

No U.S. troops to Lebanon!



Antiwar demonstration in Jerusalem

Mass march in Israel against war

In the largest antiwar demonstration in Israel since the beginning of the invasion of Lebanon, between 70,000 and 100,000 people turned out for a massive rally in Tel Aviv July 3, according to press and police estimates.

Protestors brought signs declaring, "Out of Lebanon!" and "Bring our boys home!"

Among those participating in the rally were soldiers who had just been demobilized from the army after serving in Lebanon. Some reserve officers were on the platform.

Many protesters demanded the resignation of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

The organizers of the demonstration, who were leaders of the Peace Now movement, sought to dampen the militancy of the action, however. The official slogans for the demonstration did not call for immediate withdrawal from Lebanon, and some of the speakers attacked the PLO.

Socialists in Israel report that many in the crowd were receptive to leaflets calling for immediate withdrawal and expressing solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The Committee Against the War in Lebanon distributed many such leaflets, as did members of the Revolutionary Communist League (Israeli section of the Fourth International), the Communist Party, and other left-wing organizations.

Reagan seeks to aid butcher Begin

BY DAVID FRANKEL

As Israeli forces poured tank and artillery fire into besieged West Beirut July 6, President Reagan announced that he had "agreed in principle" to send up to 1,000 U.S. marines into Lebanon.

According to Reagan, the U.S. troops would act as a "temporary peacekeeping" force, and would help "bring peace and stability to the Middle East."

But while Reagan talks about peace and stability, he is backing the Israeli invasion of Lebanon to the hilt.

Just 10 days before Reagan's announcement that he was ready to send marines to Beirut, the U.S. and Israeli delegates stood alone in the UN General Assembly, opposing a resolution demanding an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon that was backed by 127 countries. Washington even vetoed a Security Council resolution that merely called for an Israeli pullback from Beirut. Yet now, Reagan pretends to seek an end to the bloodshed.

White House officials said that the Marines would help in the "orderly and safe evacuation" of Palestinian fighters besieged in Beirut. But Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) head Yassir Arafat replied: "We are not in need of American help. The weapons and the Sixth Fleet that helped kill my women and children cannot protect us. Definitely I won't accept it."

Israeli officials delighted

Not surprisingly, there was a different reaction among officials in Israel. In a July 6 dispatch from Jerusalem, *New York Times* correspondent David K. Shipler reported, "Israeli officials were delighted by the prospect of direct American military involvement because they saw it as the possible embryo of an American-led multinational force in Lebanon."

France, the former colonial ruler of Lebanon and the power responsible for encouraging the economic, social, and political divisions between Christians and Muslims in the country, has also been invited to send troops.

By floating the proposal to send U.S. marines into the middle of a shooting war in Lebanon, Reagan is taking another step in an ongoing policy of military intervention in the Middle East.

There has been steady escalation of the U.S. military presence in the region — the construction of a network of U.S. bases; military maneuvers in Egypt, Oman, and other countries; the stationing of U.S. forces in the Sinai Peninsula; the shooting down of Libyan aircraft by warplanes from the Sixth Fleet; and the mobilization of that fleet following the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat last year.

The purpose of the U.S. military buildup has nothing to do with preserving peace. It is intended for use against the peoples of the region when they seek to free themselves from imperialist domination or to fight for progressive social change.

Washington is already up to its neck in attempts to promote a rightist coup in Iran, and Reagan has pledged that U.S.

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Reagan readies escalation of war in Central America

BY FRED MURPHY

There have been ominous signs in recent weeks that the U.S. rulers are preparing a further escalation in their undeclared war against the peoples of Central America.

• In El Salvador, U.S. officials are floating trial balloons about the need to bring in more military advisers.

• The Honduran army has taken up positions inside El Salvador, and a further boost in U.S. military aid to Honduras is being readied.

• Rightist terror continues in Nicaragua, and plans are moving ahead to open a second front against the revolution there. Washington is building up counterrevolutionary leader Eden Pastora, while preparing to provide "security assistance" to Costa Rica, whose new president has joined the chorus of U.S. attacks on the Sandinista revolution.

On July 4 the *Washington Post* reported that members of the U.S. military mission in El Salvador "now advocate increasing the number of U.S. military advisers" in that country. "The increase in the number of advisers is being sought to allow teams of advisers to be based at headquarters of Salvadoran Army brigades around the country."

This report came after major offensives by the Salvadoran army in Chalatenango and Morazan provinces failed to achieve their objectives.

Also on July 4, a report in the *New York Times* revealed that the Honduran armed forces "have begun a joint military campaign with the Salvadoran Army, with a primary objective of crushing Salvadoran rebels in their mountainous strongholds in the eastern Salvadoran province of Morazan."

Citing a senior military officer in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa, *Times* correspondent Raymond Bonner said that "some 3,000 Honduran soldiers have occupied a large area of territory" in northern Morazan since July 2.

The Honduran officer asserted that no foreign advisers were participating in the operation. Bonner noted, however, that "one of the primary missions of the between 50 and 60 American military advisers in Honduras is to assist the Hondurans in patrolling the borders."

On June 30 the U.S. Senate voted 93 to 1 to appropriate \$21 million for the upgrading of two airfields in Honduras for use by U.S. military planes.

Honduras is key not only to Washington's efforts to defeat the rebels in El Salvador, but also to the mounting threats against the Nicaraguan revolution. The Reagan administration has helped arm and train a counterrevolutionary army that has been carrying out terrorist attacks on Nicaraguan border

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San Diego draft resister backed by California Black candidate

SAN DIEGO — Mel Mason, socialist and independent candidate for governor of California, made a special campaign stop here July 6 to attend the preliminary court hearing of Benjamin Sasway, who has been indicted for refusing to register for the draft.

Sasway, a 21-year-old student, refused to register because he opposes U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua. He is the first nonregistrant to be indicted by the Justice Department.

After Sasway's arraignment, which

set a trial date of August 14, Mason met briefly with Sasway to extend his solidarity.

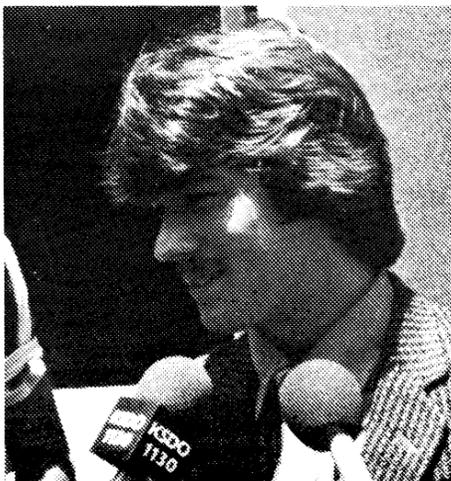
Mason told Sasway that opposition to the draft and U.S. intervention abroad is one of the central planks in his campaign for governor.

"Working people have no interest in fighting and dying in wars against liberation fighters struggling to be free from exploitation by U.S. corporations," the Black candidate said. Sasway

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Militant/Larry Lukecart



Militant/John Naubert

Left: Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California. Right: draft nonregistrant Benjamin Sasway.

N.Y. groups unite to protest Lebanon war

BY EVA CHERTOV

NEW YORK — Israel's invasion of Lebanon has sparked an unprecedented wave of activity in this city in defense of the Palestinian people.

Sixty people attended a meeting June 29 to discuss carrying out an educational campaign on why the American people should oppose Israel's invasion and the U.S. government's complicity in it. The meeting was organized by the Palestine Congress of North America (PCNA).

Organizations represented at the meeting included: the National Black Independent Political Party; Brooklyn New Jewish Agenda; Union of Democratic Filipinos; Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition; New Alliance Party; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; and Mobilization for Survival.

Also participating were the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador/ Comité Farabundo Martí; Artists for Survival; Iranian Students Association; All-People's Congress; and Black Vets for Social Justice.

Neil Saad and Nubar Housepion, from the PCNA, explained that the invasion of Lebanon has opened up many people's eyes to the true nature of the state of Israel.

They also noted the increased support for the liberation struggle of the Palestinians, especially among antiwar and peace activists. This was shown at the massive June 12 disarmament march, where many participants were open to what supporters of the Palestinians had to say.

Housepion reported that at the first Mobilization for Survival meeting following the June 12 march, the 300 people in attendance agreed to set up a Middle East subcommittee after a heated debate over the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The Mobilization for Survival was a central organizer of the June 12 action.

Housepion also indicated that the PCNA wanted to "organize, educate, and cooperate" with all parts of the U.S. peace movement. To this end, he proposed a teach-in to be held July 25.

The teach-in will consist of educational panel discussions on topics related to the struggle in the Middle East. It will culminate in a rally in solidarity with the people of Palestine and Lebanon.

The success of a similar teach-in recently in Boston, which drew more than a thousand people, was pointed to as a beginning of what could become a national wave of "Two, three, many teach-ins" and other actions that could help mobilize people in opposition to Tel Aviv's wars and U.S. backing for them.

On June 30, a New York chapter of the Emergency Committee on Lebanon was formed at a meeting of 80 people.

The committee includes a variety of religious groups and political organizations, including individuals who were central organizers of the June 12 action in New York.

The committee also held a press conference June 30 to denounce Israel's invasion of Lebanon, and to call for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli army.

Speaking to the press were Rabbi Is-

rael Dresner, president of the Association of Reform Rabbis of Greater New York and Vicinity; Bishop Dale White of the United Methodist Church in New Jersey; and Rev. Timothy Mitchell, chairman of the National Conference of Black Churchmen.

Rabbi Dresner said "hundreds of thousands" of Israelis and "millions of Jews in the United States and around the world are opposed to what is going on" in Lebanon today.

Bishop White and Reverend Mitchell both called for an end to U.S. military aid to Israel.

N.Y. march, teach-in planned

The New York Emergency Committee on Lebanon has called for a demonstration to demand "Immediate, unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon," and "No U.S. military aid to Israel."

The demonstration will take place on Saturday, July 10, at 1 p.m. at the offices of the Israeli government, which are located at 350 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. Protesters will then march downtown to a rally at Union Square,

which is scheduled to begin at 3 p.m.

On July 25, there will be a teach-in and rally sponsored by an ad hoc coalition of groups to initiate an educational campaign on why the American people should oppose the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

For more information, call (212) 695-2686 between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.

Reagan seeks to aid butcher Begin's invasion

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forces will intervene in the event of a popular revolution against the Saudi Arabian monarchy. And such a revolution is only a matter of time.

Test of U.S. mood

From this point of view, the offer to send U.S. marines to Lebanon is a test of how far the U.S. rulers can go. Members of Congress, mindful of the antiwar mood among American workers, were quick to urge caution. House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Clement Zablocki (D-Wis.) said, "I have serious reservations regarding the proposal." Senate Republican leader Howard Baker said, "I think it is not wise to introduce American fighting men in the Middle East conflict." Senator David Pryor (D-Ark.) said Reagan was making "a grave mistake."

On the other hand, the editors of the *Washington Post* argued July 7 that "it is a risky maneuver but one with enormous political potential. President Rea-

gan is right to see if it can be worked out."

The *New York Times* also endorsed what it called "the right kind of intervention." Above all, it urged the formation of "a Palestinian political movement . . . that envisions coexistence with Israel, and with conservative Arabs."

Ever since the late 1960s, the struggle of the Palestinian people against their national oppression has been central to the politics of the Middle East. The refusal of the Palestinians to quietly accept the theft of their land and their expulsion from their homes has made it impossible for Israel to consolidate the political gains it sought to win on the battlefield. By continuing their struggle, the Palestinians have continually undermined the attempts of Arab rulers to maintain a stable collaboration with imperialism.

The fundamental aim of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon is to try to destroy the resistance of the Palestinians once and

for all. Like the U.S. commanders in Vietnam, or the racist white colonial settlers in southern Africa, the Zionist regime claims that it is fighting an organization of terrorists. But its methods in Lebanon show that its fight is against the Palestinian people as a whole. More and more people around the world are beginning to realize that the real terrorists are the Zionist rulers.

Casualties beyond count

In West Beirut, Israeli forces are shelling whole sections of the city, which contains some 500,000 civilians. A June 26 dispatch from Beirut by *New York Times* reporter William Farrell gave the following description:

"At Berbir Hospital . . . Dr. Amal Shamma, asked how many casualties she had treated, said, 'We've lost count.' 'Our morgue refrigerator is full, and we have had bodies piled on the floor outside it,' she said. . . .

"Whole families have been killed," she said, 'so there's nobody to pick up the dead.' . . .

"Many people are going from hospital to hospital looking for relatives. . . .

"A place called the Islamic Home for Invalids was hit Friday [June 25]. Today its corridors were streaked with blood. About a dozen people were said to have died."

Meanwhile, in southern Lebanon, *Times* correspondent Shipler reported that "the Israeli Army has systematically destroyed many of the Palestinians' houses that survived the battles, increasing the number of homeless families, many of them with children."

"They are all terrorists," an Israeli officer told Shipler when asked why bull-

dozers were knocking down houses in which women and children were living.

At the same time, the Zionist forces have refused to allow international relief organizations to provide assistance to these homeless refugees. The purpose is to drive the Palestinian population out of southern Lebanon, just as it was previously driven out of Israel.

But while the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has dealt a heavy blow to the Palestinians, the Zionist regime is still a long way from its goal of destroying their national liberation struggle.

In light of the massive opposition that has surfaced within Israel to Begin's war of aggression, the Zionist rulers are clearly reluctant to risk the heavy casualties that would be entailed in any frontal attack on West Beirut. That is where the proposal for a U.S. "peace-keeping force" comes in. Reagan and Begin have the same goals. These are against the interests of working people — in Lebanon, in Israel, and here in the United States.

San Diego draft resister

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agreed, and expressed his own support for the liberation struggles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Angola. He said this is why he is against the draft.

Mason also conveyed to Sasway the solidarity of the many youth in his own home town of Seaside, California, who have also not registered for the draft. Mason is an elected city councilman in Seaside.

Later, Mason told the *Militant*:

"For young workers, the real fight is right here in this country, against the attacks on democratic rights, against massive unemployment which is part of the overall war drive of this government. At the same time that Washington attacks workers in Central America, it attacks young workers here in America."



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PLO leader Yassir Arafat: Israel is real terrorist

'Zionists have attempted to destroy an entire people'

The following interview with Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), appeared in the July/August issue of *The Link*, published by Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc.

Q. Is the P.L.O. a terrorist organization?

A. You have refused to see the organized terrorism of the Zionists, who have attempted to destroy an entire people, and to say to the world: There are no Palestinian people.

You do not see the fascist characteristics of Begin, who [in 1946] blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem killing 93 persons, and who planned the [1947] massacre in the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin, in which 254 men, women and children were shot, pushed into a well, and covered with dirt. When Red Cross officials came to this village, they found the bodies, a few of them still breathing, and they have reported this terrorism to the world. You in the West have become so blinded by Zionist control in your media that you give one of the foremost terrorists, Begin, a peace prize.

