the rest of the Third World, and funds for human needs — especially in Third World Communities — not for the war machine.

"It is the working class that the YSA, NBIPP, NBUF, and the TWPPC are speaking for as we wage the fight to change the political character of the June 12 demonstration," said Bailey. "We want to ensure that the majority sentiment against Washington's wars is reflected at June 12."

Bailey said the YSA would work to unite the broadest possible forces around this perspective, including activists in solidarity groups supporting the struggles in Central America and the Caribbean, opponents of the draft, and high school and college youth.

"Coming out of June 12 — coming out of the process of building that demonstration — we will begin to forge a movement that can mobilize millions of people against U.S. wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Argentina, and throughout the world, independent of the prowar, capitalist politicians."

Issue of disarmament

Bailey said that the threat to peace does not come from bombs or nuclear weapons per se. The issue is that these weapons are in the hands of the U.S. ruling class, which has no scruples about using them against workers and farmers around the world.

It is the U.S. imperialists who must be disarmed, she said. They are the threat to humanity and they are the cause of war — not the Soviet Union, Cuba, or Nicaragua. The YSA supports the right of working people and oppressed around the world to arm themselves to defend against the U.S. warmakers.

"We demand immediate, unconditional nuclear disarmament of the U.S. government," she said. "We say, not one man or woman, not one penny for the imperialist war machine.

"U.S. workers have a special responsibility to fight for these demands, to defend the colonial revolution, because of U.S. imperialism's role as the foremost slave master in the world.

"We must also pay special attention to the fight against racism, xenophobia, and all forms of chauvinism, which are a powerful prop of imperialist foreign policy and the propaganda used to justify it. Thus the fight against racism at home is closely linked to the fight against imperialist aggression abroad. Black and Latino workers will suffer the most from the new Vietnam we are being driven into.

"As a result of the government's war policies and its parallel war on our living standards and rights at home, many workers are radicalizing," said Bailey.

"Some are coming to the conclusion

that they must go all the way in the fight against the U.S. warmakers — that they have to take the government out of the hands of the capitalists and put it in the hands of workers and farmers in order to permanently end the threat of war.

"The task of disarming the U.S. imperialist cops, with their vast arsenal of nuclear and 'conventional' weapons, is the special responsibility of the U.S. working class. No other force can do the job. The survival of humanity rests on our ability to accomplish the American socialist revolution in time."

In a report on the YSA tasks, NEC member Mark Weddleton focused on the YSA's support to Socialist Workers Party election campaigns and the positive response these have received, particularly on the war question. He also discussed the importance of selling the *Militant*, the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*, the YSA newspaper.

The increasing antiwar activities across the country, he said, mean that many young people — both workers and students in colleges and high schools — can be won to the YSA.

Turning points for YSA

In an organization report, NEC member Margaret Jayko drew a balance sheet of the last several years' experience in building the YSA. Jayko noted two key turning points:

1. The YSA's decision in 1979 to focus its activity and root its membership in the industrial working class, where a new generation of anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist fighters is emerging.
2. The decision by the SWP National Convention in August 1981 to make available all young SWP members to become active in the YSA.

These moves strengthened the YSA, Jayko said, and prepared it to respond more effectively as Washington stepped up its war in Central America and the Caribbean. The moves have helped win new members to the YSA and to train them to be leaders of the revolutionary movement.

In separate reports, the YSA leaders also discussed the Polish workers' struggle, the fight for democratic rights in the United States, and the important progress the YSA is making in putting its finances on a sound footing.

The national committee called for the next YSA convention to be held in Chicago from December 30, 1982, to January 2, 1983.

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The fight against war and nuclear weapons

A reply to 'The Fate of the Earth'

The Fate of the Earth, by Jonathan Schell. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. 244 pages, \$11.95.

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Since atomic bombs were first used by the United States in August 1945, the world has lived under the shadow of these fiendish weapons. Yet, Jonathan Schell observes in *The Fate of the Earth*, "Only very recently have there been signs, in Europe and in the United States, that public opinion has been stirring awake, and that ordinary people may be beginning to ask themselves how they should respond to the nuclear peril."

Why is it that masses of people have suddenly been aroused to the nuclear danger?

Schell does not attempt to answer this question, but it is crucial to the issues he raises in his book.

Working people around the world sense that the Reagan administration is set on a course toward war. Washington is already waging an undeclared war against the workers and peasants of Central America, and it has repeatedly announced its readiness to fight in the Middle East.

Meanwhile, British imperialism has launched a war in the South Atlantic with U.S. support, and British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym has already threatened Argentina with the possible use of "tactical" nuclear weapons.

The development of a new generation of nuclear weapons such as the Cruise missile and the neutron bomb has aroused millions because it comes as part of the imperialist drive toward actual wars in which these weapons are most likely to be used.

It is within this context that Schell's book appears.

Focus on weapons themselves

Schell's focus is on nuclear weapons and the possibility of human extinction that their existence poses. As he puts it on the very first page of the book, "These bombs were built as 'weapons' for 'war,' but their significance greatly transcends war and all its causes and outcomes. They grew out of history, yet they threaten to end history. They were made by men, yet they threaten to annihilate men."

"A Republic of Insects and Grass," the first of Schell's three essays, takes its title from the fact that these forms of life are most resistant to nuclear radiation. It succeeds in presenting the threat of extinction hanging over humanity in the starkest terms.

Having described this dire and ever-present threat, however, Schell draws back from discussing its specific origins and what to do about it. Quotations from Kant, Hegel, Kafka, Hannah Arendt, and Bertrand Russell explore the philosophical implications of the annihilation of humanity, while submerging and obscuring the urgent political task of what is to be done.

Nuclear weapons do threaten the extinction of the human race. Because of this, Schell argues that their significance "transcends war and all its causes and outcomes." He says that the extinction of humanity would rob all past and present human life of its meaning.

But if such extinction comes about, it will be precisely because of "war and all its causes." We cannot turn our backs on war and its causes, any more than we

can turn our backs on the lessons of history — even though, as Schell says, nuclear weapons "threaten to end history." Yet it is these issues that Schell fails to address.

His concern is with the weapons themselves, which he sees as having escaped human control. As he puts it at one point, "Strategic theory seems to have taken on a weird life of its own, in which the weapons are pictured as having their own quarrel to settle, irrespective of mere human purposes."

He raises the possibility that the world may "simply blunder into extinction by mistake."

Role of social relations

It is hardly surprising that Schell should express such an idea. The irrationality of capitalist society has always encouraged the idea that our lives are controlled by anarchic social forces that are beyond human influence. The growth of productive forces results in economic crisis. New advances in science are turned into the means of our destruction.

Karl Marx pointed to this characteristic of capitalist society in a speech he delivered in 1856:

"There is one great fact, characteristic of this our 19th century, a fact which no party dares deny. On the one hand, there have started into life industrial and scientific forces, which no epoch of the former human history had ever suspected. On the other hand, there exist symptoms of decay, far surpassing the horrors recorded of the later times of the Roman Empire.

"In our days, everything seems pregnant with this contrary. Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labour, we behold starving and overworking it. The new-fangled sources of wealth, by some strange weird spell, are turned into sources of want. . . . At the same pace that mankind masters nature, man seems to become enslaved to other men or to his own infamy. Even the pure light of science seems unable to shine but on the dark background of ignorance. All our invention and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and in stultifying human life into a material force.

"This antagonism between modern industry and science on the one hand, modern misery and dissolution on the other hand; this antagonism between the productive powers and the social relations of our epoch is a fact, palpable, overwhelming, and not to be controverted."

It is the social relations — the existence of a society divided into classes — that Schell ignores. As a result, he cannot explain the origin and real character of the nuclear threat. The problem is not that the weapons are out of control; it is that they are under the control of an imperialist ruling class whose interests and objectives conflict with those of working people everywhere.

Nuclear war has been threatened many times, as will be seen below. But the threats have not come about due to accident or blunders.

Origin of nuclear peril

For Schell, "the fundamental origin of the peril of human extinction by nuclear arms lies not in any particular social or political circumstances of our time but

in the attainment by mankind as a whole, after millennia of scientific progress, of a certain level of knowledge of the physical universe."

He insists that the origins of "the nuclear predicament . . . lie in scientific knowledge rather than in social circumstances."

And later on, he repeats that "the origin of the nuclear peril lies, on the one hand, in our nature as rational and inquisitive beings and, on the other, in the nature of matter."

This argument takes the political problem of war and mass destruction in today's world and turns it into an existential dilemma, removed from any specific historical context, from the actual play of events and from the clash of contending class forces.

After all, it was not "our nature as rational and inquisitive beings" that resulted in the production of the atomic bomb. Scientific knowledge was necessary, but so were certain social circumstances — specifically, World War II and the mobilization of scientific and material resources in the Manhattan Project.

Furthermore, *why was the bomb used* — not once, but twice — when Japan was already on the verge of surrender? Did this have nothing to do with "particular social or political circumstances" — specifically, the explosion of the colonial revolution in Asia toward the end of World War II, and the determination of U.S. imperialism to confront these revolutions, and with them the Soviet Union?

A 'race' with one runner

We frequently hear reference to the nuclear arms race. The image is of two contestants crouched at the starting line, then racing neck-and-neck. But the reality was different.

As Daniel Ellsberg notes in his introduction to *Protest and Survive* (a collection of essays on the issue of nuclear arms, edited by E.P. Thompson), "The U.S. Strategic Air Command was established in early 1946 with the function of delivering nuclear attacks upon Russia when so directed, at a time when it was publicly proclaimed by the president and high military that the Soviet Union was not expected to possess operational nuclear weapons systems for a decade or longer."

