

U.S. OKs talks with Nicaragua but escalates intervention



Militant/Lou Howort

February 27 protest in Jersey City, New Jersey, against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. This was one of numerous local actions leading up to March 27 demonstration.

Nicaragua's open letter to Reagan

The following open letter to President Reagan appeared on the editorial page of the March 21, 1982, issue of *Barricada*, daily newspaper of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front. It was written by Orlando Núñez.

We are writing to give testimony from the Nicaraguan and the American people, to tell our story to future generations. We want to do this objectively, but also with heartfelt passion, to put into the picture not only the essential facts, but also the honorable ideals of all the peoples of the world.

You represent the most powerful nation on earth and we live in a small, underdeveloped country. You represent the drive for a world of domination, exploitation, competition; here, we are struggling for sovereignty, solidarity, and independence.

You are counting on the experience of massive invasions in Vietnam, Santo Domingo, Panama, Cuba, and Nicaragua; we rely on the liberating experience of these same peoples.

From Zelaya to Zeledón, and since Sandino's time through the history of the FSLN, our country has been a battleground between your technically well-armed Marines and our barefooted people — between your imperialist diplomats and our people's philosophy, between your allies in Nicaragua and our allies in the United States, between expansionist wars and wars of liberation.

History is now repeating itself. While you support military and repressive governments all over the continent, we support the most democratic peoples and governments in the entire world. While you waste time inventing lies against Nicaragua, you make us waste time demonstrating their falseness, from the photograph story to the story of the supposed soldiers.

You could just as well, Mr. Reagan, stop your war and let the American people live together in peace with all the

peoples of the world and enjoy the social well-being they deserve. You could just as well stop involving other Latin American governments in a war that doesn't benefit anybody except bankers and businessmen, while interfering with the lives of ordinary people.

While we are taking steps to strength-

en friendly commercial relations with European countries, you confront us with NATO, and position yourself in our own Caribbean Sea. While we call for peace in Central America and support the French and Mexican proposal for peace, you aid the military governments

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March 27 and June 12: birth of a new antiwar movement

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

There is a new antiwar movement emerging in this country.

At the outset, it is much stronger, broader, and has far more support than the anti-Vietnam War movement did in its early days.

The potential to reach even broader layers of American society is also much greater.

The March 27 national march in Washington, D.C., in opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean is a significant expression of this potential. The June 12 disarmament demonstration at the United Nations in New York will be another opportunity for antiwar forces to show the breadth of this opposition.

Despite the massive propaganda drive by the State Department, a poll appearing in the March 21 *New York Times* indicates that 63 percent of Americans oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The figure reaches 76 percent among Blacks.

Results from the same poll indicate that "a majority of every subgroup polled [by sex, education, race, age, region, political philosophy, etc.] agreed with that position, including Republicans and conservatives."

In addition, the poll indicates that a significant minority of Americans — 17 percent — support the Salvadoran rebels.

more military aid to the Salvadoran junta. Fifty-one percent said if there was a draft they would support draftees if they refused orders to go to El Salvador.

Labor opposes aid to junta

Reflecting tremendous pressure from rank-and-file trade unionists, fourteen international unions have passed resolutions opposing U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta.

More than a dozen AFL-CIO central labor councils, and more than 100 local unions, district councils, and labor organizations have passed similar resolutions.

American workers do not want another Vietnam. This is not only reflected in the polls but is spilling out in protest ac-

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Engineers new coup in Guatemala

BY HARRY RING

Although the Reagan administration now says it will negotiate with the Nicaraguan government, there is still a continuing danger of an attack on Nicaragua and escalated U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Commenting on the U.S. response to the negotiation offer, Nicaragua's foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto, said, "The difficulty is that the United States is playing two roles at the same time. It is talking about negotiations but has not stopped pursuing the option of intervention."

D'Escoto's warning coincided with the March 23 military coup in Guatemala. That coup has every earmark of having been "made in the USA."

This likelihood was underlined by an editorial in the next morning's *New York Times*, which gave enthusiastic endorsement to the coup.

While Nicaragua welcomed U.S. acceptance of the negotiation offer, initiated by Mexico, it said it would go to the United Nations as scheduled to present the facts about the invasion danger it faces.

These include the recent dynamiting of two bridges and almost daily incursions from neighboring Honduras by CIA-trained counterrevolutionary mercenaries.

In addition, the government of Honduras, which is beholden to Washington, has called for a meeting of the Organization of American States to hear its charges of alleged border violations by Nicaragua.

This crude attempt to turn the victim into the criminal is no doubt intended to cloud over the case Nicaragua will present to the UN Security Council.

The Honduran move jogs an ominous historical memory. In 1965, when a popular rebellion developed in the Dominican Republic, Lyndon Johnson dispatched 30,000 troops to quell it. The U.S. forces were accompanied by a few token troops from five Latin American governments, and the naked U.S. intervention was given the fig leaf of an OAS "action."

Washington has falsely insisted that Nicaragua is the conduit for Cuban-supplied arms to the Salvadoran liberation forces. Secretary of State Alexander Haig asserts there can be no settlement with Nicaragua until it "gets out" of El Salvador.

The latest rebuttal of the baseless charge against Nicaragua was front-paged in the March 16 *Los Angeles Times*. Headlined, "Outside Supplies to Rebels Not Evident in El Salvador," the on-the-scene report said that while it is "easy to see" the massive presence of U.S. arms, reporters could find no evidence that Nicaragua is running Cuban-supplied arms into El Salvador.

Meanwhile, installation of a new military junta in Guatemala will almost certainly provide the pretext for direct shipment of U.S. arms and dollars to fight the swiftly growing popular insurgency in that country.

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U.S. escalates intervention in Nicaragua

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The March 24 *New York Times* editorial endorsing the new junta advised: "The political shape of the next government remains uncertain, but it is sure to need emergency economic aid as much as the military equipment it will request."

The new junta chief, former army General Efraín Ríos, declared he would "change Guatemala's image by way of its foreign relations, especially with the United States."

This is apparently intended to correct a problem created in 1977. The governing junta of that time told Washington to bug off when it suggested that the murderous regime clean up its public act a bit. This candid rejection of any pretense to "human rights" forced Washington to cancel its military and financial aid. Instead, guns were provided to the junta by the U.S.-financed Israeli government.

The pretext for the latest Guatemalan coup was that the elections staged March 7 were a fraud. What else is new? There hasn't been an honest election in Guatemala since 1950, when reformer Jacobo Arbenz was elected. The CIA organized a mercenary force against Arbenz, and in 1954 his government was overthrown.

A guerrilla rebellion has persisted since that time and has enjoyed substantial growth in the past year.

Most significant is that Guatemala's Indian majority is now joining the freedom force in significant numbers. They reportedly now constitute the big majority of the guerrilla movement.

Meanwhile, elections as phony as those in Guatemala had been slated in El Salvador March 28. Participating parties ranged from right-wing to extreme ultraright.

While this obscene electoral charade was being staged, liberation forces headed by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front continued to advance.

The March 24 *Washington Post* reported that "those in touch with the countryside say that the guerrillas' support is greater than ever and that their numbers . . . are at an all-time high."

One example: In Morazán province, voting was planned for only fourteen of the province's twenty-six towns because the government's hold on the area is so tenuous.

This reality of the relationship of forces in El Salvador is what the rulers of that country want so desperately to hide from the world.

While the guerrillas proudly invite

foreign correspondents to visit areas they control or are contesting for, the government is driven to cold-blooded murder of reporters.

Cold-blooded murder. That is the only way to describe the March 17 killing of four Dutch journalists.

The junta cynically reported that the four had been caught in a crossfire be-

tween government troops and rebels. But according to press accounts, three of the four had been repeatedly shot in the face and the fourth died of wounds to the throat and chest. They were obviously too well targeted to have been the victims of random fire.

Washington, of course, quickly declared it bought the junta's story, even

though it knew the four reporters were under government surveillance and had been interrogated six days earlier by security cops.

U.S. business interests and their political representatives in Washington may have a stake in backing such barbaric regimes. But the American people surely do not.

15,000 protest Reagan's 'humanism' in N.Y.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

NEW YORK — About 15,000 demonstrators turned out here to protest a March 23 visit by President Reagan. Reagan was in New York to receive the Charles Evans Hughes Gold Medal for "courageous leadership in government, civic and humanitarian affairs" from the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Addressing the wealthy audience at the \$250-dollar-a-plate dinner, Reagan piously declared that he only wanted "to slow down the destructive rate of growth in taxes and spending; to prune nonessential programs so that enough resources will be left to meet the requirements of the truly needy."

The outrage of the demonstrators at the award of a "humanitarian" medal to Reagan was summed up by a sign that declared, "Reagan a humanitarian? Sure, and pigs can fly." Other signs declared, "Humans need bread, not bombs"; "Let El Salvador be El Salvador"; and "I voted for him, but I won't again."

The antiwar mood of the crowd was expressed by chants of "Money for jobs, not for war. U.S. out of El Salvador," and "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador."

Speakers included Puerto Rican nationalist Rafael Cancel Miranda, who was imprisoned for twenty-five years in a U.S. penitentiary. Miranda declared, "We are the majority. We have to fight beside the people of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, and El Salvador."

A representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador declared, "The people of El Salvador and the people of this city are winning. You have to win the war here."

Other speakers included Jim Butler, Hospital Workers Local 420; Nancy Rose, New Alliance Party; Tom Soto, All-People's Congress; councilwomen Ruth Messenger and Miriam Friedlander.

Also speaking were representatives of the New York chapter of the Black United Front, American Indian Movement, Coalition for Defense of Haitian Refugees, People's Antiwar Mobiliza-

tion, Coalition for Human Services, and the Committee for a Democratic Palestine.

The demonstration was sponsored by a broad range of organizations.

Boston racist murder spurs outrage

BY VALERIE ECKART

BOSTON — The racist murder of a Black worker was protested by more than 700 people from Dorchester communities in a memorial march and meeting March 20.

William Atkinson, a thirty-year-old, nursing-home maintenance worker, was chased into the Savin Hill subway station March 13 by a gang of five or more whites who were yelling "nigger."

Transit police were called after Atkinson and a white friend, with whom he had watched a basketball game, banged on a fare-collector's booth. The cops left empty-handed, even though there were witnesses to the chase.

A half-hour later they returned, summoned by a motorman. This time they found Atkinson on the tracks, either beaten to death or chased into a train.

At Sunday's protest meeting, more than a dozen community and church representatives spoke out against this racist murder.

"The people of Boston realize a crime has been committed. I think all of us here are not here just to listen. We have racial hatred, we have boundaries. Why is it here? When will it end? Don't let this crime go on in silence."

These painful words came from Francine Atkinson, William Atkinson's twin sister.

After this public outcry, police arraigned five white men, initially charged with assault. They were released on bail of only \$1,000 to \$1,500.

Blacks in Boston have suffered other racist violence recently. On March 19, sixteen-year-old Jeffrey Robinson from Roxbury was shot by a security guard for the crime of playing basketball in a

closed recreation center in the Orchard Park housing project.

Orchard Park residents are also angry and demanding answers to their questions about this shooting.

The antibusing bill, adopted by the U.S. Senate, Reagan's lies about "welfare cheats," and other attacks on desegregation and affirmative action have created the climate that encourages this racist violence as an integral part of the ruling-class offensive against all working people, in which Blacks take the brunt.

Valerie Eckart is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 9th District.

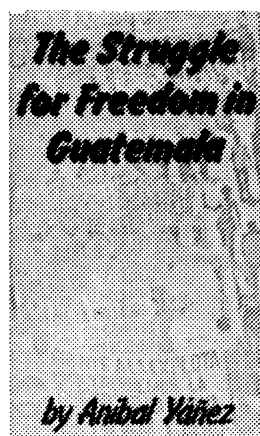
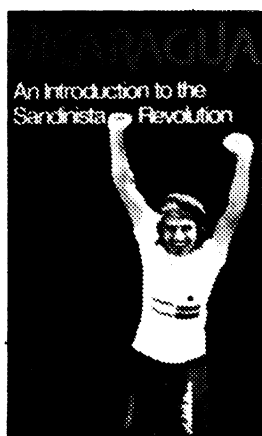
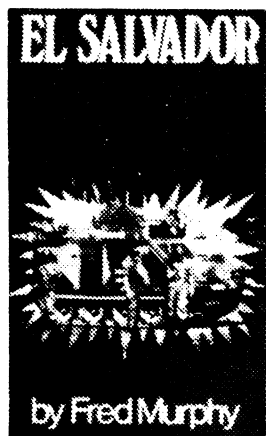
Student editors hit U.S. Salvador aid

In a joint declaration, the editors of the student newspapers of all Ivy League colleges and universities except Dartmouth, called on the U.S. government to halt its military support of the Salvadoran junta. The March 23 statement was approved by the editors of the student newspapers from Columbia, Brown, Cornell, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton and Yale. It is the first such statement since 1969 near the peak of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

The statement declared that "the United States should withdraw its support from a Government which kills and tortures" and called on Americans "to participate in grass-roots demonstrations" against U.S. government policy in El Salvador.

Special offer to new readers:

Free pamphlet with an introductory subscription to the 'Militant'



The *Militant* has featured ongoing coverage of the Reagan administration's threat to wage war in Central America and the Caribbean.

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trace the history of the freedom struggle in three countries that are threatened by intervention from Washington, and provide useful background to the current danger.

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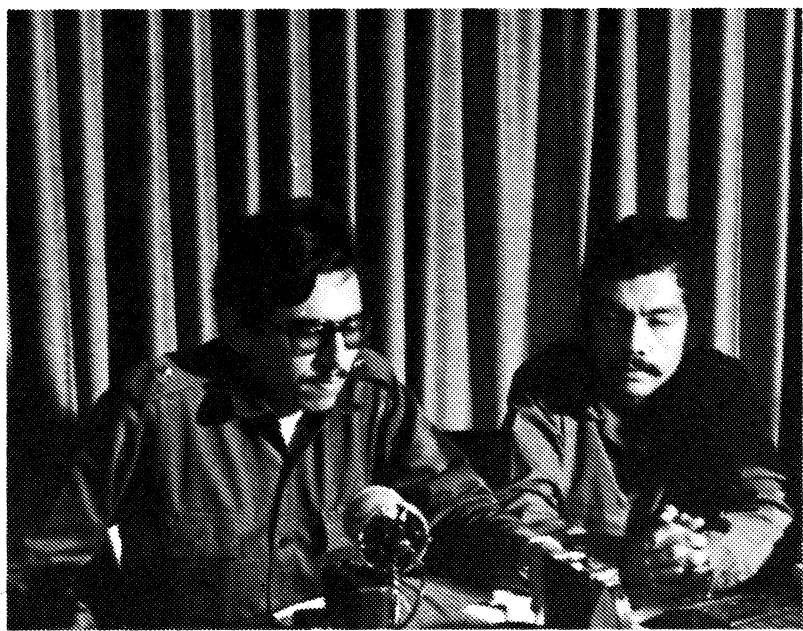
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Militant/Fred Halstead

Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega (left): "The defense we are preparing is to fight the enemy inch by inch."

Report from Nicaragua: country on full alert for expected U.S. attack

'Defense is based on workers and peasants'

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The population here remains on full alert, prepared for an attack at any moment. All efforts are turned toward strengthening the country's military defense and ensuring an unbroken supply of vital necessities. Tens of thousands of Nicaraguans have enrolled in the Sandinista People's Militias. Others are organizing civil defense through the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs).

A speech by Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, reprinted in a special *Barricada* supplement, explained that "national defense of the revolution has its base, its most fundamental characteristic, its central nervous system, its living center, its heart in the working class; in our workers, peasants, revolutionary women, patriotic and revolutionary youth, our children; in the honest and patriotic citizenry."

"The defense we are preparing," Ortega said, "is to fight the enemy inch by inch and stop him from advancing; and if he does advance, to keep on defending our positions right up until the last moment. Because we cannot lose the power that we have conquered."

Barricada has also used its pages to explain military techniques, such as the correct way to dig a trench for defense against aerial bombing.

FSLN leaders have continued meeting with unions, businessmen, and other sectors of society to explain and discuss the current crisis. Speaking to a

gathering of the 2,000-member Managua Construction Workers Union, for example, Brigade Commander Hugo Torres pointed out their vital role by noting, "You are the ones who will dig the trenches, the people's refuges."

Some 400 writers, poets, painters, musicians, and scholars met March 20 in an emergency session under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association. The gathering approved a statement read by Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal, pledging to "contribute, each of us, his or her own artistic language to the defense of peace, and to take up arms to fight for peace if that's what imperialism forces on us."

The same day, some 1,500 children organized by the Association of Sandinista Children held a rally at the Luis Alfonso Valázquez Children's Park in the center of Managua. "We want peace, not war," the children said. "We want to run and play, to be happy like children are supposed to be, like we've been since the revolution," explained twelve-year-old Jorge Alberto Rodríguez.

Although Nicaragua continues under a state of emergency, the government is determined to interfere as little as possible with daily life. Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge told a group of visiting journalists. "There is no curfew, and everyone can go around in the streets whenever they want, and go have a good time wherever they want," Borge said.

The government is also making major

efforts to keep the state of emergency from interfering with carrying out its basic social programs. On March 21, more than 10,000 volunteers, including some 1,400 medical students, nurses, and doctors, staffed 910 health centers in Managua and inoculated 163,000 children against measles and diphtheria.

An increasingly dangerous aspect of military aggression against Nicaragua have been raids from Honduras. For months counterrevolutionary commandos have been entering Nicaragua, killing scores of people.

In a recent attack, Honduran air force jets opened fire on a Nicaraguan coast guard vessel that had taken two Honduran fishing boats in tow. The attack came in Nicaraguan waters after the Honduran fishing boats entered Nicaraguan territory. The Nicaraguans returned the fire and shot down one of the attackers.

Only a week before, a Honduran coast

guard vessel in the Gulf of Fonseca seized a small Nicaraguan boat, again in Nicaraguan waters. The Honduran craft was accompanied by a second vessel, believed to be Salvadoran.

And a Nicaraguan naval vessel and a Salvadoran coast guard vessel exchanged shots March 17, less than a mile off Nicaragua's Pacific coast, leaving a Nicaraguan sailor seriously wounded.

Honduras, meanwhile, has openly turned itself into a U.S. military bastion. The U.S. embassy in Tegucigalpa confirmed on March 20 that there were some 100 U.S. military "advisers" in that country — nearly twice the number officially conceded to be in El Salvador.

Although Washington claims the advisers are merely technicians, NBC reported from Honduras that they are in fact working closely with Somoza's ex-National Guard, planning to invade Nicaragua.

College board refuses leave to Calif. governor candidate

BY JANICE LYNN

SEASIDE, Calif. — The refusal by the Monterey Peninsula College Board of Trustees to grant a six-month leave of absence to gubernatorial candidate Mel Mason was blasted here at a news conference March 23.

Mason, an elected socialist city councilman from Seaside, is running an independent campaign for the California governorship. He had requested the leave in order to devote full time to his campaign.

Mason has been employed by the college as student activities coordinator for the last seven years.

"This refusal to grant my request for a leave of absence smacks of political discrimination," Mason declared at the news conference, "and is an undemocratic attempt to interfere with and disrupt my campaign. If I were running as a Democrat or Republican, you can be sure there would be no problem with granting this leave."

Mason pointed out that one of the members of the college's board of trustees was instrumental in arranging a recent campaign stop in Seaside of Democratic Party gubernatorial hopeful Thomas Bradley. During this visit, Mason challenged Bradley to debate the major issues facing working people in California. Bradley refused.

The board of trustees is expected to

make its final decision on Mason's leave by April 14. Mason was informed by Monterey Peninsula College President Max Tadlock that the board would deny his request.

The pretext for refusing Mason's leave of absence is that this would set a precedent for granting leave to anyone seeking other employment. "Running for public office can in no way be likened to looking for another job," Mason countered. "Refusing this leave is tantamount to direct interference with the right of working people to participate fully in electoral processes, and to be able to choose the candidate that addresses their needs."

"It is this that the board really wishes to silence."

At the press conference, state campaign manager Barry Sheppard announced that the campaign would be initiating legal action if the board's final decision was to deny Mason's leave.

"It's hard enough for an independent candidate to get on the ballot in California," Sheppard declared. "We have to collect 113,000 signatures on petitions, versus 10,000 for the Democrats and Republicans."

"Trying to prevent Mel from getting his leave is the opening shot in a bipartisan campaign to stop him from running. Especially now when the government is

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Sick of capitalism? . . . Join the Young Socialist Alliance!

If you bought this paper, you probably are one of the millions of people in this country who don't like the government's war threats in Central America and the Caribbean.

And you're probably not too thrilled with the budget cuts, rising unemployment, and increasing attacks on the rights of unionists, Blacks, Latinos, and women.

In that respect, you have a lot more in common with the workers and farmers in the world than with the fat cats in the White House, Wall Street, and the Pentagon who run this country through the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Young Socialist Alliance is active in the struggle against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, against racist attacks, in defense of unions and women's rights.

The YSA has a unique contribution to make to these struggles. We explain that *capitalism* is the source of our problems. We advocate a government that acts in the interests of the *majority* — a workers and farmers government.

With a government that's on our side, we can construct a socialist society based on human needs.

The YSA is a national organization of young workers, students and unemployed youth that brings these revolutionary ideas to the thousands of young people who are eager to hear them.

We are part of an international movement of young people who have a realistic alternative to the barbarism of capitalism.

Joining the YSA is the best thing a young person can do with their life.

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- I would like more information on the YSA's August youth tour to Cuba.

March 27, June 12: new antiwar movement



Militant/Steven Fuchs

8,000 marchers participated in a Maryland Solidarity Day in Annapolis. Called by the Maryland-D.C. AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, and Teamsters, opposition to the government's war drive was the dominant theme of the protest.

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tivities in cities across the country.