The Israeli authorities call our commandos "terrorists" but all movements of national resistance have been called this — in France, for example, during the Nazi occupation. Our aims are military and economic.

Reprisals against civilians have only been made in answer to Israeli attacks: it was after the bombing of Irbid and Kafr-Kasr that a bomb was left in Jerusalem, and after the bombing of Salt that the attack on Tel-Aviv took place. [Irbid, Kafr-Kasr, and Salt are towns in Jordan with large Palestinian populations. They were heavily bombed by Israel prior to the 1970 civil war in Jordan.]

What is your definition of a terrorist? Of terrorism? Is it not terrorism to drive a people from their homes under threat of death? Is it not terrorism to murder men, women and children who cling to their land, their olive trees? Is it not terrorism to shoot students who demonstrate for their freedom?

Is it not terrorism to imprison, hold without charges and to brutally torture one out of every five Palestinian youths in the occupied territories? Is it not terrorism of an entire people that they, being forced to live under "emergency laws," have no right to protest? Don't you know that the Israelis are not forced to open their prisons for the world to know about this widespread and systematic torture?

Several hundred of our leaders in occupied Palestine were, one by one, over the past decade arrested at midnight, black sacks were put over their heads, and they were driven to the borders and expelled from their homeland, where their forefathers have lived for thousands of years. Our mayors in the West Bank are bombed, and their legs are blown off — by Israeli terrorists. Our mayors, democratically elected by our people, are expelled from office.

Is it not terrorism to send bulldozers to knock down Palestinian homes; is it not terrorism when armed gunmen storm Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, shooting and killing Palestinians worshipping there?

I classify most of the steps taken by the Israeli government against Palestinians since 1948 as terrorist actions. As part of their systematic terrorism, the Israeli Intelligence in the past decade has assassinated 16 of our outstanding leaders.

When an Israeli official was shot in Paris, the Zionists said the P.L.O. did it. The P.L.O. had nothing to do with that

murder. But what kind of people is it that can mourn only when an Israeli is shot? Is not our beloved Naim Khader, killed by the Israelis in Brussels in 1981, or our beloved Abu Hassan, killed by the Israelis in Beirut in 1979, equal to any Israeli? Do we not also mourn? Are we not also human?

We Palestinians have struggled for our honor, our dignity, our homeland since before 1948, and our cause was as just then as it is today, but until we began our armed struggle in 1965, our cause was consistently ignored.

We have no airplanes, no bombs to drop from the air, we have no ships, and yet we face the organized terrorism of the Israeli-American war machine. We are fighting with our hearts, sometimes with only small stones. Was David, facing Goliath, the greatest terrorist of his day? The tactics of "terrorism" that we use are those the Americans used in their fight for freedom, that the French used in their fight for freedom, that the Algerians used in their fight for freedom. They are tactics against occupation, repression and oppression; they are legitimate means, for we have no other weapons, by which to survive.

Q. It is often said the P.L.O. wants to drive the Israelis into the sea. Is this true?

A. The P.L.O. has never advocated the annihilation of Israel. The Zionists started the "drive the Jews into the sea" slogan and attributed it to the P.L.O. We have repeatedly made suggestions of how Christians, Muslims and Jews can live together, in peace, in the Holy Land. In 1969, we said, we want to establish a democratic state where Jews, Christians and Muslims can live all together. The Zionists said they do not choose to live with any people other than Jews. They want a state only for Zionist-Jews. This, we believe, is as racist a concept as Hitler's idea of a state only for his kind.

We said to the Zionist-Jews, all right, if you do not want a secular, democratic state for all of us, then we will take another route. In 1974, I said, we are ready to establish our independent state in any part from which Israel will withdraw.

We, the victims, have offered two solutions: I have not said that we are going to throw anybody into the sea. We are offering options while the Zionists are offering only more annihilation,

more oppression and new slavery to my people. They say we want to drive them into the sea. This is their guilt speaking, for having driven us from our lands — into the desert.

Q. Why don't you recognize Israel's right to exist?

A. You have to put into your consideration that it is the Israeli side who started this violence. The Zionists are the aggressors. The Zionists are the occupiers. Why are the victims of this aggression asked to "recognize" the occupiers? Up to what boundaries, up to what limits of their aggression do you yourself "recognize" the Zionists? To the borders given them in 1947?

Our people have been kicked out of our homeland and 60 percent of our people are living as refugees, homeless, stateless, in refugee camps, in very bad, very serious, very complicated circumstances.

They have been struggling, to live normal lives, but they are denied the right of nationhood and they must have identification cards and do not have the right to hold passports as Palestinians, and having no passports, they are not seen as first-class people by others, who are citizens of a state.

We, too, want our flag, our industries, our schools, our universities. We too want to be recognized. The Zionists who have stolen our orchards and farms and who refuse to allow our students to write poems about Palestine or to show the Palestinian flag, even the Palestinian colors, are denying us our human rights.

Begin is saying that "we will not recognize the Palestinians and we will not recognize the P.L.O."

Zionist Mr. Kissinger exacted a pledge from the United States that it would not negotiate with the P.L.O. But why not talk with us? Your own State Department people have pointed out that the agreement not to negotiate does not mean you can't talk with us. Why do you refuse to see us?

As long as you refuse to see us, to have a dialogue with words, there can be only

one dialogue, and that is a dialogue through armaments.

I do not choose war.

But thus far, you give us no choice.

Q. Often one reads that the Israeli Jews are protecting the Christians of the Holy Land. Is this true?



Yassir Arafat

A. What a big lie. Arab Christians, like Arab Muslims, are persecuted and oppressed by the Zionists, and are second-class citizens in the "Jewish" state. The so-called "Jewish" state is a Zionist state. I do not recognize anything in Zionism that in any way is an expression of the noble Jewish religion, which we consider as part of our heritage and ethos, the same as Islam and Christianity.

We Palestinians are not fighting against Jews, but against Zionist ideology and institutions that have separated Jews from Palestinians and allowed the Zionist ruling elite — Jews from Poland and other Western countries — to dominate and persecute the Palestinians. Every Christian as well as every Muslim is a second-class citizen in the so-called "Jewish"-Zionist state.

We are struggling for the creation of a new society where Jews, Christians and Muslims can coexist with equal rights.

In my United Nations speech in 1974 I emphasized this theme when I said: "... I should return with my people out of exile to live (in Palestine) in one democratic state where Christian, Jew and Muslim live in justice, equality and fraternity."

Q. Why do you hope for final victory?

A. Israel's weak spot is the fact that it is engaged in an unjust war. Our struggle is beginning to prove this to the world.

All experience has proved that nationalism is a more powerful lever than prosperity. The essential effect on the armed struggle has been to restructure an uprooted and atomized society which had lost the desire to struggle. In this sense, the resistance, by its action, has re-created a sense of identity, and awakened the Palestinian national consciousness.

We are in the current of history. Remember, history has never witnessed the failure of a popular revolution.

Hear Rev. Ben Chavis speak in N.Y., N.J.



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Chavis and Mason to address socialist gathering in Ohio

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Two leaders of the Black liberation struggle in the United States — Rev. Ben Chavis and Mel Mason — will be the featured speakers at a public rally during the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio from July 31 to August 7.

Rev. Ben Chavis is the most well-known of the Wilmington 10 defendants — 10 Black rights activists who were framed up and jailed on riot and conspiracy charges for their civil rights activities in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1971.

Today, Chavis is deputy director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ.

In addition to speaking at the rally, Chavis will also be giving some classes at the conference.

Mel Mason is a socialist city councilman in Seaside, California, a small city on the Monterey Peninsula. He was elected because of his reputation as a fighter for the rights of Blacks and all working people.

Currently, Mason is running for governor of California as an independent. He is also a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party.



Mel Mason

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Quarter-million in San Francisco march in Gay Freedom Day parade

BY MARGARET JAYKO

At the end of June, the annual Gay and Lesbian Pride parades and marches involved hundreds of thousands in cities across the country.

In San Francisco, a quarter of a million people turned out for the parade on June 27. The mood was festive and the atmosphere carnival-like. One small section of the parade carried antiwar and antidraft signs and banners, such as "War is the real perversion."

One of the speakers at the rally was Arnaldo Ramos, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador.

There were also a few pro-Equal Rights Amendment signs.

Supporters of the independent campaign of Mel Mason for governor collected 5,700 signatures to support Mason's right to have his name on the ballot. They also distributed 5,000 copies of a statement to the marchers from Mason.

In Los Angeles, 75,000 people attended the parade. One contingent of gay Latinos had signs and banners calling for the United States to get out of El Salvador. Another Latino contingent carried a banner calling for the United States to send medical aid to El Salvador.

Organizers of the New York march and rally estimated the crowd marching up Fifth Avenue at 100,000. Antiwar signs were also in sight at that action, and chants of "Lesbians and Gays won't fight your war, U.S. out of El Salvador"

An attractive brochure in English and Spanish has just been printed to publicize the socialist educational conference. In addition to giving details on food, housing, etc., it explains a little bit about the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, the two organizations sponsoring the conference.

The week will feature six major talks, a wide range of educational classes, workshops, national meetings of social-

ist workers in various industries and unions, the public rally, and other events. It will be attended by people from across the United States as well as from other countries.

For copies of the brochure, and to find out more about participating in the conference, contact the SWP or YSA in your area (see page 17), or write to the SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



Rev. Ben Chavis

Militant/Duane Stilwell

Abortion rights action gains support

BY JANICE SAMS

PHILADELPHIA — With one week left to build the July 17 abortion rights march and rally in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, efforts are being made to reach out to unions, women's organizations, and Black groups to involve them in building the action. The demonstration will be held at the site of the national convention of the anti-abortion "Right-to-Life" group.

Support for the protest has mounted in Pennsylvania in the wake of the recent passage of an anti-abortion bill by the state legislature.

Builders of the action are getting a good response.

One garment worker has been talking to the sewing machine operators on his job about the march and encouraging them to attend.

The Philadelphia Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union office has taken leaflets to distribute in the mills.

In addition, Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers endorsed the action and is building it among its membership. The Coalition of Labor Union Women has also endorsed.

Drawing a parallel between the attacks on women's rights at home and the U.S. war in El Salvador, the local chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador has endorsed the action, and is planning to participate in it.

Buses are reportedly chartered from cities up and down the east coast, and participants are expected from as far away as Chicago.

Confirmed speakers at the rally include: Reetha Hill, a student at Wayne State University in Detroit and a member of the National Black Independent Political Party; Cecelia McCarthy, American Federation of Government Employees; Rhonda Copelon, Center for Constitutional Rights; Fran-

Kissling, Catholics for Free Choice; Jane Wells-Schooley, National Organization for Women; Susan Hill, National Women's Health Organization; Barbara Winslow, Reproductive Rights National Network; and Joan Gibbs, Dykes Against Racism Everywhere.

There will also be a speak-out by women who had illegal abortions before 1973, and women who provided abortion services then.

For more information, call: (215) 629-2860.

Reagan readies escalation of war in Central America

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posts, towns, and farms from bases in southern Honduras.

The bulk of these forces are made up of ex-National Guardsmen and other supporters of the late Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. But recently Washington's efforts to improve the image of the counterrevolution have received a boost from a traitor, ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora.

Pastora, who gained fame as "Commander Zero" during the war against the Somoza regime, broke publicly with the revolution in April, echoing all the slanders heaped on the Sandinistas by the Reagan administration.

After many weeks with barely a word on Nicaragua, *The New York Times* carried a front-page feature on Pastora on July 2. Pointing to him as "the clear leader of an exile movement to topple the three-year-old Sandinista regime," correspondent Alan Riding claimed Pastora's defection had "dramatically changed the panorama of exiled opposition."

Washington would like to forge a united front between Pastora's forces and the gangs of Somozaists and other ultrarightist scum. This was spelled out May 31 by syndicated columnists Evans and Novak. "Anti-Sandinistas in Managua," they wrote, "believe Pastora is a sincere, if confused, patriot whose popularity must be utilized."

"These clandestine opposition leaders see formerly anti-Somoza and pro-Somoza forces coalescing into armed opposition that could generate a Central American war with immense consequences for the hemisphere." For this, Evans and Novak noted, "a robust U.S. role" is essential; otherwise, "the first communist foothold on the Latin American mainland could become welded in iron."

According to the June 3 *Christian Science Monitor*, Pastora has established a number of small military training camps in northern Costa Rica.

Citing Pastora aide Plutarco Hernández, the *Monitor* said the camps "usually house about 125 persons. They receive four to 10 weeks of training, depending on their previous military experience."

On June 22 newly elected Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge visited the White House and received a pledge of stepped-up economic aid from President Reagan, who termed Costa Rica "a

natural partner of the United States." Monge chimed in with the U.S. administration's line, denouncing "a massive offensive on the part of totalitarian Marxism-Leninism in the area of Central America and the Caribbean."

The next day, Monge told the editors of the *Washington Post* that he had — according to the *Post's* summary — "asked for security-related assistance from the United States and other countries in the face of growing terrorism and military incursions along the border with Nicaragua."

"Monge said President Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. appear to be giving serious study to providing uniforms and communications equipment for enhanced police and antiterrorism forces."

Brooklyn antiracist march on July 18

NEW YORK — A march to protest the June 22 murder of Black transit worker William Turks by a gang of white racists will take place at Avenue X in Brooklyn July 18. The protest was called at a June 29 meeting of Black community organizations. For more information, contact the National Black United Front at 596-1991 or 638-0811.

Fidel Castro Speeches

Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

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Anti-imperialist fighters meet in Libya

Solidarity with Palestinians stressed at international conference

BY LARRY SEIGLE

TRIPOLI, Libya — Anti-imperialist fighters from all over the world attended a four-day conference hosted here by the Libyan government at the end of June. The central goal of those present was the achievement of greater unity and aid to those in the colonial and semicolonial world who are struggling for the right to determine their own future free from imperialist oppression and exploitation.

Delegates and observers came from throughout the Arab world, from Iran, from Black Africa, from Asia, and from Latin America and the Caribbean. They came from governments, from mass parties, from solidarity committees, and from a wide range of left-wing and anti-imperialist groups.

The conference heard from representatives of governments and governing parties from various countries, such as Syria, Iran, the Seychelles, Ethiopia, Ghana, Nicaragua, Democratic Yemen, Cuba, Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and many more.

Delegates from liberation groups fighting arms in hand against imperialism also addressed the gathering. Among these were SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization); Polisario, the group fighting for the independence of the Western Sahara; the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador; the Guatemala National Revolutionary Union; and others as well.

Also participating were representatives of a wide range of political parties and groupings within the working-class movement. These came primarily from Latin America, and included several Communist parties, some social-democratic groups, parties considering themselves to be Marxist and Leninist, the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), the M-19 Movement of Colombia, and many others.

Given the wide range of views brought together at the conference, there was no consensus on concrete steps to be taken, or on overall strategy in the fight against imperialism.