Schell does not place responsibility on the U.S. government for the nuclear threat. He tries to avoid this issue by taking the existence of nuclear weapons and the current level of nuclear armament as his starting point. The potential for the extinction of humanity, he says, makes all political ideologies fade into irrelevance.

But as soon as we turn from the destructive power of nuclear weapons in the abstract to the actual instances in which their use has been threatened, we run into the problem of "war and its causes," and specifically the role of U.S. imperialism, once again.

U.S. nuclear threats

In the essay quoted above, Daniel Ellsberg refers to 12 instances in which the U.S. government is known to have directly threatened the use of nuclear weapons. There is no instance of the Soviet government ever having made such a threat.

Of the 12 instances listed by Ellsberg,



Left: building in Hiroshima, one of the targets of the atomic bombing in 1945. Right: building in Hiroshima, one of the targets of the atomic bombing in 1945.

10 grew directly out of Washington's efforts to defeat revolutionary struggles in Asia and Latin America. These were:

- Iran in 1946, when Truman demanded that the Soviets halt their support for nationalist regimes that had been set up in Kurdistan and Azerbaijan as a result of the revolutionary upheaval that had erupted in Iran.

- Korea in 1950, and again in 1953. In both cases the threat was against the Chinese revolution as well as the Korean revolution.

- Vietnam in 1954, when Washington secretly offered the French three tactical nuclear weapons to relieve the colonial troops besieged at Dienbienphu.

- The Middle East in 1958, when Eisenhower authorized the use of nuclear weapons if these were deemed necessary to prevent the extension of the Iraqi revolution of that year.

- Also in 1958, Eisenhower directed the Pentagon to use nuclear weapons to defend the Chaing Kaishek dictatorship's military outpost on the island of Quemoy, a few miles off the Chinese mainland.

- In 1962 there was the Cuban missile crisis — a confrontation that grew out of Washington's attempts to crush the Cuban revolution.

- The Vietnamese revolution was again threatened by nuclear weapons in 1968, when thousands of U.S. Marines were surrounded at Khe Sanh. The Vietnamese never did make a final assault on the Marines trapped at Khe Sanh, and during the 1969-1972 period, they were repeatedly threatened with a massive escalation of the war, including the use of nuclear weapons.

- The latest U.S. nuclear threat came in the context of the Iranian revolution. It was first enunciated in January 1980, after President Carter staked out the Persian Gulf region as U.S. turf. After taking office a year later, Reagan reaffirmed Washington's determination to use nuclear weapons if necessary to hold onto Middle Eastern oil.

In addition to these explicit threats to use nuclear weapons, there have been numerous actions such as the worldwide alert of U.S. forces during the October 1973 Mideast war.

How Schell sees the world

The scramble for profits by giant corporations, the struggles of the colonial peoples for independence, revolution, imperialist war — all this is missing from Schell's version of the nuclear threat. Although his book is newly published, it never once mentions the criminal U.S. intervention in Central America, where Washington is preparing the next Vietnam.



Militant/Barry Sheppard



José Laranderos

left standing after 1945 atomic blast, is today a memorial. Right: more victims of U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador. "Schell seeks to substitute the fight against the abstract for the fight against the actual wars going on today and their source. The only way to finally end the nuclear peril is to disarm the imperialist

Far from blaming the warmakers in Washington and helping to show the way toward disarming them, Schell blames us. "The world's political leaders," he says, are not the enemy because, "though they now menace the earth with nuclear weapons, [they] do so only with our permission, and even at our bidding. At least, this is true for the democracies."

Schell speaks of "our role as both the victims and the perpetrators of mass murder." But the U.S. people never voted to build the atomic bomb, nor to drop it on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. U.S. workers and farmers first found out about those decisions in the newspapers.

Nor did working people vote in favor of any of the acts of nuclear blackmail or any of the imperialist interventions that Washington has carried out since World War II. On the contrary, only years of massive opposition at home finally forced the imperialists to get out of Vietnam.

Disarmament is Schell's solution for the nuclear threat — "what everyone is now called on to do is to sink all the ships, and also ground all the planes, and fill in all the missile silos, and dismantle all the warheads."

As he makes clear a few pages later, his actual political perspectives do not go beyond the measures already proposed by various figures in the U.S. ruling class. Schell suggests that "at a minimum, a freeze on the further deployment of nuclear weapons, participated in both by countries that now have them and countries that do not yet have them, is called for. Even better would be a reduction in nuclear arms — for example, by cutting the arsenals of the superpowers in half, as George Kennan suggested recently."

Who should be disarmed?

Socialists are fighting for a society in which war and the weapons of war would be abolished. But the question is how to get there, and who the demand of disarmament should be aimed at today.

There is a war going on right now in southern Africa. The racist South African regime, armed with nuclear weapons, is occupying Namibia and southern Angola, and carrying out repeated massacres of the civilian population there. Working people around the world would like to see the South African imperialists disarmed, but to raise that demand against Angola would be a betrayal. We should support the right of Angola and the freedom fighters in Namibia to have more ships, more planes, more missiles.

The same is true in Central America. The butchers in El Salvador, the U.S.-backed death squads in Guatemala, and

above all, the imperialists in Washington who are ultimately responsible for the survival of every reactionary dictatorship in the region, should be disarmed. At the same time, we should support the right of Cuba, of Nicaragua, of Grenada, and of the liberation fighters in El Salvador to obtain whatever weapons they need to defend themselves against imperialist aggression. And that includes nuclear weapons.

Perhaps this seems ironic. Nuclear weapons could be a force for peace in Central America?

But it should be recalled that if it were not for the fact that the Soviet Union developed atomic weapons in 1949, the U.S. government in all likelihood would have used the bomb against the Korean and Chinese revolutions the next year, and against the colonial rebellion worldwide that sprang up at that time.

Moreover, as Ellsberg explained above, the U.S. rulers had every intention of using the nuclear bomb on the Soviet Union itself. Once the Soviets obtained the bomb, Washington was forced to retreat from its plans for launching a third world war, against the Soviet Union.

The weapons themselves are not the threat. U.S. imperialism is.

Like E.P. Thompson, a leader of the antinuclear movement in Britain, Schell seeks to *substitute* the fight against nuclear weapons and for disarmament in the abstract for the fight against the actual wars going on today and their source. The only way to finally end the nuclear peril is to disarm the imperialist warmakers.

Two different approaches

The difference in the two approaches can be seen quite clearly in the debates occurring over the character of the June 12 demonstration called to coincide with the United Nations session on disarmament.

Some peace groups, who look to the Democratic Party and are swayed and confused by capitalist ideological pressures, are opposed to including demands against the U.S. war in Central America and the British-U.S. war against Argentina in the June 12 demonstration. The demand for disarmament in the abstract is thus counterposed to the fight against war in the real world.

Disarmament and war

There is nothing new about the idea of disarmament in the abstract being counterposed to the actual fight against imperialism and imperialist war. Lenin explained in 1916, "The main defect in the demand for disarmament is its eva-

sion of all the concrete questions of revolution. . . .

"Disarmament' means simply running away from unpleasant reality and not fighting against it" ("War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," Lenin *Collected Works*, Volume 23).

Disarmament in the abstract was also in vogue on the eve of World War II. Leon Trotsky pointed out in 1935, "For Marxists the struggle against war coincides with the struggle against imperialism. The means for this struggle is not 'general disarmament' but the arming of the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers' state" ("To Young Communists and Socialists Who Wish to Think," *Writings of Leon Trotsky*, 1935-36).

It is through the workers and farmers taking governmental power, and using that power to reshape society in the interests of the toilers, that real disarmament can finally come about. As long as society is divided between oppressed and oppressing classes and ruled by a minority that subordinates everything to its search for profits, there can be no end to war.

What we have accomplished

Within this context, it is worth noting one of Schell's statements. "As a species," he says, "we have as yet done nothing to save ourselves" from the threat of nuclear extinction.

Not true.

As a species, we have been struggling

to overthrow an unjust, outmoded, and life-threatening social system, and to replace it with a higher form of human society.


The Russian revolution of October 1917 was the first giant step in that process. The Chinese revolution, the Cuban revolution, the Vietnamese revolution, the Grenadian revolution, the Nicaraguan revolution — every one of these events has been a blow to imperialism and a step forward for humanity on the road to a better world.

It is this process of social transformation that is essential for ending the threat of nuclear extinction.

That is another reason why the context in which Schell's book appears is so important. Under the impact of the world economic crisis and the imperialist war drive, big changes are taking place inside the labor movement in the United States and other imperialist countries. Working people more and more feel that the capitalist system cannot guarantee them a better life, and even threatens life itself.

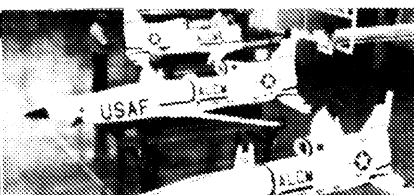
The struggle for a workers and farmers government in the United States is becoming less and less of an abstraction. The need for such a government is increasingly posed by events in the class struggle. And that includes the rise of the peace movement.

Ultimately, the working people of America will have the decisive say in whether the human race is to survive. Those are the real stakes in the fight for a workers and farmers government in the United States.



FIDEL CASTRO
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Communist Party ducks antiwar fight

Says campaigning for Democrats is path to peace

BY HARRY RING

The Communist Party held a national meeting in Milwaukee this past April 23-25. It was billed as the "Second Extraordinary Conference" of the party. The first was in 1933.

In a keynote speech, CP National Secretary Gus Hall said there were two reasons for the "extraordinary" gathering — the need to counter the reactionary Reagan offensive at home and to oppose its threat to world peace.

The political line for accomplishing this was laid out in Hall's lengthy keynote speech.

The most striking feature of the speech is how little of it is devoted to the war issue — and, most particularly, to wars Washington is carrying out right now.