Tens of thousands of Americans have hit the streets in regional and national demonstrations to protest U.S. war threats against Central America and the Caribbean.

On May 3 of last year, 100,000 people participated in a demonstration at the Pentagon — the largest antiwar action in nearly a decade.

Since early November of this year, in response to the Reagan administration's feverish war preparations, antiwar activists have gone on a campaign footing to slow down and block the imperialist war drive.

On November 21, antiwar activists marched in more than twenty-five cities in response to a call for protests by the Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

In early January, antiwar activists organized demonstrations at Fort Bragg, Fort Benning, and in 100 other cities to protest the training of Salvadoran troops at military bases in this country.

Nationwide protests took place on January 22. These were in response to a call for an International Day in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, made at an international conference of solidarity activists in Mexico City in October. A demonstration of 2,500 took place in San Francisco; 2,000 came out in Los Angeles; and 1,000 turned out for a New York rally.

In February, demonstrations were organized to publicize the March 27 demonstration in Washington. Some of the largest were: 5,000 in New York; 3,000 in Boston; 3,000 in Boulder, Colorado; 500 in Jersey City, New Jersey; 500 in Burlington, Vermont; and 600 at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Activity on the campuses has increased tremendously. In California, activists report that meetings of over 1,000 have taken place on some campuses to hear debates on El Salvador or to watch film showings.

Similar results have been reported in the Midwest and on the East Coast — such as the meeting in Princeton, New Jersey, where 200 people turned out to found a chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Solidarity a major component

CISPES is the best organized of the Central American and Caribbean solidarity networks, with 300 chapters and affiliates. It has played a key role in educating Americans about the struggle in El Salvador.

Of major significance has been the impact that CISPES-organized tours of

representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR) have had on the political consciousness of the developing antiwar movement.

CISPES has toured these leaders across the United States, bringing them before thousands of American workers and students to explain and win support for the liberation struggle of the Salvadoran people. FDR representatives have met with many leaders of the American trade union movement. A decade ago, some of these same trade union officials were supporting Washington's war against the Vietnamese people.

The fact that a significant component of the emerging antiwar movement is for the victory of the rebel forces can only strengthen the movement. It has helped to increase political awareness of the issues involved in the struggle in Central America, thus reinforcing the commitment of activists to fight against U.S. intervention.

Blacks and religious groups

Leading organizations in the Black community are also part of the emerging antiwar movement.

The National Black Independent Political Party and the National Black United Front have gotten involved in the struggle against U.S. intervention, and are actively helping to build protest actions.

More traditional organizations such as the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are also opposed to Washington's policy in El Salvador. This is also true of the major Latino organizations.

Many religious organizations are also involved.

The recent National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Maryknoll Sisters and Fathers, and leaders and groups from many other denominations have denounced U.S. support to the junta.

Capitalist crisis pushes toward war

This emerging antiwar movement comes in the context of the deepening economic crisis of the world capitalist system.

U.S. businessmen and bankers, under the pressure of competition from Japanese and West European capitalists, must deepen their superexploitation of the underdeveloped nations in order to maintain their profit levels. They are determined to drown in blood the developing revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean, as well as the struggles of oppressed peoples everywhere, in order to deepen this exploitation.

Along with carrying out its war plans abroad, American imperialism has had to wage war against its enemy at home — the American working class.

This war includes the budget slashes imposed by the Reagan administration with the bipartisan support of Congress. These budget cuts have affected vital social programs.

Workers are being forced to reopen their contracts and to give back wage gains and working conditions won in previous struggles.

At the same time, billions of dollars are being poured into nuclear weapons and the development of a Rapid Deployment Force for imperialist intervention abroad.

American workers oppose war

These attacks are serving to deepen workers' hatred of the representatives of the ruling rich in the White House and in Congress. These attacks are making workers more suspicious of all moves by the capitalist politicians.

Under the impact of the blows they are receiving, workers are seeking answers. They want to discuss how to fight back, how to unleash the power of their unions to defend their standard of living and to prevent themselves or their loved ones from being shipped abroad to fight the employers' wars.

Not only are workers ready to mobilize in defense of their working conditions — as can be seen from the PATCO strike and demonstrations of rail workers and miners — but rank-and-file workers, in increasing numbers, are coming out to protest the war drive.

Once again we are witnessing key administration figures being hounded by large demonstrations — like the protests of 1,000 people that met Ronald Reagan in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Cheyenne, Wyoming. Several thousand people were waiting for him in the Twin Cities.

Demonstrators have participated in these protests around a wide range of issues, and they have all had a powerful antiwar thrust. Many of the signs, banners, and speeches demanded, "Jobs, not bombs" and expressed opposition to the draft and intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The actions included both students and young trade unionists.

Debate exposes U.S. warmakers

It is this very fact that has precipitated a debate in the ranks of the ruling rich. A section of this class feels uneasy about moving too fast to crush the liberation fighters in Central America and the Caribbean. It fears this might set loose an uncontrollable antiwar response that would reach right into the ranks of organized labor.

This debate has become public, as administration officials and members of Congress vie with one another to figure out the safest way to crush the Central American revolution and safeguard profits at home.

However, this same debate has given antiwar activists an opportunity to expose Reagan, the Congress, and corporate America for the warmongers they are.

In addition, the debate over the concrete threat of war in Central America and the Caribbean is taking place in the context of a wider debate concerning the danger of nuclear war.

Emerging antinuclear protests

Actions for disarmament and against the production of nuclear weapons, have begun to emerge alongside of — and overlapping with — the struggle against U.S. intervention in Central America.

The opposition to nuclear weapons has been given impetus by the Reagan administration's attempts to paint the Central American conflict as a struggle against "Soviet and Cuban communism." The administration's refusal to rule out such military options as a blockade of Cuba has heightened the fear that Washington will bring the world to the brink of a nuclear confrontation, as it did during the "missile crisis" in 1962.

The Reagan administration's preparations to intervene in Central America, coupled with the Pentagon's drive to build up its nuclear arsenal and deploy nuclear weapons on European soil, have made the threat of a worldwide nuclear holocaust more real to millions of Americans.

Inspired by the massive antinuclear demonstrations in Europe, thousands of Americans have participated in anti-nuclear-weapons teach-ins.

The June 12 Disarmament Campaign is a recently formed national coalition of over 100 Black, religious, peace, solidarity, and antiwar organizations that have come together to organize a demonstration in front of the United Nations on June 12 in New York.

An Afro-American Coordinating Committee, composed of groups like the NBIPP and NBUF, has been set up to organize participation in the June 12 action.

Mass action on June 12

On this day, tens of thousands of antiwar activists will direct their fire at U.S. imperialism, its armaments buildup, and its aggression against the people of Central America and the Caribbean.

Mobilizing forces who oppose U.S. intervention in Central America to participate in this important action will be an effective way of convincing those who sincerely want peace that it is necessary to oppose concrete wars and war threats.

Only by aiming its fire at the true warmakers — U.S. imperialism — and by opposing its actual wars and threats can a real peace movement be built.

National antiwar conference

Both March 27 and June 12 are major national demonstrations against the U.S. war drive. The tens of thousands of people participating in these actions represent millions of Americans who oppose war and can be mobilized in order to slow down and block the warmongers in Washington.

Critical work remains to be done to deepen the work already begun in the labor movement; to reach out to more rank-and-file, antiwar workers and bring the power of the unions to bear in the antiwar movement.

The same is true of work in the Black community, in women's organizations, among students and others.

What is urgently needed now is a national conference of all forces involved in the antiwar struggle, where discussions on such a perspective can take place.

Just as the Vietnamese did during their war with Washington, the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean need a powerful, united American antiwar movement to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism. This will free the revolutionary people of Central America and the Caribbean to settle accounts with their enemy at home.

We must fulfill our responsibilities as rapidly as possible.

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Why Washington is intervening in Central America and the Caribbean

BY HERMAN CHAUKA

"Stay out."
That's the opinion of 63 percent of the American people according to a recent poll on El Salvador.

Yet the Reagan administration stubbornly persists.

This year it wants to give El Salvador \$232.5 million in economic aid. That's more than any other country except Israel and Egypt.

The money isn't even intended to advance the Salvadoran economy. The 1982 goal is zero economic growth. Without those millions in U.S. taxpayers' dollars there would be a 20 percent drop in the Salvadoran economy.

Plus, the military dictatorship there is hated by the Salvadoran people and despised around the world.

Yet in the face of all this and more, Washington hangs tough. It is determined to thwart a rebel victory by any means necessary.

Why?
Certainly not because a rebel victory would bring "totalitarianism" to El Salvador. The junta Washington is now supporting is as totalitarian as you can get.

And it's patently absurd for Washington to argue it's combating "outside intervention" in El Salvador. All its desperate, sometimes almost comical, efforts to prove that Russians, Cubans, and Nicaraguans are arming the guerrillas have fallen flat. But the massive U.S. intervention is evident.

The real reason for U.S. intervention in El Salvador is quite simple. It's there to make El Salvador "safe" for capitalism.

The concern goes beyond El Salvador.

Full-fledged imperialist power

Toward the end of the 19th Century, the United States became a full-fledged imperialist power. It needed more and more sources of raw material it could control, and areas to invest the surplus capital accumulated by a rapidly developing economy. Central America, South America, and the Caribbean were the initial targets of U.S. imperialist expansion. Business interests, and their political representatives in Washington, arrogantly declared the area their "backyard."

Dollars, guns, and troops have been used freely to assure "stability" of that imperialist "backyard."

In 1898, Cuba and Puerto Rico were seized from Spain.

U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua from 1912 to 1933. They left only after the U.S.-selected Somoza family was entrenched as dictators of the country.

In El Salvador in 1932, a military regime was installed to thwart a rebellion of workers and peasants. The military conducted a systematic campaign of mass murder. An estimated 30,000 Salvadorans were slaughtered in a few months.

The present Salvador liberation movement is the heir to that savagely repressed struggle. The united guerrilla movement, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, is named after a hero of that fight of fifty years ago. Augustin Farabundo Martí was executed August 1, 1932.

In neighboring Guatemala, the last free elections were held in 1950. Jacobo Arbenz, a moderate reformer, was elected president. His idea of making a part of the big landholdings available to the nation's landless brought on the wrath of United Fruit (now United Brands). The CIA openly organized a mercenary army which overthrew the Arbenz government.

Cuba, in 1959, was the first of the "backyard" colonies to win its independence from U.S. imperialism.

Two years later, the CIA, under orders from President John Kennedy or-



L.A. Times Syndicate/Dan Wasserman

ganized a mercenary invasion. But revolutionary Cuba was prepared, and the invasion was smashed in seventy-two hours.

Chile made 'safe' for IT&T

In Chile in 1970, a reform government headed by Salvador Allende was elected. IT&T, Anaconda copper, and other U.S. corporate giants saw the Allende government as a threat to their superprofits. In cooperation with these firms, the CIA — this time under Nixon — initiated another overthrow. The murderous Pinochet dictatorship was installed in 1973.

Today, naked intervention in Central and South America has again become increasingly necessary for U.S. imperialism because its need for profits from that area has grown more urgent.

Capitalism has been abolished in major areas of the globe. Many colonial countries have won or are fighting for their independence. Japan and West Germany are becoming increasingly effective imperialist rivals.

And right in the "backyard," we have seen the victory of the Cuban socialist revolution, followed by the recent revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada.

Because the world area open to U.S. imperialism has been shrinking, it must

defend its "backyard" even more desperately.

A few figures indicate the scope of the problem.

In 1967, 31.9 percent of total U.S. investments were in underdeveloped countries. By 1977, it had dropped to 22.6 percent.

In 1967, U.S. investments in Latin America represented 63.2 percent of its total investment in underdeveloped countries. As of 1977 this had grown to 82.2 percent, dramatically underlining the extent to which U.S. imperialism has lost ground in other areas.

So it's not just El Salvador. It's El Salvador in the context of a shrinking world imperialist arena. El Salvador in the context of the "loss" of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. Plus the growing threat in Guatemala and the sure knowledge that the process will not end there either.

Inspiring examples

Certainly the people of Central America and the Caribbean are heavily influenced by Cuba, and now increasingly by Nicaragua and Grenada.

But not in the sinister sense claimed by Washington. The "danger" comes from the inspiring example these revolutionary countries provide.

Militant, Perspectiva Mundial sales linked to building antiwar movement

BY LEE MARTINDALE

In the weeks leading up to the March 27 demonstration against U.S. intervention in Central America, supporters of the *Militant* and the biweekly, Spanish-language socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* stepped up their efforts to build this action.

In the course of this activity they have found a warm response among antiwar activists and other opponents of the war in El Salvador to the *Militant* and *PM*'s coverage of events in Central America.

At a lunch-time protest on March 16 against U.S. intervention in El Salvador at the New York state capitol in Albany, *Militant* salespeople report selling out the last twenty-seven of their current bundle and all the recent back issues they had on hand. To avoid running out again, they raised their *Militant* bundle from 50 to 110.

At this same protest, which was attended by 500 people, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress Pat Mayberry was handed a contribution of \$100 from a supporter of her campaign.

The movie *Missing*, now playing in many cities, has proved an excellent place to build the March 27 protests and sell the *Militant* and *PM*. The Socialist Workers Party branch in Phoenix reports that one team selling outside the theater sold the ten papers they brought with them in "under two minutes. People come out of the movie and they're in shock," they report. In response to an in-

itation to "Protest the war in El Salvador," movie-goers lined up the buy the *Militant*.

In San Antonio, twelve copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold in a short time last week at a grocery store in the Mexican community.

These experiences in the weeks leading up to the launching of the national spring sales campaign promise a fruitful twelve weeks of all-out sales. March 27 is the first day of the drive.

The figures below show the goals adopted by branches of the SWP and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance. They total 4,150 *Militants* and 382 *PM*s a week.

We urge all our readers to join us in getting out the truth about U.S. involvement in Central America, and giving people the real story on the struggle of the people of El Salvador and the gains of the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada.

Below are the goals of SWP branches. The first figure is for *Militants* and the second for *PM*.

Albuquerque	65/15	Cleveland	95/0
Atlanta	100/0	Dallas	70/20
Baltimore	110/0	Denver	80/5
Birmingham	100/0	Detroit	115/5
Boston	140/10	Gary	75/5
Brooklyn	140/30	Harrisburg	50/0
Capital District	90/0	Houston	50/10
Charleston	50/0	Indianapolis	75/0
Chicago	125/15	Iron Range	50/0
Cincinnati	70/0	Kansas City	105/5
		Lincoln	30/0
		Los Angeles	125/40
		Louisville	80/0
		Manhattan	135/30
		Miami	60/10
		Milwaukee	90/10
		Morgantown	110/0
		New Orleans	85/0
		Newark	120/20
		Oakland	80/10
		Philadelphia	140/15
		Phoenix	75/20
		Piedmont	85/0
		Pittsburgh	150/0
		Portland	70/0
		Price	45/2
		Salt Lake City	90/5
		San Antonio	70/20
		San Diego	60/18
		San Francisco	100/20
		San Jose	60/12
		Seattle	75/0
		St. Louis	90/0
		Tidewater	70/0
		Toledo	50/0
		Tucson	40/10
		Twin Cities	130/0
		Washington, D.C.	70/20
		Totals	4,140/382

Significance of Mich. ballot victory

BY JOHN OLMSTED

DETROIT — A significant victory for the democratic rights of working people was won in Michigan when the State Supreme Court recently struck down Public Act (PA) 94, which had kept working-class alternatives off the ballot.

Michigan is the eighth most populous state, and is a stronghold of industrial unionism. The state has a long history of independent labor political action, which was interrupted with the passage of PA 94 in 1976.

In 1947, for instance, three auto workers ran as independent labor candidates for city council in Flint. Five labor candidates ran for Detroit Common Council. The Socialist Workers Party ran a mayoral campaign in the Motor City.

The SWP continued to place working-class candidates on the ballot until the passage of PA 94. This included the party's presidential ticket, which appeared on the Michigan ballot from 1948 through 1972.

Whenever workers and farmers show signs that they are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans, politicians from both these capitalist parties start passing laws to restrict the right of working people to run for office and vote for whom they want.

Over the last few years, a large number of ballot restrictions have been imposed across the country. These are setbacks to democratic rights, and are aimed especially at the working class and its allies. The striking down of PA 94 is an important exception to this pattern.

During the 1974-75 recession, Michigan voters were considering alternatives to the traditional two-party rule. It appeared that seven parties besides the Democrats and Republicans would qualify for the ballot in 1976. In response, PA 94 was rushed through to maintain the two-party monopoly. In addition to the 18,000 signatures already required to get on the primary ballot, to be on the general election ballot after PA 94 was passed a party had to poll 4,000 to 5,000 votes in the primary. If you voted to place a "minor" party on the ballot, you couldn't vote for any "major" party candidate.

The excuse for the law was to avoid "clogging the voting machines" and "confusing the voters." Howard Simon, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, stated that the law came about "largely because the two major parties were trying to protect their turf."

The SWP challenged the law in court in 1976. Although the suit was dismissed in 1978, the SWP appealed. The party kept up the political fight and rallied public support for the case. After five years, a significant victory has been won.

On March 1 the judges ruled that the law violated the first and fourteenth amendments and "imposes unreasonable and unnecessary restrictions on access to the general election ballot." Ruling that access to the ballot is an essential democratic right, they cited the decision in a 1979 case of the Illinois State Board of Elections vs. the SWP which said, "Abolitionists, Progressives and Populists have undeniably had influence, if not always electoral success. As the records of such parties demonstrate, an election campaign is a means of disseminating ideas as well as attaining political office."

Michigan has a rich tradition of working-class opposition to the Republicans and Democrats. From 1944, the United Auto Workers, along with several other unions, fielded independent candidates for several years. In 1964, the Freedom Now Party ran independent Black candidates fighting for the rights of Blacks and all working people in the state.

That is why the *Detroit Free Press* termed the Supreme Court decision a

"bitter blow to the two major parties."

The decision strengthens the rights of those fighting for alternatives to the Republicans and Democrats, such as the National Black Independent Political Party.

Commented Ron Reosti, an attorney in the SWP suit, "This decision is important nationwide; it cuts against the tide of those seeking to restrict ballot rights."

The judges acknowledged the damage to democratic rights by restrictive ballot laws. In their decision they stated, "A political party denied access to the ballot is not an effective device for advancing the ideas or political aspirations of its adherents. As a result, access restrictions operate to deter membership and participation in the excluded political association."

For the first time in five years, the SWP can be on the ballot in the general election. On March 20 the Michigan Socialist Workers Party campaign launched a statewide petitioning drive to gather well over the required 18,000 signatures.

As news of the victory spreads, the campaign office is receiving calls from around the state from people who want to help.

In a news conference the day following the court's decision, Tim Craine, SWP candidate for governor, stated:

Petitioning: good response in N.J. . . .

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

NEWARK — More than two dozen petitioners hit the streets of this city March 13 to gather signatures to put the names of two newly announced Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot.

Laura Garza, a garment worker, is running for mayor. Claire Moriarty, an oil refinery worker, is a candidate for U.S. Senate.

Petitioning had gotten under way two days earlier at an unemployment office here. A big sign proclaiming "Jobs — not war" attracted out-of-work residents.

One of the petitioners met a friend with whom he had worked until recently on the assembly line at Ford. A *Militant* subscriber, he quickly signed the petitions and got two of his friends to do the same.

Socialists say that petitioning is often like taking a poll. While there is no lack of opinion polls these days, the results are often dubious or purposely misleading.

After five hours on the streets of Newark, the results of the socialist poll were unambiguous: The threat of war in Central America is very much on the minds of working people.

"All you had to do was indicate that this petition was for candidates who are against war — against sending our youth to get killed in El Salvador — and people would not only be willing, but eager to sign," said Charlene Adamson.

Claire Moriarty campaigned next to a table with several petition boards on it. Accompanying her was a young refinery worker. This was his first time out petitioning. After getting word of the drive for signatures, he volunteered to lend a hand.

"Will you sign to get a working person on the ballot?" he asked bypassers.

The table was stationed in front of the headquarters of Prudential, one of the big insurance companies that for years has been the power behind the scene in Newark.

For a while petitioning slowed due to a light rain. But when the sun came out, it picked up again. At times people were lined up three deep to add their names.

"It was different today," said one veteran petitioner. "It seems more political. I can recall asking people to sign primarily on the basis of supporting our democratic right to be on the ballot, in past

"The Republicans and Democrats have nothing to offer the 700,000 jobless Michigan workers but more layoffs,

more taxes, and more cutbacks. That is why they have sought to keep our campaign off the ballot."



Rev. Albert Cleage (left), shown here with Martin Luther King, ran for Michigan governorship in 1964 on Freedom Now Party ticket. Recent ballot victory would again allow such independent candidates to obtain ballot status in Michigan.

years. But now you get a far better response if you talk about what these candidates stand for. People seem to be looking for somebody who has some answers."

Petitioning is being tied to publicizing the March 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C. against U.S. intervention in Central America. Hundreds of leaflets were distributed.

Petitioners also got out copies of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*.

"One Black man told me he was a Vietnam veteran," said Priscilla Schenk, a garment worker. "Now they've got my nephew in the Marines, he said. 'We've got to stop them from going into El Salvador.'"

"When I told him about the march in Washington, he said, 'I'll definitely be there.'"

. . . and in West Virginia, too

BY DAVID ROE

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — Supporters launched a major drive here March 13 to place William Hovland and Adrienne Benjamin, Socialist Workers Party candidates, on the West Virginia ballot.

Hovland, a member of United Mine Workers Local 2095 from Granville, is running for U.S. Senate against Democrat Robert Byrd, the Senate minority leader. Benjamin, a former auto worker from Charleston, is running for Congress in the 3rd District.

The state's election law requires 6,000 signatures of registered West Virginia voters to place the candidates on the November ballot. Campaign supporters plan to gather 15,000 signatures.