But there was unanimous agreement that the conference was a valuable opportunity for discussion, and helped bring about greater unity among all those who are battling against — in the words of the conference — “imperialism, Zionism, racism, and reaction.”

Libya's Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi addressed the gathering, appealing to all those present to stand shoulder to shoulder in active support of “the victims of imperialist and racist aggression, from Palestine to South Africa.”

Solidarity with Libya against the threats from Washington was a prominent feature of the proceedings. The anti-imperialist actions of the Libyan government have made this country a special target for Reagan's anti-Arab propaganda, as well as economic reprisals. Libya's aid and support for many liberation struggles, as well as its economic aid to countries being blackmailed by the U.S. government — such as Nicaragua and Grenada — have earned Washington's deep hostility. Conference participants made clear their appreciation for Libya's actions.

Solidarity with the Palestinian cause was a central theme of the entire gathering. As the conference convened, Israeli planes and artillery were reducing much of Lebanon to rubble, slaughtering thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese.

A delegate from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) told the several hundred participants that, whatever the immediate outcome of the fighting in Lebanon, “the Zionists will not succeed. They cannot prevail. Because to do so they would have to eliminate an entire people, my people.” The Zionists have been trying to eliminate the people of

Palestine since Israel was established, he said. “It cannot be done. We will not disappear. And as long as the Palestinian people exist on the face of the earth, the Israeli army will never ‘break the back’ of the PLO.”

“So long as our land is occupied, we will fight with whatever means we can lay our hands on to regain our homeland.”

Many of the speeches focused on the role of American imperialism — “the leader of international terrorism,” in the words of the declaration of the conference. Speakers hit at Washington's direct intervention and threats of intervention in Central America, Indochina, and elsewhere. They also emphasized the role of U.S. imperialism as the ally, supplier, and ultimate defender of Israel and South Africa.

But the role of the imperialist powers of Western Europe was also emphasized.

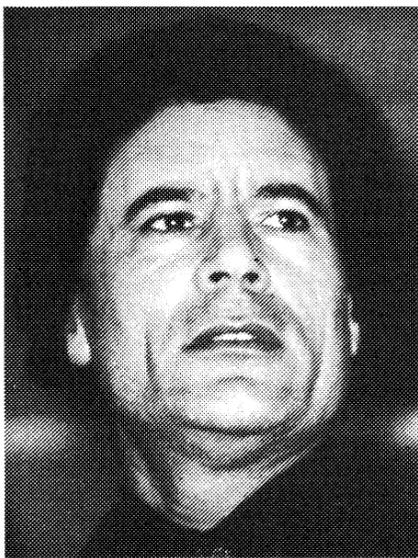
Britain's war against Argentina over the Malvinas Islands was unanimously and forcefully condemned. Delegates understood full well that London's blows against Argentina were aimed equally at all the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America who dare to stand up and fight to recover what has been stolen from them.

As the delegate from Ghana stressed, “I don't want anyone here to make the mistake of thinking the United States is the only imperialist power we must confront today. So many massacres have been committed on the African continent by the French, by the Belgians, and by the other European powers who are still struggling to preserve and extend

their exploitation of our peoples.”

In addition to the formal conference proceedings, informal discussions and delegation meetings provided the opportunity for people from many countries and many different organizations to explore possibilities of common action in the fight against imperialist intervention in the colonial and semicolonial world.

The participants from Latin America, in particular, held a number of lengthy political discussions, both on the topics under debate in the conference itself and on strategic questions of special interest to Latin America. Those present covered a big part of the spectrum of the



Libyan leader Qaddafi spoke at anti-imperialist conference. Right: Palestinian child left homeless by Israeli aggression in Lebanon.



U.S. Black party activists tour Grenada, learn about gains of the revolution

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

ST. GEORGES, Grenada — The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) had its first solidarity tour to Grenada the week of June 15-21.

The delegation of 60 people came from NBIPP chapters across the United States to learn the truth about the revolutionary developments that have taken place in Grenada since the overthrow of the dictatorship of Eric Gairy on March 13, 1979.

Grenada is an island in the Caribbean. The 1979 workers and farmers revolution there was the first to take place in a Black, English-speaking country.

The NBIPP has actively rallied support for the Grenadian revolution in the United States. It has organized public forums and picket lines to counter the propaganda of the Reagan administration, which has been on a campaign to slander the gains made by the workers and farmers of Grenada.

The U.S. government has also threatened the island with military force. Last year, the U.S. Navy carried out a provocative practice invasion of Grenada on the shores of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

The NBIPP tour was a powerful show of solidarity with the people of Grenada. It was the largest single delegation to ever visit the island.

The delegation brought material aid including tape recorders, clothes, and books.

The tour group was greeted at the airport by a delegation from the International Relations Committee of the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). Both national representatives of the NBIPP, Ben Chavis and Barbara Arnwine, gave solidarity greetings at the welcoming ceremony.

The delegation had meetings with leaders of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), which led the 1979 revolution. There were also meetings with the National Youth Organization, the Nation-

al Women's Organization, and trade union leaders from the Technical and Allied Workers union and the Commercial and Production Workers union.

Selwyn Strachan, a central leader of the NJM and the minister of National Mobilization and Labor, gave the group a political orientation on the progress and goals of the three-year-old revolution.

Strachan opened his presentation by greeting the delegation and saying that Grenadians, as an internationalist people, deeply appreciated the solidarity extended to them from the NBIPP members who had traveled from the belly of the beast, the imperialist United States.

He went on to explain that the Grenadian revolution has three pillars. The first is to raise the political consciousness of the people and to mobilize their participation in guiding the country's destiny. “The people must be placed in the center,” Strachan said.

The other two pillars of the revolution are the construction of the economy and defense of the revolution. Strachan said that Grenada will not become prey to the type of military coup that toppled the Chilean government in 1973. The NJM is arming the masses to combat counterrevolutionary activity, such as economic sabotage.

He pointed out that what they have in Grenada today is people's democracy. The mass organizations of the youth and women are central in drawing the masses into motion. Parish and zonal council meetings are also important instruments in putting more decision making power into the hands of the people. These meetings take place regularly.

Strachan pointed out that through discussion at these meetings the idea of establishing a national bus system first developed, for example.

1982 has been designated in Grenada as the “Year of Economic Construction.”

workers and peasants movements in the Americas.

As one delegate told the *Militant*, “This conference is one more instance of solidarity with the international fight against imperialism. What has been accomplished here is not only a deepening of understanding among peoples who are fighting battles separated by oceans, peoples who are divided by language and history. We have also learned more about what unites us: our common struggle against our common enemy.”

“This is another concrete example of authentic international solidarity. It has been another step toward uniting us in the battles ahead.”

Guatemala regime opens new terror wave



U.S. government wants to give more aid to Guatemalan military regime.

BY FRED MURPHY

The Guatemalan regime of Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt — to which the Reagan administration is seeking to restore U.S. military aid — declared a state of siege throughout the country on July 1.

Under the state of siege, civil liberties have been suspended, the press has been banned from publishing any information about "subversive groups," and special courts are to be established to impose the death penalty on those whom a Reuters news agency dispatch from Guatemala termed "insurgents found guilty of murder, sabotage, terrorism or treason."

"It is time to do what God orders," General Ríos Montt declared in announcing the state of siege. "The Communists have offered the red paradise, but all they have brought is a race of death."

In fact, the decree only codified the regime's policy of terror against the Indian peasants of the northwestern high-

lands of Guatemala. This policy has been applied with growing ruthlessness since Ríos Montt came to power in a March 23 coup.

As presented in much of the big-business news media, the aim of the young officers who carried out the coup was to curtail widespread human-rights violations and put an end to official corruption. But these cosmetic moves were directed mainly at gaining middle-class support in the cities and improving the country's international image. While kidnappings and murders by paramilitary death squads in the cities declined sharply, official terror in the countryside was actually stepped up.

Indian peasants make up 60 percent of Guatemala's population. In recent years, they have been driven by poverty and deprivation to take up arms against the regime of the wealthy landowners and capitalists. Now, the Indians are "systematically being destroyed as a group," a West European diplomat in

Guatemala City told *New York Times* correspondent Raymond Bonner.

The army's tactics were detailed in the May 7 issue of the London newsletter *Latin America Weekly Report*:

"The army strategy is to clear the population out of the guerrillas' support areas. Troops and militias move into the villages, shoot, burn or behead the inhabitants they catch; the survivors are machine-gunned from helicopters as they flee. Any survivors are later rounded up and taken to special camps where Church and aid agencies cope as best they can.

"Between 24 and 29 April alone, opposition sources say, there have been massacres in five villages, with at least 150 men, women and children killed. There have been 17 such raids since mid-March."

It is no accident that such tactics recall the "search-and-destroy" missions, "free-fire zones," and the rounding up of the civilian population into "strategic hamlets" practiced extensively by the U.S. Army in South Vietnam. General Ríos Montt and many other Guatemalan officers were trained in the Pentagon's schools in the United States and the Panama Canal Zone. In the 1960s, large numbers of U.S. Special Forces advisers served in Guatemala as the regime eradicated a popular guerrilla movement through widespread terror.

Insofar as the latest massacres have not been totally blacked out by the U.S. news media, they have usually been attributed to "unknown assailants," "unidentified gunmen," or even the guerrillas themselves. This reflects a recent and sinister shift in tactics by the regime. Army troops are dressed up in civilian garb and sent into a village to commit a massacre. They then leave, and uniformed troops arrive a few hours later to offer medical care and other aid

to the survivors, blaming the attack on the rebels.

A similar tactic was used by the notorious "Selous Scouts" against the struggle for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe.

Protest in capital

To protest the current genocidal campaign against the Indian population, a group of activists from the Committee of Peasant Unity (CUC) and other popular organizations occupied the Brazilian embassy in Guatemala City on May 12. Fearing an international outcry similar to that which followed the January 31, 1980, massacre of Indian peasants who occupied the Spanish embassy in Guatemala, the regime had to allow the occupiers to give statements to the press and guarantee them safe passage out of the country.

The CUC calculated that more than 3,000 persons had been killed in just a month and a half. A typical massacre was the one April 26 in the village of Chitún in Chimaltenango, where 20 peasants, including women and children, were locked inside their homes and burned alive.

One aim of the state of siege decree is to prevent news of such army killings from reaching the public in Guatemala and internationally. The rulers want to prevent the publication of editorials such as that which appeared in the May 17 issue of *El Gráfico*, a leading Guatemala City daily. "The assassination of defenseless children and pregnant women is stupid, bestial," the paper's publisher, Jorge Carpio Nicolle, wrote. "It seems incredible, but this new outbreak of mass assassinations demonstrates that Guatemala is far from peace or, at least, from the diminution of violence. The world will again close its doors because we really are not worthy of any aid while this continues."

Reagan seeks to aid regime

But the Reagan administration does indeed consider the bloody Guatemalan regime "worthy of aid." It has requested that Congress appropriate \$50,000 for military training of Guatemalan troops in the current fiscal year, and an additional \$250,000 for fiscal 1983. This is just the thin end of the wedge. Plans are also being made to boost economic aid to \$50 million and to provide the armed forces with helicopters. The sale of \$4 million in helicopter spare parts is also in the works.

A key aim of the March coup was to improve the regime's image abroad and pave the way for such a restoration of U.S. aid, which had been rejected by Guatemalan rulers since 1977 owing to State Department criticisms of human rights violations.

Not only have the revelations of continued massacres complicated Reagan's plans, but on June 9 General Ríos Montt dropped previously announced plans for elections, dumped the other two members of the junta, and declared himself president. He announced June 20 that there would be no elections in Guatemala for at least two-and-a-half years.

A fact-finding team of U.S. congressional aides visited Guatemala in May and returned to report that "killings in rural areas . . . have been as bad or worse" than before the March coup.

"I am far less inclined to go ahead with resumption of military aid following the trip," said Congressman Stephen Solarz of New York, who sent an aide with the delegation. Representative Tom Harkin of Iowa pointed to "a refocusing of the war on the Indians in the rural areas" and said he was "absolutely, irreversibly" opposed to military aid to Guatemala.

It is the massive opposition of the American people to U.S. military intervention in Central America that gives rise to such hesitations by members of Congress. For this reason it is more important than ever to get out the truth about the brutal Guatemalan regime and Reagan's other clients in the region.

Behind the ouster of General Haig

BY FRED MURPHY

The forced resignation of Alexander Haig as U.S. secretary of state on June 25 will hardly be lamented by working people. Haig personified the U.S. rulers' open support for the world's most reactionary forces. This made him one of the most widely hated figures in the Reagan administration.

Haig was closely identified with U.S. imperialism's secret war against the peoples of Central America. He threatened repeatedly to "go to the source" and do "whatever is necessary" to stem the revolutionary upsurge in that region.

The ex-secretary of state was a key spokesman for Washington's belligerent stance toward the Soviet Union. Haig was the first to launch the big-lie campaign accusing Vietnam and the Soviet Union of employing deadly chemical weapons in violation of international treaties.

It was Haig who publicly reaffirmed the imperialists' nuclear-war strategy in Western Europe. He pointed in November 1981 to NATO's "contingency plans . . . to fire a nuclear weapon for demonstrative purposes," and declared last April that Washington would not hesitate to strike first with nuclear warheads in order to "protect the essential values of Western civilization."

Haig became the target of fierce hatred among the peoples of Latin America when he spearheaded Washington's complicity with British imperialism's war against Argentina over the Malvinas Islands — after posing duplicitously as a "neutral" mediator in the conflict.

Finally, Haig advocated even stronger support by the Reagan administration for Israel's war of civilian slaughter and wholesale destruction against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. Haig's backing of Israeli war aims made it crystal clear that the inva-

sion of Lebanon is as much Washington's as Tel Aviv's.

It was this last crisis that touched off Haig's downfall. His conflicts with others in the U.S. administration had already made him a liability in the eyes of Reagan's top advisers, but it was the growing political cost of too-close identification with the Israeli blitzkrieg that finally did Haig in.

Haig's removal does not signal any basic shift in Washington's support to the brutal Israeli war machine. But it does offer the Reagan administration a chance to shed some crocodile tears over the destruction of Lebanon and put a little distance between itself and the Begin regime.

At bottom, the Haig resignation again discloses the dilemma facing the imperialists as their system continues its historic decline. The measures and policies required for dealing with the crisis of imperialism — especially the drive toward war — inevitably give rise to massive resistance. The ruling-class figures who seek to administer these policies are quickly discredited. Haig now joins the lengthening list of top officials — including the last four U.S. presidents — who have had to be cast aside when no longer useful to U.S. capitalism.

While some editorial writers in the capitalist press have expressed dismay at what Haig's ouster shows about the ongoing disarray of U.S. foreign policy, they have also heaped praise on his replacement. George Shultz made his mark in the 1970s as Nixon's "economic czar," administering the wage controls and austerity measures that were the opening round in the rulers' domestic offensive against working people.