This is no oversight.

The purpose of the conference, as spelled out in a text of Hall's report made available at the conference, was to mobilize the ranks of the Communist Party and its youth organization, the Young Workers Liberation League, for all-out participation in the 1982 Democratic Party primaries and the November elections.

That and the fight against war don't mix.

You can't actively oppose the U.S.-Anglo war against Argentina and campaign for the Democrats. They're for that war.

You can't really fight the drive to militarily and economically strangle the Nicaraguan revolution and stump for the Democrats. They're for the war on Nicaragua.

You can't seriously champion revolutionary Grenada and be for the Democrats. Like Reagan, the Democrats have a different idea about Grenada.

It would be a hot potato to vigorously oppose the escalated drive against Cuba and be for the Democrats. They initiated the get-Cuba campaign.

How can you say, "Not a cent, not a gun" for the Salvadoran dictatorship and say yes to the Democrats? In Congress, they vote with the Reaganites to send more guns and dollars.

Nor can you fight for unilateral U.S. disarmament and campaign for the Democrats.

Malvinas?

Gus Hall's speech was delivered 22 days after Argentina reclaimed the Malvinas Islands and Britain responded with its armada of gunboats.

Hall's speech literally doesn't mention the aggression against Argentina.

Central America and the Caribbean get a passing reference. The paragraph on it in Hall's speech states:

"In Central and Latin America, especially in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba, the basic U.S. policy of aggression continues. But the fast-rising tide of resistance and opposition by a majority of our people and the world has forced the Reagan administration to slow down,

re-calculate and maneuver. The tactical maneuvering is a direct response to the increasing pressure."

Certainly popular opposition has been an enormous barrier to Washington's perspective of sending troops to directly intervene in Central America.

But it is dangerously misleading to suggest, as this lone paragraph does, that the U.S.-sponsored war there is winding down.

Military funding for the Salvadoran dictatorship has been increased. More guns are being shipped in. The U.S. "advisers" are very much on the scene, mapping antiguerrilla strategy. Salvadoran army officers are continuing to be trained in this country.

Washington is continuing to wage its undeclared war against Nicaragua, using mercenary exile forces for incursions from border sanctuaries in Honduras. Nicaraguan villages are attacked. Bridges and strategic installations are blown up. Nicaraguan civilians and soldiers are being killed.

When Havana made known again its readiness to negotiate with Washington for a relaxation of tensions between the two governments, Reagan's response was the reimposition of the Cuba travel ban, a move that underlines the ominous, unrelenting character of the drive against that revolution.

What road to peace?

Peace — as the U.S. Communist Party leaders conceive it — doesn't mean throwing themselves into the fight against such ongoing wars as those in Central America and the Caribbean, or into the struggle to halt U.S.-Anglo aggression against Argentina.

To the contrary, they see independent moves against such ongoing imperialist aggressions as an obstacle in the path of "peace."

Their concept of peace is to achieve de-

tente between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union. To win such an accommodation with the imperialists they are ready to sacrifice the struggles of other targets of imperialism and to help divert authentic antiwar movements into "safe," ineffective channels — namely, capitalist politics.

That's the key reason for working within the Democratic Party. The CP leadership believes that by helping to keep the workers tied to capitalist politics they can persuade "progressive," "far-sighted" sectors of the ruling capitalist class that friendship with Moscow is a better, more profitable policy.

Certainly the Soviet Union remains under constant pressure from world imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and it is essential to combat that danger.

But this will not be accomplished by subordinating the political interests of the workers to those of the capitalists in the utopian hope of persuading, or even "pressuring," imperialism to change. Quite the opposite.

Actively opposing each concrete, ongoing war, such as the one against the people of Central America, is the only way to block an ultimate attack on the Soviet Union as well as avert nuclear extinction.

Even in terms of U.S.-Soviet relations, the picture Hall paints is dangerously misleading.

Hall asserts, "The U.S. role as ruler and dictator of the capitalist world is over."

This being the case, Hall continues, U.S. policies "are a mixture of retreat, maneuver, manipulation, aggression and confrontation, alternating with policies of moves toward arms negotiations, backtracking, defensiveness and peace posturing."

"Maneuver, manipulation"?

For sure.

Even "peace posturing."

But "retreat"?

That's false.

Historically speaking, the U.S. role as world ruler is over. But it will never be

Continued on Page 12



Militant/Lou Howort

Americans are demonstrating increased concern over U.S. aggression in Central America and Caribbean. But Gus Hall assured Communist Party that Washington is in retreat there.

Imperialists get some free advice

The May 19 *Daily World* featured an article assessing the impact of the Malvinas crisis on the British ruling class. It was written by the paper's long-time London correspondent, William Pomeroy.

The article is a striking example of how practitioners of the politics of class collaboration find themselves offering free advice to the ruling class about what's assertedly in its best interests.

It's a bit like the union bureaucrat who, instead of leading the workers in a fight for gains, prefers to sit down the boss and persuade him that granting some concessions will avoid costly strikes, improve workers' attitudes, increase production and, in the long run, prove more profitable.

Pomeroy's article purports to be simply a report on the debate the Malvinas crisis has sparked within the British ruling class. Actually, that's a thin veneer for what's really intended to be helpful advice to them. Pomeroy's main point is that if the British rulers hadn't listened to Uncle Sam and sunk all their money in nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union, they would be in a better position to deal with Argentina.

The Malvinas crisis, he reports, is having a "traumatic" effect on the members of the Thatcher government and the ruling circles they represent.

In the past decade, he says, British military policy has been "almost totally oriented toward war with the Soviet Union." To make things worse, the Thatcher government had made the U.S. Trident missile "the centerpiece of that policy."

This, Pomeroy notes, cost so much money that it led to a cutback in conventional arms.

For example, he writes, "Britain's Royal Navy . . . has been equipped merely to fight a war against the Soviet Union. In obsessive pursuit of that goal the other possibilities in a complex world of developing states and of inter-imperialist rivalries have been ignored."

"British imperialist strategists," he continues, "are now awakening to the harmful [!] implications of the anti-Soviet course they have been taking."

"For example, they realize that if the Malvinas crisis had developed a year from now, then the most important components of the royal navy task force sent to the South Atlantic — the aircraft carriers, *Invincible* and *Hermes* — would have been sold off or scrapped as part of the rundown to pay for the Trident. Therefore, an effective military confrontation with Argentina would have been ruled out."

As a result of all this, Pomeroy deduces, the British rulers are growing wiser. They "seem to be coming to the view that it is a mistake to be totally transfixed by an assumed threat from the Soviet Union, when threats to imperialist interests can come from many a direction."

In addition, Pomeroy explains, the war with Argentina is costing a bundle and there will have to be cutbacks in British military expenditures.

"The obvious item to be pruned," he sagely advises, "is the Trident."

After this free advice to British imperialism Pomeroy goes on to assure that, "These are problems and dilemmas for British imperialism and its allies. They are separate from the peace movements, and from the campaign for nuclear disarmament, which continue unabated in their own course."

But if the British peace movement

fails to take an active stand of opposition to Britain's ongoing imperialist war against Argentina, it will contribute nothing to the cause of world peace.

And if the fight for nuclear disarmament of the Thatcher government is to advance, it will not be done by gratuitous advice to the arms-wielders that conventional weapons are more versatile. It will take determined, uncompromising action by the British workers and all other peace forces against the very real war being carried out by their government today, a war where the British rulers have already threatened to use nuclear weapons if necessary.

Incidentally, it should be noted for the record that the Communist Party doesn't limit itself to advising imperialism.

The May 8 issue of the *People's World*, West Coast weekly reflecting the views of the Communist Party, carries an editorial which declares in part:

"Of course, to bring the war to an end will require give on both sides. The Argentines must take into account the aspirations and well-being of the people currently living peacefully on the islands they call their Falkland home. The British must recognize the legitimacy of Argentine claims of sovereignty over the territory."

Concern about the "aspirations and well being" of those living on the Malvinas should be directed to the British imperialists who have plunged them into the center of a bloody battle.

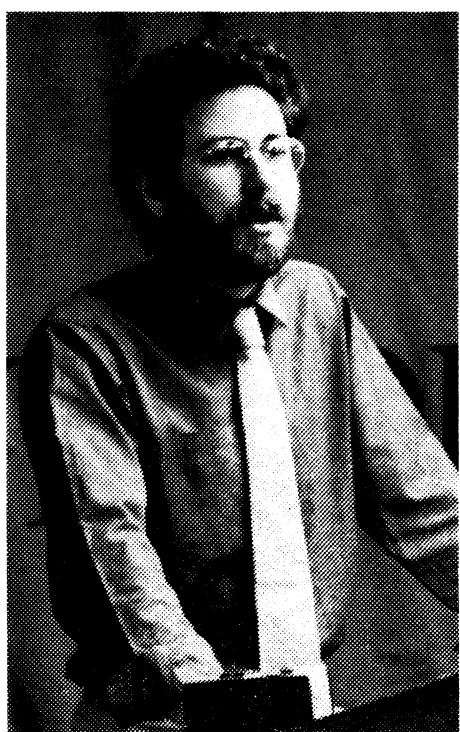
Meanwhile, the advice to the Argentines is a bit like a sideline observer shouting to a striking picket fighting off a club-wielding cop, "Remember, moderation!"

— Harry Ring



Gus Hall

Militant/Flax Hermes



Militant photos by Kelley Lawrence

Harris Freeman (left), St. Louis worker fired for his political views, and Howard Wiley of the National Black Independent Political Party, speaking at Greensboro rally to defend democratic rights.

Greensboro rally hits gov't spying

BY GREG McCARTAN

GREENSBORO, N.C. — A rally of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) here May 1 took up a broad range of attacks on the democratic rights of workers and political activists.