Campaign supporters report "a very good response" from West Virginians. According to one petitioner, "Most people are eager to sign, especially after learning that the socialist candidates think the government should be run by working people, not by the Democrats or Republicans, who represent big business."

Despite the positive response the campaign is receiving from many working people, Hovland expects to

Sometimes people hurrying along the sidewalk would take a copy of the leaflet on the candidates, say they would read it, think about it, and maybe come back and sign later.

"You usually take that as a brush off," one petitioner said, "But we found that people would actually come back and say, 'Okay, I've read it. Where do I sign?'"

"They are signing on the basis of agreement with our program."

The socialists wrapped up the petitioning for Garza on March 20 by getting well over the thousand signatures needed.

Petitioning for Moriarty will continue for several weeks.

The results so far have netted gains in more ways than one. One campaign supporter decided to join the SWP after a few hours out on the street petitioning and campaigning.

have to wage a hard fight in his efforts to gain ballot status. "We have already had to deal with one major obstacle," said Alyson Kennedy, Hovland-Benjamin campaign director. "We were forced to come up with more than \$600 to pay the filing fee for Bill Hovland. We had to pay this despite the victory of our lawsuit [filed jointly with the Libertarian Party and the Citizens Party in 1980], which struck down many provisions in the election law, including one that requires all candidates to pay an exorbitant filing fee, even those who cannot afford it."

Hovland's financial affidavit, proving he could not afford to pay the filing fee, was rejected by Secretary of State A. James Manchin. The campaign raised more than \$600 through an emergency fund appeal. The filing fee was then paid under protest. The campaign plans to legally challenge Manchin's ruling and win a refund of the \$600 fee.

The campaign has received coverage from most of the state's newspapers and many television and radio stations. During the course of the petition drive, campaigners plan to distribute 15,000 leaflets outlining the Hovland-Benjamin program for working people.

Grenada sets up fishing cooperative

BY BAXTER SMITH

SAUTEURS, Grenada — For generations, fishermen from this northern coastal town have punched through wind and seas out to the rich offshore fishing grounds — pursuing a daily ritual that takes place on every Caribbean island.

But unlike their brethren on neighboring islands, nowadays when Sauteurs fishermen return with their day's catch, they participate in yet another benefit of the March 13, 1979, revolution.

With the help of government funding, thirty-three Sauteurs fishermen on February 14 launched Grenada's first fishing cooperative.

The cooperative purchases the fishermen's entire catch and stores it in a cold-room facility. Also, the fishermen are able to obtain fishing and marine gear through the cooperative at reduced prices.

Edrick Adams, treasurer of the cooperative, explained what is involved.

"Before, the fishermen would come in early because they had to sell their fish or find a vendor to sell it for them," said Adams. "They had to stand around in wet clothes and try to sell the fish before it spoiled. Or they had to deal with the vendors who charged whatever they wanted."

"Now, they can stay out longer and have a guaranteed buyer and a standard price."

Government's plans

The government, through the National Co-Operative Development Agency (NACDA), obtained for the co-op a market area, equipment, and a cold storage room that can freeze 3,000 pounds of fish.

NACDA underwrote a loan of about US\$25,000 to establish the Sauteurs co-op. At year's end the fishermen will share evenly whatever profits the co-op has earned after debts are repaid.

On February 28, in the western parish of St. John, NACDA helped to get two more fishing cooperatives off the ground.

Through interviews with officials and other figures in the fishing industry here, *Intercontinental Press* learned more about the emphasis the government is placing on the industry.

In 1982 the government hopes to increase by fourfold the number of pounds of fish caught in 1981.

James Finlay, acting chief fisheries officer, explained that under deposed dictator Eric Gairy there was little priority placed on this industry.

"For some reason the colonial powers never saw fit to establish it as a real industry," Finlay said. "They preferred to supply fish from abroad."

"But after the revolution the government saw agroindustries, agriculture, tourism, and fisheries as pillars of the economy."

Scientific management

Finlay described the revolutionary government's conscientious approach to the fishing industry.

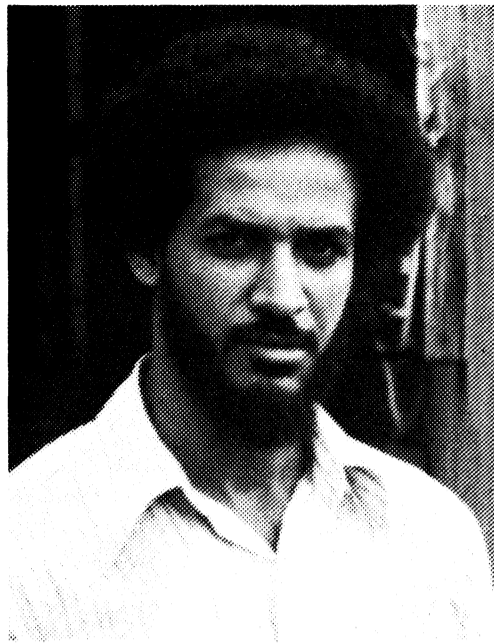
Charts he pulled out showed the types of migratory and indigenous fishes around the island. Catching lobsters, oysters, white sea urchins, and sea turtles is not permitted during closed seasons.

Sea turtles are particularly endangered and a preservation society has been established to educate about them.

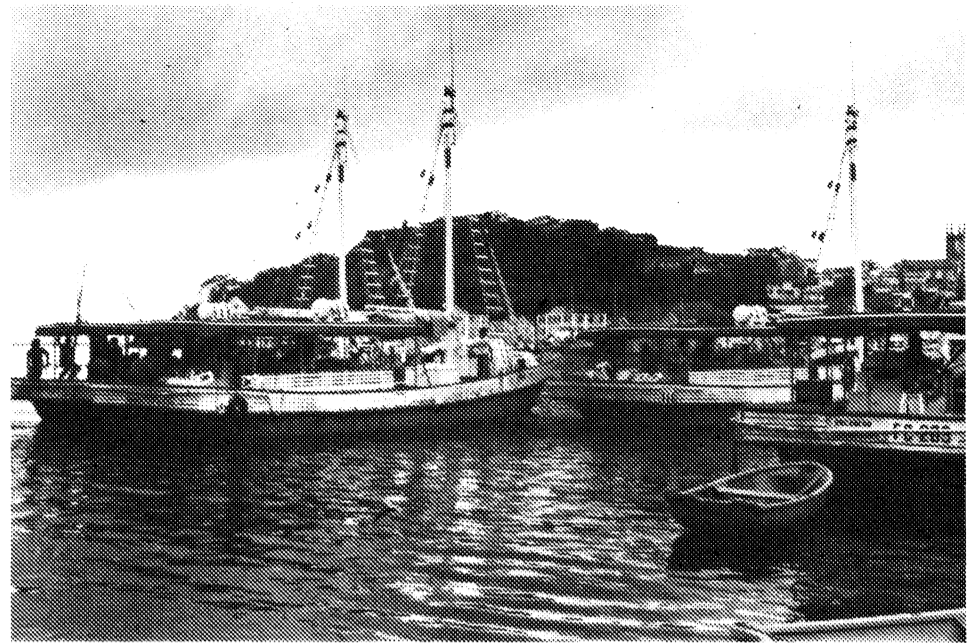
In glut times, when the Sauteurs and St. John fishing co-ops cannot store all the fish they catch, the National Fishing Company will take them off their hands.

The NFC supplies fish to the armed forces, the hospital, and the old peoples' home. It also sells fish to the island's hotels and does some exporting.

The NFC oversees the operation of the ten fishing boats given to Grenada by Cuba. These craft are set up to stay out for a week and do trolling and long-line fishing.



Emmanuel Roberts (left), principal of Grenada's National Fisheries School. Right: Cuban-donated fishing trawlers in harbor of St. George's.



Militant photos by Flax Hermes

In September 1979 the government began a National Fisheries School. Emmanuel Roberts, the school's principal, said that forty-five students have graduated so far, four of whom are women.

The students are trained in operation of the Cuba-donated vessels and in navigation and other skills. They also study math, marine biology, Spanish, English, and politics.

The government provides food, housing, and allowances for the students; their training runs for five months.

Despite periodic hostile treatment from some neighboring regimes that oppose the revolution, the government here has written to officials in other Caribbean islands and extended scholarships to the school.

Plans are in the offing to expand the

school to train captains, chief engineers, and radio technicians in a two-year program.

This year the revolutionary government hopes to launch the Artisanal Fisheries Development Project, a multi-million-dollar operation to assist small fishermen — and now fisherwomen as well.

From *Intercontinental Press*

Caribbean newspaper answers Reagan

[The following editorial appeared in the February 27 issue of the Grenadian weekly *Free West Indian*.]

Any peace-loving and honest person must regard as dangerous and threatening to the people of the Caribbean statements made this week by US President Ronald Reagan attacking Grenada.

In his speech at the OAS [Organization of American States] conference in Washington, Reagan attacked our country by saying that Grenada was a threat to peace and that "Washington will do whatever is prudent and necessary to ensure the peace and security of the Caribbean area."

We question the right of Reagan and his gang of warmongers to pose as "defenders of peace" in the region.

It is Reagan and his government, not Grenada, who, faced with the most massive economic disaster in the history of imperialism since the 1930s and with 10 million working people unemployed, are trying to solve their problems by making weapons of war, threatening war and ultimately engaging in war.

It is Reagan and his government, not Grenada, who are slashing social welfare, pension and unemployment benefits for the poor while in 1982, 214.2 billion (US) is being spent on arms alone.

It is Reagan and not Grenada who has moved to abolish trade unions, such as the Professional Air Traffic Controllers (PATCO), whose union was destroyed by White House legislation.

It is Reagan, not Grenada, who has slashed health benefits to the US people, eliminating up to five million children from immunisation from poliomyelitis, while spending millions on chemical weapons, small amounts of which can eliminate whole cities.

It is Reagan, not Grenada, whose closest ally is the dictatorship in El Salvador, acknowledged as being mainly responsible for the murder of 30,000 of its own citizens in the last two years.

It is Reagan, not Grenada, who supports the equally genocidal dictatorship in Guatemala and the brutal "Baby Doc" dynasty in poverty-stricken Haiti.

It is Reagan, not Grenada, who, spitting in the face of world opinion, continues to support, and is the main ally of racist South Africa.

It is Reagan and his generals, not

Grenada, who have 500,000 troops stationed outside his country in 2,500 military bases in 114 countries, together with 12,000 nuclear warheads.

No. We reject the notion that our small country is a threat to peace. The threat to peace in the entire world comes from US imperialism, now under the leadership of cowboy Reagan, heading more and more in the direction of fascism, walking in the footsteps of Adolf Hitler.

Despite our poverty, despite the threats from imperialism and the war manoeuvres directed against our country — such as Amber and Amberines and Red X183 last year, and the NATO

"Operation Safe Pass" manoeuvres planned for next month — we are continuing to build a truly democratic and peace-loving society. We are continuing to construct our economy as in the last three years when we experienced an accumulated growth of close to 10 per cent.

We are continuing on the international level our struggle for peace, disarmament and nonalignment. Most of all, Grenada is continuing to choose her friends and will not be dictated to by any power as to who these friends might be.

We will never bow to the threats of Reagan or any member of his cowboy gang. We are not for sale.

From *Intercontinental Press*

Conference hits job hazards

BY BARRY SCHIER

BURBANK, Calif. — Nearly 100 people attended a workshop meeting, "Reproductive Hazards and Your Job," here on March 6. Sponsored by the Los Angeles Committee on Occupational Safety and Health (COSH) and the Coalition for the Reproductive Rights of Workers, the meeting was held at International Association of Machinists (IAM) District Lodge 727.

Most of the participants were unionists who came to learn about the effects of hazardous substances used in their workplaces and what they could do to fight them. Participants included aerospace chemical manufacturing, oil refinery, and hospital workers.

Dr. Ruth Heifitz, from San Diego COSH and University of California at San Diego, detailed a case of five women workers at American Cyanamid's Willow Island, West Virginia, plant. They were told that voluntary sterilization would be a prerequisite for continuing at their occupation. They were sterilized and have sued American Cyanamid to be compensated for the results of that company's job-blackmail.

Heifitz added that a growing number of companies are citing workplace reproductive hazards and dangers as an excuse to exclude women from many jobs. She said labor's response must be to fight to eliminate the hazards, not the women, from those workplaces.

Louis Rios, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 13, told how his local was able to stop unsafe loading and shipment of oranges sprayed with the pesticide EDB (ethylene dibromide) at the height of California's med-fly crisis.

The union relied on solidarity with other unions, especially Teamster Joint Council 42, which initially refused to drive the trucks. Instead of counting on a contract-and-arbitration procedure laden with red tape, they called the media and launched a public campaign. Pictures of workers in gas masks loading oranges wouldn't have been Sunkist's idea of good publicity.

Companies often keep cargo invoices secret to prevent workers from knowing if they are handling hazardous items. Rios said there have been container breakage incidents where fire fighters were called in wearing gas masks, yet the workers lacked any protective equipment.

Art Woods, vice-president of International Chemical Workers Union, cited cutbacks in OSHA and other government health and safety agencies and the problem of runaway shops as issues that could not be solved on the shop floor. He concluded, job hazards are a political question needing a political solution.

Barry Schier is a member of IAM Lodge 727.



Arrest of anti-apartheid protesters came on eve of September 22, 1981, demonstration in Albany against South African rugby team.

Anti-apartheid activists beat Albany frame-up attempt

BY MICHAEL KOZAK

ALBANY, N.Y. — The anti-apartheid movement won a victory in a courtroom here March 6 against the government's attempt to frame up two New York City Black activists — Mike Young and John Spearman — for possession of a weapon.

In a resounding defeat for the government, an all-white jury found Young and Spearman not guilty.

Defense lawyers William Kunstler and Lewis Oliver argued that the police had tried to defuse and demobilize a growing anti-apartheid struggle by framing up one of its most visible leaders, Young, and his friend Spearman. The prosecution, on the other hand, asserted that this was simply a criminal case of weapon possession.

Young and Spearman were arrested the night before the September 22, 1981, protest in Albany against the South African rugby team, the Springboks.

The Springbok's game in Albany's Bleecker Stadium was the only game of the team's U.S. tour that was played in public. Games originally scheduled for New York City and Chicago were either canceled or played at secret sites, due to public protests.

Young, a member of the New York City Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour (SART) and the Communist Workers Party, was sent to Albany by SART at the request of the Albany Coalition Against Apartheid. He helped local activists build a broad coalition of religious, political, labor, and student groups to demonstrate against the September 22 rugby game.

The police, aided by the media, tried to violence-bait the protest. A state police report claimed that the Klu Klux Klan was coming to Albany to battle the Communist Workers Party in scenes reminiscent of Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. The FBI warned that violence might erupt

when demonstrators arrived in Albany from around the Northeast. Hysterical television coverage showed hospital emergency rooms preparing for an onslaught of injured people.

On the pretext of violence from the demonstrators as well as the KKK, New York Governor Carey canceled the game on September 17. He claimed "an imminent danger of riot and breach of peace." On September 21, a state court overruled Carey and allowed the game to continue. It was then that the police made their move.

First they arrested John Spearman as he drove Mike Young's car. Realizing that they had not arrested Young, who was the person they sought in hopes of undercutting preparations for the protest, police then raided the apartment where Young was staying.

At 3:15 a.m. on September 22, some fifteen to twenty city police, FBI agents, and state police broke down the door of Vera Michelson's apartment. They stormed inside with shotguns and arrested Young, Michelson, and Aaron Estis, another protest organizer. All were rushed to jail and denied their one phone call for hours. Their bail was not set for days in an attempt to hold them in preventive detention.

Despite the arrests and the suspicious bombing of the Eastern Rugby Union's office on the day of the game, the protest of 1,500 people took place completely free of violence or injury.

Activists quickly formed a committee to defend the arrested activists. They explained the political nature of the arrests and the threat they pose to all persons who dissent from the government's position. Leaflets, public meetings, and benefit concerts all brought home the message to Albany citizens.

People responded by attending the trial of Young and Spearman to show their solidarity. This played a key role in convincing the jury and the people in Albany to look beyond the police claims and expose the frame-up.

Socialist suit unravels media smear

BY MATT HERRESHOFF

The story of a political police/news media frame-up attempt is beginning to unfold in the Socialist Workers Party's \$106 million libel suit against Associated Press (AP) and the New York cops.

AP smeared the socialists in a story linking the SWP to the holdup of a Brinks armored car in Rockland County, New York, last fall. The story was carried prominently in newspapers from coast to coast.

The AP story said that "FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette . . . said the bureau had determined" that Judith Clark, one of those arrested in the Brinks holdup, "was the same Judith Clark who once was in the Weather Underground and is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party."

A "corrective," issued by AP the next day, said the statement "came from New York City Police Commissioner Robert McGuire."

Both the cops and the FBI now deny making the statement. But, in sworn statements by AP, some of the facts begin to emerge from behind this cover-up.

AP states that one of its reporters, Thomas Kelly, attended a press conference held by New York City Police Commissioner Robert McGuire: "At that press conference Kelly asked McGuire if, in connection with their investigation of the Brinks robbery, the police were investigating reports that Clark is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. McGuire responded by stating that the police were conducting an active investigation, and that all leads and reports were being investigated by the police."

This, AP claims, is the source of its story stating that Clark "is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party."

This statement is one of several made by AP in response to written questions by attorneys for the SWP. Filing these questions was the socialists' first legal move in their lawsuit against the cops and AP.

But while AP's answers tell part of the story, they carefully hide the role of the political police in cooking up this slander.

AP reporter Kelly asked about "reports that Clark is a member of the Socialist Workers Party." Who made those reports?

How did the name of "FBI spokesman Joe Valiquette" creep into the original AP story? AP now claims that

their reporter Elizabeth Kenedy "spoke with Valiquette by telephone on two occasions" while the slanderous story was being prepared. "Valiquette made no statement," they say, "concerning an alleged connection between Judith Clark and the Socialist Workers Party." So what *did* they talk about?

AP states that the day after the press conference, Deputy Police Commissioner Alice McGillion "confirmed that McGuire had said that reports that Clark is a member of the Socialist Workers Party were being investigated. McGillion added that the police had investigated this, and that Clark is not a member of the Socialist Workers Party."

When attorneys for the socialists asked the cops whether McGillion had made any such statement, they refused to answer, stating that the question "is

objected to as not relevant to the questions at issue."

The SWP's next legal move in this battle is to question, under oath, the AP reporters who prepared the slanderous article. Their answers, and further legal moves being planned by attorneys for the socialists, will help to further expose the slander campaign launched under the pretext of the Brinks robbery. And they will reveal more facts about how the political police use the news media in their war against political rights.

Using the news media to frame up and smear political activists is standard operating procedure for the political police. The Brinks robbery last fall was used to smear dozens of groups — from the SWP to the Republic of New Africa to the government of revolutionary Cuba.

Koch blames workers for N.Y. transit mess

BY RICK CONGRESS

NEW YORK CITY — Negotiations on the city subway and bus workers' contract, which expires March 31, are taking place amid the din of a propaganda campaign aimed at transit workers. This is being waged by politicians led by Mayor Edward Koch, the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), and the media.

The campaign seeks to blame the workers for the city's money-starved, crumbling transportation system. It portrays them as greedy and irresponsible. The political representatives of the capitalist ruling class hope thereby to get public support for major takebacks in work rules and to keep wage increases well below the rate of inflation.

Transport Workers Union Local 100, with 35,000 members, and Amalgamated Transit Union locals 726 and 1056, with 2,000, are negotiating with the MTA.

Two years ago, transit workers were forced to strike for eleven days. Charged with violating the state's antilabor Taylor Law, the unions were fined \$1.25 million and dues checkoff was taken away for eighteen months. The transit workers were forced to go back to work with many givebacks imposed on them.

Mayor Koch has been especially rabid in attacking the union. He began a campaign months ago to line up support for his hopes to smash the unions in the event of a strike.

Assuring the city's employers and bankers that he did not want another strike, Local 100 President John Lawes sought to put the negotiations under binding arbitration. After some reluc-

ance, Koch, the MTA, and Governor Hugh Carey agreed to this. A bill to that effect was passed by the legislature and signed by Carey on March 16.

Koch, the MTA, and Carey agreed to support the arbitration bill only after stiff penalties against the unions if they strike were made mandatory in the bill.

Under this new law, which is to be in force for a year, supposedly impartial arbitrators are to be appointed by the state. With a clause that they are to "consider the MTA's ability to pay" in making their decision, it isn't hard to guess who they'll favor.

The unions are now in a position of either accepting a takeback contract — which the MTA is clearly after — or defying a law that their leadership proposed.



New York Mayor Edward Koch

The MTA wants a three-year contract, instead of the present two-year agreement; an end to all past labor-practice agreements; the right to hire part-time workers; reduced pay for new hires; and no pay for time off between morning and afternoon bus runs.

They also want to remove hard-won union restrictions on overtime and on scheduling bids for jobs. They want to add work to certain job classifications so they can lay off workers.

These proposals, which would seriously worsen working conditions, are put forth piously in the name of "removing restrictions on management's right to manage."

The MTA, which has yet to put forward a wages proposal, declared that the union's demands for increases of 13 percent for the first contract year and 12 percent for the second year are excessive. The unions also want cost-of-living allowances separated from so-called productivity savings.

Whether transit workers will be forced to strike under these unfavorable conditions is an open question. Clearly, the policy of the union leadership of putting faith in arbitration is a formula for destruction.

Rather than relying on supposed "friends" in the courts and elsewhere in the state's antilabor apparatus, we should fight to abolish the Taylor Law, and we should seek allies among other working people who are suffering like us in the current capitalist economic crisis.

Rick Congress is a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100.

War budget threatens to sink economy

Billions for Pentagon will mean increased inflation and unemployment



BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

President Reagan plans to spend over \$1.5 trillion over the next five years on arms.