A major article in the June 12 *Business Week* expressed the rulers' hopes that Shultz can pick up the pieces:

"The temperamental General Haig served the Reagan administration as a lightning rod for heated reactions to

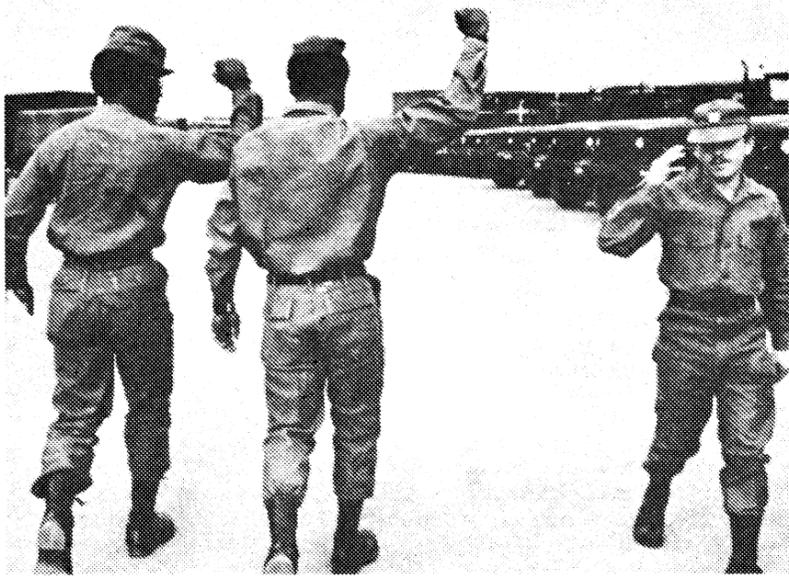
controversial U.S. policies in the Middle East, Latin America, and Europe. But the new realities created by the invasion of Lebanon, the Falklands crisis, and the burgeoning economic war within the Atlantic alliance require dramatic changes in the tone and implementation, though not necessarily in the fundamentals, of U.S. foreign policy. George Shultz's skills as a negotiator and builder of consensus are tailor-made for supervising the changeover."

Nonetheless, *Business Week* cautioned, "The substantive issues of foreign policy will be less easy to solve than those of style and personality."

From *Intercontinental Press*



Haig: fired as Reagan seeks to take "distance" from Israel's Lebanon blitzkrieg.



GIs in Germany flashing Black power salute.

Will restoring draft restore 'reliability' to imperialist army?

Black and Latino soldiers worry generals

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On June 30 the U.S. Justice Department indicted 21-year-old Benjamin Sasway, a white student in San Diego, for refusing to register for the draft.

During the week prior to the indictment, as part of Washington's propaganda campaign to make the prosecution of draft resisters more palatable and to win support for reinstatement of the draft, a number of articles appeared in the major media questioning the reliability of the armed services because of the high percentage of Black soldiers.

One article in the June 28 *New York Times* noted that the army's enlistment force is 33 percent Black, while Blacks are 12 percent of the overall population, and that the Marine Corps is 22 percent Black.

The *Times* reported on a study done by the Brookings Institution which claimed that "four of every ten black volunteers who have entered the armed services since the end of the draft have been in the lowest acceptable mental category."

The Brookings Institution offered rather thin cover for its racist arguments in favor of the draft. It merely claimed concern that in the event of a war, Blacks would suffer disproportionately higher casualties.

This has never bothered U.S. rulers before. Blacks have always died in disproportionate numbers in America's wars. In Vietnam, during 1967 there were twice as many Blacks as whites in combat, and twice as many Black soldiers died in action (20.5 percent) in proportion to their numbers in the population, not to mention the casualties returning Black vets have faced in terms of unemployment, police brutality, and other racist victimization.

What Pentagon fears

What Pentagon think-tanks are really worried about comes out when the Brookings Institution study gets to the heart of the matter: "The deployment of

troops that share a racial or ethnic bond with an adversary poses difficulties."

As an example, they give the possibility of "disciplinary problems" in a possible American intervention on the side of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. The study also notes that a similar military intervention in Latin America might pose a problem with American soldiers of Latino background.

With regard to possible problems on the home front the study notes a "suspicion that black troops may be unwilling to carry out their assignments in certain domestic situations."

What Washington is really concerned about is the fact that the Black community, as shown by numerous polls, is opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, Africa, or elsewhere in the Third World. The high percentage of Blacks opposed to U.S. wars is matched by Latino opposition to U.S. intervention, especially in Latin America.

The discipline problems that the think-tanks allude to stem not from the alleged lower mental faculties of Blacks, but rather from their deeper class consciousness. Young Blacks — in uniform and out — are more inclined to question fighting against their brothers and sisters in the Third World in defense of a government that has given them only unemployment and racism at home.

Given this, it's not too hard to understand why the "suspicion" exists that an army made up of a large percentage of Black and Latino troops might not be willing to carry out their assignments in "certain domestic situations."

What 'domestic' situations?

No doubt the situations Washington envisions include the use of National Guardsmen or troops against demonstrations and rebellions by the Black community like the rebellion that took place in Miami in 1980 or to break strikes such as last year's strike of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Union.

The fact is that Black and Latino youth facing unemployment levels of 40 to 60 percent are the victims of an enforced economic draft which has pushed a disproportionate number of Blacks and Latinos into the armed services. They have joined the army not with the intention of fighting imperialism's wars, but rather in the hope of learning a skill they can translate into a job later on.

They didn't join up to shoot other Blacks and Latinos in countries like El Salvador, Grenada, or Nicaragua, who suffer similar racist oppression from U.S. imperialism.

It's in this sense that the think-tanks are right — a volunteer army with many Black and Latino soldiers is unreliable.

How does Washington propose to extricate itself from this dilemma?

A bipartisan panel, headed by a retired army officer, Gen. Andrew Goodpaster, proposes the reinstatement of the draft. The panel's proposals, according to the June 29 *New York Times*, are for more "middle-class white youths and

fewer black soldiers, especially in combat units, to make it more representative of the racial mix in the American population."

In the opinion of Goodpaster, this would solve the problem of putting together a more reliable army with the adequate "racial mix" and manpower necessary to wage the "simultaneous wars in Europe, the Persian Gulf and Northeast Asia" that the general envisions as a possibility.

Wrong!

Neither a volunteer army nor a conscript one will change the fact that working-class youth in this country do not want any more Vietnams. Nor will the draft change the fact that Blacks and Latinos will still be dragged into the army in disproportionate numbers, as happened with the draft during the Vietnam war.

"Hell no, we won't go; we won't fight for Texaco" sums up the mood of not just Black and Latino youth, but most young

white workers.

As the massive June 12 peace demonstration showed, the gap between the antiwar consciousness of Blacks and Latinos and that of whites has narrowed — more and more it is understood by all working people that the enemy is right here at home.

The over one-half million youths who have refused to register for the draft because of their opposition to war are testimony to this.

Washington is now using prosecutions to try to drive through reinstatement of the draft and move another notch toward acceptance of U.S. troop intervention abroad. Their first indictment doesn't bode too well for the "reliable" army they want to create. Benjamin Sasway shares the same opposition to U.S. war policy that many thousands of Blacks and Latinos hold. As he explained the day he was indicted, he refuses to register because he won't go fight in El Salvador or Nicaragua.

News conference in New York scores draft as step toward war

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — The New York Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) held a news conference here July 1. It was called to protest the indictment the day before of Benjamin Sasway, who has refused to register for the draft because he does not want to fight in El Salvador or Nicaragua.

Organized at the headquarters of the American Friends Service Committee, participants in the news conference were Matt Meyer and Warren Goldstein, two New York area public draft resisters; Naomi Braine from New York CARD; and Mustafa Randolph, representing the Black Veterans for Social Justice and the Third World and Progressive Peoples Coalition (TWPPC).

Additional organizations on hand to give statements of support included the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the War Resisters League, the National Lawyers Guild, and others.

In their remarks, Meyer and Goldstein scored the Reagan administration for attempting to force young men of draft age into the Army against their will.

Goldstein then read a statement from Ben Sasway, which explained why he refused to register "I must stand against the kinds of military misdirection that involved us in Vietnam 15 years ago," the statement said.

Naomi Braine from CARD indicated that the government selected San Diego for its first draft indictment banking on the idea that the city houses a large military installation and has an allegedly conservative population, making support for Sasway more difficult to organize. She pointed out that such a strategy shows that the government "does not understand the depth of opposition that exists to reinstatement of the draft."

Mustafa Randolph emphasized that

the draft must not be viewed separately from the U.S. war threat to Central America and the Caribbean, Africa, and the entire Third World.

"Reagan talks about peace while he registers youth for war," Randolph explained. And he pointed out, "The issue at hand is not just the U.S. government and the draft, but the military versus human needs."

Allan Meyer from CISPES scored the increased U.S. threat against not only El Salvador but Cuba and Nicaragua. He explained, "The first area these new draftees may go to is El Salvador." He concluded that CISPES considered Sasway's refusal to register "an action in solidarity with the people of El Salvador."

Both Meyer and Braine announced plans for protests in some 100 cities and a national steering committee meeting of CARD, taking place the weekend of July 4, to discuss further activities.

Antidraft actions protest indictment

On July 1, in response to the indictment of Benjamin Sasway for refusing to register for the draft, 175 people picketed the Federal Building in San Diego.

The picket, which was called by the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), was supported by members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Mel Mason, independent socialist candidate for Governor of California; the Revolutionary Communist Party; and others.

In reports of other actions around the country, over 100 people picketed at the Mid-Manhattan General Post Office July 3; Chicago had a picket of over 100; and similar actions were organized in St. Louis, Boston, and Detroit.

**NO
DRAFT
NO
WAR**

The Young Socialist Alliance has just put out an attractive new brochure in opposition to the draft.

If you are interested in the YSA and would like copies of the brochure for distribution, you can order them at 7 cents apiece from: YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Lawsuit is filed challenging U.S. ban on travel to Cuba

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

A teacher and 14 high school students left the United States for Cuba July 2 after an initial victory in an important civil liberties suit against the U.S. government's ban on travel to Cuba.

The challenge was filed by noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin and others June 24 in U.S. district court in Boston. A judge granted a temporary restraining order that allowed the group of 15, from a Quaker school in Pennsylvania, to leave for Cuba.

Now under consideration by the court is a request for an injunction against the government that would allow all Americans to visit Cuba.

Filing the challenge were the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation, the National Lawyers Guild, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

On July 1 the suit was joined by the Puerto Rico Olympic Committee on behalf of Puerto Rican sports fans who wish to attend the Central American and Caribbean Games in Cuba in August.

The committee had contracted for 1,000 spectators to be housed and fed during the games.

At stake in this case is the right of the American people to travel freely.

Since May 15 of this year, the government, invoking the Trading With The Enemy Act, has declared it illegal for U.S. citizens, with only a few exceptions, to spend U.S. currency in Cuba. That effectively rules out most travel to the island.

Anyone who is not a journalist or "professional" researcher, or who doesn't have a relative in Cuba, can only go "for humanitarian reasons, or for purposes of public performance, public exhibitions, or similar activities."

Violation carries a penalty of up to 10 years in jail or a \$50,000 fine, or both.

In its answer to the suit, the government asserts that "Cuba is an established opponent of the United States. Since 1960 Cuba has openly and consistently supported international terrorism and subversion against the interests and national security of the United States."

The government urges the court to "take judicial notice of recent history in, to name a few, El Salvador, the Caribbean, and even outside the Western Hemisphere in Angola, where Cuba's foreign activities have drastically conflicted with our own national interests."

With the "subversive" charge as justification, the government goes on to argue that it is fully within its rights to apply the Trading With The Enemy Act — and a travel ban — against Cuba. ". . . responsible foreign policy officials including the President have spoken to a need and intention to bring new pressure and sanctions to bear upon Cuba in an effort to restrain its adventurism," the government answer says.

The purpose of the act, it continues, is "to use economic controls as a tool of waging international conflict."

But as the brief filed by Boudin points out, the travel ban is a violation of the fundamental constitutional rights of the American people.

Besides lying about Cuba's policies as a justification for increasing military and economic pressure on Cuba, the government also seeks to hide the gains of the Cuban revolution from Americans.

Who are the plaintiffs in this case who have been denied the right to visit Cuba?

There's the Rev. Alice Hagemen, who has been to Cuba before with a delegation studying religion in Cuba. She's been invited to come to Cuba in August by the Women's Department of the Cuban Ecumenical Council.

There's Francis Bradley, assistant

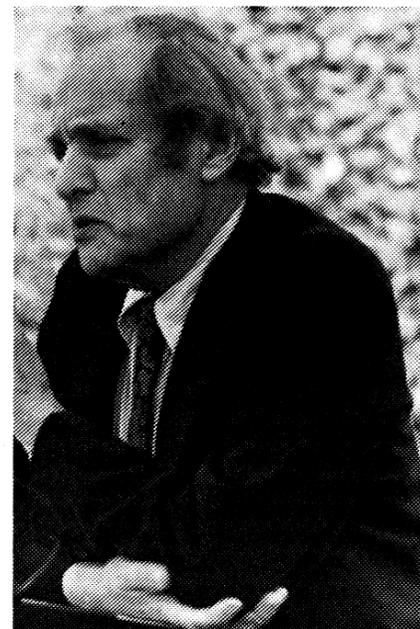
headmaster at George School in Newtown, Pennsylvania. He wanted to take a group of students on an educational tour of Cuba this June, which had been a year in the planning — the Quaker students the government arrogantly says are not "professional researchers" and therefore shouldn't be allowed to go.

There's Rosario Morales, a writer who wants to visit friends in Cuba and "see how women in Cuba have managed to integrate their work responsibilities and their home lives."

There's Robert Howard, who wants to visit Cuba with his children "to learn about the country, its people and its culture."

They are all ordinary citizens who want to exercise their right to be "well informed on public issues" so they are not "obliged to form [their] opinions about our foreign policy" from government officials or "a few correspondents of American newspapers," as Boudin's brief puts it.

As the brief points out, if Americans can't travel to Cuba, they can't "learn first hand of the nature of Cuba's society and people, and upon their return to the United States discuss such knowledge and ideas with their fellow citizens, and to exercise their right to franchise to determine their government's actions and policies on these matters."



Leonard Boudin

Militant/Harry Ring

Japanese farmers squeezed by U.S. exports

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

When Vice-president George Bush visited Japan in April he was greeted by 8,000 angry Japanese farmers. Marching past the U.S. embassy the farmers shouted in English, "No more foreign beef! No more foreign oranges!"

The farmers were protesting proposed trade agreements that permit cheaper U.S. agricultural commodities to be sold in Japan. Japanese big business has agreed to this in exchange for being able to continue selling its goods on U.S. markets without more restrictions.

While many Japanese manufacturing monopolies have made gains in the struggle for world markets, this is not the case in agriculture. Japan's archaic farm system cannot compete with North American, European, or Australian agriculture, even in its home market.