Speakers at the rally, which was titled "Reagan vs. Workers Rights: Stop Government Spying," included Harris Freeman, a St. Louis worker recently fired by McDonnell Douglas for his political ideas; Earl Jones of the Greensboro chapter of the NAACP, which has endorsed PRDF and the Freeman case; and Howard Wiley of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

Jones explained the history of government spying on the Black movement.

"Spying isn't anything new," he said. The government spies on and tries to disrupt "any organization that is fighting." Pointing to the massive civil-rights movement, Jones explained that "the government had to make a decision about the movement, and what they decided to do was to destroy Dr. Martin Luther King. But King's ideas still live on, Malcolm X's ideas still live on."

Jones also discussed attacks on the Voting Rights Act. The Greensboro NAACP is fighting a discriminatory voter-registration form which is used at predominantly Black A&T University but not at other universities in the area.

Howard Wiley of the NBIPP scored U.S. support for the attempt by Britain to keep its colonial hold on the Malvinas. This indicated, he said, "that the vestiges of old colonialism and attempts to uphold imperialist objectives are still plaguing us all."

"Those in power," he went on, "are going to make every attempt to maintain the existing world order. However, people all over the world are on the rise."

He then spoke about how the bosses use unemployment to terrorize and intimidate working people.

"As we have witnessed attacks on political and civil rights, we are also seeing attacks on labor and the rights of workers," said Wiley. "We must see unemployment as a part of this attack."

"High unemployment creates a repressive atmosphere. It creates an atmosphere to compromise workers' rights, union rights. It allows a witch-hunt of dissenters, workers in industry, and the undocumented."

"Having high unemployment contributes to these things. Workers will accept anything to have a job. But the real culprit is corporate attempts to protect their profits under a depressed economy. And also to protect the war industry and the wars they have on the drawing board."

Wiley explained that "attacks on one political organization or the political actions of one person are attacks on everyone — they are attacks on the whole movement."

Freeman, one of three workers fired by McDonnell Douglas, was the featured speaker. He is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. The International Association of Machinists Lodge 837B, Freeman's union local, is fighting his firing.

Freeman connected the stepped-up war moves and the massive buildup of nuclear and conventional forces by the Reagan administration to his firing.

Freeman described the massive opposition to U.S. war plans and the potential for an antiwar movement in this country.

"The government is especially anxious to keep those workers who build the bombs, nuclear submarines, and jet fighters out of any new antiwar movement," Freeman added. "One of the crudest campaigns against democratic rights and union rights is taking place in the war industries of this country."

"Any worker can be fingered by a company spy in a union meeting or on the job. Anyone the company doesn't like can be labeled a security risk."

"The goal is to drive opponents of government and corporate policy out of the plants, intimidate workers from participating in their unions, get them to accept wage concessions and speedup, and reverse the growing antiwar sentiment in the war industries."

The rally also heard Steve Craine of the North Carolina Ballot Fund describe the victory for democratic rights won the day before in a ruling by a federal judge that exempted the SWP from a restrictive ballot law.

The rally protested spying by local cops on recent picket lines and demonstrations.

Ballot victory in N.C.

BY GREG McCARTAN

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — After a federal judge exempted the Socialist Workers Party from a law that severely restricts ballot access, supporters of the Meryl Lynn Farber for Congress campaign began petitioning to put the SWP on the ballot here.

They gathered almost 1,000 signatures the first day; 5,000 are required for ballot status.

Under the old law, anyone who signed such a petition for a party other than the Democrats or Republicans would have been automatically registered as a member of that party.

The law was passed by the state legislature in 1981 after the SWP had gotten on the ballot the year before. It was the first time socialists had been on a North Carolina ballot since the 1930s.

Steve Craine is a spokesman for the North Carolina Ballot Fund, a broadly based organization that filed suit against the law. Craine called the ruling, which came on April 30, "an initial victory against this anti-worker legislation."

"The suit charged that the law unconstitutionally stifled and chilled any challenge to the political monopoly of the Democratic and Republican parties," he said.

But in exempting the SWP from the law, Judge Franklin Dupree did not disagree with its intent, Craine said.

"In fact, in the rest of his decision," Craine pointed out, "he counsels the legislature on other 'constitutional' means to achieve their purpose — keeping workers parties off the ballot. He proposed increasing the number of signatures required from 5,000 to 140,000. That gives you an idea of whose side he's really on."

At a news conference May 6 announcing the petitioning drive, candidate Farber said the ruling "paves the way to get our party and my name on the ballot in November."

She also pointed out that being on the ballot this year would keep the SWP on in 1984 under present North Carolina

law. The current law allows a party, once on, to stay on the ballot unless its percentage of the vote in a gubernatorial or presidential election falls below 10 percent.

Farber said, "The people of North Carolina deserve a choice. The SWP, unlike the Democrats and Republicans, is opposed to the government's secret war against Nicaragua, and to its support to Britain's colonial aggression against Argentina."

"The SWP supports the extension and strong enforcement of the Voting Rights Act, extension of busing and desegregation, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and abolishing the antiunion right-to-work (-for less) laws. These are crucial issues in this state."

Fired antiwar machinists gain support in nationwide tour

BY STEPHEN THOMAS

TWIN CITIES, Minn. — A fired antiwar trade unionist won important new support for the fight against company and government victimizations of trade union activists, during a four-day tour here.

Barry David, a member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 837B and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, toured here May 2-5. David is one of three machinists fired by McDonnell Douglas last fall because of their union and antiwar views and activities.

David is on a nationwide speaking tour to win support for the fired McDonnell Douglas unionists, and for 15 members of IAM Lodge 709 fired by Lockheed-Georgia in similar company-government victimizations.

David met with David Roe, president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO; John Peterson, district business representative of the IAM in Minnesota; the Executive Board of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1310; Roger Aiken, editor of the local American Postal Workers newspaper; and Tom Laney, a UAW activist recently fired here because of his union activities.

Many of the unions showing interest in David's case and the issues it raises are the same ones that have come out against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Twenty unions here endorsed a recent demonstration in St. Paul to demand U.S. out of Central America and the Caribbean.

David was the featured speaker at a rally of 60 people to support the fired unionists and defend democratic rights. The rally, which raised over \$800 to fight these cases, was a broad showing of support.

Among the speakers were Twin Cities NOW President Sue Abderholden; National Black Independent Political Party leader Janice Dorlaie; and Frank Guzman, a leader of the National Chicago Alliance.

Four radio stations carried interviews and news spots on David's case, and he was interviewed by five papers, including the Black community newspapers, the *St. Paul Recorder* and *Minneapolis Spokesman*; and the *St. Paul Dispatch*, the major daily. David also spoke at forums at St. Cloud State University and the University of Minnesota.

BY BOBBI SPIEGLER

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. — During a three-day tour here, Alison Beckley, a fired member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 709 at Lockheed-Georgia, won new support for the battle to stop firings and harassment of union activists.

The tour began with petitioning and leaflet distribution at the General Electric plant here, where workers are represented by the IAM. Several workers stopped to talk with Beckley and signed petitions protesting the firings of unionists at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis.

Beckley addressed the monthly chapter meeting of the Albuquerque National Organization for Women (NOW).

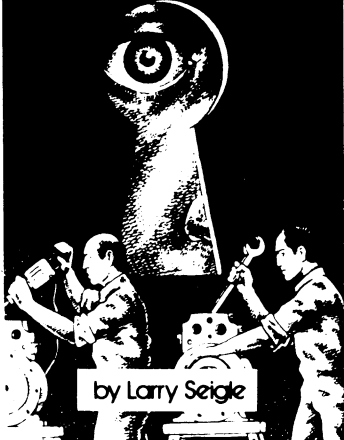
NOW members were shocked at the spy network set up by Lockheed and began reading with amazement from the company spy files that were passed around. The chapter voted unanimously to send letters of protest to both McDonnell Douglas and Lockheed.

The tour culminated in a program protesting Reagan's attacks on workers' rights, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Socialist activist dies

Tom Nagle, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, died in Cleveland May 17. Nagle, 45, joined the SWP in 1976. A meeting to commemorate his contributions to the socialist movement was scheduled for May 27 in Cleveland, sponsored by the SWP. A future issue of the *Militant* will carry an appreciation of Nagle's life.

Workers' Rights versus The Secret Police



48 pages, \$1

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Survival plan — To ensure survival of civilization as we know it, Robert Kingsley, a Los



Harry Ring

Angeles official, favors relocation after a nuclear blast on a priority basis, with the young,

physically fit, and skilled going first. Last on the exit list would be "the elderly, the infirm, the unskilled, the unessential." It would be, he said a "Noah's Ark" approach. Maybe he could get included as a chimp.

Capitalism's best hope — Farm leaders met with Secretary of Agriculture John Block in an off-the-record session to discuss the worsening plight of farmers. Block reportedly told them the only thing that would improve farm prices was a national and world crop disaster.

See, it works — Initially, we were skeptical of the president's idea that we rely more on private charity for the needy than government programs. But then we read about the Reagans' tax returns listing more than \$30,000 in gifts from friends. And that's not counting the clothes loaned to Nancy by fashion companies, or the rocks provided her by jeweler Harry Winston.

Last-ditch proposition — Fear of the bomb is leading some teenagers to engage in sex, says

a Wisconsin sociologist. Urging an end to the nuclear buildup, he said some young people feel, "If I don't get sex now, I'll never know what it feels like."

Softener — It takes a tough man to turn out a tender chicken, say the commercials by Frank Perdue of the union-busting Perdue chicken outfit. One tenderizer seems to be plain old water. With a maximum of 12 percent water allowed in chickens, inspectors found Perdue's running at 19 percent.