Will such a military buildup end the present recession or stave off another one? The answer is no. One of the most pervasive myths spread by the ruling class is that military spending is an answer to depression. This myth is used to try to make militarism palatable to working people.

The origin of this myth is the experience of the 1930s and 1940s. Since mass unemployment didn't end until the outbreak of World War II, the idea was born that only war spending ended the depression.

What really happened?

The Great Depression, which began in 1929, was the result of one of capitalism's periodic crises of "overproduction."

That is, more commodities had been produced than people could afford to buy at prices profitable to the capitalists. But there were not more goods produced than people needed. The capitalists answered the profit squeeze produced by the 1929 overproduction crisis the way they always react to such crises. They slashed production. They laid off workers by the millions and closed down older, less efficient plants. The crisis was worldwide, affecting all capitalist countries.

It was also the most severe and the longest such crisis in the history of capitalism. Never before had unemployment soared so high and industrial production and world trade slumped so low.

It was during that depression that the foundation was laid for the postwar prosperity.

Because so few commodities were being produced, the stockpiles were sold off or destroyed. This along with the closing down of inefficient factories eliminated the excess production capacity that was making investment unprofitable. Equally important, construction of new plants and even the modernization of existing plants had been reduced to almost nothing. The process whereby existing plants are gradually made relatively inefficient through the construction of new plants with more advanced technology was essentially brought to a halt.

At the same time unprecedented unemployment was used to slash wages. In some countries — like Germany, Italy, and Spain — where the workers had suffered major defeats fascist or military dictatorships were used by the capitalist ruling class to smash workers organizations.

Thus, by the end of the 1930s many of the basic preconditions for a new upswing existed. But there was one obsta-

cle. In the period following World War I, and especially during the depression itself, massive barriers to trade had grown up as each imperialist country tried to shift the main burden of the crisis onto the backs of its competitors. As a result, the world economy was torn apart by blocs competing for access to markets and raw materials. War was the only way that a new equilibrium among nation states could be established that would decide the market shares, raw materials, and above all profits that various groups of capitalists would receive during the upswing that followed the Great Depression.

The war economy

Massive unemployment disappeared in the United States with the onset of a full-scale war economy. However, the war economy brought its own evils. All available resources were poured into war production. For example, production of automobiles was halted entirely as auto plants were shifted to the production of military vehicles. Production of new machines and construction of new factories were also severely restricted as resources were diverted to military-related production. The results were inflation, shortages, rationing, black marketeering, war profiteering, and stiff government wage controls.

The war economy should not be confused with the normal "boom" phase of business cycles. During the boom phase, factories, machinery, and other means for producing goods are expanded. Likewise consumption by working people tends to rise as production of consumer goods increases.

But in a full-scale war economy the means of production are used up without being fully replaced. The production of consumer necessities is more and more restricted. A war economy is an economy that is in the process of destroying itself.

For this reason a total war economy cannot be maintained indefinitely. If the war does end within a certain period of time, the war economy collapses.

Postwar boom and militarism

The post World War II boom was based on both the results of the Great Depression, which restructured capital, in order to make it more profitable, and the war, which established a new political equilibrium among imperialist nation states, based on U.S. hegemony. For fifteen years of depression and war there had been almost no expansion of machinery and factories. Instead of producing new wealth, the world was living off its reserves of accumulated wealth. In Europe and Japan, wartime bombing

further destroyed these reserves. Conditions were thus favorable for a massive economic upswing, especially in Japan and Western Europe.

But at the same time, imperialist domination was threatened by socialist revolution and colonial revolution. So the capitalist rulers had to maintain military spending at a high level for political reasons. This meant that the production of arms emerged as an important branch of industry. Unlike the full-scale war economy of World War II, however, the entire economy was not subordinated to it. If it had been, the economy would not have experienced expansion. It would have been destroyed.

The emergence of the arms business as an important branch of industry led to the illusion, however, that arms provided an insatiable "replacement market" necessary to stave off a new depression.

It is true that some capitalist corporations did depend on government contracts for their business and profits. And sudden bursts of military spending, financed by government borrowing, did lead to brief spurts of accelerated economic growth.

However, even the U.S. government must pay its bills. Increased borrowing for arms spending leads to increased taxation. Increased taxes, whether levied on working people (as the capitalists always try to do) or on business, end up reducing purchasing power. Thus in the long run the military market can develop only at the expense of other markets.

Without the tremendous burden of military spending, the U.S. economy's growth after World War II would have been considerably faster. The role of the U.S. government as world cop for imperialism is one of the reasons U.S. industry has lagged more and more behind its capitalist competitors, who spend less on arms.

End of the boom

Symptoms of the approaching end of the postwar economic upswing began to appear during the Vietnam War. As competition for world markets increased, pressure on profit margins mounted. The growing risk of major bankruptcies began to disturb credit and money markets. Interest rates, which had been low during the postwar prosperity, began to rise as capitalist investors moved to protect themselves against the growing risk of defaults and currency devaluations.

Fearing the political consequences of a major depression, the United States and other capitalist governments increased the rate of growth of the paper money supply. Newly printed bills were used to plug holes in the chain of payments.

The result was massive and increasing inflation. Whenever the printing of money was slowed down, the economy fell into recession. When the printing of paper money was accelerated, the rate of inflation soon skyrocketed.

Military buildup and depression

This alteration between rapid increases in the printing of paper money and decreasing paper money supplies led to soaring inflation and a series of recessions during the 1970s. The phenomena of slow growth, frequent recessions, and rising unemployment combined with high inflation was dubbed "stagflation" by the capitalist pundits.

However, stagflation means that there is no decisive liquidation of overproduction. It is therefore no real solution for the capitalists. Each new turn of the business cycle sends inflation and interest to higher levels than those of the preceding cycle.

The Reagan administration is trying to break out of the dead-end cycle of stagflation. It has launched a major at-

tack on social spending and awarded unprecedented tax giveaways to the rich and the corporations. However, these measures cannot revive the capitalist economy as long as increasing amounts of unsold commodities press down on world markets.

Reagan's only real answer to stagflation is to persist in maintaining a relatively slow growth in the amount of paper money. The result has been the continuation of high interest rates despite recession. Workers and working farmers find it especially difficult to borrow. Unemployment has soared in the auto, home construction, and farm equipment industries. Bankruptcies among small businesses, held to a relatively low level during the inflationary 1970s, have now soared to the highest level since the 1930s. Even larger capitalist enterprises, like the savings bank network, have found themselves in serious difficulties. The recession grows progressively worse.

In order to finance the huge arms buildup under conditions of economic stagnation, the Reagan administration will have to borrow at a rate of \$100 billion or more per year for the next several fiscal years at least. Since the government has state power it can get all the credit it wants. After the government, the biggest and richest corporations, like U.S. Steel, have the best crack at getting credit.

But when there's a credit shortage that leaves little credit left for anybody else. This implies a severe contradiction in the demand for all commodities other than arms. While during the postwar boom the market for arms only grew at the expense of other markets, the growth of arms now threatens to trigger the collapse of other markets.

The danger that Reagan's spending spree for arms could set off a global depression has leading European financial figures worried. They are urging Reagan to modify his budget. They want a somewhat slower arms buildup along with continuing cuts in social spending.

Within the United States itself similar fears have been expressed by top business groups, capitalist politicians, and economists.

A related danger is that the Reagan government, if faced with the imminent threat of full-scale depression, may suddenly accelerate the printing of paper money and set off a new round of disastrous inflation. This would raise the danger of a hyperinflationary collapse, where the currency is good for wallpaper but little else. At best, of course, a new round of inflation could only postpone a depression.

In either case the huge U.S. military spending, though not the cause of the looming economic depression, threatens to accelerate its outbreak and increase its impact.

Military continues executions in Turkey

According to a report in *Hürriyet*, a Turkish daily published in New York, three people were executed in Buca Military Prison on March 16. This brings the number of executions by hanging to thirteen since the military took power in September 1980.

The three persons executed, Seyit Konuk, I. Ethem Coşkun, and Necati Vardar, had been sentenced to death by the Izmir Martial Law Court. They were members of the Turkish Communist Labor Party. More than 3,000 death sentences are being asked by the prosecutor in the ongoing trials in Turkey.

A press release from the Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in Turkey, based in New York, reports that a prison protest in December was suppressed by troops using tear gas. Four prisoners were killed.

Susan Sontag's conversion to anticommunism

BY HARRY RING

Susan Sontag's speech last month proved to be quite a media event.

A prominent critic and essayist known for her radicalism in the Vietnam War period, Sontag was a featured speaker at a February 6 meeting in New York City's Town Hall in support of Poland's Solidarity.

The event was publicized as a forum for radical intellectuals and unionists who wanted to speak out against the Polish crackdown without aiding President Reagan's demagogic exploitation of the issue.

Sontag took the occasion to deliver a virulent anticommunist speech and to assert that she and other radicals had been dupes of communism.

Time magazine devoted two-thirds of a page to Sontag's conversion.

The *New York Times* provided an extensive report of the meeting. It published a second article recounting the debate her speech sparked in intellectual circles.

The *New York Post*, an anticommunist gutter rag, ran a story on the meeting with a block-type headline pegged to her speech: "Communism = Fascism."

The *Los Angeles Times* reprinted her speech on its Op Ed page.

The *Washington Post* did an extensive feature on the debate around Sontag's speech.

A San Francisco *Chronicle* editorial welcomed her to the anticommunist fold.

In his syndicated column, right-winger William Buckley saluted her "courage."

Liberal anticommunist columnist James Wechsler wondered "where she had been so long."

The *New York Village Voice* devoted a number of articles to the speech.

The *Soho News*, a liberal weekly, ran the text of her speech. (Sontag initiated a damage suit because they did so without her permission.) The paper followed up with responses to the speech from academic and literary figures here and abroad.

The *Nation* magazine also ran Sontag's speech — with permission — and followed up with a similar symposium.

Why did Sontag's declaration of her conversion to anticommunism create such a media stir?

The right moment

For one thing, it came at a moment when the anticommunist campaign in this country around Poland was flagging. It was a few weeks after the government-sponsored "Let Poland Be Poland" extravaganza, which went over like the proverbial lead balloon.

And it had the added value of being the first such declaration by a significant intellectual figure in a good many years. It's obviously hoped that the Sontag stand will help speed up other liberal and radical intellectuals currently on a rightward course.

One might wonder how Sontag happened to be on the platform at the Town Hall meeting.

In a March 2 *Village Voice* article, Ralph Schoenman, principal organizer of the rally, said he felt "particularly aggrieved" because he had invited Sontag to speak. And he had explained to her that the meeting was being organized because it was "essential for the left to take up the cause of the Polish workers . . . and, above all, to deny to cold warriors the support of a workers' mass movement in Poland, which they would be the first to crush in the U.S."

Sontag, Schoenman said, declared her "full support for this approach."

And, he added, there was "no intima-

tion" that she intended to deliver her anticommunist tirade.

That may be. But Schoenman did know in advance about another anti-communist who was given the platform at the meeting.

In the same article, Schoenman describes his discussion with Joseph Brodsky, a right-wing Soviet dissident. Despite the declared left-wing purpose of the meeting, Brodsky had been invited to speak.

This exception was made, Schoenman explains, because Brodsky had been "supportive" of individual Polish exiles.

Brodsky, in discussing the program, demanded to know why "those ridiculous PATCO people" had been invited.

He accused Schoenman of wanting to have "liberal chestbeaters and fellow travelers up here."

Schoenman reports that his response to Brodsky was: "Don't feel obligated. You should only come if you feel that this is a place you want to be and a program with which you are comfortable."

Schoenman doesn't say why he didn't simply withdraw the invitation.

Forget El Salvador

In his speech at the meeting, Brodsky expressed irritation with those who spoke of Reagan's dirty war in El Salvador. The main issue, Brodsky advised, is containing the Soviet Union. He called on Reagan to impose a trade embargo on Poland.

Regarding Schoenman's aggrieved surprise at Sontag's performance, a certain skepticism is in order.

Sontag and Schoenman have known each other for years. Was he really totally oblivious of her political evolution?

Was he unaware that her latest book, *Under the Sign of Saturn*, is dedicated to Joseph Brodsky?

The invitations to Sontag and Brodsky, in the name of an undefined "unity of the left" against Stalinist repression, signified a substantial adaptation to the right.

Certainly there were worthwhile things said at the Town Hall meeting. Gregory Pardlo from the air traffic controllers and other unionists effectively exposed union-buster Reagan's crocodile tears for Solidarity. Paul Robeson, Jr., pointed to Solidarity's struggle as confirming that socialism and democracy were inseparable. Pete Seeger spoke in a similar vein.

But insofar as the public impact of the meeting was concerned, all this was drowned out by the media's almost total focus on Sontag's reactionary speech.

The propaganda blitz developed around the Sontag speech makes it obligatory for left opponents of her reactionary ideas to analyze and rebut them.

At Town Hall, Sontag insisted that she agreed with the purpose of the meeting. And she did attack Reagan as a union buster and the puppet master of the Salvadoran dictatorship.

But her attack on Reagan in relation to Poland — like that of her friend Brodsky — was from the right, not the left.

Like Brodsky, she flayed the "Western governments" — that is the imperialist governments — for continuing to refinance Polish bank loans and for not cutting off grain sales to the Soviet Union.

"That," Sontag bitterly declared, "is the kind of retaliating the Western democracies are prepared to make for the enslavement of Poland."

What kind of "retaliating" does Sontag favor?

An economic blockade of Poland and the Soviet Union by the Reagan-led "democracies"? Will that aid the Polish

workers' struggle, or simply compound their difficulties?

And if such a blockade failed to end their "enslavement," what next? Military retaliation?

Defending her thesis that "Communism is fascism," Sontag declared that the entire left is corrupt and bankrupt. Not just those on the left — and they are not just a few — who closed their eyes to the crimes of Stalinism or tried to justify them. But even those who did not.

"We tried to distinguish among communisms," Sontag declared, "for example treating Stalinism, which we disavowed, as if it were an aberration."

To buttress her claim that communism equals fascism, Sontag argued, "The similarities between the Polish military junta and the right-wing dictatorships in Chile, Argentina, and other South American countries are obvious."

Putting aside the question of whether the repressive regimes in South America are military dictatorships or fascist regimes, Sontag here displayed a total lack of comprehension of what fascism — or communism — actually is.

For Marxists, it is essential to distinguish as precisely as possible between differing social systems and differing states and governments. It's not a matter of semantics, or idle theoretical speculation. Such criteria are indispensable if you're determined to help change the world. You have to know what you're fighting for and what you're fighting against — how to fight effectively for what you want and against what you don't want.

The key to this problem, for Marxists, is a materialist analysis, a class analysis. This is totally absent from Sontag's approach.

For example, there are currently repressive regimes in Argentina and Poland. But in Argentina you have capitalism. In Poland you don't.

In Poland capitalism was overturned following World War II, and a workers state — a bureaucratically deformed one — replaced it.

A class difference

So the difference between Argentina and Poland is substantial. In Argentina, the military discharges its responsibility of preserving capitalism. It is in step with the capitalist class.



Polish workers demonstrate for an workers did emerge victorious, the r

In Poland, the privileged bureaucracy is a major obstacle to the advancement of the workers state towards socialism. Its interests conflict with those of the workers.

Those looking at it superficially will argue, "But what's the difference? The workers have no rights in Poland or Argentina."

That's like arguing there's no difference between slavery and wage labor.

The capitalist exploitation of wage labor is intense. And in many cases it means the most brutal repression for the workers. Yet, as counterposed to slavery, or feudalism, capitalism represented an historic advance for humanity.

The same holds true for the countries of the world where capitalism has been abolished — the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba.

That is the case even though Cuba the only one of these countries where workers democracy prevails.

Fascism equals communism, declares Sontag.

Nothing could be further from the reality. Fascism, which arose in its classic form in Italy and Germany, represents the total crisis of capitalism and the manipulation by fascist demagogues of a socially disoriented middle class as a battering ram against the organized working class.

In that sense, fascism is also different from military dictatorships that are imposed when capitalism cannot "afford" democracy. Fascism is a far deeper form of repression because, at least in its first period, it maintains power not simply with a military club, but with a mass-based counterrevolutionary movement.

What base?

Can anyone seriously argue that the regime in Poland has a mass base? It rules primarily by armed force, and even that would be insufficient if it were not backed by the potential use of Soviet troops.

And, not only is communism not equal to fascism, but what you have in Poland is not communism. Genuine communism — a classless society of cooperative producers — remains humanity's great liberating goal. We have yet to achieve anywhere even a socialist society, which Marx described as a society of economic superabundance where conflicting class antagonisms have been reduced to a minimum and the state is in the process of withering away.

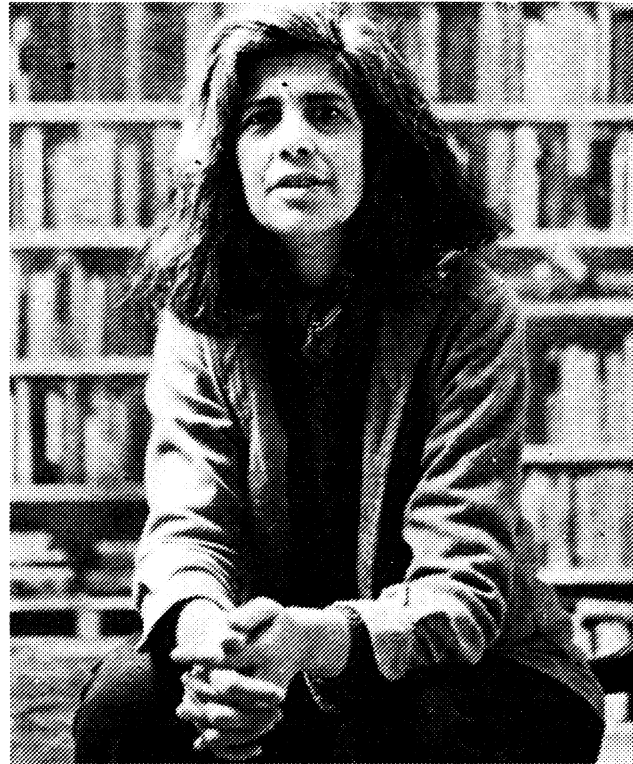
Poland is a workers state. That is, it is a state where the principal means of production are no longer privately owned, where there is planned production, not production for profit.

But Poland is obviously not a healthy workers state. From the outset the Polish revolution has been dominated by Kremlin-sponsored bureaucrats who utilize their positions of power to ensure themselves substantial material privi-

POLAND Workers in Revolt

By Dave Frankel,
DeAnn Rathbun,
and Ernest Harsch

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



and to bureaucratic rule. Susan Sontag says she is opposed to the repression of Solidarity but warns that if the Polish sult would not be socialist democracy but something no better than what they have now.

lege in the midst of general scarcity. Because they are a parasitic drain on the economy — and incompetent bureaucratic mismanagers to boot — they cannot abide workers democracy. That's why they have fought Solidarity so savagely.

And because the bureaucrats' political rule is so costly and oppressive, the Polish workers and farmers can be relied on to continue the struggle by any means necessary. The battle in Poland is far from over.

The Polish workers are not struggling against "communism." They are fighting to democratize a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

There may be varying degrees of political consciousness among the Polish workers — varying degrees of Marxist understanding, if you will — but they are not fighting for the restoration of capitalism.

Waiting for GM?

The workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, the militant miners in Silesia, the Polish workers as a whole, are not looking for the arrival of capitalists to take over their nationalized enterprises. They want to take control of them and run them themselves — democratically.

In short, despite the present setback, the Polish workers are in the process of making a political revolution. That is, the logic of their movement is to overthrow the bureaucratic regime in Warsaw and replace it with democratic institutions of the workers.

The term political revolution is key. It distinguishes the process from the kind of revolution needed in capitalist countries, that is, a social revolution to eliminate private ownership of industry.

Sontag's failure to grasp such a class, or Marxist, approach to the political revolution in Poland stems, not from a non-class approach, but from an anti-working-class approach.

Sontag not only despises Poland's bureaucratic hacks. She fears and despises the Polish working class as well.

In her response to critics in the February 27 *Nation*, she bitterly declares:

"Neither the ruling elites nor the enslaved and disaffected people of Eastern Europe can be called 'Marxist'; and if and when these oppressed manage to overthrow their tyrants, it will not, I fear, be to embrace an alternative of our liking.

"What is brewing in Eastern Europe is not democratic socialism. The centrality of a particularly fervent Catholicism to Solidarity is not an accident or an instance of cultural lag; and, in Russia, among those who are not cynics or merely demoralized, new converts to religious fundamentalism outnumber the liberals and democratic socialists a thousand to one. . . .

"Is it now proved that we have been wrong to be hopeful that out of Communism something much better might

emerge? Yes, it is now proved. We were wrong. It is the people who live in those countries who tell us that."

So much for Sontag's solidarity with Solidarity.

Response to Sontag

But what of her critics? I speak here of those who responded to her in the pages of the *Nation* and *Soho News*.

These include a range of intellectual figures and political writers, some radical, some quasi-radical, and some liberal. Plus there are others who speak in the name of liberalism or even socialism but in actuality postulate unadulterated, right-wing anticommunism.

Daniel Singer, a Polish writer now resident in Paris, makes a particularly cogent point in the *Nation* symposium. He notes that Susan Sontag, Leonid Brezhnev, Polish General Jaruzelski, and Reagan all agree on one point — that what you have today in Poland is "communism." And, Singer adds, "They apparently also agree that there can be no other Communism than that."

He caustically adds, "Her [Sontag] other catchy definition, 'fascism with a human face' was obviously meant for stubborn suckers like myself who refuse to swallow the cheap, fashionable equation between Marx and the barbed wire."

Singer's point is buttressed by the historical fact of Marx's political work, as well as his writing. And by the fact that Stalinism was able to come to power in the Soviet Union — and then imposed elsewhere — only on the basis of mortal struggle against genuine communists.