For centuries Japan had a system of very small, intensive farms, much like those of old China. Japan's rapid industrialization, which began in the late 19th century, was carried out largely at the expense of Japanese farmers.

The result was that the development of Japanese agriculture has lagged far behind that of Japanese industry. While Japanese industry is today among the most productive and modern in the world, Japanese agriculture retains much of its traditional character. In terms of world market values, a Japanese auto worker is 10 times as productive as a Japanese farmer.

With the exception of the northern island of Hokkaido, which has a somewhat more modern agricultural system, 70 percent of all farmland in Japan is divided into farms of about 2.5 acres. About 80 percent of Japan is mountainous. This combination of small size and hilly terrain makes mechanization of most Japanese farms very difficult.

Low productivity

This low productivity also applies to rice, which is Japan's principal crop and the staple of the Japanese diet. For example, U.S. rice farms average 2,500 acres and can produce a bale of rice for about one-sixth the cost on a Japanese farm.

Until the Japanese economic boom,

which lasted from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, Japan was still largely an agricultural country.

In the mid-1950s, about 40 percent of the Japanese population still lived on farms. The great expansion of Japanese industry was made possible in part by the labor available in this huge rural population. As more and more farmers became wage workers in industry, the number of people employed in agriculture declined. In 1962 the percentage of the workforce in agriculture was still 25 percent. Today it is only 10 percent.

This great change has not occurred without struggles by Japanese farmers. Japanese farmers and their working-class allies waged a 10-year fight in the 1970s against the eviction of small farmers by the government in order to construct the Narita New International Airport.

The plight of the Japanese farmer today is symbolized by Osamu Seike, who was recently interviewed by the *Wall Street Journal*. Seike grows mandarin oranges on a 8.4 acre farm, big by Japanese standards.

He heads an organizations of farmers that is marching under the slogan of "Block the liberalization of oranges, juice, beef, etc." Referring to moves by the Japanese government to liberalize restrictions on food imports from the U.S., Seike told the *Journal* reporter, "If there's another liberalization, I will have to quit."

The Japanese Federation of Farmers Cooperatives is engaging in a poster campaign. The posters depict a Japanese farmer defending the Japanese way of life against Ronald Reagan, who is dressed up as Superman, with USA printed on his T-shirt, bombarding Japan with beef and oranges.

Due in part to the 1978 Strauss-Ushiba agreement, which increased Japanese imports of U.S. beef and oranges, Japan imported \$7 billion worth of U.S. agricultural commodities in 1981. But with the U.S. farm economy continuing to suffer from massive overproduction, Washington is demanding Japan further step up its imports of American agricultural commodities.

As part of this effort, leaders of the

U.S. Farm Bureau Federation, a pro-big-business group closely allied with the Reagan administration, recently visited Japan to hold discussions with their counterparts and government officials. Federation President Robert Delano gave a speech in which he said that the federation opposed a bill introduced last year in the U.S. Congress "which would have placed mandatory quotas on Japanese cars and trucks entering the U.S." But one of Delano's aides then muttered, "I ain't so sure I'd oppose it now — we don't need their blanking cars." The implied threat to Japanese big business was obvious.

In general, Tokyo has been inclined to yield to U.S. demands to open Japanese markets to U.S. agricultural commodities. This spring Keidanren, an organization representing some of Japan's most powerful banks and corporations, demanded that import quotas be removed on 22 agricultural products. Japanese corporations fear that unless these concessions are made American and European governments may adopt more stringent tariffs and other protectionist measures, thus depriving Japanese corporations of many of their newly won markets.

Furthermore, Japanese big business could turn cheaper food prices to their advantage by holding wages down, thus raising profits.

Farmers' anger aroused

To be sure, Japanese imperialism pays a price by conceding to American demands. It has aroused the anger of hundreds of thousands of farmers who are victimized by the agreements of U.S. and Japanese big business.

This could present a problem for the big-business Liberal Democratic Party, which has depended on rural votes to stay in office for the last 30 years. The further worsening of the agricultural crisis in Japan could thus lead to a major realignment in Japanese politics that might provide political openings for the workers and farmers.

Protectionist measures, however, which only serve to drive up prices for all working people, are no more the solution for Japanese farmers than they are for American workers and farmers. When U.S. auto workers demand tariffs on Japanese auto imports to this country, when U.S. sheep farmers call for restrictions on New Zealand lamb, and when Japanese farmers want stiffer quotas on U.S. food imports, a situation is created where workers and farmers are pitted against each other. The only winner in this kind of conflict is big business.

Fights for protectionist measures are only a diversion from the real enemy — the profit-hungry corporations and the governments that defend them. The only protection workers and small farmers have is to wage a struggle against big business and to replace its government with one of their own. For that, international solidarity is needed.

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Behind the frenzied frame-up of Cuba

CIA-linked journalists front for Washington's anti-Castro campaign

BY HARRY RING
AND STEVE BRIDE

"CASTRO'S SECRET WAR — Starts today: a shocking investigation of Cuban drug-running and subversion."

This headline assaulted readers of the New York Post (who are used to it by now) when they opened their paper on the morning of June 21.

For the next six days, they were served up a lurid tale, spun by "journalists" Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave, of how, besides drugs, the Cubans run:

- Guns to El Salvador.
- Terrorist training camps.
- A "disinformation" service for journalists.
- Nicaragua.

Accompanying articles by Guy Hawtin, "Post Investigative Editor," maintained Cuba backs "terrorist" groups in the United States, and that there are enough spies resident at the Cuban mission to the United Nations to populate several James Bond movies.

It's all fast reading, the authors choosing not to burden us with evidence for their charges. They are also rather vague as to where they came up with their information: "some U.S. Customs officials," "former CIA officials with intimate knowledge," "one of our reliable sources," and so forth.

On occasion, the trio does name outright or strongly hint at who their source is. These turn out to be revealing.

The drug-running tale, for instance, comes from a fellow who was supposedly caught peddling the stuff and "promised to tell all in return for a reduced jail sentence."

To whom did he tell all, and who passed it along to Moss and de Borchgrave? "Police and counterintelligence sources" in the Colombian government.

Well, how reliable are these folks?

Tortures and car thieves

After a January 1980 visit to Colombia, Amnesty International concluded, "Political prisoners were being systematically tortured in military installations in Colombia." These prisoners are people the government says belong to a Cuban-connected terrorist movement. Such torture enables the regime to periodically announce that one of them has "confessed" to this connection.

Colombian counterintelligence officers are also deeply implicated in the MAS, a right-wing death squad that assassinates lawyers, priests, opposition politicians, and generally anyone the government doesn't like.

Another named source is Miguel Nassar Haro, former head of the Mexican security service. He is, according to Moss and de Borchgrave, "highly professional" and "much respected" by his U.S. counterparts. He was "purged" earlier this year, they add, inferring it was because he opposed his government's toleration of Cuban shenanigans.

Nassar Haro must indeed have been "much respected" by U.S. intelligence. The CIA did everything it could to block his prosecution on charges of running an \$8 million hot car ring. Sworn statements by Mexican political prisoners have identified Nassar Haro as the organizer and leader of the "White Brigades," a death squad made up of ex-cops that was responsible for the disappearance of about 300 people in the 1977-78 period.

As for Investigative Editor Hawtin, he relies on the word of right-wing Cuban exiles in this country. It isn't until his final installment that he observes the unfortunate tendency of these exiles to shoot and throw bombs at those who disagree with them.

Echoing Washington

A number of the "disclosures" in the Post series dovetail nicely with things Washington has been saying. You may

recall last year's State Department "White Paper," which tried to prove Cuba was trafficking arms to Salvadoran rebels. You may also recall that the case, which Moss and de Borchgrave restate in their articles, came apart when the *Wall Street Journal* exposed the White Paper as fraudulent.

Back then, de Borchgrave sought to involve himself in the matter by charging the *Journal's* source had been "Cuban disinformation." The *Journal's* source was in fact Jon Glassman, the State Department official who wrote the White Paper.

Another Reagan claim that is echoed in the present series is that Nicaragua is a Cuban satellite. Cuba's ambassador to that country, Moss and de Borchgrave point out, makes all the big decisions. This was told to them, they say, by "a former official of the Nicaraguan Defense Ministry."

They don't indicate whether this former official lost his job at about the same time as ex-Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. But it should be pointed out that Moss enjoyed a quite warm relationship with the latter (see accompanying article).

The pair also give notice of government charges to come. One of these is the "disinformation" rap.

In 1959, say Moss and de Borchgrave, a top Russian agent went to Havana and "trained Castro's fledgling covert action specialists to develop the theme that it was the U.S. that was pushing Cuba into the arms of the Soviet bloc" through its hostile actions.

This campaign was apparently successful, in that it created the widespread impression in this country that Washington:

- Imposed an economic blockade on Cuba.
- Organized an invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs.
- Threatened to blow up the world if Soviet missiles were not removed from Cuba.
- Has tried to assassinate Cuban leaders.
- Trains and arms Cuban exiles.
- Now threatens new wars against Cuba.

Who are Moss and de Borchgrave?

In Part I of its series on alleged Cuban evil-doing, the New York Post introduces authors Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss as "top journalists."

By Part III, the Post has promoted de Borchgrave and Moss to "renowned journalists," apparently hinting that the series has already done their reputation some good.

What is left unsaid is who, exactly, these two fellows are. From the Post's standpoint, this is perhaps better left unsaid. Both men have longstanding ties to the CIA.

De Borchgrave is currently employed by *Washington Quarterly*, a publication of the Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

The CSIS is a CIA think-tank, populated largely by former agents. Founded by Reagan's disgraced ex-national security adviser, Richard Allen, its board includes two others who held that post: Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Ray Cline, former CIA deputy director, heads the CSIS.

De Borchgrave was briefly in the spotlight when he testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism in April 1981. His testimony included one assertion that might surprise the million or so people who marched for peace June 12 in New York. He told the subcommittee that one of the sponsors of

To this, Guy Hawtin adds a Cuban "Plan Alpha," whose goal is "the normalization of U.S.-Cuban relations" by buying off the media.

Any journalist who writes anything the least bit favorable about Cuba is thus on the Plan Alpha payroll. Hawtin neglects to mention that, by banning travel to Cuba, Washington has made it rather more difficult for Americans to judge the situation for themselves.

Campaigning for war

Moss and de Borchgrave are generally felt to be two of the ranking loons in the international press corps. Whether that is true, the more important point is that both are held on a short leash by the CIA.

Their series is U.S. intelligence attempting to sell some of its wilder ideas to the American people. Toned down a bit, these are the same ideas the Reagan administration is attempting to sell the American people.

The Post articles are simply a cruder version of the campaign against Cuba currently being waged by the ruling rich of this country.

The first aim of this campaign is to promote Washington's war in Central

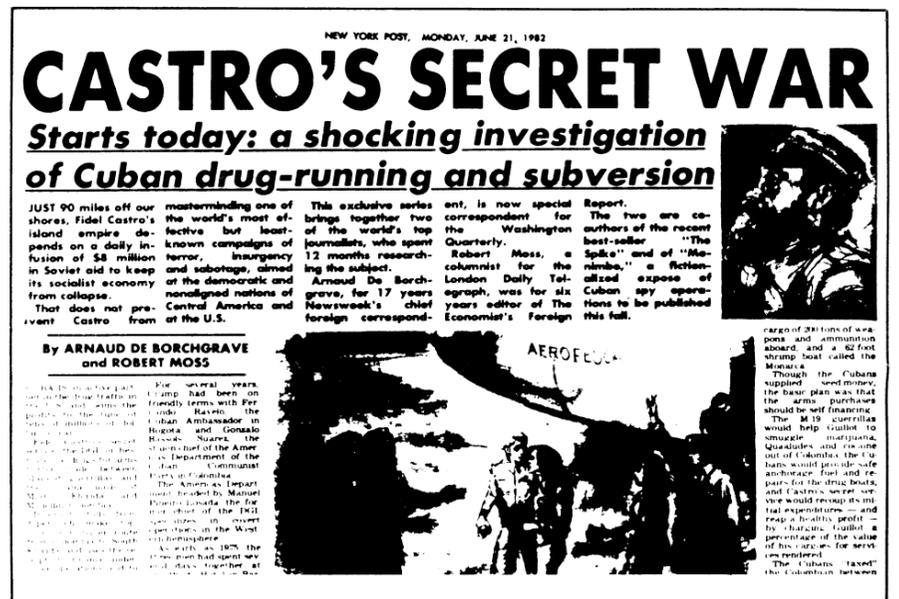
America and the Caribbean. This is made easier if Americans believe Washington is fighting Cuban terrorists, not workers and peasants who want to be free. (It helps, too, if Americans believe those Cuban terrorists are shoving a needle into the arm of the kid next door.)

As with all imperialist wars, this one requires the suppression of dissenting opinion at home. That is the second aim of the anti-Cuba campaign.

We thus have Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton opening the June 24 session of his Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism by accusing the National Lawyers Guild of providing "logistical support to Soviet and Cuban-backed terrorist groups" in the United States. Organizations like the Socialist Workers Party, he adds, "clearly oppose our democratic ideals."

And he is followed by FBI Director William Webster, who announces guidelines that will permit the bureau to legally spy on such organizations.

Behind Moss and de Borchgrave, then, stand wars abroad and repression in the United States. How far they go only shows how far the ruling class will go to achieve those ends.



This is how New York Post greeted its readers on morning of June 21.

that action, Mobilization for Survival, is part of a "well-known Soviet front organization."

More to de Borchgrave's taste was the Shah of Iran. He gave de Borchgrave two \$10,000 Persian rugs by way of thanking him for some complimentary articles. He was overthrown shortly afterward.

Moss's labors on behalf of the intelligence community have been rather more wide-ranging. They include:

- Editing the *Economist Foreign Report*, a weekly handout of material from the intelligence agencies to journalists.
- His association with the Institute for the Study of Conflict, a descendant of the CIA-owned Forum World Features news service.
- His close relationship with South African intelligence, resulting in some favorable writing on that regime.

Moss really hit his stride, though, when he became head writer for what the *New York Times* called "one of the CIA's most extensive propaganda campaigns": the one that led to the 1973 overthrow of Chile's democratically elected President Salvador Allende.

Then, Moss was with the Institute for General Studies (IGS), a sort of clearing house set up by the CIA in Chile. A Senate Intelligence Committee later called the IGS "the brain center of all groups opposed to Allende."

Present in the IGS were most of the

editorial staff of *El Mercurio*, the right-wing opposition daily in Chile. Later, they became the only civilian members of the military government that replaced Allende. Moss's work appeared regularly in *El Mercurio*.

It also appeared in *SEPA*, a CIA-funded magazine for whom Moss penned "An English Recipe for Chile — Military Control." This was the first article to openly call for a coup.

Some time after that coup, Forum World Features published Moss's balance sheet on the experience, *Chile's Marxist Experiment*. The book was paid for and edited by the CIA. The Chilean junta bought up the second printing for its own public relations uses.