P.S. — The Reagan administration proposes cutting the number of meat and poultry inspectors by 50 percent. Fewer inspectors are needed, they say, because the companies now have more sophisticated quality control equipment. Like, for instance, at Perdue's.

The march of culture — A Madison Avenue agency that leads in composing radio and TV commercial jingles boasts, "Our music is heard by more people, more times, than any other kind of music."

Communist Party ducks antiwar fight

Continued from Page 10
persuaded to simply accept that reality and depart peaceably from the scene.

Nor will it accept the "rational" idea that it can avoid its demise by adopting a policy of peace. World imperialism will have to be overpowered and driven off the stage of history. Fighting it and its wars every inch of the way will reduce the substantial damage it inflicts on its way out.

What retreat?

What are the signs of imperialist "retreat" perceived by Hall?

He points to recent declarations by the Reagan administration that it favors a nuclear arms reduction, after a further buildup. While recognizing this is a fake, he asserts that it does represent "concessions to the popular and congressional challenges."

Yes, popular antiwar sentiment has forced Reagan — and the Democrats — into a "peace posture." But the posture has a single, sinister purpose — to put themselves in a better position to wage war. To suggest that it's a backing away from a war policy serves only to give credibility to the swindle.

And just what is the "congressional challenge" to Reagan?

Nuclear freeze

To work for the Democrats, the CP is compelled to parrot those Democrats calling for a "bilateral nuclear freeze."

This is a proposition whose sole purpose is to take the fire off U.S. imperialism and the wars it is waging, bolster

the myth that the Soviet Union is the real threat to world peace, and set up antiwar activists to be diverted into supporting "peace" candidates of the Democratic Party in the November elections.

"Freeze" advocates in the Democratic Party have been the most persistent partisans of an increase in expenditures for a "conventional" arms buildup — like more battleships — to better prepare for wars in the colonial world.

Hall also argues a major reason to go all out in support of the Democrats is to advance the mounting opposition to "Reaganomics" — the employers' drive against U.S. workers in general and the poorest in particular.

But how can you fight attacks on your living standards and rights at home if you resist building a movement against the dollars and guns being shipped to Central America, or the material now being supplied to the British for the war against Argentina? How can you fight the economic crisis by backing candidates who support the massive budget for these wars?

The Democrats are not only for "Reagan's" war abroad, they have been totally complicit in his moves at home against the working class, from budget cutbacks, to antilabor legislation, to attacks on desegregation, to knifing the Equal Rights Amendment and legal abortion.

They have zero to do with the mounting opposition to "Reaganomics" — except for trying to exploit the deep popular sentiment against it in order to get themselves elected.

The worst fear of the capitalist politi-

cians — a fear shared by the reformist leaders of the Communist Party — is that this sentiment will be translated by the labor movement into independent political action.

In his report, Gus Hall speaks of the independent forces that are developing "inside and outside" the Democratic Party. The job of the CP, he declares, is to "unite" these forces.

How?

If the CP considers its main job to be work in the Democratic Party, then obviously the only way to unite those "inside and outside" is to try to bring those outside back into the Democratic Party.

This is consistent with a policy that goes back to the mid-1930s. Ever since that time, the CP has stubbornly opposed independent labor political action, counterposing the ruinous policy of supporting "progressive" or "lesser evil" capitalist politicians.

Today, Hall is pressing hard for the pro-Democrat line precisely because the prospects for a working-class break with the two capitalist parties are greater than at any time since the 1930s.

'Mass upsurge'

The growing opposition to the employer offensive and the swift rise of antiwar sentiment are testimony to a developing mass upsurge outside of, and against, the two parties. To speak of a "mass upsurge" inside the Democratic Party, as Hall does, is an obscene joke.

Asserting that "the left and Party cannot afford to sit out the primary elec-

tion process" now getting under way for 1982, Hall actually says:

"We can't afford to because that is where the mass upsurge is."

Everybody in the CP, Hall declares, must get on the stick.

"We must assign [party] cadre," he insists, "that will make the elections their main and even only activity."

Alluding to inner-party criticism, Hall reports, "Some say we are adopting the lesser evil concept."

Another problem "is the fear some express that we will abandon our campaign for political independence."

Plus, "Some have drawn the wrong conclusion that for the time being we will put the campaign for political independence in moth balls."

For a party that has long taken a dim view of internal disagreement, even this is quite an admission.

Muddy waters

How does Hall answer his critics? Mainly, with a single stroke.

"We should keep in mind," he responds, "that when we swim in large, uncharted seas there are always going to be problems about what strokes to use in swimming. There will be currents, cross-currents and under-currents. We must learn all the swim-strokes so that we are prepared to handle all the currents. That way, we'll eliminate the sink or swim syndrome."

If Communist Party cadres make work in the Democratic Party "their main and even only activity," they have to swim with the stream. Like, they can be for "peace," but not against war.

—CALENDAR—

INDIANA

Gary

U.S. Government vs. Workers' Rights: Defend the Antiwar Unionists. Speakers: Harris Freeman, fired from McDonnell Douglas for his political beliefs; Rudy Lozano, organizing director, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union Midwest region; representative of Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; others. Fri., June 4, 7 p.m. 1199 Union Hall, 745 E Ridge Rd. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Britain and the United States vs Argentina: Behind the Malvinas War. Speakers: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers candidate for 3rd Congressional District; others. Fri., June 4, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Film: Cambodia: Year One. Sun., June 6, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., Kenmore Square. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Rally to Stop Deportations. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, socialist facing deportation from the U.S. for his political beliefs; Roberto

Muñoz, Casa de Unidad; Adela Garcia, Latin American Task Force; others. Fri., June 4, 7:30 p.m. Holy Trinity Church cafeteria, corner of Labrosse and 6th St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

A Panel Discussion on Disarmament, Nuclear War, and the Wars in Latin America. Speakers: Brian Coyne, coordinator, Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign; Joe Swanson, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Transportation Union Local 305. Sun., June 6, 7:30 p.m. Sacred Heart School, 530 N 31st St. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 475-2255.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Puerto Rico and Disarmament, Militarism and the Caribbean. Speaker: Jorge Rodriguez 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.

Film: Decision to Win. Filmed in areas liberated by El Salvador's armed rebels. Fri., June 4, 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. P.S. 41, Sixth Ave. at 11th St. Also: Sun., June 6, 2 p.m. Museo del Barrio, Fifth Ave. at 104th St. Donation: \$4.

Schenectady

Socialist Workers Campaign Open House. Meet Peter Thierjung, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, and Patricia Mayberry, SWP candidate for 23rd Congressional District. Wed., June 2 and Wed., June 16, 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. 323 State St. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Britain vs. Argentina: What's Behind the Malvinas Islands War? Speakers: Elena Blair, Argentine faculty member, Xavier University; Bill O'Kain, Socialist Workers Party member and activist in Latin American solidarity movement. Sun., June 6, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

Cleveland

Stop U.S. Nuclear War Drive! Speaker: Eric Flint, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 5, 7 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Rally for Political Rights: Speak-Out Against U.S. War Drive. Speakers: Father Paul Washington, longtime civil rights leader; Jack McKinney, Philadelphia *Daily News* columnist, just returned from assignment in Nicaragua, Honduras, and

Guatemala; Jack Hart, former international organizer, United Electrical Workers; Jean Savage, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709, fired by Lockheed-Georgia for her union and political activities; José Acevedo, member of United Auto Workers Local 92 and Young Socialist Alliance; Gerard Férère, coordinator, Coalition for Haitian Concerns. Sun., June 6, 7 p.m. reception, 8 p.m. rally. Church of the Advocate, parish house, 18th and Diamonds Sts. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (215) 927-4748.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

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. Aup: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

UTAH

Price

Grand Opening of Socialist Headquarters. Speakers: Kay Sedam, rail worker and SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Mary Zins, SWP Political Committee and YSA National Executive Committee; Agnes Chapa, coal miner and member, YSA National Committee; Jim White, chairman, Price SWP. Sat., June 5, 7:30 p.m. reception. Oliveto Building, 23 South Carbon Ave., Room 19. Aup: Price SWP. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Documentary: 'Case of the Legless Veteran'

The Case of the Legless Veteran: James Kutcher, produced and directed by Howard Petrick, 65 minutes.

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

Most people today have probably never heard of James Kutcher. They should.

His is the remarkable story of an otherwise ordinary man, a disabled veteran, who was targeted by the United States government during the McCarthyite Era.

They fired him from his civil service job, tried to get him evicted, and took away his disability pension.

The reason? Being a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

But Kutcher fought back courageously. He won widespread support and — in the middle of the anti-

FILM REVIEW

communist hysteria — defeated the witch-hunters.

It became known as the Case of the Legless Veteran (a phrase coined by journalist I.F. Stone). Today, a documentary film by the same title retells that inspiring story.

The Case of the Legless Veteran is a wealth of revealing information. It brings to light many important facts about the nature of the Cold War and the government-inspired witch-hunts of the 1950s.

Director Howard Petrick did a lot of careful research to document the successful campaign to defend Kutcher, making the story come alive and bringing out some important lessons for working-class fighters and political activists today.

One of the best features of the film is how it presents the political context of the case. This is done through a combination of fascinating interviews and newsreel clips.

Most of us were probably subjected in school to countless documentaries on World War II. These were all intended to drill into our heads the idea that the United States fought in that worldwide bloodbath in the name of democracy and against tyranny.

But how many of us learned about the Going Home Movement? The film shows newsreels of huge demonstrations of GIs in 1945, protesting U.S. plans to keep them abroad to wage new wars. Scenes of the Chinese revolution remind the viewer of the colonial revolutions then breaking out around the world, which Washington was intent on crushing.