A slashing rejoinder to Sontag is offered in the *Soho News* by Columbia University Prof. Edward Said, a Palestinian.

Said observes that it is the responsibility of intellectuals to respond first of all to "what is closest to them," U.S. policy. Otherwise, he declares, "they become willing agents of the state, legitimizers of its policies."

"Above all," Said declares, "it is not for intellectuals to be amateur national security advisers, certifiers of patriotism, or unpaid voices of America."

Solidarity with Palestinians

He concretizes that stern admonition by citing the horrendous crimes of the Washington-sponsored Israeli regime against the Palestinian people.

"So far as I know," Said wrote, "no right-thinking group of prominent American intellectuals has met at Town Hall to protest the denial of Palestinian rights."

Is it too much to say, he inquires, that Poland's "present misery has been the occasion for much hypocrisy and bad faith?"

Unfortunately such voices as those of Said and Singer are a distinct minority in the *Nation-Soho News* symposia. Several other contributors reject Sontag's

equation of communism and fascism but offer few cogent arguments against her.

Others — writer Diana Trilling and *Nation* editorial board member Aryeh Neier — chide Sontag for tardiness in joining the ranks of the "democratic" anticommunists.

With some of the contributors, the line is a more hard-nosed anticommunism.

"The situation in Poland alarms me more than the one in El Salvador," worries Prof. Julia Kristeva.

Ben Wattenberg, coeditor of *Public Opinion*, opines that such regimes as the one in El Salvador may not be as free as "we would wish," but, "do any of those nations target their missiles on America? Are they really as unfree as the Soviet-style totalitarian countries? If you're harassed in Chile these days you can leave, but can you leave if you're harassed in Russia?"

Welcoming Sontag to the anticommunist ranks, Prof. Seymour Martin Lipset — also once a radical — advises of the need "to recognize that Western society, including the United States, is more humane, more progressive . . . than any and all of the regimes that call themselves communist."

"Those who seek utopias," Lipset warns, "are the true villains."

Another disgusting contribution to the discussion was provided by Christopher Hitchens, a contributing editor of the *Nation*.

'Good' anticommunism

Hitchens assures that he sees no sign that Sontag has moved "noticeably" to the irrational anticommunism of "the bad old days."

He adds that people can defend the Polish workers "without any throat-clearing about El Salvador."

He says: "Surely I am not the only socialist who finds comparisons between Solidarity and the fate of PATCO to be grotesque? The rights of highly paid Reaganite air controllers may have been violated, but the rights of Polish coal miners and shipbuilders have been abolished." (Emphasis in original.)

I would submit that Hitchens is as much a socialist as General Jaruzelski is a communist.

Someone who is unwilling to even "clear his throat" for the Salvadoran rebels and PATCO strikers has no moral or political claim to being a socialist. At the same time, such people are a deadly obstacle in the fight against Stalinism.

Stalinism can be fully comprehended only in the context of the international class struggle — the fight of the world's workers and peasants against capitalism and imperialism.

The whole thrust of world history today is away from capitalism and towards socialism. The rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and its damaging effects, there and elsewhere, was a product of defeats and setbacks for the world

working class. The problem of Stalinism will find a progressive resolution only in the context of the fight against capitalism and for socialism.

In explaining the political degeneration that occurred in the Soviet Union with the rise of Stalinism, Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian revolution, likened the revolutionary process to a trade union that had achieved state power.

And, with the emergence of Stalinism, he likened the process to the bureaucratization of a previously healthy union with a class struggle perspective.

Such bureaucrats, he explained, do a terrible disservice to the unions. They not only suppress democracy in order to protect their privileged positions, but they work consciously to achieve a status quo relationship with the employers.

The bureaucrats recognize that the ranks of a union which fights militantly to preserve and extend its gains is not likely to tolerate for long a conservative, parasitic bureaucracy.

Antibureaucratic strategy

The question is posed for members of bureaucratically dominated unions, how can we get rid of these hacks who loot the union treasury, deny the members a voice, and make sellout deals with the employers?

Point number one, of course, for serious unionists, is to conduct the fight in such a way that it gives no aid or comfort to the employers, nor to their mock concern about labor bureaucratism, which they use to discredit unionism.

Point number two is that the bureaucrats can be fought effectively only in the context of deepening the fight against the employers. Those who aren't ready to take on the bosses will hardly be effective against people who are essentially the bosses' agents within the union.

When rank-and-file unionists are locked in combat with a bureaucratic gang, all partisans of militant, democratic unionism will rally behind them.

But these workers don't need help from people who are antiunion, who advise that unionism is the root of the problem, that bureaucratism is an "inherent" feature of unionism.

Nor do workers need the help of liberals who assure that they're very much prounion, but simply concerned that maybe there's a problem of "big labor" vs. big capital; and who maybe believe it is a bit utopian to think that ordinary workers can take control of their unions and give the bosses a run for their money.

Similarly with the fight against Stalinism, it takes consistent, revolutionary socialists to fight that bureaucratic monstrosity without giving an inch to the capitalist rulers and their politicians.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the organizers of the Town Hall meeting rejected a request from the Socialist Workers Party for a speaker at the meeting.

This although the SWP stands in full solidarity with the Polish workers and has fought Stalinism from its inception without ever compromising with capitalism.

Poor excuse

The explanation given was rather thin — there would be no representatives of organizations on the platform. That may have been the formality, but the views of such organizations as the reformist Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee were presented at the meeting.

Continued on Page 16

'Workers fear that El Salvador could be another Vietnam'

SWP puts antiwar fight at center of party's work

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — How can the socialist movement reach out to politically awakening workers and farmers with its proposals for solving the big problems facing all the victims of the capitalist crisis?

This question was at the center of discussions at the Socialist Workers Party National Committee (NC) meeting, held here from February 27–March 4.

During the six full days of deliberations, the meeting examined the response of working people in this country and around the world to the imperialists' war and austerity drive, particularly the development of massive opposition to U.S. intervention in the Caribbean and Central America.

About 175 people attended the meeting, including steelworkers, rail workers, coal miners, and garment workers; organizers of SWP branches, locals, and districts; and guests from other countries.

All out March 27!

The NC decided that the main immediate task of all SWP branches, working with the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), was continuing to build the March 27 demonstrations against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The NC also voted to make March 27 the beginning of an ambitious twelve-week *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM) sales drive, with a weekly goal of 4,500 papers.

The sales drive will culminate on June 12, when a big disarmament demonstration will occur at the United Nations. The meeting viewed this as an important action for forces fighting against U.S. intervention in Central America to build and participate in.

NC member Matilde Zimmermann gave a report on the U.S. war drive in Central America and the Caribbean. She had just returned from a year in Nicaragua as a correspondent for the *Militant* and *PM*.

Ruling-class divisions

Zimmermann explained that a big majority of working people in this country view El Salvador as the beginning of another Vietnam — and they don't like it.

The massive anti-interventionist sentiment that is developing among the American people "has a section of the United States ruling class worried," Zimmermann said.

"They're not sure that Reagan can get away with an unpopular war in Central America at the same time that he's carrying out an offensive against working people in this country. So a real debate — a real tactical division — has opened up inside the ruling class over *how best to crush* these developing revolutions."

Zimmermann gave examples of how this tactical division allows some of the truth to leak out about the brutality of the U.S.-backed forces in El Salvador. This in turn has further fueled antiwar sentiment.

But despite this opposition, Reagan is plunging ahead, Zimmermann warned, "because the FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] in El Salvador is starting to win the war against the junta."

Throughout the meeting, NC members made it clear that the war drive is the key question on the minds of their co-workers. The discussion also reflected the SWP's and YSA's deep involvement in the developing antiwar movement.

A report on the Black struggle by political committee member Mac Warren pointed to the increasing involvement of the National Black Independent Political

Party (NBIPP) in the fight against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. He also noted NBIPP's increasing links with the revolutionary leaderships in Cuba and Grenada.

There was a separate report and discussion on the international fight against imperialist militarism.

Poland, Iran, and imperialism

Cindy Jaquith, co-editor of the *Militant*, reported on the SWP's continuing support for the Iranian revolution, and the need to combat Washington's counterrevolutionary campaign against that anti-imperialist struggle.

Political committee member Larry Seigle reported on Poland. The meeting voted to reaffirm the SWP's support for Solidarity's struggle to democratize the Polish workers state, and to actively counter the imperialists' anticommunist propaganda campaign, carried out under the cover of phony support for Solidarity.

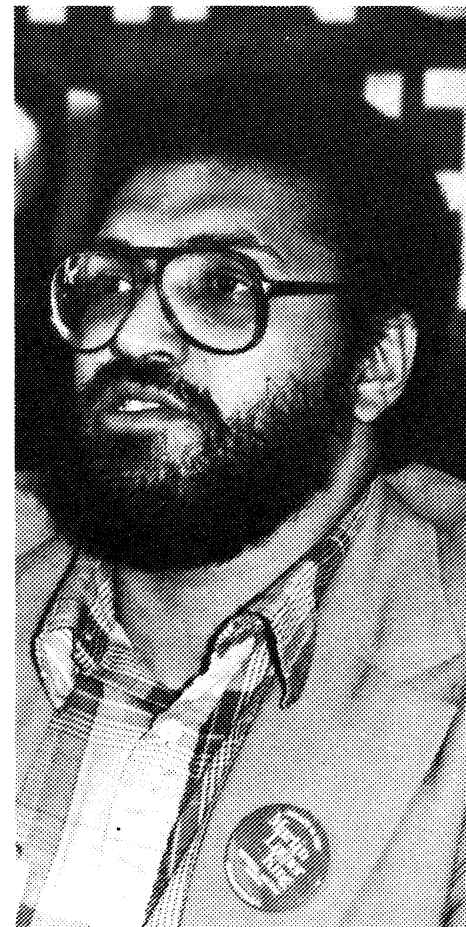
Prevent 'new Cubas'

In the report on the U.S. political situation and the trade unions, SWP National Cochairperson Malik Miah explained, "Washington must find the means to prevent what Reagan called 'new Cubas' from arising.

"Understanding this reality sets the framework for working-class politics today in the trade unions, the Black movement, Chicano struggle, women's movement, and all aspects of political life. The capitalist class's drive against working people, the brutal austerity policy of Reagan, what he calls the 'new federalism,' and direct attacks on the labor movement and democratic rights are totally linked to and an integral part of this war-drive.

"Many of the capitalists, as reflected in the pages of the *New York Times* in particular, are concerned that a direct military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean could kill their new federalism program."

Miah pointed out, "This new program



Militant/Lou Howort

SWP National Cochairperson Malik Miah gave report on U.S. political situation and the state of the labor movement. Workers here are beginning to fight back against Reagan offensive, and are looking for political alternatives.

is perhaps the most antilabor, anti-Black, antiwoman budget ever presented by the ruling class in this country."

But Miah stressed that the rulers' offensive was not a one-sided fight. The most important thing to note is the impact that the attacks are having on workers' consciousness about key questions like war, racism, and discrimination against women. There is increasing openness to considering class-struggle solutions.

Miah explained that despite the rottenness of the current leaderships of the unions, the Black movement, and the women's movement, struggles against war, cutbacks, racism, union busting, and speedup have erupted. Socialist workers have been involved in many of these struggles.

Young socialists have joined hundreds of thousands of their generation in not registering for the military draft, as a way of expressing opposition to Washington's war moves.

Party of entire working class

Garment workers from New York and Los Angeles who attended the meeting testified to the openness of their co-workers to socialist ideas. Some garment workers have joined the YSA.

Being in garment shops has put the SWP and YSA in touch with an especially exploited section of the working class, including a large layer of Spanish-speaking workers from many different countries. This is an important step toward making the SWP a party of the *entire* U.S. working class.

This increasing contact with Latino workers is how José Pérez, editor of *PM*, motivated adopting *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores* as the official name of the party in Spanish. The YSA recently adopted *Alianza de la Juventud Socialista* as the YSA's name in Spanish.

Pérez reiterated the importance of all SWP and YSA members learning Spanish in order to more easily discuss with Spanish-speaking workers.

Being part of the garment workforce in the United States also puts the socialist movement more in the center of the fight to defend undocumented workers from government and employer harassment and the threat of deportation. SWP members are among those workers that the government is trying to throw out of the country.

The SWP and YSA are also in the thick of the struggle against stepped-up attacks on the democratic rights of unionists, particularly in plants that have Pentagon contracts. Socialists have been among the first targets of the increasing use of government-employer political police to get rid of union militants, and to intimidate the entire union movement.

Miah's report stressed that this struggle must be waged by the unions themselves, and defense of these militants must be one of the central activities that socialists discuss in their unions.

Workers and farmers government

A report on the countryside and U.S. agriculture was given by *Militant* co-editor Doug Jenness. Jenness painted a picture of the key economic and political role agriculture plays in this country and internationally.

The NC then approved a report by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes proposing that the demand for a workers and farmers government be brought more to the forefront of the party's program.

Barnes explained that working people will not be able to conquer political power without a firm alliance between the urban and rural toilers. And in times of



Militant/Lou Howort

Matilde Zimmermann, *Militant* correspondent recently returned from Nicaragua, reported to SWP leadership meeting on U.S. war drive in Central America. U.S. rulers are divided over how best to carry out assault on revolutions abroad and workers in this country.

deepening social crisis, like today, the government directly carries out the employers' attacks against the oppressed and exploited. This poses more sharply the need for workers and farmers to unite to replace the present government of big business, bankers, and landlords.

The central way that the SWP and YSA will get out their view on what kind of government is needed is through the 1982 SWP election campaigns. Virtually every branch of the SWP will be running candidates against the Democrats and Republicans. These campaigns will explain that capitalism is the problem, and the need to form a labor party based on the unions to fight for a government that represents those who produce the wealth, not those who own it.

Mason for governor

A report on the party's tasks by political committee member Craig Gannon outlined the big opportunities to get a hearing for the ideas of socialism among Blacks, Latinos, women, youth, and all working people. For that reason, Gannon explained, the party's election campaigns are at the center of all the party's activities.

Several of the reports took up the special opportunities presented by the independent campaign of SWP National Committee member Mel Mason for governor of California. Mason, an elected city councilman in Seaside, California, is also a national leader of the National Black Independent Political Party.

Mason described the support he's already received from working people, particularly Blacks, who don't want to support ex-cop Thomas Bradley. Bradley is seeking the Democratic Party nomination.

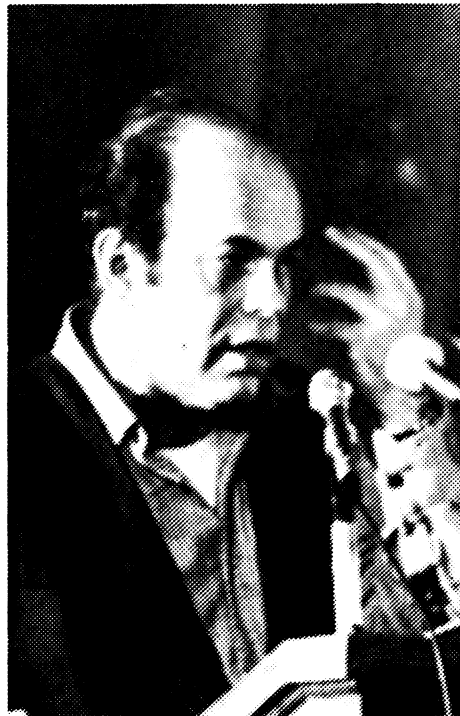
To get Mason's name on the ballot, campaign supporters will have to collect well over 150,000 signatures.

Summer educational conference

The meeting approved a report by Steve Clark, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, that proposed the party continue to focus its educational work for the coming months on an intensive study of the writings of V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Russian revolution.

The meeting also voted to have the next national gathering of the SWP and YSA in Oberlin, Ohio, July 31–August 7. It will be a national educational and activists conference, and will be a place for class-struggle fighters from every movement to discuss together and learn together.

Polish regime fears workers' resistance



Prominent Solidarity figures Jacek Kuron (left) and Adam Michnik (right) have been singled out for slander campaign by official Polish press.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

"If the lid is opened, the genie will jump out. But if we keep it shut, the bottle may explode."

That is the dilemma facing the martial law regime of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, as described in a recent article by government spokesperson Jerzy Urban.

In other words, more than three months after Jaruzelski's December 13 declaration of a state of war, the Solidarity union movement — the "genie" — is still a significant force to be reckoned with, one that has maintained its wide support among Polish working people.

Jaruzelski and the other bureaucrats who rule Poland fear that if martial law is lifted, workers will be emboldened to resume their massive struggle for workers democracy. On the other hand, the authorities are also aware that martial law by itself cannot make the genie go away, and could simply lead to a further sharpening of social tensions.

The pressures bearing down on the regime were evident at the February 24-25 Central Committee plenum of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), the first since martial law was declared. Jaruzelski rebuked the wing of the party that has been pressing for even harsher repressive policies. But he also insisted that martial law would remain in effect, blaming its continuation on "tensions, acts of extravagance and poster campaigns" — that is, the workers' resistance.

Jaruzelski: floats 'union' scheme

In an effort to undercut this resistance, Jaruzelski and other officials have repeatedly claimed that they favor the restoration of full trade-union rights. In his Central Committee speech, for instance, Jaruzelski maintained that "powerful, independent, and self-governed unions" could help manage the country, as long as they "absolutely respect the system's socialist principles."

In its nearly one and a half years of open existence, Solidarity did just that. The authorities, however, equate respect for "socialist principles" with respect for their own undemocratic methods and material privileges. Since Solidarity challenged bureaucratic rule, it was branded "antisocialist."

Just what Jaruzelski had in mind when he spoke about "self-governed unions" was spelled out a few days before the opening of the plenum. A special government committee, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, released a "discussion document" on the future role of trade unions in Poland.

The right to strike would be recognized, but only in a restricted form. "Territorial structures" would not be allowed, a reference to the way Solidarity

was organized geographically, involving all workers in a general union rather than dividing them up by industry or occupation.

According to the document, the "organizational principles, structure and practical functioning of the trade unions must guarantee that they will remain just a trade union, without any ambitions to play the role of a political party."

While Solidarity was not a political party, neither did it confine itself to shop-floor issues. It addressed key social, economic, and political questions affecting working people in Poland. That is something the authorities are violently opposed to.

Zbigniew Bujak, a top Solidarity leader who has managed to evade arrest, termed the government's trade-union proposals "unacceptable" in a message to foreign journalists dated February 24.

"The government is imposing its own concept of trade unions onto society," Bujak said. "They want trade unions subjected to the Communist Party. Such

a union structure and the scope of its proposed responsibilities excludes outright the possibility of independent activity."

Bujak's rejection of the regime's phony trade-union schemes is universal among Solidarity leaders, both among those in detention and at liberty. Not one prominent leader has thus far come forward to support them, despite the enormous pressures they face.

Trials and fabrications

Unsuccessful in winning over any significant collaborators, Jaruzelski has continued to rely on repression in the hopes of breaking or wearing down the workers' opposition.

Of the thousands of unionists, student leaders, political activists, and intellectuals picked up in the weeks immediately following the declaration of martial law, the regime acknowledges that more than 4,000 are still in internment camps around the country, being held without charge. In addition, according to an Interior Ministry official, 1,650 had been brought to trial as of March 1 for violations of the martial-law regulations, including organizing strikes or demonstrations.

A virulent slander campaign is under way against some of those interned, as a possible prelude to their being brought to trial. The official news media has singled out such prominent figures as Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, and Bronislaw Geremek, at times using some of the foulest anti-Semitic invective.

Especially ominous have been the regime's attempts to portray opponents of the bureaucracy as "terrorists." It claimed, for instance, that an underground group was behind the killing of a policeman.

Solidarity leaders, however, have made their rejection of terrorist methods absolutely clear, urging their followers to avoid any acts of resistance that could lead to bloodshed and to avoid police attempts to provoke them.

One Solidarity leaflet, issued in Krakow, warned, "Based on fabrications about terrorism, the authorities may attempt — through their own terrorist ac-

tions — to eliminate some Solidarity activists."

Since February, there have been a number of open displays of opposition to the regime, including street demonstrations in Gdansk and Poznan, a workers rally in Swidnik, and student actions in Krakow and Wroclaw.

On March 13, to mark the third month of martial law, some 100 Solidarity activists in Warsaw staged vocal protest in the Grand Opera house against a singer accused of collaborating with the authorities.

Since all street demonstrations are outlawed under martial law, the country's churches have become frequent sites for the expression of opposition views.

On February 18, for instance, some 1,500 students gathered for a mass in Warsaw to mark the first anniversary of the official registration of the Independent Students Association (NZS), which has since been banned by the authorities. On March 14, in one of the largest public assemblies since martial law was declared, more than 20,000 people rallied outside a church in the Warsaw suburb of Ursus. At it, Archbishop Jozef Glemp called for the release of Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa and other detained activists.

Leaflets and bulletins are being distributed throughout the country. Although the authorities have been able to suppress a few of them, others have sprung up.

At the PUWP Central Committee plenum, one member from the Silesian coal mining region, Zbigniew Hanff, complained that many antigovernment leaflets were still being distributed. "Enough of this," he insisted.

Foreign journalists who visited the Wujek coal mine in Katowice — where nine miners were killed by police in December — were able to talk to some of the workers.

"If Solidarity is restored, everybody will join it," one miner said. "But if they try to replace it with an official Communist-dominated union, then we have all agreed that we will have nothing to do with it."

From Intercontinental Press

South African troops invade Angola

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Encouraged by the increasingly warm ties between racist South Africa and the Reagan administration, troops of the apartheid regime again struck into Angola on March 13.

According to the South African authorities, the troops were dropped by helicopter into the Cambeno Valley, fourteen miles inside Angola, where they stayed for several days. They claim to have killed 200 guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is fighting for the independence of Namibia.