Moss at this time called himself an "adviser" to the junta.

Like de Borchgrave, Moss has had his failures. He was picked to edit *Visión*, the publication in exile of ex-Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. The project was cut short when Somoza went to his reward.

The Post series is not the first team effort by Moss and de Borchgrave. They wrote *The Spike*, a novel that explains their belief that every revelation of CIA and FBI misdeeds (presumably including Watergate) is the product of Russian "disinformation."

The Post also advises that a second novel, *Monimbo*, is forthcoming from the two. If their track record indicates anything, it should be an exciting read.

50,000 march in Mexico for socialist candidates

'Struggle for workers & peasants government'

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ
AND ANÍBAL YÁÑEZ

MEXICO CITY — Chanting "Rosario Ibarra, candidate of the proletariat," and "Struggle, compañeros, struggle, for a workers and peasants government," some 50,000 Mexican toilers, young and old, marched through the heart of this city June 26 to the closing rally of the campaign of Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, candidate of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) for president in the July 4 elections. The PRT is the Mexican section of the Fourth International.

Busloads and busloads of people gathered at 4 p.m. around the Monument of the Revolution, red flags and banners waving, and marched five kilometers from there to Tlatelolco Plaza.

The significance of this march route was not lost on anyone. The Monument of the Revolution commemorates the 1910-17 revolution spearheaded by the peasants and urban poor in the armies of Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa. The democratic rights and land reform that were the goals of that revolution have been blocked by the decades-long rule of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which consolidated its hold over the government in the wake of the revolution.

Tlatelolco Plaza is where hundreds of students were gunned down by the Mexican army and secret police on October 2, 1968. That massacre put an end to a massive popular movement that had organized one peaceful demonstration after another against repression, for democratic rights, and for freedom of political prisoners and working-class leaders jailed for striking. Many of the cadres who organized the PRT came out of that 1968 upsurge.

Class-struggle fighters

The people who came out by the thousands to express their militant support for the PRT's campaign are the front-rank fighters of Mexico's toiling classes. They came from cities, towns, and villages in 30 of Mexico's 32 states; from as far south as Chiapas, on the border with Guatemala, and as far north as Sonora,

Death threats against Ibarra

Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT) candidate Rosario Ibarra de Piedra and her family have become targets of right-wing death threats. On July 1 a hand-written message appeared at the Monterrey home of Ibarra's daughter, warning her that she and one of her brothers would be killed if their mother should be elected to the federal parliament (Ibarra also headed the PRT's slate of parliamentary candidates).

The PRT has demanded that the government investigate and put a halt to these threats, warning that the regime will be held responsible if any harm is done to Ibarra or her family. The PRT urges that telegrams to this effect be sent to José López Portillo, Presidente de la República, Los Pinos, Mexico, D.F., Mexico. Copies should be sent to Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, Medellín 366, Mexico 7, D.F., Mexico.

on the border of Arizona and New Mexico.

There were thousands of peasants — men, women, and children, with faces hardened by toil and poverty, wearing straw hats and cotton shirts or shawls; workers from the big plants controlled by imperialist corporations such as Renault and General Motors, and from the nationalized electrical and telephone companies, fighting against the government's austerity plan and for trade-union democracy.

There were residents of the *colonias* (shantytowns) of Mexico City and other major urban areas, who have been carrying out long fights with the authorities to receive the most basic services such as electricity and running water; Indian artisans and farm laborers — some speaking only halting Spanish and shouting their slogans in their native tongues; and office employees and teachers struggling against cutbacks in education.

Also present were small merchants who are being squeezed out of their stalls and tiny shops in town markets to make way for capitalist supermarkets; street vendors, who sell produce, candies, or trinkets on the street corners because they cannot find any other way to make a living; victims of government repression, including relatives of political activists who have disappeared or are "missing"; former political prisoners; workers fired from their jobs for their trade union and political activities; women's liberation fighters and gay rights activists; and activists from solidarity movements with El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Palestine.

The marchers assembled in compact contingents by region or organization. As the march was about to step off, Rosario arrived, and the neat, orderly ranks dissolved as hundreds and then thousands of demonstrators rushed to greet her or just to get a glimpse of her. Demonstration marshals formed a cordon around Rosario to escort her to the front of the march while thousands of people shouted, "Rosario Ibarra, candidate of the proletariat."

A major event in Mexican politics

Rosario Ibarra's candidacy has been the sensation of the Mexican presidential election campaign. She first came to prominence after her son, Jesús Piedra Ibarra, was kidnapped by Mexican cops and disappeared in 1974. She initiated a committee of relatives of political activists who had been exiled, imprisoned, or "disappeared" by the government. Since then she has waged a vigorous struggle against government repression, making her the most prominent woman in Mexican politics. In the course of this struggle, Rosario Ibarra came to revolutionary and socialist conclusions.

More than a year ago the Revolutionary Workers Party, which had achieved ballot status after a long battle, proposed that Rosario Ibarra run for president as the joint candidate of all the working-class parties, even though she did not belong to any of them. The other main workers party, the Communist Party (now known as the United Socialist Party of Mexico, or PSUM, refused, selecting instead longtime CP leader Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo as its candidate.

The PRT's proposal was nevertheless supported by various other organizations to the left of the Communist Party.

Rosario Ibarra's personal history, her dynamic and charismatic speaking style, and her forthright revolutionary message helped to transform the PRT's campaign into a major event in Mexican politics.

The impact of the campaign was further magnified by the stepped-up ruling-class offensive against the Mexican toilers — the peso was devalued at the beginning of the year and prices skyrocketed — and by the repercussions of the revolutionary upsurge in the Central American region.

The dimensions of the campaign can be gauged by the fact that the PRT's windup rally was front-page news in every major newspaper in Mexico City, with stories and photographs of the march. *El Universal* carried a lead story and banner headline reading "The oppressed and dispossessed want a change: Rosario," along with a picture of the demonstration across the top half of the page.

To hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Mexicans, Ibarra has become a symbol of their aspirations for a country free of exploitation and oppression. This explains the explosive response of the crowd when Rosario made her appearance at the assembly point.

'Not a single vote for the PRI!'

After the PRT leaders had gotten the contingents back into shape, the march stepped off, making its way down the Paseo de la Reforma, one of the city's main thoroughfares. The people marched four lanes across in a sea of red flags that stretched along the boulevard as far as the eye could see. In the front lines, arms linked, were Rosario Ibarra, accompanied by her husband, Jesús Piedra, and central leaders of the PRT and other groups supporting her candidacy.

Next came the Committee of Relatives of Political Prisoners, the Disappeared, and Exiled, holding a banner more than 30 feet long, completely covered with photographs of victims of governmental repression. They were followed by a contingent of the more than 400 candidates running for seats in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies on the PRT slate.

Next came a marching band from the northern state of Zacatecas, proudly playing the international workers song *Bandiera Rossa* and popular Mexican fanfares along the whole route of the demonstration. The enormous banner held aloft over this first section of the march read: "Vote PRT — for a workers and peasants government."

After scores of contingents of workers, peasants, and students organized by the PRT came those of the other, smaller groups that had joined with it to form Workers, Peasants, and People's Unity, an electoral alliance that supported Rosario's campaign: the Union of Revolutionary Struggle (ULR), the People's Revolutionary Movement (MRP), and the Proletarian Communist Organization (OCP).

But the overwhelming majority of participants marched in the PRT contingents, easily noted by thousands of red flags bearing a hammer and sickle and the PRT's initials. The contingents were marked off by huge banners identifying their region, union, or peasant federation and calling for a workers and peasants government or denouncing government repression, unemployment, and inflation, or demanding trade union



Left: Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, socialist. Right: March drew workers and p

democracy or workers' democratic rights.

A contingent of hundreds of peasants from the PRT-led Worker-Peasant Coordinating Committee of the State of Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico sang: "In a golden cage, up on a balcony, López Portillo is screwing the country." (*En una jaula de oro, sentado en un balcón está López Portillo, chingando a la nación*).

A group of workers from Ecatepec, an industrial suburb of Mexico City, chanted, "Workers should govern, yes sir; death to the PRI, yes sir!"

Whole blocks of marchers shouted, "Not a single vote for the PRI!"

'Don't stop struggling'

The dominant message of the slogans and banners during the march, and of the speeches at the rally, was that Mexico's working people need their own government, a workers and peasants government, to solve the pressing problems they face.

The single most chanted slogan was "Struggle, struggle, don't stop struggling, for a workers, peasants and people's government!" (*Lucha, lucha, lucha; no dejes de luchar; por un gobierno obrero, campesino y popular*).

Other slogans were "Forward, forward, forward, compañeros, it's right here that we're building the workers movement," and "Workers, peasants, the entire people to power!" (In the political language of Mexico and Central America, "the people" refers to not only manual workers and small farmers, but also unemployed shantytown dwellers, office workers, teachers, students, street vendors, small merchants, artisans, and so on.)

The rally at Tlatelolco Plaza did not begin until after nightfall, because the march from the Monument of the Revolution took so long. Chairing the rally was Margarito Montes, general secretary of the Independent Revolutionary Peasants Coordinating Committee (CCRI) and a member of the PRT's Political Committee.

Solidarity with Palestinians

"This election campaign has had a clear internationalist character from the start," Montes said. It has been a campaign around the big issues of Mexican politics, but, Montes noted, "it has also been a campaign against imperialism, in solidarity with all those struggling around the world for their liberation. And we want to dedicate this wind-up rally in a special way to expressing our solidarity with the Palestinian people, a people who today are being attacked and massacred by the Zionist troops of Israel, the army put together by U.S. imperialism in the Middle East."



Militant photos by Aníbal Yáñez

andidate for president of Mexico, links arms with other Mexican workers leaders at head of march. Center: Demonstrators proceed through downtown Mexico City from 30 of Mexico's 32 states.

Montes was interrupted at this point by shouts of, "Death to Yankee imperialism!" He went on:

"We want to express our most sweeping and deepest solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization, and with the Palestinian guerrillas who are resisting the massacre in the Middle East. We want to say that the Palestinian people are not alone, that they have the solidarity of the Mexican revolutionaries. And, from this tribune, we demand that the Mexican government stop sending the 80,000 barrels of oil a day with which it supports the Zionist dictatorship in Israel."

Montes then introduced the various speakers: Edgar Sánchez of the PRT, and representatives of the other political organizations that supported the campaign. He also read greetings from other political and community organizations, and from Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California.

Edgar Sánchez underlined the symbolism behind the decision to hold the rally in Tlatelolco Plaza: "We have returned today to Tlatelolco because we have a historic commitment to a whole generation of fighters. In Tlatelolco are our origins, renewed origins following the defeat of the peasant armies of Villa and Zapata. Tlatelolco is our source of inspiration, our example, and our cry for vengeance."

Mason denounces U.S. imperialism

In his greetings, Mel Mason denounced "the U.S. government's mercenary offensive of hunger and war against the workers and farmers of the United States, Latin America, and the world." Mason, who is also a member of the National Committee of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, sister organization of the Mexican PRT, went on to denounce the Reagan administration's war policy in Central America and the Caribbean:

"Through its puppet government, the Reagan administration is massacring the Salvadoran people. It is increasing its aid to the Guatemalan dictatorship. Mercenaries controlled by Washington are carrying out a full-scale war against the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. U.S. Marines shamelessly carry out dress rehearsals for an invasion of Grenada.

"And not a single day goes by without the U.S. rulers expressing once again their hostility towards Cuba, the first free territory of the Americas."

Mason's statement also denounced U.S. corporate domination of Mexico. "We know that Mexico, like the other countries of Latin America, is a victim of Yankee imperialism.

"Just a few weeks ago in California and across the United States, we saw *la nigra* [the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service] round up thousands

of Mexican workers, whose only crime was being workers. We join with you in demanding: Stop the mistreatment of undocumented workers in the United States! Stop the deportations! Full rights for undocumented workers!

"We also want to express here," Mason concluded, "our solidarity with the struggle of the Mexican people and with Rosario Ibarra's campaign for a workers and peasants government and for the definitive national and social liberation of Mexico."

After Montes read Mason's greetings, the crowd broke into applause, while members of the PRT took up the chant, "You can feel it, you can feel it, the

Fourth International is present!" (*Se siente, se siente, la Cuarta está presente.*)

The final speaker was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra. Despite the late hour and intermittent showers, no one had left. Throughout the rally, the crowd had broken out in spontaneous chants of "We want Rosario!" and "Rosario, Rosario, Rosario!" When she was finally introduced, the crowd went wild, shouting slogans for a workers and peasants government and "Rosario, for sure, hit the PRI hard." The band struck up *Bandiera Rossa*.

As Rosario walked to the platform, people who had been sitting down stood up and remained standing throughout

her speech. All small talk in the crowd stopped. The entire demonstration of thousands listened in rapt attention, reporters from major capitalist dailies included.

Rosario began by calling for a minute of silence for the hundreds of students massacred by the government in this same Tlatelolco Plaza on October 2, 1968. The entire plaza was silent. When the minute was up, Rosario shouted angrily, her fist in the air, "Remember October 2!" and thousands of voices took up the chant "*2 de octubre no se olvida!*"

Rosario's 20-minute talk was interrupted continually by applause and

Continued on Page 12

A nation wracked by poverty and exploitation

BY ANÍBAL YÁÑEZ

Millions of Mexicans went to the polls July 4 to elect a new president, senators, and deputies in the midst of a deep economic crisis. The prospect is one of continuing poverty and hunger for the majority of the country's 70 million inhabitants.

More than half of Mexico's workers don't have fulltime jobs, and those who do can't make ends meet with the miserable wages they earn. About 25 percent of all Mexicans go without meat, and almost 50 percent cannot afford milk. The country has an acute housing shortage, and 6.3 million of the existing homes have no sewage system.

Things have worsened as a result of the devaluation of the peso, the national currency, in March. This fueled inflation, which may top 65 percent this year. Although the government decreed wage adjustments, the bosses have limited these raises everywhere they can, and in general have simply not paid them to all those workers who receive minimum wage or are not unionized.

Social gains are also under attack. Cutbacks in public spending — like the devaluation of the peso — have been dictated by imperialist banks as a condition for recent loans to bail out the economy. A consortium of 75 banks has just loaned Mexico \$25 billion, the biggest loan in the country's history.

The new debt to the imperialist banks, however, will only deepen Mexico's problems. First of all, \$14 billion will be spent right away, just to pay interest on current short-term loans. Furthermore, interest on the new loan will take another massive chunk.

By the end of the year, Mexico's total debt is expected to reach \$85 billion, the highest in the Third World.

Unemployment increases daily with factory closings and cuts in the work force. In June, the country's major capi-

talist conglomerate, Grupo Industrial Alfa, F.A., fired 10,500 of its 49,000 workers. In July, Ayotla Textil, a state-owned textile company, was shut down, leaving 2,800 workers without a job. Mexican labor unions calculate that more than a million workers will lose their jobs before the end of the year.