We also see the postwar layoffs leading to a massive strike wave involving rail workers, truckers, merchant seamen, and others.

The narration by Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the SWP and leader of the Teamsters organizing struggles in the 1930s, provides many insights. Dobbs explains how, in response to the working-class upsurge, then-president Harry Truman cracked down on the labor movement (signing into law the antiunion Taft-Hartley Act) and launched a witch-hunt.

Under Truman also came the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings, which unceremoniously threw the Bill of Rights out the win-

dow, arbitrarily dragging people before it to be interrogated on their political views.

Through actual newsreel footage of the time, Petrick also presents another interesting aspect of these kangaroo-court proceedings — how many of the questioned Hollywood screenwriters, actors, and directors stood up to and challenged the inquisitors on their turf.

The Case of the Legless Veteran makes it clear, however, that the main target of the McCarthyite campaign was the labor movement.

The attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations, the Government Employee Loyalty Program, and other steps taken under Truman and Eisenhower, were used to harass and fire government workers, and then were extended to workers in the war industry. They laid the basis for collusion between private companies, government spy agencies, and conservative labor bureaucrats to subdue the unions and drive out the militant workers.

One example shown here is the FBI's direct intervention against striking Westinghouse workers in 1956.

The star of the film, of course, is James Kutcher himself, one of the first victims of the thought-control programs during the cold war.

He tells his case in his own modest style, which makes it all the more compelling: how he grew up during the Great Depression and became a socialist, was drafted, lost both legs in the war, and — despite an excellent work record — ended up being fired for "disloyalty" from his \$39-a-week clerk's job at the Newark Veteran's Administration. The basis for dismissal was his membership in the SWP, which had been placed on the attorney general's list.

Kutcher describes the choice he had to make, the most important one in his life. Backed by the SWP, he decided to fight back. It's inspiring to see how a young worker, who had never spoken up at a meeting before, refused to be intimidated by the U.S. government.

Instead we see James Kutcher openly expressing his socialist views and firmly asserting his right to hold his federal job as well as his membership in the SWP.

The Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee helped organize an ambitious campaign. It put out literature, raised funds, successfully sought media coverage, held public meetings, and sent Kutcher on a nationwide speaking tour.

Kutcher's defense campaign solicited support on the basis of his right to a job. And it solidarized with all victims of government harassment, regardless of political differences.

The Case of the Legless Veteran portrays the broad public backing won through this principled defense effort, the lessons of which still apply today. Supporters included civil libertarians, educators, artists, religious figures, and a number of unions, such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Interviews with several of Kutcher's backers — I.F. Stone, Kutcher Defense Committee head George Novack, prominent civil liberties lawyer and Kutcher's attorney Joseph Rauh Jr., and others — reveal the important fact that, despite government-sponsored intimidation, there was widespread public opposition to the witch-hunt and curbs on democratic rights.

Simon Bloom, editor of the *Newark Jewish Ledger*, is one of those who responded with outrage to the victimization of the legless veteran. The film is punctuated with his outspoken comments about the government's complicity in the McCarthyite attacks on the labor movement.

Kutcher's fight took almost 10 years. During that time, the government tried to have Kutcher and his elderly parents evicted from their modest housing by using a new law requiring loyalty oaths from tenants in federal projects. Later they revoked Kutcher's disability pension. In both cases these crude moves sparked such public outrage that the government was forced to back down.

The film culminates with the incredible footage — shown here for the first time — of Kutcher's Loyalty Board hearing. The atmosphere of this rigged affair is captured by the chief interrogator's remark that "I'll make the rules as I go along."

In contrast, Kutcher patiently answers the charges against him and reasserts his socialist beliefs. As the *Soho News* reviewer put it, "James Kutcher's simple insistence upon his civil rights is very impressive."

It was impressive enough that in 1956, after an eight-year battle of legal appeals and a vigorous public campaign, Kutcher won his job with full seniority and, two years later, all his back pay.

The example of Kutcher's battle and his victory has a special importance these days. We're reminded of this as the film credits come on the screen and the voice of a contemporary newscaster reports on Ronald Reagan's attempts to introduce legislation allowing increased spying on antiwar activists.

The Case of the Legless Veteran is a valuable contribution to today's labor movement and the fight against Washington's war drive.

International acclaim for Petrick film

The Case of the Legless Veteran is being shown in many U.S. cities by supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is backing current legal fights by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against government spying.

Howard Petrick's documentary has also attracted very wide interest internationally. Since its premiere in the spring of last year, it has been shown at the 30th Mannheim Film Festival in West Germany and at international film festivals in Rotterdam in the Netherlands, and Hong Kong.

In Atlanta it won the Atlanta Constitution and Atlanta Journal Award for best film documentary.

The film has been slated for festivals in Melbourne and Sydney, Australia, as well as Florence, Italy. It is a finalist in the American Film Festival, to be held in New York City this coming June.

The Case of the Legless Veteran is available for rental from New Front Films, 1409 Willow St., Suite 505, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403. For more information, call (612) 872-0805.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-

A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

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

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17105. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

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

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

UTAH: 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.

Another step deeper into war

On May 18, Maj. Gen. Thomas Turnage, director of the Selective Service System, announced that the government is making a list of young men who have not registered for the draft. The names will be turned over to the Justice Department, which says prosecutions will begin this summer.

Nonregistrants face a five-year jail term and a \$10,000 fine for the "crime" of refusing to fight in Washington's wars.

Official government estimates put the number of men who haven't registered at 527,000. The plan is to move first against a select group of 220, particularly those who have publicly declared their refusal to register.

Meanwhile, Representative Gerald Solomon (R-N.Y.) has introduced a bill into Congress that would deny federal benefits to anyone who doesn't register. These would include student aid, welfare, food stamps, school lunches, unemployment compensation, Veteran's Administration dependents' benefits, and Social Security.

These latest moves are aimed not just at antiwar youth, but at the U.S. working class as a whole. Their purpose is to take another step in preparing the American people for the use of U.S. troops in wars abroad, like the wars Washington is already waging in Argentina, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

The announcement of draft prosecutions came on the eve of the British invasion of the Malvinas Islands.

Britain is waging a classic imperialist war, 8,000 miles away, against a semicolonial country, Argentina, which has asserted its rightful sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

The U.S. government is up to its neck in this dirty war, providing indispensable military support to Thatcher's pirate fleet. The U.S. has provided a base for the invasion force at Ascension Island, and is shipping missiles and tanker planes to the British. White House officials have refused to say whether U.S. personnel are involved in the South Atlantic, but clearly Washington is becoming the lifeline for the British war expedition.

The Malvinas war results from the irreconcilable conflict between imperialist powers like Britain and the United States and the aspirations of the exploited masses of the colonial world. The imperialists cannot tolerate the smallest scrap of land being wrenched from their grip — it sets an example for all those yearning to be free of domination and class exploitation.

The retaking of the Malvinas by Argentina's Galtieri dictatorship was in response to a working-class upsurge in that country. Galtieri hoped to restore control by his seizure of the islands. In fact, what has resulted is a big strengthening of the workers' resolve to throw off both the tyranny of British and U.S. colonialism, and that of the Argentine junta.

What the Malvinas war has brought glaringly to light is the impossibility of imperialism relying on the regimes it has installed in the colonial world to defend its interests. Even the most iron-fisted dictatorships are weak in the face of a mass working-class upsurge.

Imperialism has no choice but to rely more and more on the use of its own troops. The open backing of the British invasion of the Malvinas by Washington has a strong element of trying to legitimize the direct use of U.S. troops in Latin America.

The U.S. government is already at war in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Fresh military aid has just been sent to the Salvador junta, and U.S. advisers are actively helping the army try to contain the guerrilla forces.

In Nicaragua, the U.S. is organizing a secret war of border raids, sabotage, and economic strangulation. CIA and Green Beret advisers are operating in Honduras to direct the counterrevolutionary bands who continually attack Nicaragua.

But to most effectively carry out these wars in Central America, Washington needs to use U.S. troops — and that means it needs the draft, just like it needs more "conventional" weapons, battleships, and Rapid Deployment forces.

Deep sentiment against new Vietnams has forced the U.S. rulers to proceed step by step, testing the reaction to each of its war moves, hiding some of them behind news blackouts, and attempting to mask its motives with fake rhetoric about its supposed defense of democracy.

The same government that is carrying out an assault on democratic rights at home can hardly be credited with defending democracy abroad.

The new plans to prosecute nonregistrants have to be looked at in that light — as the most recent step in a whole series of moves to drive through conscription despite popular opposition.

It is worth reviewing how far they've come in this campaign:

January 1980: Then-President James Carter announces his intention to revive draft registration.

July 1980: Draft registration begins.

June 1981: The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the draft is constitutional in response to a suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union.

January 1982: President Ronald Reagan, after campaigning as an opponent of draft registration, extends registration indefinitely. He also announces a grace period until March 1, during which nonregistrants can sign up without being prosecuted.

May 1982: General Turnage declares prosecutions will begin in the summer. In addition, he announces that personnel for 2,112 draft boards are being trained to begin classifying registrants "in the event of a national emergency"; and 97 draft appeals boards are being readied. The government estimates that registration will save five to seven weeks in starting up a draft.

These latest moves serve to underline the hypocrisy of Turnage's claim that registration is "a prerequisite for the draft" but "not necessarily a precursor to the draft."

Certainly the prosecutions of draft resisters will open a political battle. Those refusing to sign up know full well that Reagan is preparing to use them as cannon fodder in Central or South America.

Even after Reagan's "grace period" was up March 1, the government admitted that 900,000 young men still hadn't registered.

Since then, under continual threat of legal action, about 400,000 of those young men have reluctantly registered, according to the Selective Service System.