Every time the white supremacist South African regime has conducted an attack into Angola, it has claimed that its targets were purely military. But most of the time they are actually Namibian refugee camps or Angolan villages.

This latest intervention in Angola comes just two weeks after the White House announced that it was lifting earlier restrictions on American sales to the South African police and military.

Following the attack, the Reagan administration refused to specifically condemn it. Instead, the State Department declared, "We continue to deplore any escalation of violence in that region from any quarter."

When Namibian refugees are gunned down or Angolan villages bombed, when Angola's sovereignty is repeatedly violated, Washington's response is to place equal blame on the victims — while systematically increasing its own ties with

the South African aggressors and blocking any attempts to impose United Nations-sponsored sanctions against them in retaliation for their barbaric attacks.

This U.S. policy can only be taken in Pretoria as a green light for its murderous assaults against neighboring countries.

In Namibia, whose peoples are conducting a struggle for freedom from South African rule, the apartheid authorities have launched a massive terror campaign. This has been particularly brutal in the more heavily populated northern regions near the Angolan border. South African troops have driven some 50,000 Namibians out of their homes there, closed down schools, and massacred villagers thought to be sympathetic to SWAPO.

Because the Angolan government has given sanctuary to Namibian refugees and freedom fighters, and because it backs SWAPO's struggle, the South African forces have not stopped at the border.

Ever since the defeat of the first South African invasion of Angola in 1975-76 — when Cuban troops helped the Angolan government forces drive the invaders back — Pretoria has been conducting an undeclared war against Angola.

Its troops and planes have systematically struck into Angola, often hundreds of miles deep, to bomb factories, bridges, roads, villages, livestock herds, and other targets. Thousands have been killed

and tens of thousands made homeless.

According to a report prepared by a fact-finding mission of the European Economic Community, in 1981 alone South African forces carried out 50 bombing operations, 53 troop landings by helicopter and 4 by parachute, and 34 ground attacks. This is in addition to 1,617 spy flights over Angola, and South African assistance to terrorist bands belonging to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a proimperialist group that is fighting to overthrow the Angolan government.

The unit that carried out the attack in the Cambeno Valley was from the South African Thirty-second Battalion, which is particularly known for its terrorist actions. It is recruited primarily from among former members of the proimperialist Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA), and is officered by whites, including mercenaries.

A white deserter from the battalion last year described its methods of operation in southern Angola: "Our main job is to take an area and clear it. We sweep through it and we kill everything in front of us, cattle, goats, people, everything. . . ."

"Sometimes we take locals for questioning. It's rough. We just beat them, cut them, burn them. As soon as we're finished with them, we kill them."

These are the forces that the Reagan administration is allied with.

From Intercontinental Press

Sam Gordon, longtime socialist, dies; was founding member of SWP

BY FRANK LOVELL

Sam Gordon, a founder and leading member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International for many years, died of cancer in London on March 12. He would have been seventy-two on May 5, the birth date of Karl Marx — a coincidence that always pleased Sam.

Sam was born in Poland in 1910. When he was two years old the family moved to Vienna, Austria, where it lived until Sam was ten. He remained fluent in German for the rest of his life, even though he was brought to the United States at an early age. He also quickly learned English as if it were his native tongue. He lived here until 1952, when he moved to Britain with his British-born wife Mildred, an activist in the British Labor Party.

Sam's political education began in the United States at an early age. He became interested in Marxism and considered himself a communist while a student at the College of the City of New York (CCNY, then known as "City College") in 1927-28. It was there that he first made contact with Trotskyist ideas in the Social Problems Club. This was an authorized campus organization dominated by the Young Communist League (YCL), which then was becoming Stalinized. Sam later wrote that the faculty sponsor of the Social Problems Club, Professor Jesse Clarkson, promoted skepticism when it came to official Kremlin policy and "pricked many a Stalinist bubble."

In this way Sam and others at CCNY became interested in the issues posed by the faction struggles inside the U.S. Communist Party. While still a student he heard James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the Communist Party and later of the Trotskyist movement in the United States, speak on internationalism and communism. Cannon argued against the pernicious Stalinist theory of subordinating the world revolution to building "socialism in one country." That talk and the speaker made a lasting impression and changed the life of the young student.

In 1929 some of the City College students took a close look at the revolutionary process then unfolding in Germany, the struggle for power between the working-class movement and the fascist efforts to crush it.

Through his YCL associates Sam was able to make a pier-head jump on a freighter and worked his way to Hamburg, Germany, where he jumped ship. From Hamburg he went to Berlin. There he found a job, did "a lot of reading and studying," and participated in demonstrations. In Berlin he joined the Trotskyist Left Opposition at age nineteen, and began writing to the *Militant*.

Served on 'Militant' staff

On his return to the United States in 1930 he joined the Communist League of America and established a close political and personal relationship with Cannon, the national secretary of the CLA. Sam became a member of the *Militant* staff, working both as a printer and a writer. He also served as acting editor for several months when he was only twenty-one. It was a big responsibility for a young man, but he had the help and encouragement of Cannon. His memoir about the early years of the CLA is one of the best chapters in the book, *James P. Cannon As We Knew Him* (Pathfinder Press, 1976).

In 1932 he was co-opted onto the national committee of the CLA, and in 1934 he was elected to that committee, on which he served for almost twenty years. During that time he functioned as branch organizer in several cities — including Boston, Cleveland, and New York — and as a member of the political committee.

Sam was a leader in the unemploy-

ment movements in the 1930s — in the Stalinist-controlled National Unemployed Councils in Cleveland, in the National Unemployed Leagues in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and in the Workers Alliance of America in New York.

From the early days in the CLA he took a special interest in trade union work. He helped the garment fraction in its struggle to develop a rank-and-file program of action. The goal was to appeal to communist workers trapped in the ultraleft Stalinist "red trade unions," and at the same time avoid the class-collaborationist pitfalls of the social-democratic officialdom of the AFL needle-trades unions. The CLA's union strategy was to work within the mainstream of the labor movement to transform the old AFL unions into class-struggle organizations.

The Stalinists abandoned their dual-union policy of building "revolutionary" unions outside of the AFL in 1935. Sam then became involved in a continuing and eventually successful struggle to oust the corrupt, class-collaborationist, Stalinist leadership in the Painters union in New York. He edited a rank-and-file paper in the union and worked closely with a broad opposition caucus.

Work in the maritime industry

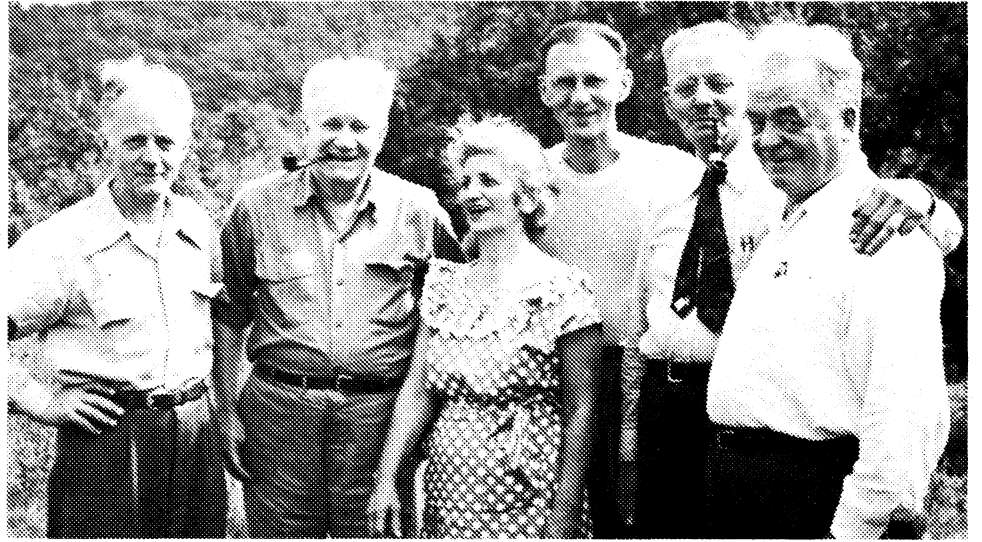
I first met Sam in New York in 1938, when his time was mostly taken up with the fight in the Painters union. But he also was interested in the work of our members in the maritime industry. His younger brother Lou was a sailor, and at the time I had been sailing for a couple of years. The three of us often reviewed the problems confronting our maritime members. Later on, during World War II, Sam shipped out and became a member of the union too. We were then members of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, and he was an effective organizer and speaker for us. He effectively explained our antiwar politics and the dangers facing the union movement at that time.

His experience in the unemployed movements of the early 1930s and his training in the Trotskyist movement had prepared him for this. His talents were quickly recognized, and for a time he edited the union's official publication, *Seafarer Log*. This soon led to sharp differences between him and the top officialdom of the union so he was glad to get away from the union office and back aboard ship. In the meantime, he had established his authority and reliability as a representative of the needs of the rank-and-file seamen. This in turn helped our members in the union to recruit some more sailors to our party.

During World War II Sam, along with Joseph Hansen and other politically experienced party members, helped guide our work in maritime. As a seaman Sam was one of the first to establish or reestablish contact between the SWP and sections of the Fourth International in other parts of the world.

With the outbreak of World War II the center of the Fourth International was transferred from Europe to the United States. When the International Executive Committee was reconstituted in this country in September 1939, Sam was elected its administrative secretary. He served in this capacity when the FI held an emergency world conference in New York in May 1940. He was elected to the IEC at that conference, and was part of a delegation that visited Leon Trotsky the following month to discuss wartime perspectives. The stenographic text of these discussions is printed in *Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1939-1940* (Pathfinder Press). Aspects of these discussions are mentioned by Sam in his 1976 tribute to Cannon.

The enactment of reactionary legislation by the U.S. Congress (the Voorhis Act) compelled the SWP to disaffiliate from the Fourth International at the



Militant/Joseph Hansen

Sam Gordon, founding member of Socialist Workers Party, stands at rear in 1949 photo of early SWP leaders. From left are Arne Swabeck, James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner, Gordon, Oscar Coover Sr., Carl Skoglund.

end of 1940. But our party remained in political solidarity with the FI, and Gordon, like other SWP leaders, continued to work in collaboration with the International. In 1946 Sam was a fraternal delegate of the SWP to an international conference in Paris, which decided to move the center back to Europe.

Victim of witch-hunt

Sam had expected to continue his close collaboration with the international center when he moved to Britain in 1952. But he fell victim to the political reaction of the 1950s in the United States and his U.S. passport was revoked. He was also hounded by the British authorities.

In 1957 he managed to return and reestablish his status as a naturalized citizen. Finally, in 1960 he regained a proper U.S. passport as a result of his service in the U.S. Merchant Marine during World War II. But by this time he had adjusted to life in Britain. He was the father of a young son, David. Mildred, because of her political activity in Britain, was barred by the McCarran Act from entering this country even if the family at that time had wished to move.

During his thirty years in Britain, Sam in the first period supported and helped implement the policy of Trotskyist entry into the British Labor Party, and worked closely with the British section of the Fourth International, then headed by Gerry Healy.

In 1953 the international Trotskyist movement split. One of the several issues involved was Stalinism, including whether the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe could reform themselves. The U.S. and British sections defended the orthodox Trotskyist position that these reactionary regimes were incapable of self-reform, that a political revolution is necessary to win control of government by the working class in these deformed workers states. Sam continued his close collaboration with the British Trotskyists, hoping for a reunification of the international movement.

There was a convergence of views in the international on Eastern Europe following the 1956 Hungarian revolution. Reunification occurred in 1963 as a result of agreement on the class character of the Cuban workers state, and recognition that the revolutionary regime in Cuba was different than those in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

By this time, however, Healy and his followers in Britain had left the Labor Party and embarked on a thoroughly sectarian course. They refused to participate in the reunified Fourth International, expressing disagreement on Cuba.

Sam, for his part, welcomed the reunification of the International and helped in every way he could to rebuild the

British Trotskyist movement. He recognized that the revolutionary party could not go around the reformist-led Labor Party, but should fight to transform it into an instrument of revolutionary struggle. He remained as always very supportive of his wife, Mildred, who was on occasion a Labor Party candidate and consistently an ardent party worker.

In 1963 Sam underwent surgery for cancer of the thyroid. The thyroid was removed four years later, and he never completely recovered.

Most of his life in Britain Sam worked as a proofreader on the London *Times* and was a member of the Typographical Union, as he had been in the United States. The two segments of the union have no formal affiliation, a fact that Sam often used in conversations with co-workers to illustrate the provincialism of national unions and the need for workers of all countries to unite politically and economically to destroy the evils of international capitalism.

Sam retired from the London *Times* in 1975 at age sixty-five. Despite his ill health and advancing years, he continued his political and intellectual activity. During these remaining years he met frequently with political activists and helped them find their way through the intricacies of British politics. He returned to the university, received his undergraduate degree at North London Polytechnic, and began graduate work at the London School of Economics.

His thirst for knowledge and political activity was insatiable, and while at North London Polytechnic he became prominently involved as an adviser and leader of left-wing undergraduates.

Throughout his entire life Sam Gordon was a worker intellectual. He was constantly occupied with translations from German to English of serious political and economic works of interest to students of Marxism. He completed his translation of Rudolf Hilferding's *Finance Capital*, undertaken for Monthly Review Press, before his illness interfered.

In 1976 Sam was in the United States on one of his few visits, and spoke at the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Milwaukee that year. All his life he related to young people and never lost his youthful ideals. His brief talk to the YSA delegates was greeted by a standing ovation, something he had not expected. He later remarked that the whole experience was for him a new inspiration.

Back in London he frequently met with old friends and continued his activity in Labor Party politics. He retained his insight into the radical political movement both in Britain and the United States.

At the end of 1980, after the election of Reagan, when Tony Benn, the leader of the left wing in the British Labor Party, advised American workers to redou-

Continued on Page 17

'Life of one worker is worth more than all the copper in Cuba'

BY CLARE FRAENZL

"We have come to Cuba to learn the truth about your revolution. We intend to tell American workers what we have heard and seen here. We want to convince them that it is in their interest to support the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean."

This is what five U.S. coal miners told Cuban copper miners at the Júcaro mine in Pinar del Rio province. The miners were part of a forty-person, seven-day tour of Cuba organized by the *Militant and Perspectiva Mundial* February 14-21. Participants also included steelworkers, machinists, railroaders, and many other industrial workers.

Reports of the Reagan administration's stepped-up threats to blockade or even bomb the island were daily headlines in the newspapers.

"Our people are aware of the military power of the U.S. government," the Cuban miners told us. "We are aware that we are considered a dangerous threat to the powerful U.S. military forces. That is foolish. That is the way a child thinks about it. What they say is a big lie."

The Júcaro mine, one of Cuba's newest, was considered a prime target for U.S. bombing raids. How did this affect their lives we asked. "We just keep on working, producing, until the moment we are attacked. It is not a military secret that the Cuban people are revolutionary people. It is not a military secret that Fidel said all revolutionary people

must learn how to shoot and to shoot well. Our people are not worried, not because we don't know what an invasion means, but because we are convinced of our ideas, because we are right about our cause. We know that in spite of the powerful U.S. military force, the biggest threats to the U.S. are not Cuba or the Soviet Union, but the general contradictions within U.S. society itself."

What were the ideas which made the Cuban miners so confident in their determination to defend their revolution? Reinaldo Carballo Torres, general secretary of the miners union for the province of Pinar Del Rio, outlined some of the gains made by miners since 1959.

"Before the revolution," he said, "the average life expectancy of a miner was thirty-five to forty years. Seventy percent of all Cuban miners had silicosis [a crippling lung disease caused by rock dust]. Today," he told us, "Cuban miners have a life expectancy of seventy-two years, and we have eliminated silicosis completely." Six-hour shifts and a safety committee of three to four miners for each section crew of fifteen to twenty-five has reduced the accident rate in Cuban mines drastically. Not one miner has been killed in the last four years.

The U.S. miners pointed out the skyrocketing death rate in U.S. coal mines. It is an average of one death per day now as a result of Reagan's cuts in the Mine Health and Safety Administration. "It is hard to imagine," one steelworker

chimed in, "a situation where you are not fighting the bosses day after day, every inch of the way."

"This is a socialist country," the Cubans patiently explained, "Workers run the government and the mines. If there is any danger, we shut production down. The life of one worker is worth more than all the copper in Cuba."

"But doesn't safety conflict with your need to produce?" a chemical worker asked. "Our bosses tell us that unless we increase production, we will lose our jobs. In real life, this means violating safety procedures every day."

"Yes, we need to produce. But here it is different. There is no adversary relationship between the union or the workers and the administration. We all share the same ideology — production for the benefit of the working class."

The Cuban miners explained how they organize production through monthly union meetings involving all workers at the mine. Each shift has its own meeting, then elects delegates to a mine-wide meeting. Production goals and any problems which might arise are discussed. Administrative personnel participate as advisers. Representatives from the Cuban Communist Party and the Communist Youth, themselves workers at the mine, also participate. Collectively they come to agreement on production plans and the solution to problems which exist in the mine.

Educational, sports, and cultural activities, as well as political discussions about national and international events, are also organized through these union meetings.

The Cuban miners were quick to point out other gains they have made through their revolution. Like most U.S. mines, the Júcaro mine is located in the countryside. Plans to develop the mine included the construction of modern apartments for the miners. Like all other Cubans, the miners pay a maximum of 10 percent of their income for rent.

Sports facilities, new schools, and a medical clinic were among the other projects under construction for this new mining community. Cubans pay no taxes. Use of all these facilities is free, not only to the miners, but to the general community, too. Funds to carry out these projects come from the surplus wealth created by the miners and other workers.

A good number of the Cuban miners were Black, including the general secretary of the Cuban Communist Party branch at the mine and the woman engineer who administered the preparation plant. One of the things that had struck us most was the lack of racism in Cuba. We asked how Cuba made such great strides in this area.

"Fidel taught us during the guerrilla war that when we wanted to distract the enemy we needed to create a false enemy. This is the policy followed by the capitalists in the U.S. It exists in all capitalist countries. It happened before the revolution in Cuba. Blacks were segregated, not allowed in restaurants, the beaches, in certain jobs, etc.

"Today," they told us, "we have no discrimination. As revolutionaries, we must look for things that unite us. As workers, also, we must look for things that unite us. For this reason Cuba has eliminated racism. It is a problem we no longer discuss. We solved that problem so many years ago we do not even remember it. We know who the real enemy is. It is capitalism. It is imperialism."

We told the Cuban miners about the massive propaganda campaign in the U.S. media that tries to portray the Cuban people as enemies of U.S. workers. We asked if they had any message they would like us to bring home. "Yes," they said, "tell your co-workers that we are aware who the enemy is in the U.S. We support the struggles of American workers."

Our visit ended with an invitation to the five U.S. miners to tour the mine and view working conditions for themselves. While we inspected the workings, other miners gave the other members of our group a tour of their cafeteria, clinic, and sports facilities. They also toured the preparation plant.

We left Júcaro more convinced than ever of the criminal nature of Reagan's war drive. We agreed that we had a special duty to convince American coal miners that they should support our brother and sister miners in Cuba against the U.S. war-makers. The reason U.S. capitalists hated and feared the Cuban revolution was crystal clear. Any American worker who was exposed to the tremendous advances of the Cuban revolution might get the idea, like we did, that a similar kind of revolution in the United States would go a long way toward solving the problems of war, racism, and exploitation of workers which we face today.

Clare Fraenzl, a coal miner at Bethlehem's Ellsworth Mine #51, is a member of Local 1190 of the United Mine Workers.



Militant/Tom Leonard

Socialist coal miners from U.S., who visited Cuba to find out the truth, with Cuban union leaders. Center back row is Reinaldo Carballo Torres, general secretary of the miners union for the province of Pinar Del Rio.

Message to U.S. workers

The following message to U.S. workers was given to the socialist miners from the United States who visited the Júcaro copper mine. It was given to them by Paulino Alvarez, administrator of the mine.

We Cubans are aware of where the enemy is in the United States. We hope that in the future we are as close to the people as we are to you geographically. We support all your struggles as American workers. To repeat, we know who the enemy is and we back you up all the way.

Our people are quite aware of the military power of the U.S. government. Our people are aware that in newspapers around the world we are considered a threat to the powerful U.S. government. That is childish, foolish. But they are trying to look for a reason to attack us. What the fascists say is a big lie. It is not a secret to the people of the world that the U.S. government is fascist.

We can tell you how all workers here feel. We just keep on working and producing until the moment we are attacked. It is not a military secret that the Cuban people are revolutionary, and that Fidel said that all revolutionaries must learn to shoot and shoot well. Our people are not upset, not because we're

not aware of what an invasion would mean but because we are convinced of our ideals. Cuba and the USSR are not the dangerous countries. The worst danger for the U.S. is its internal contradictions.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial/Young Socialist Tours invites you to visit

CUBA NICARAGUA GRENADA

Cuba

Workers Democracy/May Day Tour — April 18-May 2, 1982 — fifteen days, \$960
May Day Tour — April 25-May 2, 1982 — eight days, \$640
Youth Economy Tour — August 8-15, 1982 — eight days, \$425
Solidarity Tour — November 21-28, 1982 — eight days, \$650

Nicaragua

Nicaragua and Cuba Tour — July 17-31, 1982 — fifteen days, \$1150
Fall Economy Tour — December 4-11, 1982 — eight days, \$650

Grenada

Fall Economy Tour — October 29-November 5, 1982 — eight days, \$725
(from New York)

Prices include round-trip airfare from Miami, hotels (double occupancy), three meals (except for August 8-15 tour), transfers, and guide service.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours
410 West Street, New York, NY 10014
(212) 242-5530

Infant mortality declines in Cuba

In 1981 the infant mortality rate in Cuba was the lowest in the history of the country. It was on a par with that of industrially more advanced countries.