Mexican capitalists are using this situation to blackmail workers into accepting lower wages, to divide the working class in the scramble for jobs, and to more easily fire workers who are fighting back. Working conditions are under severe attack, with the implementation of speedup, increased work loads, and forced overtime, as well as a complete disregard for safety on the job.

A recent editorial in *Bandera Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT, sister organization of the Socialist Workers Party), points out that the offensive launched by the Mexican bosses and their government "is not aimed merely against militant workers, against independent unions, or against those locals of the official trade unions that have won a measure of trade union democracy. It is aimed against the entire labor movement, against its unions, contracts, its previous gains."

But Mexican workers are fighting back. In the first half of this year, there have been more strikes and work stoppages than in all of 1981.

On June 26, 45,000 textile workers shut down over 300 mills and factories across the country, demanding a 60 percent wage increase, barely enough to cover what they lost in the devaluation and to the ravages of inflation.

On July 1, some 12,000 workers went out on strike against Volkswagen de México, F.A., also demanding a 60 percent pay increase.

These workers' struggles are up against more than just the government's austerity offensive and the

bosses' intransigence at the bargaining table. On the morning of June 17, 300 state police, led by a squad of scabs and company goons, violently broke up a 157-day strike by workers at Acermex, a steel-fabricating plant in an industrial suburb of Mexico City.

A bloody, strike-breaking attack against another group of workers in Mexico City took place on May 31. On that day, pickets at the gate of Refrescos Pascual (a soft-drink bottling company that employs some 3,000 workers) were brutally assaulted by more than 150 scabs, who arrived in several trucks and were led by the plant's owner-manager.

When the boss gave the order to charge, the trucks rammed the plant gates, crushing one striking worker. Scabs left from the trucks, wielding steel rods, pistols, machine guns, and even army-issue automatic weapons. They killed another worker and wounded more than a dozen.

The workers responded with a 2,000-strong march to the justice department demanding prosecution of the killers and the boss who led them, and by maintaining the strike and strengthening their picket lines at another bottling plant owned by the same company. They also sought and won broad solidarity in the labor movement.

On June 21, the Refrescos Pascual workers won a resounding victory when the bosses gave in to all of their demands and committed themselves to taking no reprisals against striking workers.

The Revolutionary Workers Party has urged the broadest unity of the working class in defense of its rights, the strengthening of class-struggle currents within the unions, and political independence of the working class from the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party. These were the ideas that the PRT sought to popularize in its presidential campaign.

Thousands march for Mexico's socialists

Continued from Page 11
chants. It reiterated the key themes and explained the main lessons of the campaign.

"We have learned," she said, "that the people of Mexico are learning that it is not enough to fight for immediate demands, that it is not enough to shout that we want higher wages, that we want a plot of land, that we want food,

that we are hungry, that prices are high, that there is a lot of unemployment. That's not enough. The people have understood that only when they link their struggles through solidarity, that only when the workers, the peasants, the shantytown dwellers, men and women, students, all together, decide to advance hand in hand and organize, then the scattered economic struggles become a

revolutionary struggle for a radical change in this country.

"Compañeros, we spoke with thousands of Mexicans, people who, although like me they have no party, know that they are going to build one. Thousands of them! We can tell you that we felt the socialism that lies waiting to spring forward from the Mexican people, a people scorned by the PRI. So much the worse for them! Because this people is going to make the socialist revolution in this country!"

Rosario explained that the workers and peasants she spoke to throughout the campaign did not want a party that would settle for mere reforms or crumbs, but "a party that struggles to overthrow this system, to turn this country upside down."

An immoral system

The people of Mexico, she said, "this people that lived through an October 2 . . . that has suffered the sadness of 500 missing, that knows that hundreds of compañeros have died in clandestine jails under torture, that saw hundreds of compañeros fall in guerrilla struggles; this people that admires the Cuban revolution, this people that welcomes with joy and pride the Nicaraguan revolution, and that hopes for the advance of the revolution in El Salvador and Guatemala; this people is looking fear of repression in the face, and is fighting for that revolutionary struggle to arrive here soon, very soon."

"Throughout this campaign, compañeros, we haven't fooled anyone," she emphasized. "We never made any promises. We made commitments. We committed ourselves to struggle. We committed ourselves to take ever more rapid and ever more firm steps to achieve the victory that we are fighting for." And, she added, as a result of the campaign, "there are now peasant coordinating committees, there are now workers coordinating committees, from Palmarillo in

Veracruz, to Apoyac de Alvarez in Guerrero; from Tijuana to Venustiano Carranza in Chiapas."

"All this, compañeros, all this that we dream of, all this that we aspire to, all this that millions of Mexicans hope for, is not going to be possible with a system like that of the PRI, no matter how much the PRI talks about 'moral renovation of society.' They talk and talk — they have been talking for years and years. These gentlemen have been saying the same thing for years! They are not even original! And now they tell us that their 'moral renovation of society' will achieve the transformation of this country.

"No, compañeros, no! The people of Mexico know this very well. It is not just that the government officials are corrupt. It is not just that. It is bad that they are corrupt. Of course, they're not revolutionaries.

"But the worst thing of all — and that's why they won't fool anybody — is that what is no good, what is rotten, is the system. And it's bad, compañeros, because a system that specially designs everything to squeeze the working people is immoral. A system that oppresses, that represses, that exploits, that kills millions of Mexicans, who leave their lives in the fields that they till or in the factories where they work. People who spend their whole life working and when they die they don't even have a plot of land in the cemetery so that they could be buried."

'Arise, ye prisoners of starvation'

Rosario Ibarra concluded her speech by referring to the recent May Day celebrations in Mexico, which were dominated by PRI union bureaucrats and were little more than PRI campaign rallies.

"We announce, compañeros, that if we strengthen our steps, that if we step lively, soon, compañeros, very soon, we will have the kind of May Day we want, a jubilant May Day, a May Day in which the workers will march as brothers with the peasants, the workers will march hand in hand with the shantytown dwellers, the women, and the students. And they will raise their fists and they will sing and smile and laugh, joyfully, for on the balcony of the National Palace will be the workers and the peasants and the slum-dwellers — the poor of this country, its real representatives. Venceremos! We shall overcome!"

The crowd burst out in shouts of "Rosario, Rosario, Rosario!" which only subsided when the band struck up the first few bars of the *International* and tens of thousands of fists were raised defiantly in the air and tens of thousands of voices cried out:

"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation/
Arise, ye wretched of the earth/For justice thunders condemnation/A better world's in birth.

"No more tradition's chains shall bind us/Arise, ye slaves no more in thrall/The earth shall rise on new foundations/We have been naught, we shall be all!"

From *Intercontinental Press*

Mass. electrical workers walk out



NEW BEDFORD, Mass. — About 8,500 members of United Electrical Workers Local 277 at Morse Cutting Tools struck May 8 against company demands for a 51-cent hourly pay cut and vacation and medical-coverage reductions. Claiming "poor competitive position," Morse threatened to move work to another plant if concessions were not granted. A union study, however, showed Morse's parent company, Gulf & Western, had been squeezing profits from it since 1968 and refusing to invest in new equipment.

Machinists beat back airlines' assault

BY DAVID RIEHLE

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Relying on their own determination and solidarity, striking members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) beat back a union-busting attempt by Northwest Airlines (NWA) in a three-week strike centered here.

The 3,600 mechanics and baggage handlers went on strike May 21 against NWA, setting up picket lines at 35 airports. A big majority of the workers are employed at NWA's maintenance facility at the Minneapolis-St. Paul international airport.

A settlement was reached in late June with 2,867 IAM members voting to accept a contract proposal and 231 voting against.

Eliminated in the proposal were company demands for hiring part-time workers at less than union rates. NWA was able to gain concessions in job classifications and starting times, however.

The Northwest strike was viewed as important by the business press. The government's decertification of the air traffic controllers' union last year was the opening shot in an assault on all airport workers. Other major airlines have contracts that expire this year.

The machinists were able to beat back NWA's union-busting attempts because they mobilized their membership, both for picketing and large union meetings where workers discussed their course of action, and because they have been through the experience of a number of strikes forced on them by NWA.

Some IAM members have been through as many as six strikes at Northwest, which is the nation's third most profitable airline and has the reputation of being the most aggressively antiunion carrier in the country.

The last previous strike at NWA was in 1978, when pilots struck for 109 days.

The machinists' determination not to knuckle under to NWA's take-away demands was shown when they mobilized more than 1,000 pickets on the first two days of the strike.

After large demonstrations by workers at the airport May 24 and 25, the airline obtained an injunction limiting the number of pickets to 29.

On May 27 NWA leveled charges that the IAM leadership was refusing to tell strikers about the airline's latest offer and blocking a vote on the proposal.

The union responded by calling a general membership meeting. With more than 1,800 in attendance, "striking workers made it clear with applause, standing ovations and cheers" that they backed the strike, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* reported.

The IAM members subsequently voted to reject Northwest's proposal by more than 5 to 1.

As the strike went into the third week, the machinists held firm, with at most 30 members crossing picket lines.

Northwest was reported to be losing \$1.8 million daily.

On June 13, the airline suddenly withdrew its demand for part-time workers and agreed to a settlement.

The new contract includes wage increases of around 20 percent over three years.

During the strike, Northwest floated the idea of using scabs to replace strikers.

In the last few years, some bosses at smaller shops had hired scabs — the first time such union-busting methods have been attempted since the victorious Teamster strikes in 1934. In at least six cases, they destroyed the unions.

These union defeats emboldened the NWA, as did the escorting of scabs by Minneapolis police — under the juris-

diction of "pro-labor" Mayor Donald Fraser — in a strike at the Bureau of Engraving, a private printing company.

In addition, pilots, flight attendants, and most clerks continued to work during the IAM strike.

However, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) Local 1310, representing clerks on the Burlington Northern Railroad in Minneapolis, urged the BRAC International to support the IAM strike, and called on members of the railroad local to help bolster their BRAC brothers and sisters at NWA.

Members of Local 1310 were invited to an IAM rally of up to 500 strikers, where their resolution was greeted by a standing ovation.

Plans for a statewide labor rally were under way when Northwest gave in on the part-time demand.

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Mexico: 50,000 at Final Rally of PRT Campaign



GE's 'most important product': record of a war-profiteering corporation

Behind the mask, monopoly's ties to gov't, banks, war machine

BY CRICKET DADIAN

SCHENECTADY, New York — You've no doubt seen General Electric's advertising. Happy housewives using GE's labor-saving appliances. Smiling GE workers being treated with generosity and kindness.

A "company with a heart," "bringing good things to life." That's the image they want.

But GE is hardly a model of benevolence:

- It is a giant monopoly, with holdings and operations all over this country and the world. It has almost continuously been in legal trouble as a result of its monopolies.

- It is a major manufacturer of conventional and nuclear weapons and a leader in related high technology.

- It is one of the largest builders of nuclear power systems.

- Its monopoly in electricity goes full cycle, from building generation facilities to selling machines and appliances that consume it.

- It has been a corporate leader in attacks on the labor movement.

- Its owners are among the richest ruling-class families, and are tied through stocks to other such concentrations of capital.

- It is not only a beneficiary of government policies, such as war, tax breaks, and nuclear power and weapons, it plays a major role in determining those policies. It, with other monopolies, is the government.

A corporate goliath

GE has huge holdings all over the world, which explains the international power it wields and its ability to make money even during capitalist crisis.

In the United States and Puerto Rico, GE has more than 240 plants, giving it the fifth largest U.S. corporate payroll. These plants make hundreds of thousands of products: jet engines, locomotives, light bulbs, machine tools, missile launch systems, uranium fuel rods, electric curlers, home appliances. No other corporation in the world makes as many different products as GE.

It has large holdings in coal, iron ore, uranium, copper, and oil and gas exploration.

GE is an international leader in high-technology industries such as numerical control equipment, electronics, graphics, and robotics.

It has spent \$300 million on its locomotive plant in Erie, Pennsylvania, to make it a showplace "factory of the future" as a model for American corporations.

GE's vast foreign assets include 127 manufacturing plants in 24 countries. GE is a stockholder in many other companies, including Telefunken in West Germany and Toshiba in Japan. It also has licensing agreements with 200 companies in 33 countries.

Its overseas holdings include iron mines in Brazil, synthetic diamonds in Ireland, coal in Australia, plastics in Japan and the Netherlands, copper in Chile, and battery plants in Mexico.

GE reaps huge profits from low wages paid to workers in underdeveloped countries. It pays assembly line workers in Singapore 30 cents an hour — in Indonesia, even less.

GE profits from South Africa's apartheid racial policies, producing household appliances, TV sets, industrial controls, and capacitors there. The average wage of Blacks working for GE has in recent years been one-fourth that of white workers, and even under the official poverty line.

GE and 'antitrust' laws

Capitalism leads to concentrations of capital, or monopolies. To give working people the illusion that they are combating monopoly and to reduce somewhat the intercapitalist friction it causes, politicians have passed various antitrust laws.

GE was first indicted in 1911 for fixing prices on light bulbs, and has since been a defendant in more than 65 antitrust actions:

In 1945, for conspiracy to divide the world electrical-equipment market with German and Japanese companies;

In 1948, for international price-fixing and market division with Krupp, the huge German steel and munitions firm, with which GE had a cozy and profitable relationship before and during the Second World War;

In 1961, for what *Fortune* magazine called "the biggest criminal case in the history of the Sherman [antitrust] Act," GE and 29 other corporations were indicted for submitting identical bids to the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), a governmental agency. GE was the ringleader in this fraud, for which it paid almost \$60 million in fines and repayments.

More recently, in September 1980, GE was indicted for trying to bribe a Puerto Rican official to get a \$92 million con-

tract for an electric generating plant. More than \$1.25 million was to be paid to a water-resources director.

Getting caught that time cost GE \$31,000. As in the TVA price-fixing, several GE executives got slap-on-the-wrist jail sentences.

GE's antilabor policies

GE has a long antiunion history. In the 1920s it set up company unions to prevent organization by the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

GE was finally organized by the United Electrical Workers (UE), which was one of the industrial unions affiliated to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), on the heels of the Great Depression.

In the late 1940s, the employers and their government launched a witch-hunt, sometimes called "McCarthyism" after one of its proponents, Sen. Joseph McCarthy, a Democrat from Wisconsin. They used the "red" scare at home and abroad, with the aim of driving militants from the unions and thus house-breaking the labor movement.

GE was in the forefront of this union-busting drive. In 1953, when McCarthy came to Lynn, Massachusetts, to "investigate communism in UE," GE announced it would fire anyone who refused to answer his questions under the protection of the Fifth Amendment. GE in effect abrogated the Constitution.

GE at this time was known for "Boulwarism," after Lemuel Boulware, a company vice-president who set up GE's "loyalty" program but was better known for his hardline "take-it-or-leave-it" offers to the unions.