However, the General Accounting Office says that the rate of registration for each new group of 18-year-olds that become eligible is decreasing.

When the announcement of draft prosecutions was made, excerpts of a transcript from an April 12 Pentagon meeting of the Military Manpower Task Force was "leaked" to the press.

Present at the April 12 meeting were General Turnage, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, White House official Edwin Meese, and John Herrington, a Navy official. The excerpts were printed in the May 19 *Washington Post*.

What the officials discussed was how to carry through some initial prosecutions of nonregistrants and minimize the scope of political opposition. Herrington acknowledged prosecutions could be "a rallying point" for antiwar forces.

"I think the cases should be quiet; and pick the right jurisdiction so you don't end up in New York or Chicago," he suggested.

Weinberger chimed in: "Not the District of Columbia."

The transcript shows the ruling class recognizes the depth of antiwar sentiment — especially in cities with big Black and Latino populations. But it also shows that despite this sentiment, top government officials have decided to go ahead with their plans to dragoon young workers and farmers into their army. The problem for them is how to defuse and confuse opposition as they do this.

Massive sentiment without organization cannot tie the hands of the warmakers. What is needed is precisely to build a movement that stands squarely in opposition to Washington's wars — including its moves to draft young people to fight them.

The draft was abolished in 1973. This victory for working people came as part of building a powerful movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam.

Today, partly because of the Vietnam struggle and its impact on the consciousness of American workers, opposition to a new Vietnam is much deeper. It is directly tied to growing resistance to the rulers' war at home — plant shutdowns, devastating unemployment, cutbacks in vital social services, and attacks on democratic rights.

A new antiwar movement is needed, one that mobilizes the working class, Blacks and Latinos, GIs, veterans, and youth against the wars Washington has already started. Such a movement would oppose reinstitution of the draft because it opposes the wars Washington needs the draft for.

The June 12 rally at the United Nations can be an opportunity for advancing the fight for this antiwar movement, and for voicing opposition to the moves to prosecute draft resisters.

Those who refuse to register are upholding their constitutional and moral right not to fight in an imperialist war in Nicaragua, El Salvador, or anywhere else.

These courageous youth deserve the fullest support and commendation of all those fighting to end Washington's new Vietnams.

What French workers accomplished in 1871 Paris Commune

"The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters." Karl Marx wrote these words during the brutal crushing of the Paris Commune in May 1871.

The Commune was the first attempt by workers to seize control of government and run it in the interests of the oppressed and exploited. On March 18, 1871, the rulers of France attempted to disarm the workers of Paris, in the middle of a war with the Prussian army. The workers rebelled and took over the city. They established a new government, which they called the Paris Commune.

When the Commune was overthrown two months later, Marx wrote *The Civil War in France*, in which he drew the lessons of what this first battle by workers to run their own government had accomplished. Below are excerpts.

The first decree of the Commune . . . was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people.

The Commune was formed of the municipal councilors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, or acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the administration.

Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the "parson-power," by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of church and state. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it.

The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their abject subservency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oaths of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible and revocable.

[The Commune's] true secret was this. It was essentially a working class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labour.

Except on this last condition, the Communal Constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot co-exist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule. With labour emancipated, every man becomes a working man, and productive labour ceases to be a class attribute.

The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence. Its special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people. Such were the abolition of the nightwork of journeymen bakers; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their workpeople fines under manifold pretexts — a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executor, and filches the money to boot.

Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators' history has already nailed them to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them.

Black unions challenge South African apartheid

The Black worker in South Africa is denied the most elementary human rights by the white minority regime that governs the country. It is the apartheid system with its repressive laws and its military and police strength that keeps the 16 percent of the population that is white in control of the Blacks, who are



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Melvin Chappell

over 84 percent of the population. (Blacks in South Africa include Africans, Indians, and Coloured — those of mixed race.)

Under apartheid, the African workers do not own the houses they live in. They earn only a quarter of the wages of the average white worker. They can be jailed without trial and they are consistently denied the right to organize strikes and picket lines.

The huge investments of U.S. and European corporations in the South African economy has made the country the most industrialized and the most proletarianized in Africa. South Africa is today the only

imperialist power on the continent.

The economy is totally dependent on Black labor. More than 84 percent of the work force is made up of Blacks. And this proportion continues to grow. By the year 2000, whites will make up only 7 percent of the work force.

The Black worker is moving more and more into the center of the fight to overthrow the racist apartheid system. It is in the work place where large numbers of workers are organizing into trade unions and getting fighting experience. In 1981, there were 342 strikes organized. A total of 226,500 work days were lost. This is a 65 percent increase over the 207 strikes in 1980.

Trade unionism among Blacks dates as far back as the 1920s. During the 1970s it was revitalized and used once again as an effective weapon. In 1973, 100,000 workers went on strike in Durban. In the last two years union membership has increased by more than 50 percent to include several hundred thousand workers.

Unions independent of white control have been formed in recent years. The largest Black union federation is the Federation of South African Trade Unions. Founded in 1979 it claims a membership of 95,000.

In the spring and summer of 1980, three major strikes broke out that tested the strength of the

bosses and the apartheid system. In June, 3,500 Volkswagen workers walked off the job for a pay increase under the leadership of the United Automobile, Rubber and Allied Workers Union. At the peak of the strike, there were 7,500 involved spread out over 11 factories. The strike was successful and the union won its demands.

In the Cape Town area, there was a three-month strike of meat workers to organize a non union shop. This was supported by a national boycott of red meat. Johannesburg was hit by a strike of 10,000 municipal workers for union recognition. Both strikes were defeated.

Black trade unionists face many difficult problems in organizing. The government has passed laws to slow down the immediate organization of Black unions and prevent a powerful union movement from developing. Unions must register with the government; those that refuse are denied dues check-off and the right to pay strike benefits.

The bosses respond to strikes with firing and lock-outs. Union leaders are arrested and public meetings and marches are banned or broken up by riot police.

On February 11, 100,000 workers throughout South Africa, most of them Black, stopped work for half an hour to honor white trade unionist Neil Aggett, who died while in the custody of the police on February 5.

LETTERS

Jehovah's Witnesses

In a letter in the April 16 *Militant*, Lois Klinglesmith requested information on the deportation of 10 Jehovah's Witnesses from Nicaragua.

Klinglesmith said she was "disturbed" by the news, because she thought that the Witnesses stayed "totally neutral towards politics."

What are the facts?

Minister Sixto Ulloa of Nicaragua's Ecumenical Committee to Aid Development (CEPAD), which includes 40 Protestant denominations, told the *Militant* that the Witnesses' claim to be apolitical is fiction, because "their very principles run counter to the revolution."

For starters, he said, even during the state of emergency the Witnesses actively urged people not only not to participate in the Sandinista Armed Forces and the Sandinista People's Militias, but also not to give blood, not to salute the flag or sing the national hymn, not to participate in the vaccination campaign, and even not to participate in the literacy campaign.

But this alone is not why the 10 people Klinglesmith refers to were deported. This particular group was also publishing anti-revolutionary material, in violation of the state of emergency, and that is why they were asked to leave.

This information, although published in all three Nicaraguan dailies, was conveniently omitted from U.S. press reports of the Witnesses' deportation.

According to Ulloa, as well as Catholic representatives that the *Militant* spoke with, the Jehovah's Witnesses have a long history of counterrevolutionary activity in Latin America, notably in Cuba.

Ulloa said that none of the 40 denominations of CEPAD considered the Witnesses' deportation a violation of religious freedom, which he pointed out was specifically protected by a clause written into the state of emergency law. Churches in Nicaragua, he explained, were clear that the Jehovah's Witnesses' work, far from being apolitical, was directed against the revolution.

As Ulloa put it, "They say they're apolitical, but they are

doing political work."

Jane Harris
Managua, Nicaragua

Legal murder

Welder Billy Langston had been working inside a four-foot-diameter stainless steel pipe at the Tosco oil refinery in Avon, California. The job had lasted several weeks. Billy, who is five feet eight inches tall, had to work three and four hours at a time doubled over inside the pipe, welding.

On Monday, April 26, his stomach knotted up and his chest tightened as he worked. Billy was concerned, and visited a nearby hospital. He was promptly released with a clean bill of health. Less than two days later he was dead, a victim of what has been called "welder's disease." His lungs had filled up with liquid in reaction to breathing poisonous byproducts of welding stainless steel.

In the days following Billy Langston's death, 29 other welders and maintenance workers who had been working in the same area were hospitalized for shortness of breath, chest pains, vomiting, and headaches.

The California Occupational Safety and Health Administration (Cal-OSHA) has shut down the work site where the workers were stricken. It is investigating whether safety standards were violated by the Tosco Corporation and the contracting firm that Billy Langston worked for, Bay Cities Crane and Rigging Company.

Richard Wade, the Cal-OSHA official in charge of the investigation, told the *S.F. Chronicle* that the agency was "checking reports that a cleaning crew was sent inside the tower [where Langston was working] to remove any evidence" of wrong doing.

Although Cal-OSHA has not yet completed its investigation, an agency official said it appeared the workers had not been provided with protective breathing apparatuses even though they were working in an enclosed space.

Billy Langston's wife Cynthia has filed a \$10-million suit against Tosco for the wrongful death of her husband.

Candace Wagner
Oakland, California



Militant/José G. Pérez

Members of Young Pioneers, Cuban revolutionary youth organization.

Cuba on TV

Last month Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN) did something that hasn't been done since 1958 — broadcast live from Cuba.

For five days CNN broadcasted to the millions of Americans who watch it via cable television. Given that CNN is owned and operates as any other television news media does under capitalism — that is, defending the millionaires or corporations that own them — it did a surprisingly good job in allowing the Cuban people and the Cuban government a chance to talk to the American public about their revolution.