According to a report in the March 7 *Granma Weekly Review*, infant mortality in Cuba was 18.5 per 1,000 live births. This is a reduction from the 1980 figure of 19.6.

Figures presented in the World Health Organization's 1980 yearbook of health statistics indicate that the infant mortality in other Latin American countries was considerably higher. For example, the rate in Guatemala was 69.7; in Mexico, 49.7; in Venezuela, 44.5; and in Argentina, 44.9.

In the United States the rate was 14.1; in West Germany, 14.7; in Japan, 8.8; and in Sweden, 8.0.

In Cuba, the number of hospital beds rose from 44,417 in 1980 to 46,212 in 1981. This increase of 1,795 beds brought the hospital bed/patient ratio up from 4.6 to 4.7 per 1,000 inhabitants.

There was also a marked drop in the maternal mortality rate, to 40.4 per 1,000 live births. The figure for 1980 was 52.6.

Cuba, with a population of some 10 million, has a total of 16,193 doctors. This figure is expected to rise to at least 17,000 this year and to 20,000 by 1985.

Pretty good odds — “In Time of Emergency,” a new federal civil defense pamphlet — 30 million copies — advises:



Harry Ring

“Undoubtedly millions of Americans would die if a nuclear attack should occur. However, studies show that tens of mil-

lions would survive the limited effects of blast and heat.”

Check supermarket ads — “In Time of Emergency” includes a section, “What Home May Be Like,” advising how to return after a nuclear evacuation: “It may be necessary to take extra precautions with waste. Some food stocks will have to be carried back in your car. Be sure it is fresh, particularly raw meat.”

But, if necessary . . . — Ronald Reagan’s counselor, Edwin Meese III, told the Civil Defense Association that nuclear war “is

something that may not be desirable.”

Progress report — The Mississippi House of Representatives recently voted to ratify the 19th Amendment, although ratification is still pending in the state senate. Certified in 1920, the amendment gives women the right to vote.

And put it in a metal box — A federal building’s handbook advises employees that in case of a “telephonic bomb threat,” the caller should be queried as to when the bomb will explode, what it looks like, and why it

was placed. Apparently to avoid undue anxieties, it instructs, “Prepare a written report of the call before discussing it with other employees.”

And say thank you — A Cincinnati *Post* columnist advises what to do if you lose your job: “Be calm. The person who is giving the bad news is probably nervous. Get all the facts and reasons. Don’t make any threat you may regret.”

When protection counts — Environmental Protection Agency chief Anne Gorsuch has been busy slashing the agency

staff and generally expressing a dim view of spending money to protect the environment. But she did recently hire three new staffers to function as her personal bodyguard.

No postage-due accepted — The Post Office is planning to issue emergency change-of-address cards to be used in case of a nuclear war.

Thought for the week — “When a soldier goes to war he has to kill, but the military kills with dignity.” — Gen. Alfredo St. Jean, Argentina’s minister of the interior.

—CALENDAR—

NEW YORK Brooklyn

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

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Stop U.S. War in Central America: Eyewitness Report on March 27 Antiwar March in Washington, D.C. Speaker: Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Alabama. Sat., April 3, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: *Militant* Forum and Alabama Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Tucson

Iranian Revolution: Where It Stands After Three Years. Speaker: Hamid Reza So-deifi, Young Socialist Alliance. Wed., April 7, 7:30 p.m. Rm. 283, Student Union, University of Arizona. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 882-4304.

COLORADO

Denver

CIA in Latin America: The Story Behind the Movie *Missing*. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 2, 7:30 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Denver Socialist

Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Socialist Workers 1982 Election Campaign Rally. Speakers: Ike Nahem, SWP candidate for Governor; other speakers to be announced. Sat., April 3, 6:30 p.m. refreshments, 8 p.m. rally, 10 p.m. party. 434 S. Wabash, 7th floor. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA

Gary

Vietnam: What We Can Learn From the War and the Fight Against It. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 2, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: *Militant* Labor Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

Indianapolis

Puerto Rico: Politics and Passions. Speaker: Manuel Rodríguez-Orellana, law professor, Inter-American University, Puerto Rico. Tues., March 30, 7:30 p.m. IUPUI Lecture Hall, Rm. 101, 325 Angas St. Ausp: Universitarios Hispanos and Progressive Student Union. For more information call (317) 638-7617.

Socialist Educational Series. Classes on: Gains of the Cuban Revolution: Eyewitness report, 1 p.m.; and Children of the Revolution, 3 p.m. Sat., April 3. IUPUI, Cavanaugh Hall 241, 925 W. Michigan St. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities

American Farmers: Their Fight to Survive. Speakers: Roy Johnson, farmer near Dawson, Minnesota, since 1947, member of American Agricultural Movement; John Gaige, Socialist Workers Party National



Militant/Lou Howort

“Puerto Rico — La Lucha Independentista” was the title of a Spanish-language forum in Brooklyn on March 19. Rafael Cancel Miranda (shown above), a Puerto Rican Nationalist hero, gave an inspiring presentation. Other speakers were Artemio Camacho, Socialist Workers Party, and Zydna Nazario, New York Committee in Support of Vieques.

Committee. Sun., April 4, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Twin Cities *Militant* Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Socialist Workers Campaign Dinner and Rally. Speaker: Kathleen Fitzgerald, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 5th Congressional District. Sat., April 3, Reception 6 p.m., Dinner 7 p.m., Rally 8 p.m. El Tapatio Restaurant, 23rd and Summit. Donation: \$7 dinner and rally, \$3 rally only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK

New York City

Disarmament and Reordering National Priorities. Speakers: Dr. Benjamin Spock, pediatrician and peace activist; Bella Abzug,

Women, U.S.A.; Dorothe Solle, religious leader, German antinuclear movement; Pat Wagner, Black N.Y. Action Committee; Victor Quintana, MINP, El Comite. Sun., March 28, 3 p.m. St. Gregory’s Church, 144 W. 90th St. Ausp: N.Y. June 12th Disarmament Campaign. For more information call (212) 460-8992.

OREGON

Portland

Campaign Reception and Film: *Portrait of Teresa*. Speaker: Paul Freeman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council. Sat., April 3, 6 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers for Freeman. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Film: *The New School*. A film about education in Cuba. Meet Chris Remple, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., March 28, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: *Militant* Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Film: *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*. Speaker: Andrew Walden, national leader of Young Socialist Alliance who hasn’t registered for draft. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: *Militant* Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

A Gospel Tribute in Honor of Ernest Lacy. Speaker: Howard Fuller. Gospel choirs, poetry, and drama. Sat., April 3, 7 p.m. St. Matthew Church, 2944 N 9th St. Ausp: Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy.

Fired workers tour country to defend rights

BY MATTHEW HERRESHOFF

Starting April 15, four fired unionists will tour the country to win support for their battle to regain their jobs and to mobilize opposition to new corporate and government attacks on the union movement.

Andrée Kahlmorgan and Jean Savage are two of fifteen machinists fired by Lockheed-Georgia in December 1980 and January 1981. Along with the other fired members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 709, they are preparing to file a lawsuit to win back their jobs.

Barry David and Harris Freeman were fired by McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis last December. Their union, IAM Lodge 837B, is fighting their cases through the grievance procedure.

All four are members of the Socialist Workers Party. All four were fired after they were fingered by company spies at union meetings.

These four fired unionists are targets of the stepped-up corporate and government campaign to weaken the unions by firing socialists and other militant unionists, spying on the unions themselves, and intimidating other workers from speaking out or taking part in union activities.

The tours, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), are the cornerstone of a national campaign to stop these new attacks on labor’s political rights.

In addition to the fired unionists, Héctor Marroquín and John Studer will be touring selected cities. Marroquín is a Mexican socialist who has waged a three-year battle to win political asylum in the U.S. Studer, the executive director of PRDF, will speak in Atlanta and St. Louis to give his support to the fired workers in those cities.

The touring unionists and their supporters will be speaking at meetings of unions and organizations, on campuses, to the news media, and at broad rallies in defense of political rights.

These rallies will be the centerpiece of the tours in every area. They will provide an important opportunity for union leaders, Black rights activists, antiwar organizations, leaders of the women’s movement, civil libertarians and many others to speak out in defense of political rights.

PRDF plans to raise \$25,000 at the rallies to finance its efforts in defense of the fired unionists and other battles to defend political rights.

This \$25,000 fund campaign will help

pay for legal and publicity expenses in these cases, and thus is an essential part of the tours.

Susan Sontag

Continued from Page 11

And a platform was provided for such anticommunists as Brodsky and Sontag.

In the pages of the *Nation*, Susan Sontag brands the song, “The Internationale,” as “the anthem of the oppressive state.” She says she was glad the Polish workers didn’t sing it and hoped the Salvadoran liberation fighters wouldn’t either.

Sontag is as wrong on that as she is on everything else. Stalinist regimes may offer formal claim to the song, but they choke on its call for the revolutionary solidarity of the oppressed of the world.

Today, whether Sontag likes it or not, “The Internationale” is being sung by increasing numbers of those fighting for a new and better world. And for good reason. It is, and remains, the only way forward. In good time, the Polish workers, those of El Salvador, and yes, the U.S. workers, will together sing, “We have been naught, we shall be all.”

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Film: *The 10,000-Day War*. Documentary about the Vietnam War. March 22-24 and March 30-April 1, Loeb Student Center, New York University; March 28-30, World Room, Columbia University Journalism Building. All showings at 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Southeast Asia Resource Center. For more information call (212) 964-4124.

'The revolution is like an unrestrained river'

El Salvador: El Pueblo Vencerá. Directed by Diego de la Texera. Produced by Film Institute of Revolutionary El Salvador. Eighty minutes. In Spanish or with narration and subtitles in English.

BY BRENDA BRDAR

Vietnam, El Salvador. As threats of a much larger U.S. military intervention increase, more and more Americans are making the connection.

The thinking of the American people has advanced since Vietnam. A vast majority are opposed to U.S.

FILM REVIEW

involvement even before troops are committed. Today there is a great interest in and growing support for the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

What is their struggle about? What are they fighting for? Why should Americans not only oppose U.S. intervention, but back the fight against the U.S.-supported dictatorship in El Salvador? The film, *El Salvador: El Pueblo Vencerá* (The People Will Win) answers these questions in a powerful and moving way.

The story of the Salvadoran people's struggle to control their own country is treated historically, and builds up to the present stage. It begins with the struggle of the indigenous Indians against the Spanish colonizers. The Salvadoran people have "never been able to write their own history," the narrator ex-

plains. This is what the fight is all about. Today, it continues against U.S. imperialism.

In 1932, 30,000 peasants were massacred with the help of the U.S. Navy. This was followed by a series of military-civilian juntas, backed by the U.S. government, but enjoying no popular support.

Richard Nixon's image is flashed across the screen repeatedly, interspersed with U.S. troops and battles with Salvadoran peasants — a vivid reminder of Vietnam.

The current opposition groups emerged in 1970. They united in the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and the opposition army, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), in 1980.

One entire portion of the film is devoted to the life of Farabundo Martí, the national hero and martyr. He fought in Nicaragua in 1928 with Augusto César Sandino — revolutionary Nicaragua's national hero. He was repeatedly imprisoned and exiled for his work among the peasants and workers of El Salvador. Martí returned each time, often disguised, to carry on the struggle against U.S. domination and exploitation of his country. He lost his life in battle in the massacre of peasants in 1932.

This section of the film is beautifully animated. It grows into scenes of the current struggle, in which we see fighting in the cities between teenagers and the National Guard, and in the countryside between the peasants and the government army.

The conditions which have brought the Salvadoran people to fight for their freedom with arms in hand are explained. Two percent of the population owns 60

percent of the arable land. Half of the children die before the age of five. The so-called land reform only touched 1 percent of the big coffee growers.

We get a good view of the forces supporting the government. Rallies of the rich in fashionable dress are mingled with shots of the U.S. Marines.

The film expresses complete confidence in the victory of the Salvadorans. "Our great strength is in the people. Our struggle is invincible," is a theme often repeated.

This idea is reinforced by a ten-year-old boy who vows to take up arms against the National Guard killers of his father. "They'll pay for the death of my father one day. I just hope I'm still here when the revolution comes. I would rather die fighting for a just cause than stand by looking on," the child says in a funeral oration for his martyred parent.

After listening to this young boy, we understand the film's statement: "The insurrection is surging ahead like an unrestrained river."

We realize that it is children like this who Washington must eliminate to keep El Salvador from winning its freedom.

And we understand that as Americans, we must do all in our power to help the Salvadorans win.

For information on renting *El Salvador: El Pueblo Vencerá*, contact *COMMU-SAL* at these addresses: on the East Coast, 1721 Columbia Road, NW, Room 4, Washington, D.C. 20009, phone (202) 462-2673; on the West Coast, 3004 16th Street, Suite 308, San Francisco, California, phone (415) 626-3292.

Open letter from Nicaragua challenges Reagan

Continued from Page 1

of the region and encourage them with your military advisers. While we dedicate ourselves to teaching our people to read and write, you dedicate yourself to helping the counterrevolutionary bands operating out of Honduras who murder members of our Literacy Brigades. While we propose the basis for just negotiations in El Salvador, you respond to us with military bases in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. While we are for peace, you are for war, Mr. Reagan.

This time you have confused everything. You accuse us of militarism and don't even realize that, faced with external aggression, our young people have been dedicating their weekends and free time after study and work to the Sandinista People's Militia. This isn't an army, Mr. Reagan, but a people unified with the revolutionary will of Sandino. Nor is it just one country, but all the countries that are defending themselves against economic, military, diplomatic, ideological, and cultural aggression. Where you see "communist influence" there is nothing else but inter-

national solidarity and common interest between all the exploited and dominated peoples of the world.

But this time you have gone too far. You should join Congress and public opinion in the United States in thinking things over, and take into account the consequences of your politics.

It's not just a question of peace in the Caribbean and in Central America, but of world peace; something that will affect your own United States and your own people, as it did in Vietnam, where the sorrow of the Vietnamese is shared by many American citizens.

Your warlike politics could succeed only under one condition: if our people gave way in the face of your threats. And to know if you have that chance, don't consult the Pentagon or the CIA's computers, because they don't have souls, and can't tell the truth. Consult history and you'll see that the answers this time will not be any other than the possibility of destroying the entire world with all the arsenal that the

United States possesses. That you will never impose your point of view this way. With respect to Nicaragua, your pilots could murder all Sandino's people,

but this still wouldn't make you the winner, Mr. Reagan.

Sam Gordon

Continued from Page 14

ble efforts to transform the Democratic Party, Sam wrote letters to the *Militant* staff warning against any such course. He said, "As to Benn's advice in America to start as a faction of the Democrats, that can safely be ignored. That was [Michael] Harrington [head of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee] talking through him. There never was any such thing here."

A meeting of radicals, former political associates, family, and friends of Sam Gordon was held at Golders Green in London on March 19. Among the listed speakers were Alan Harris, a leader of the International Marxist Group (British affiliate of the Fourth International), and C.L.R. James, a former member of the Trotskyist movement and long-time political activist, and author of many books on history and the Black struggle, including *The Black Jacobins*.

Mason refused leave

Continued from Page 3

going to war in Central America, they don't want a candidate who will be speaking out against the war and in defense of the 100,000 young Californians who refused to register for the draft."

Mason announced that his supporters throughout the state were initiating an immediate protest campaign of telegrams and letters against this undemocratic interference with his right to run for office.

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

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

DIRECTORY

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

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

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

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 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, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

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.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 131 W. Main #102. Zip: 40202. Tel: (502) 587-8418. **LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

War, recession, and the '82 elections

The 1982 elections will take place in the framework of the worst crisis we have faced in years. The worsening recession has thrown millions out of work. The employers are using mass unemployment as leverage to force workers to go along with cuts in wages and worsened working conditions.

Social services are being cut back. Education, health care, public transportation, Social Security, unemployment insurance, and more are being gutted. Environmental controls are threatened as nuclear power continues to be promoted.

Blacks, Latinos, and women — last hired, first fired — are hit especially hard. Unemployment among Black youth is more than sixty percent.

Affirmative action and desegregation are under attack, as are the Equal Rights Amendment and the right to abortion, in spite of the wishes of the majority of Americans.

Working farmers face their worst times since the Great Depression. Farm costs are rising much faster than income and farmers are being forced off the land through mortgage foreclosures and bankruptcy at alarming rates.

Hanging over us is the threat of war. Through covert and overt action, military advisers, mercenaries, and foreign "aid" — all to support ruling oligarchies — the U.S. government is trying to drag us into another Vietnam in Central America. It is willing to help drown the toilers of El Salvador in blood in order to maintain cheap labor, raw materials, and markets for big business. Washington is threatening the gains made by the workers and farmers in revolutionary Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada.

The U.S. nuclear-weapons buildup is menacing the human race with extinction.

There is a fast-growing opposition to and anger at the Reagan administration's policies. The March 27 protests against U.S. intervention in Central America are part of that opposition and represent majority sentiment in this country. The latest polls show it: 63 percent think the United States should stay out of El Salvador, an opinion shared by 57 percent of those who think that country is "very important to U.S. interests."

An earlier poll this month reported that 89 percent opposed the use of U.S. troops in El Salvador. Fifty-four percent thought the United States should stay completely out, despite a belief that a rebel victory there would make it "very likely" (48 percent) or "fairly likely" (32 percent) that "the same kind of thing will happen in other Latin American countries."

Opposition to Reagan's Robin Hood-in-reverse domestic programs continues to grow, if at a slower pace than opposition to his foreign policies.

This opposition and anger are based on the growing realization that Reagan's policies favor the rich, not working people. Indeed, 17 percent of Americans think we should support the Salvadoran rebels — who are more and more clearly seen as peasants fighting for land.

These figures indicate that many Americans already know that U.S. policies abroad, as well as at home, are in the interests of the capitalists and landlords, and against the workers and farmers.

They are absolutely right about that.

What are the alternatives?

Democratic Party politicians, trying to ride this justified anger at Reagan, are trying to organize an anti-Reagan campaign to regain control of both houses of Congress and take back the White House in 1984. Most of the misleaders of the union movement, the National Organization for Women, the NAACP, and others are falling in behind this campaign.

While the capitalist politicians and the misleaders can further their own careers by this campaign, it does nothing for us.

The Democratic Party politicians are just as much an instrument of the rich as are the Republicans. Their policies reflect the desires of the big capitalists and landowners who finance them.

Where was the Democratic Party's support for PATCO? Where is its opposition to driving down our wages and working conditions; to the anti-Black, antiwoman, antiretires onslaught? Where is its support for busing to desegregate schools, for the Equal Rights Amendment and the right to abortions, its support to farmworkers?

You have only to look at its millionaire candidates, committee chairmen, bankrollers, and most of all to its deeds when in office to answer these questions.

But working people do have an alternative in the 1982 elections. Around the country, the Socialist Workers Party is fielding candidates who stand for the interests of working people. More than fifty SWP candidates have been announced so far in twenty states.

In California, the SWP and Young Socialist Al-

liance support the independent campaign for governor of Mel Mason, the socialist city council member from Seaside. Mason uses his office in the interests of working people. He supported PATCO, he helped organize Solidarity Day events, and he has helped to beat back police terror in Seaside against Blacks and youth, among others.

These candidates propose reasonable and practicable measures to solve the capitalist-caused crisis that we face:

- To put millions back to work building things we need: schools, roads, transportation, housing.
- To eliminate the gigantic expenditures for the armed forces, which only serve to protect the profits of the rich here and abroad.
- To solidarize with workers and farmers in other countries, instead of keeping their oppressors, the native oligarchies, in power.
- To stop all plant closings and layoffs. Any corporations that resist this should be nationalized under workers control.
- To extend unemployment compensation to everyone out of work, and to pay a living wage.
- To shorten the workweek without cutting pay, to put people to work with enough money to buy goods and services.
- To make sure that everyone who retires can do so comfortably.
- To end the effects of inflation by price controls and by insuring that wages keep up with inflation.

- To put a moratorium on farm mortgages. To provide working farmers with cheap credit, fuel, water, and fertilizer; safe and cheap pesticides, and access to machinery.

- To confiscate the landholdings of the banks, railroads, and energy trusts in the huge factory farms and put them to use for the benefit of the toilers.

This program is practical and could be implemented quite rapidly. But the Democrats and Republicans will never do it.

To realize this program, the socialist candidates call for replacing the present government of the capitalists with a government of workers and farmers.

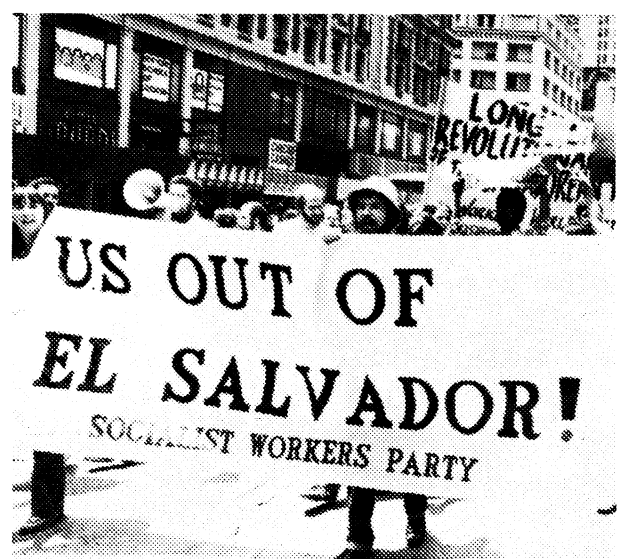
They support all actions and struggles that help the cause of workers and farmers. They are part of the fightback. They are for the farmers' fight against the banks. They support and build such actions as the March 27 demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America.

They support steps toward independent political action that can mobilize workers and their allies, farmers, women, Blacks, Latinos, and all the oppressed, in the struggle to replace the government of big business and the bankers.