Ricardo Alarcón of Cuba's foreign ministry explained Cuba favors normal relations with the U.S. In all instances, though, the U.S. has maintained a policy of aggression towards the Cuban revolution — the invasion of the Bay of Pigs with U.S.-trained, financed, and organized mercenaries; assassination attempts against leaders; economic sabotage; the severing of relations with Cuba by the U.S. government; the economic blockade. He stated that the two countries could live as neighbors if the U.S. acted with respect and on the basis of international law, and respected the independence and sovereignty

of Cuba and its territorial integrity.

Anyone watching the program might have asked why does the U.S. have this policy of aggression? Cuba is such a tiny island — how could it possibly threaten us in this country? After viewing the remainder of the week's worth of programming, the answer became clear. The U.S. government is hostile to the Cuban revolution because of the inspirational example it sets — one that American working people can look to — an example of socialism.

The minister of health told viewers that in Cuba most medical services were free and that health care in this still-poor country was on the level of most developed countries.

Others interviewed included Vilma Espín, founder and leader of the Cuban Federation of Women, which encompasses 80 percent of all Cuban women; reports on how the revolution is moving to diversify its industries and agriculture; from artist Alicia Alonso, who is the inspirer of the Cuban National Ballet; and much, much more.

This reporter's favorite interview was the segment on the Territorial Militias, a volunteer citizens militia. One young Cuban, an electrician's helper who served in the Cuban army, was

asked if he minded having to go to another country to serve or fight? He responded, "No, I was very proud to go to Angola — I considered it an honor."

This is a reflection of the internationalism that all Cubans learn and understand. They see the fight for the existence of the Cuban revolution as including helping freedom fighters in Africa struggle from the grips of imperialism when asked to.

I'm glad CNN gave us the chance to "see for ourselves" what is going on in Cuba. I also understand better why the U.S. government doesn't want Americans going there themselves, and why they reinstituted the ban on travel to Cuba. They are afraid that we might be impressed by what we see.

P.S. — After writing this letter another Ted Turner station broadcast live the Cuban all-star baseball game. We got to see the best of Cuban baseball.

Warren Simons

Virginia, Minnesota

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.

Brutal police attack in Puerto Rico

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

In an action that has provoked protests throughout Puerto Rico, several hundred paramilitary cops raided the Villa Sin Miedo (Town Without Fear) settlement near San Juan on May 18. The police brutally evicted the inhabitants and set fire to most of the wooden dwellings where more than 200 families had been living.

Several persons were injured in the police attack, among them a 5-year-old

girl whose arm was fractured, and an 11-year-old girl who was hit in the eye with a billy club. Others suffered gunshot wounds.

One policeman was killed — apparently by one of the trigger-happy cops participating in the attack. The settlers were not armed, and he was shot point-blank through a bullet-proof vest. A leader of the Villa, José Vellón Lauriano, now hospitalized with wounds in the legs and hands after being severely

beaten by the cops, was charged with killing the policeman.

About 15 people were arrested. Six student activists who were supporters of the settlers had their bail set at \$1.5 million each. They were charged with possession of arms.

Villa Sin Miedo was founded about a year and a half ago on government land that until then was only being used as grazing land for 35 cows. From the beginning the government of Puerto Rico opposed the settlement, arguing that it was illegal and "violated the right of private property."

Denied any government aid and placed under constant threat of eviction and continuous harassment by cops and undercover agents, the Villa residents developed their community, building roads, a schoolhouse, a church, a park, and a collectively cultivated field.

After having been forced out of their homes, some 300 Villa residents started a march towards Governor Carlos Romero Barceló's residence in San Juan, a distance of 20 miles. Barceló had authorized the cops' action. On the way the marchers were joined by cars and trucks whose drivers offered to take them. A spontaneous caravan was formed.

When the demonstrators reached the Capitol, which is on the way to the governor's residence, they staged a rally.

Support for the residents and condemnations of the government's move in evicting them has been expressed by several unions, including the Teamsters and the Electrical and Water Workers Union (UTIER). Support has also come from student organizations at the University of Puerto Rico, several church groups, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), and the International Workers

League (LIT), an organization in solidarity with the Fourth International.

In New York an emergency picket line was held May 19 in front of the Puerto Rican Commonwealth offices. Some 200 people participated.

A collection of medicine and clothing for the Villa Sin Miedo residents is being organized through the offices of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, 19 West 21st St., 2nd Floor, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Money donations may be sent directly to the Villa Sin Miedo Support Committee, Colegio de Trabajadores Sociales de Puerto Rico, Apartado 30382, 65 de Infantería, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00929.

Socialist threatened

On May 20, as he was driving on the Americas expressway in Puerto Rico, Pablo Soto, a leader of the International Workers League (LIT), was pulled over by an unmarked police car. Two plainclothes cops then began threatening him and questioning him about other members of the LIT, which has been active in support of the residents of Villa Sin Miedo.

When Soto refused to answer their questions, one of the plainclothesmen told him: "You're lucky about the time. If it was 8 o'clock in the morning we would kill you." Soto had been stopped in the evening when there was heavy traffic on the expressway.

When Soto demanded the right to have a lawyer present before he would answer any questions, one of the cops told him that "we don't believe in that right. Here there are only three of us." The other added: "Next time I see you I'll put a bullet through your head."



Paramilitary cops attacked residents of Villa Sin Miedo and burned homes and belongings to the ground.

Calif. court to rule on workers' right to campaign

BY JANICE LYNN

SALINAS, Calif. — The fight for independent candidate Mel Mason's right to campaign for governor of this state was taken into the courtroom here May 21. Mason's case, which has received widespread publicity over the last several months, was heard before superior court Judge John Anton.

Mason is a socialist city councilman in Seaside, California. He is suing the governing board of Monterey Peninsula College (MPC) because it denied him a leave of absence to campaign.

Mason's attorney, Robin Maisel, argued that the MPC board had abused its discretionary powers when it denied the California gubernatorial candidate a leave.

Mason had requested an unpaid, seven-month leave from his job as MPC student activities coordinator earlier this spring.

The governing board twice denied Mason's request, despite the fact that it had granted a semester's leave to another college employee to go sailing.

Maisel pointed out that it was impermissible for the board to grant a personal leave to one employee to go sailing while denying a personal leave for Mason to participate in the political process and exercise his free-speech rights.

The board argued that granting a leave for the purpose of running for political office would "open the flood gates" — setting a precedent for other college employees to become involved in the political process as candidates.

The MPC board's attorney, Paul DeLay, made it clear that what was at stake in this case was the right of work-

ing people to organize themselves in the political arena. The board wants to try to extend the Hatch Act to college employees.

The Hatch Act, an undemocratic piece of legislation, prevents federal employees such as postal workers from running for elective office.

California has its own statute — sometimes called the "Little Hatch Act" — which grants public employees the right to participate in political activity only in off-duty hours.

In his opening remarks, Maisel accused the MPC governing board of "wanting its own special Little Hatch Act for MPC."

Is this true? the judge asked DeLay.

"Yes," DeLay admitted.

So would it be a fair statement, Judge Anton asked, to say that if someone was seeking employment at Monterey Peninsula College they would have to be told that under the Little Hatch Act they could run for office but couldn't get a leave to do so?

DeLay stated that he felt this was valid because local agencies like college boards have the authority to make such decisions and the courts should not interfere with the board's power.

DeLay tried to argue that the board was not prohibiting Mason from running for office. He cited the example of another MPC employee who was currently running for county superintendent of schools and who had not requested a leave of absence.

Judge Anton, in disbelief, asked DeLay how he could compare someone running a local campaign with someone running a state campaign.

How can anyone run for a statewide office and still keep a job as rigorous as working for a school system? Judge Anton asked. Isn't that prohibitive?

"The fundamental issue here," Maisel declared, "is the right of a worker to run for office. Anyone who depends on a paycheck, whether they be a classified employee like Mason or a factory worker, should not have their job jeopardized for participating in the electoral process and exercising their First Amendment right of free speech."

At this point Judge Anton interjected that lawyers and those who were very rich were able to take time off to campaign, whereas a worker could not.

"I always felt it was wrong that so many lawyers represent us," Anton said, "and that we don't have a better cross section."

He questioned why a working person should have to lose their job if they wanted to take time off to run for office.

In his concluding remarks, Maisel accused the MPC governing board of discriminating against Mason because of his political views. He pointed out that Mason was a well-known socialist and fighter for Black rights in Seaside and throughout the state.

The MPC board is attempting to silence Mason's political views by refusing to grant him time off to campaign, Maisel told the judge.

Maisel also charged there were clear indications that the board was trying to get rid of Mason because he has spoken out against discriminatory policies at the college and against impending cutbacks.

Maisel also accused the board of making the decision to deny Mason's leave in private, closed session — in violation of the state's Brown Act on open meetings. Maisel requested that the discussions that took place at these closed executive sessions be submitted to the judge to find out if in fact Mason's socialist views were a factor in denying his request for a leave.

"If we get a favorable decision," Maisel told the *Militant*, it will be a landmark decision. It will establish the right of working people in California to run for political office and to have a role in making political decisions in this state.

"If we lose," Maisel continued, "we will take this fight as far as we have to go."

A decision is expected by Judge Anton within a week.

Mason, who attended the hearing along with a dozen campaign supporters, told the *Militant*, "What the board is opposed to are my political views as a socialist. They do not want a socialist running for office. They do not want an antiwar candidate running for office. They do not want someone who marches in support of the Voting Rights Act running for office."

"They do not want someone running for office who talks about the need for a new society, governed by workers and farmers. This is against the board's interests and against the system they represent — a system where the rich rule. My campaign talks about the need to change all that, and that is why the board is going to such lengths to try to prevent me from campaigning."