To effectively carry the fight forward to a workers and farmers government, working people need their own political party. The socialist candidates support the formation of a labor party. The organizational basis for such a party already exists in the unions, despite the present policies of the unions' officials.

In the ranks and elsewhere, there is increasing receptivity to the idea of a labor party. For example, Ed Asner, the well-known actor and opponent of U.S. policy in El Salvador who is also president of the Screen Actors Guild, recently told *Labor Notes*: "I'm for a labor party. I think that could well make a lot of people sit up and pay attention. It may well be a losing proposition at the beginning, but it could have beneficial results."

If you agree with the proposals of the socialist candidates, you should support them, by joining the SWP and YSA in helping to build meetings and rallies, by distributing the *Militant* and other campaign literature, by helping financially, and by doing everything possible to spread the word that there is an alternative — a government of the workers and farmers — to the policies of the government of the ruling rich.



Militant/Lou Howort

Early years of the Vietnam antiwar movement

The following are excerpts from the first chapter of *Out Now: A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War*, by Fred Halstead. It is available for \$9.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

A peace movement of sorts existed in the United States in 1960 but it had nothing to do with the war in Vietnam. It is necessary to recall that in the early 1960s the war was not a central issue in American life. It was something reported only occasionally and, as far as the general population was concerned, opposed only by the more consistent pacifists and the more conscious radicals.

The coalition of liberals and pacifists that organized the larger actions demanding nuclear disarmament and an end to testing excluded "communists" as such. It also excluded other peace issues such as the war in Vietnam, which were embarrassing to the liberal Democrats and others within the Establishment that the movement was trying to influence.

Between 1960 and 1965 a radicalization of some of the youth in the U.S. began to appear, not around Vietnam at first, but around two other issues: the Cu-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ban revolution and the civil rights struggle in the South. Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista was overthrown by Castro's guerrillas on New Year's Day, 1959. The first Black student sit-in occurred at a Woolworth dime store lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960.

By the end of 1964, then, there existed a few thousand young people who had already begun to consider and adopt radical ideas and who had become activists to one degree or another around the Southern civil rights struggle and/or the Cuban revolution. These youth were ready, willing, and able to enter a struggle against the Vietnam War, but they could not do so through the old peace movement coalition, which was still dominated by the shibboleths of the cold war.

Within the peace movement itself Youth SANE tended to be replaced by the Student Peace Union. SPU was founded in 1959 by pacifists, but in the early 1960s its national office was dominated by members of the Young People's Socialist League, who held what is known in radical circles as the "Third Camp" position.

According to this theory there are not one but two imperialist "camps" dividing the world between them. The first was composed of the advanced capitalist countries of the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. The second, according to this view, was the bloc of postcapitalist countries represented by the Soviet Union and China, which these people held equally to blame for the cold war. A "Third Camp" was supposed to be formed in opposition to the other two. In practice most of those who held this theory were neutral on the side of the capitalist world.

At its height SPU went into a crisis over the attempt of its national office to impose the "Third Camp" position on the activities of the chapters. The SPU leaders insisted that demonstrations on the issue of Cuba or Vietnam blame Russia and China equally with the U.S. Virtually all the newly radicalizing youth would agree that the Soviet Union had been wrong in crushing the revolt in Hungary in 1956, but that it was the U.S. that was at fault in trying to put down revolutions in Cuba and Vietnam. The SPU position made no sense to them.

During the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962 an emergency ad hoc meeting was held at the Living Theatre in New York in which members of the traditional peace coalition sat in the same room with the excluded radicals and others to discuss a response. The crisis [Bayard Rustin] argued, had been caused at least as much by Cuba, which had obtained missiles from the Soviet Union capable of reaching the U.S., as it was by President Kennedy, who threatened to bomb them and interdict Soviet ships on the way to Cuba unless Russia removed the missiles.

To Rustin, and some other pacifists, the question of Cuba's sovereign right to defend itself against U.S. invasion was irrelevant. The missiles were the essence of the matter.

The Vietnam intervention became a public issue within the old peace movement coalition in 1963. The radical pacifists were themselves recruiting youth who reflected the new mood. These people were appalled at what the U.S. was doing in Vietnam and chafed under the agreements made with groups like SANE to keep the issue out of coalition actions.

How a warmonger can be for a 'nuclear freeze'

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

On the TV news show "Good Morning America," William Colby, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, recently expressed his support for "covert action" against the peoples of Central America. According to Colby, covert action "is quite a proper thing."

Nothing very surprising about this. About what

AS I SEE IT

you would expect from a former director of the CIA.

But why are the likes of Colby supporting a nuclear freeze bill now pending before congress? The bill, sponsored by about 150 members of Congress, calls on the United States and the Soviet Union "to decide when and how to achieve a mutual and verifiable freeze on the testing, production and further deployment" of nuclear weapons.

This bill is being proposed in the context of mounting sentiment in this country and throughout the

world that something be done about the deadly threat of nuclear war.

Besides Colby, supporters of the bill include many businessmen and government officials, including Thomas Watson, former chairman of International Business Machines Corporation.

How can such men as these, who support Washington's preparations for war against the people of Central America and the Caribbean, endorse a measure that is claimed to be a step for peace?

This apparent contradiction spotlights one of the big problems with the nuclear freeze concept. Even if such a freeze were adopted, it would in no way hinder the U.S. government's drive or ability to wage war. Washington would still be able to press forward with sending more military advisers to Central America. It would still be able to prop up the bloody dictatorship in El Salvador.

A freeze on nuclear weapons, for example, would not have prevented any of the wars that have been waged since World War II. It would not have prevented Washington's war of aggression against the Korean and Vietnamese peoples, nor its invasions of Lebanon and the Dominican Republic.

It is during the course of an actual shooting war like these that the real danger of nuclear weapons being used is posed. Even if nuclear weapons were frozen at their current level, the White House and Pentagon would still have the firepower to kill every person on this planet.

So, Colby and those of his ilk can talk about peace and disarmament, and still support U.S. intervention in Central America and throughout the world.

But for those who are serious about fighting for peace, it is necessary to oppose the actual wars or threats of war that are taking place.

The real threat of war today is the drive by U.S. big business and its government in Washington to suppress the struggles of the toilers in the semicolonial countries who are fighting for a better life. Big business is driven to do this in order to satisfy their quenchless thirst for profits — a thirst which comes from the very nature of capitalism itself.

Thus, only the disarmament of the capitalist rulers by the U.S. workers and farmers can eliminate the threat of war, including the danger of nuclear war, and guarantee peace.

LETTERS

Afghanistan I

Enclosed is my subscription renewal. I have enjoyed getting the otherwise unavailable information and perspective presented by the *Militant*. But I do have several suggestions for improvement.

There are several serious problems with the content of the stories. The story on Afghanistan in the March 5, 1982, issue criticized the Afghan government and the Soviet Union for their failure to follow a truly revolutionary course. But nowhere in the story or elsewhere in that issue did the *Militant* demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Doesn't the *Militant* favor self-determination for the people of Afghanistan? Or is this right reserved only for those countries invaded by American troops, such as Vietnam?

I remember that the *Militant* demanded the unconditional right of self-determination for the Vietnamese when American troops were in that country. Is the *Militant* for national self-determination only when it furthers the cause of socialist revolution, and not when it may help antisocialist forces, as in Afghanistan? Does the *Militant* merely hide behind democratic slogans when it is convenient to do so, or does the *Militant* really support democratic rights independently of the cause of socialist revolution?

The *Militant* should be demanding unconditional self-determination for Afghanistan. The *Militant* should call for the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, even if this would mean a victory for antisocialist forces in the short run. In the long run, any support of socialist transformation in opposition to democratic rights can only damage the cause of socialism around the world, and particularly in the United States.

William J. Moran
DeKalb, Illinois

Afghanistan II

I feel that the March 5 *Militant* article by Margaret Jayko on Afghanistan did not clearly answer the two basic questions about what stand workers should take on the war in Afghanistan. Do you feel that Soviet troops should be withdrawn now or not? Which side

should workers support in Afghanistan?

Joe Callahan
Toledo, Ohio

(In reply — Reader Moran assumes that Soviet troops are in Afghanistan to impose a "socialist transformation.")

(But, as the article in the March 5 *Militant* explained, the role of the Soviet troops has been to freeze the social struggles of the workers and peasants in order to achieve a stable regime. The Soviet troops are an obstacle to the fight against imperialist oppression and domination by the capitalists and landlords.)

(This has driven many workers and peasants, who initially supported the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) regime, into struggling against it and the Soviet troops that are propping it up. They have seen this struggle more and more as a national liberation struggle. But the proimperialist right-wing guerrillas — who represent the landlords and opium merchants — also claim to be waging a "national liberation" struggle.)

(To the degree that this has led the Afghan toilers to identify with these reactionary forces, it creates a barrier to the development of political consciousness and organization of the workers and peasants of Afghanistan.)

(As the *Militant* article explained, "The intervention of Soviet troops has served as a brake to advancing the reforms promised by the PDPA and initially welcomed by large numbers of toilers. It has not inspired the oppressed to wage a determined struggle against the landlords and other oppressors in the country. Instead, the Kremlin's policies have served to convince growing numbers of Afghan workers and peasants that they would be better off not having Soviet troops occupying their country and to participate in the struggle against that occupation.")

(Thus, it's clear that we opposed Soviet troops in Afghanistan and we support their immediate withdrawal.)

(But we don't believe the employers' government in the United States cares one bit about the interests of the toilers in Afghanistan, and we refuse to join its campaign around Soviet withdrawal or bring grist to its anticommunist mill.)

(The key task for working people in this country is to expose Washington's reactionary anti-communist propaganda. The main contribution we can make to the fight for self-determination in Afghanistan is to campaign against Washington's aid to the right-wing guerrillas and its military build-up in neighboring Pakistan.)

Margaret Jayko

The truth in Iran

I am writing in response to your article, "The Iranian revolution: where it stands after three years," by Fred Murphy [March 5 *Militant*]. You take great liberties with the truth when you claim that the execution of members of the Peoples Mujahedeen Organization began after they, in your words, "launched its counterrevolutionary campaign of terrorist attacks. . . ." This is untrue. The Mujahedeen and other left groups in Iran, resorted to armed struggle, in self defense, after the Iranian government began its counterrevolutionary terrorist campaign of executing and gunning down dissidents in the streets. Speaking of counterrevolutionary acts, why do you omit to inform your readers that the Iranian security police are being staffed with ex-SAVAK agents (the former Shah's secret police)? I recommend that the *Militant* get its facts straight on Iran for a change.

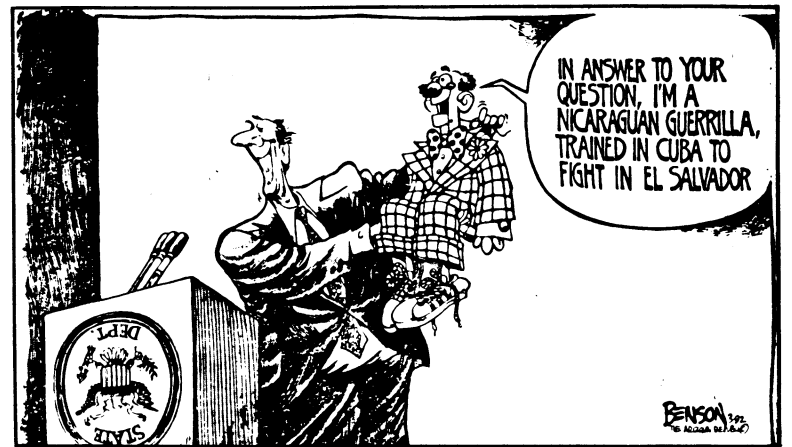
Kenneth Morgan
Price, Utah

Susan Sontag

An important exception to the recent improvements in the *Militant* was Suzanne Haig's February 19 article "Debate takes place at Poland rally." The article was subtitled "Writer Susan Sontag declares communism is fascism."

The first speaker quoted, and also the speaker whose remarks were reported most extensively, was Susan Sontag. She was also, to me, the most obscure speaker quoted.

Sontag's remarks, blaming the bankruptcy and villany of "communism" for the repression in Poland, were highlighted over the excellent remarks of Paul Robeson, Jr., Pete Seeger, Gregory Pardlo (a militant leader of PATCO) and Ben Zemsky (a national organizer for the American Postal Work-



ers Union) in support of Solidarnosc from an anti-U.S. government position. The last paragraph of the article reports that United Steelworkers leader Ed Sadlowski, Kurt Vonnegut, Gore Vidal and Allen Ginsberg spoke also, but no indication of what they said is given.

I feel that aiming so much fire at a relatively obscure liberal does not result primarily in defense of the nationalized economies of Poland and the Soviet Union and communism. It does more to confuse readers on the *Militant's* stand in defense of the political revolution against Stalinist dictatorship.
Jay Fisher
Washington, D.C.

What sometimes happens

They took away my job so I went to unemployment.

They took away my unemployment so I went to the Mission House for stale bread, soup, a little cheese.

They took away the Mission House so I went weeping to my apartment where the landlord met me & took away my key because I didn't have no rent.

After that I went to the street to hang out, thinking to myself: "Oh boy, I bet next they're gonna come & take away the street!"

But they didn't. They came instead & took me. They led me to some shadowy place where I wouldn't be in the Big Boys' way no more.

But even then, they were still irked by my face. So they came & took away my face.

Then they came &, piece by piece, took away the rest of me.

Now I'm gone, for all Eternity.

Maybe I shoulda done something: opened my mouth, fought back, demanded my rights.

Bob Bohm
Wilmington, Delaware

[Bob Bohm has written *In the Americas*, winner of the 1980 Great Lakes Association Award for best book of poems by a new U.S. writer. This spring his *Notes on India* will be published by South End Press.]

'Reds'

I have seen the movie *Reds* twice, read numerous reviews of the movie and read the book *The First Ten Years of American Communism*. But by far the best explanation of the political scene in America during that crucial period of the First World War is Farrell Dobbs' article in the March *International Socialist Review*. My only regret is that the article does not continue through the events of 1919 when the left wing formed two rival parties: the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. I hope that the rest of Farrell's new book is magnificent. You can be assured that when *Revolutionary Continuity: The Communist Years* reaches John Reed's home town, I will buy the first copy.
Ron Richards
Portland, Oregon

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.

Farmworkers march for union pact

Six-day trek through Texas demands minimum wage, back pay

BY STEVE MARSHALL

SAN JUAN, Texas — "Viva la union!" and "Sueldos!" rang out along the route of a six-day, fifty-mile march by farmworkers through the Rio Grande Valley.

The march started from Brownsville with 250 farmworkers and supporters and had swelled to 1,000 when it reached San Juan on March 21.

"La union" is the United Farm Workers Union (UFW), and "sueldos" means wages.

Cesar Chavez, UFW president, led the march. At a rally in San Juan he charged there is a conspiracy by the growers and the government, an "agricultural Watergate," to keep farmworkers' pay below legal minimum wage.

He explained, "A worker will say he works so long, but the foreman will shorten the hours so it will look like the worker got paid the minimum wage."

The UFW is demanding that Texas growers pay minimum wage and pay farmworkers the back pay that has been illegally kept from them. Chavez called the growers filthy rich and said they have cheated farmworkers out of \$100 million in the last three years.

The Rio Grande Valley is one of the richest agricultural regions in the world, and most of its wealth is the product of farmworkers' labor. But there are no union contracts in the fruit and vegetable fields, and that makes the lower Rio Grande Valley one of the poorest regions in the United States.

The prevailing wage for farm labor is \$2.50 an hour, far below the legal federal minimum of \$3.35. Infant mortality, disease, and illiteracy rates here are among the highest in the country.

Leading the March for Wages with Chavez was Tony Bonilla, president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Chavez stressed in his speech that the UFW is demanding that the law be enforced — something the federal government has refused to do. "I don't expect the government to do anything except blabber," he said.

UFW organizer Jim Harrington told me the Department of Labor has only three inspectors in the valley, where nearly 80,000 farmworkers face wage discrimination.

The government's inaction, he added, has forced the UFW to file eighty lawsuits against growers.

Harrington told the *Militant* what effect the restrictive U.S. immigration laws have on the union's organizing efforts.

"They make it harder," he said, "because the government can deport any Mexican who complains about wages."

One of the biggest landowners in the valley is U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen. What does the senator pay his employees?

"Same as the other growers," said one UFW staffer, "\$2.50 an hour."

When Tony Bonilla of LULAC explained that "the poor people of El Salvador are fighting for economic justice. . . and the people in south Texas have the same fight," he drew loud applause.

Perspectiva Mundial saleswoman Patricia Fernández sold seven copies on the basis of *PM's* opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Another marcher in Brownsville was Francisco Orta, a shop steward for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union at the Levi-Strauss plant in neighboring McAllen.

Orta told me he had marched at the

AFL-CIO's Solidarity Day last September, and he was in Brownsville to show his solidarity with Chavez and the farmworkers.

Garment workers, he explained, face wage discrimination similar to that in the fields: they are paid on a piecework basis. Although the union has forced Levi's to guarantee an hourly minimum wage, many garment workers rarely bring home forty hours' pay.

Among the marchers was San Antonio bus driver Steve Warshell, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas.

His Spanish-language campaign platform got a friendly response from demonstrators, who were interested in the *candidato obrero* (labor candidate) marching with the red-and-black UFW flag.

Warshell explained in his press statement that the UFW's example should be taken up by the entire Texas labor movement, to overturn the "right-to-work" laws that make Texas a bosses' paradise.



Militant/Steve Marshall
United Farm Workers Union President César Chávez, seen here addressing marchers, charged government and growers with conspiracy to keep farmworkers' pay below minimum wage.

Ala. votes down antilabor initiative

BY DEBBIE MARSHALL

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Alabama voters turned out in unexpectedly large numbers March 2 to defeat by two-to-one a proposed state constitutional amendment that would have denied workers the right to sue negligent company officials for job-related injuries and diseases.

Big-business supporters of the measure — on the ballot as Amendment 4 — spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on TV, newspaper, and billboard ads claiming that its passage would attract industry and create jobs. Several large employers held propaganda meetings on company time aimed at intimidating workers into voting yes. Others mailed pro-Amendment 4 literature to all employees.

"Alabama needs jobs, not lawsuits," was their slogan. By quoting only the first sentence of the craftily worded amendment — banning suits by one employee against a "co-employee" — the bosses hoped working voters would not notice that the amendment defined "co-employee" to include supervisors, all management officers and directors, their insurance companies, and even company inspectors responsible for job safety.

The Alabama Labor Council campaigned against Amendment 4. Without the right to sue for negligence, the council pointed out, injured workers would be totally dependent on Workers' Compensation. It pays a maximum of \$161 per week.

Labor Council President Barney Weeks explained that no rank-and-file worker has ever had to pay a dime in a "co-employee" suit.

Martin Boyers, a Birmingham steelworker who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, called for defeat of Amendment 4.

"Job safety is already under sharp attack," he said in a campaign leaflet. "Employers push for higher productivity no matter what the human cost, while the Reagan administration cuts back safety regulations and enforcement. This means more workers will be maimed and killed. The corporations know it, and they are pushing Amendment 4 to duck any financial responsibility for their victims."

The socialist steelworker also called

for raising Workers' Compensation to cover all medical and living expenses of injured workers. He demanded that government health and safety laws be strengthened and strictly enforced — not cut back. And he called for control by union safety committees of all job conditions affecting health and safety. Pointing to the example set by the United Mine Workers, Boyers said that "strong unions are the only guarantee our rights will be safeguarded."

Boyers's union, United Steelworkers Local 3004, was one of several that held public meetings to get out the truth about Amendment 4. Local 3004 held three meetings so workers on all three shifts, and their families and friends, could attend.

Boyers spoke at two of the meetings and a campaign supporter addressed the third. They were well received. Of some thirty people attending the meetings,

two bought *Militant* subscriptions and eight bought single copies.

Alabama workers' refusal to be scared into voting yes was a stinging political defeat for the bosses. This strong labor showing in the face of near-unanimous support for the amendment by Democratic and Republican politicians, Boyers pointed out, underlines the need for an independent labor party to fight for workers interests — and the great potential for success of such a party once it is begun.

Three proposed amendments on the use of \$55 million the state received last year from leasing public lands for oil and gas exploration passed. Boyers had opposed these amendments because the money was to be invested in such a way as to particularly profit big business and bankers. Some of it was also to go to building more prisons.

Milwaukee boycott to protest police killing of Black youth

BY DAVE MORROW AND MINDY BRUDNO

MILWAUKEE — A March 22 meeting of the Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy here called for an Easter season boycott of Capitol Court shopping center and major downtown department stores.

The meeting, which was called on several hours' notice, drew more than 150 people.

Lacy, a twenty-two-year-old Black, was beaten to death while in police custody last July 9 after being arrested for a rape it was later learned he did not commit.

The boycott call came in response to the latest in an endless series of delays and legal maneuvers in the case. Judge Janine Geske announced she would postpone until April 26 her decision on a motion to dismiss charges against police officers George Kalt and James Dekker. Both are charged with misconduct in public office for failing to administer first aid to the unconscious Lacy.

Kalt and a third police officer, Thomas Eliopul, had earlier been charged with homicide as a result of a coroner's

jury inquest. A circuit court judge dismissed these charges January 29, sparking a wave of protests and a sit-in at the district attorney's office. The city subsequently filed misconduct charges against Kalt and Dekker.

The Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy is demanding an end to the stalling, vigorous prosecution of the killer cops, and the permanent dismissal from the Milwaukee police force of all three.

Howard Fuller, a leader of the coalition, explained the theme of the boycott to a rally held here March 21. "We're going to wear old clothes for Easter this year," he said, "but we are going to wear them with dignity in the struggle for justice."

An informal coalition poll of 800 people, taken mainly in the Black community, indicated that 84 percent would honor a boycott of downtown stores. A similar boycott last August reduced downtown business by an estimated 30-50 percent, and was instrumental in pressuring the city to bring charges against the officers.