The CIO leadership fell into the government-employer trap by going along with the witch-hunt. In 1949, when the UE leadership refused to sign anticommunist oaths demanded by the government, other CIO unions raided UE. The International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) was formed to oppose the UE, which was left decimated by this assault.

Boulwarism had a field day. GE workers were by then fragmented in 13 different unions, a weakness that was partially overcome when the unions formed joint bargaining councils for the 1969-70 strike, which they won after spending 14 bitter weeks on the picket line.

Reagan and GE

And then there was the aging has-been actor, Ronald Reagan, hired by GE in 1954 for commercials and for GE's TV Theater. In both roles GE, through Reagan, warned of the "dangers" of Social Security, federal aid to education and to farmers, and of "communism" in the labor movement — especially in the electrical unions.

TV Theater boosted "national defense" and free enterprise, and lionized the FBI and the House Un-American Affairs Committee for "exposing communists."

Reagan toured GE plants, holding "man-to-man talks" with the aim of driving a wedge between workers and union leaders in older, organized plants, and discouraging unionism in newer, nonunion plants.

Reagan today sounds exactly like he did when GE was signing his paychecks, so much so that a better name for "Reaganism" might be "General Electrism."

GE — merchant of death

GE is a major weapons manufacturer. It produces, among other things, electrically-driven guns, such as the 20mm Vulcan cannon and the 7.62mm "mini-gun," and guidance systems for missiles

and "smart" bombs, and electronics countermeasure systems (ECMs).

ECMs are used for such operations as the recent destruction of Syrian anti-aircraft missiles in Israel's murderous invasion of Lebanon.

It builds jet engines for warplanes, and conventional and nuclear propulsion systems for navy vessels. Its engines will be used in the B1 bomber, a project initiated by GE.

GE is the fifth largest producer of nuclear arms in the U.S., and the largest supplier of uranium.

GE, like other nuclear weapons manufacturers, is also a major builder of nuclear power equipment. It is the supplier of reactors and generators at 106 nuclear power plants in this country, and has supplied them to plants in Canada, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Germany, Pakistan, Spain, and Taiwan.

GE's role as a weapons merchant dates back to the U.S. Civil War, when J. Pierpont Morgan — whose descendants and banks still are major GE stockholders — cheated the Union army by selling it obsolete rifles for six times what they cost him.

The Morgan empire, through banks and industries under its control such as GE and U.S. Steel, made billions during both world wars.

But the Morgan empire, and with it GE, have never been passive sellers of arms. Rather, they have actively helped make the policies that have led to war.

In World War I, just prior to the U.S. entrance to the war, Morgan arranged \$500 million in loans to the governments of Britain and France.

This amounted to a bet on the Allied side by Morgan. When it looked like his side might lose, the U.S. entered the war — for Morgan and the other U.S. capitalists hoping for foreign markets and raw materials at the expense of their capitalist competitors in both "allied" and "enemy" countries.

Morgan and GE also profited on reparations after the war through a Morgan-led 11-bank \$98 million "loan" to Germany, part of the Young Plan, named after Owen Young, then GE president, who had drafted it with J.P. Morgan, Jr., at the request of the U.S. government.

'A permanent war economy'

In 1944, Charles Wilson, then GE president and vice-chairman of the War Production Board under President Roosevelt, spelled out the militarized future the U.S. ruling class wanted: "The revulsion against war not too long hence," he told a group of military leaders, "will be an almost insuperable obstacle for us to overcome . . . and for that reason I am convinced that we must begin now to set the machinery in motion . . . [for a] permanent war economy."

Wilson also headed the Office of Defense Mobilization for President Truman during the Korean War.

Thomas Gates, secretary of defense from 1959 to 1960, publicly urged the sending of large-scale U.S. forces to Vietnam after becoming a member of GE's board of directors in 1964. Gates and Neil McElroy, GE director from 1950-1957 and 1959-1972 and Gates's predecessor as secretary of defense, publicly urged the building of the Trident submarine and the B1 bomber.

GE has had "its" men in high government positions under both Republican and Democratic administrations for decades. And now, of course, they've got their man at the top.

Cricket Dadian works at GE's Schenectady plant, and is a member of IUE Local 301.



Militant

Socialist takes on Democrats at Milwaukee women's debate

BY ROBERT DEES

MILWAUKEE — Socialist Workers congressional candidate Cheryl Hidalgo took on nine of her opponents here June 15 in a debate initiated by the National Organization for Women. The forum on women's issues, attended by 130 people, was cosponsored by 15 other groups, including the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Planned Parenthood.

The race for the 5th Congressional District, which includes Milwaukee's Black community as well as the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee area of town, is the most hotly contested thus far in the 1982 elections. Nine Democrats are running hard to replace retiring Democratic Representative Henry Reuss. The Libertarian Party and an independent candidate are also in the race.

At the women's debate, the Democrats were virtually indistinguishable from each other; all claim to support women's rights and all contend that the way to win women's rights is to vote for them and others like them in the 1982 elections.

However, in a statement distributed to all participants, socialist Hidalgo stated, "There is no future for women's rights as long as we have a government that is run in the interests of big business, by parties that are owned and controlled by big business. Working people need their own party, a labor party, that would defend the interests of women and all other victims of Reaganism."

With one exception, all the Democrats stated support for the right to abortion. Prominent liberal State Sen. Jim Moody said that "abortion is a private issue." But he then turned around and said that a younger woman's parents should be involved in the decision.

Harout Sanasarian, another Democrat, said "Washington should get out of this business and defer the decision to the state governments."

While affirming her support for legislation guaranteeing abortion on demand for all women, SWP candidate Hidalgo added that this was not enough.

She went on to say that she's for "building a militant and powerful movement to defend women's rights on every front. I would use my office as a tribune for such a movement."

"Why was the ERA defeated and what could have been done to prevent it?" asked a woman in the audience. The question provoked a variety of responses from the Democratic candidates, blaming everyone *but* the Democrats and Republicans who have consistently sabotaged the amendment.

Democrat Karen Lamb declared, "The ERA is *not* defeated!"

Jim Moody pinned blame for the defeat on the "gross misinformation about the ERA by the Schlaflys of the world," adding that many women are "ambivalent and unsure" about equality.

"It comes down to votes," candidate Warren Braun said. "The anti-ERA forces are better heeled," and thus are better able to get elected.

"The ERA shows the political bankruptcy of supporting so-called friends of women in the Democratic Party, and underscores *again* the necessity for independent political action," said socialist candidate Hidalgo.

"The ERA has not been ratified because paying women \$.59 for every dollar paid men makes billions of dollars for U.S. corporations. Despite overwhelming popular support for the ERA, the Democratic and Republican politicians have refused to grant women this right."

In response to a question on funding for social programs, all the Democrats talked about reducing the "fat" in the military budget.

Karen Lamb called for a bilateral nuclear freeze, insisting that the government should "put more priority on the conventional [weapons]." She lamented that "we have soldiers who can't read and drill sergeants who can't shoot straight." She didn't say who they were supposed to shoot.

Hidalgo called for "eliminating the war budget and spending those funds on social programs, especially a massive public works program to put people back to work."

This was the third debate Hidalgo has participated in. In an earlier one cosponsored by the Puerto Rican Organization and the League of Women Voters, a question on the Malvinas Islands pro-



Socialist congressional candidate Cheryl Hidalgo.

oked the sharpest division. The leading liberal Democrats all came down on the side of British imperialism. Hidalgo's unconditional support for Argentina's claim to the Malvinas brought a round of applause from the Latino audience.

The environment was the topic of the debate the previous week cosponsored by the League and the Sierra Club.

Irish activist hails freedom struggle from Malvinas Islands to Palestine

The close connections between the Irish freedom struggle and the Argentine people's fight to recover the Malvinas Islands was the subject of a talk by longtime Irish activist George Harrison at a Brooklyn Militant Forum on June 25.

Harrison and three other Irish activists are currently under Federal indictment on charges of purchasing weapons for the Irish liberation movement. Their trial is expected to begin in the fall. We are reprinting excerpts of Harrison's remarks below.

When the news of the landing of Argentine forces in the Malvinas first hit the headlines, I instinctively felt common cause with the claim of the Argentine nation to recover the Malvinas Islands from the British colonial yoke, regardless of the character of the government in Argentina.

I may have been somewhat influenced by the old historical ties between Ireland and Argentina. One of the founders of the Argentine navy, William Brown, was born just a few miles from my birthplace in County Mayo.

Admiral Brown operated successfully against the Spanish forces in the struggle to free Argentina, and later against the British. He was a compatriot of José San Martín, Simón Bolívar, and of another Irishman, Bernardo O'Higgins, who fought to free Chile from Spanish rule.

I was also aware that an Argentine

regiment composed mainly of Irish exiles helped kick the British out of Buenos Aires over 150 years ago.

I also studied the position taken by the Irish socialist leader James Connolly on the Boer War at the turn of the century. Connolly joined with the old Fenian John O'Leary, with Michael Davitt, the founder of the Irish Land League which smashed feudal landlordism in Ireland, and with a young woman named Maud Gonne MacBride to form a committee to oppose British war policy.

They successfully organized opposition to the British war, and supported an Irish Brigade under Major John MacBride, which fought bravely on the side of the Boers.

I had hoped that all the forces of progress throughout the world would give moral support to Argentina, as that nation had now taken a position with the anti-imperialist and anticolonial forces of the world against the criminal British government and its leader Margaret Thatcher.

To some extent, those hopes were fulfilled. The more advanced political bodies here in America condemned British aggression in the South Atlantic, and were joined by many Latin American nations, including Cuba.

All the forces of imperialism, however, joined hands with Thatcher in her criminal adventure, led by her colleague in infamy, President Reagan.

The caretaker Irish government in Dublin initially supported Thatcher. But it reversed itself when it sensed a political backlash forming in Ireland and in Irish communities in the U.S.

One of the legendary heroes of the Irish fight for independence from Britain, Sean MacBride, spoke out strongly in favor of the Argentine claim to the Malvinas, and his voice may have instilled some guts in the gutless administration now ruling a portion of Ireland.

As things now stand, the military phase is over for the time being. England has won a battle, but not a war. On the positive side, the issue has forged links between the Irish fight for freedom and the Argentine attempt to recover her stolen territories. Close ties have been built between Irish and Argentine organizations.

Most recently, Irish and Argentine demonstrators joined the antinuclear rally in New York on June 12, a logical outgrowth of our daily protests outside the British consulate.

While we support the fight for Irish freedom and the Argentine claim to the Malvinas, we also want a world free from the threat of nuclear holocaust. Therefore we must oppose the war poli-

cies of Reagan and Thatcher, and their colleague Menachem Begin.

I have formed close friendships with many Argentine comrades recently, and my advice to them is to hold together and never surrender their just claim to the Malvinas. I am sure they never will, just as the Irish will never surrender claim to full Irish sovereignty.

I hope, and I trust, that we will stand together and protest together with our Argentine comrades until the flag of Argentina again flies over the Malvinas and the Union Jack is kicked the hell out.

We have learned a key lesson. The true friends of Argentina are found among those fighting for freedom and justice throughout the world — in Latin America, in South Africa, in Ireland, and in the Middle East, where the Palestinian people are now engaged in a battle of national liberation and survival against warmonger Menachem Begin.

The seeds sown in the last few months could lead to an anti-imperialist coalition of Argentines, Irish, Latin Americans, Palestinians, and Africans to confront the war policies of Reagan, Thatcher, and Begin.

If we don't fight them together, they could very well defeat us separately.

We have a common cause: the freedom of the Malvinas, the freedom of Ireland, and freedom for the oppressed throughout the world.

Above all, we must not give up. They can overrun us with tanks and other weapons, but we must never surrender our just claims to the freedom of our own particular countries and to the political and economic freedom of all.

Wisc. SWP launches petition drive

MILWAUKEE — In red T-shirts with "Vote Socialist Workers in '82" on the front and "Human Needs Before Profits" on the back, 25 campaign supporters fanned out across the city here June 19 to collect signatures to place SWP candidates on the November ballot.

The biggest contingent of supporters campaigned at the Juneteenth Day celebration, a festival in the Black community which attracted some 100,000 participants. Several thousand leaflets were distributed advertising the socialists June 27 rally with a theme, "Jobs, Not War!"

The socialist campaign plans to collect 6,000 signatures — 4,000 for its slate of Peter Seidman for governor and Margo Storsten for lieutenant governor, and 2,000 for Cheryl Hidalgo's campaign for U.S. Congress, 5th District.

At the weekend's end, 3,700 signatures had been gathered toward that goal.



Gubernatorial candidate Peter Seidman.



Militant Lou Howort
George Harrison speaking at Brooklyn Militant Labor Forum.

Reagan-Congress austerity programs aimed at workers and family farmers

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The U.S. economy has been in recession for three years now. As a result even the official government unemployment figure has risen above the 10 million mark. This is the worst jobs crisis since the end of the Great Depression more than 40 years ago.

It means untold misery for millions who are lining up at soup kitchens as their unemployment benefits run out, who can't afford decent medical care, whose children won't be able to go to college, and whose prospects for getting jobs dim with each passing day.

Among the hardest hit industries have been auto, steel, and housing. Auto production and sales have fallen to the levels of the late 1950s and early 1960s though the population has increased considerably since then.

The housing industry is in even worse shape. Sales and housing starts are near the lowest level since the end of World War II, though the need for housing has grown. As a result of the standstill in construction of both rental and private housing, the number of people living in substandard, crowded dwellings or who are homeless is increasing.

Contracts being reopened

The bosses are taking advantage of the worst unemployment crisis in almost half a century to blackmail workers into reopening union contracts and accepting takebacks.

Many public employees throughout the country had take-back contracts forced down their throats. Just recently one of the stronger public employee unions in New York City, the Transport Workers Union, was forced to accept a take-back contract awarded by a so-called "impartial" mediation board. And the steel bosses are getting ready to demand takebacks from the United Steelworkers. The same situation faces members of the Teamsters and the rail unions.

American workers have not experienced anything like this since before the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the mid-1930s. To find a parallel it is necessary to go back to the wage cuts enforced by the bosses in the early 1930s, when corporations forced wage cuts on unorganized or weakly organized workers.

Blacks and Latinos have been hit much harder than whites. The government admits that the rate of unemployment among Blacks is about twice that among whites. But about 40 percent of "discouraged" workers — those workers who have stopped looking for jobs but who want work — are Black. Since discouraged workers are not officially counted as unemployed, the real rate of Black joblessness is considerably more than twice that of whites. Even when "discouraged workers" are not counted, the official jobless rate among Black teenagers is 49.8 percent. This means in reality it is well over 50 percent.

Family farmers have been hit. A lethal combination of high prices for goods farmers buy, high interest rates, falling farm land prices, and low prices for the commodities that they sell has led to the worst crisis for small farmers since the last Great Depression. Many are being driven off their land as the banks foreclose on mortgages. Farmers are also directly affected by unemployment because about half of all farm men and women depend on outside jobs for part of their income.

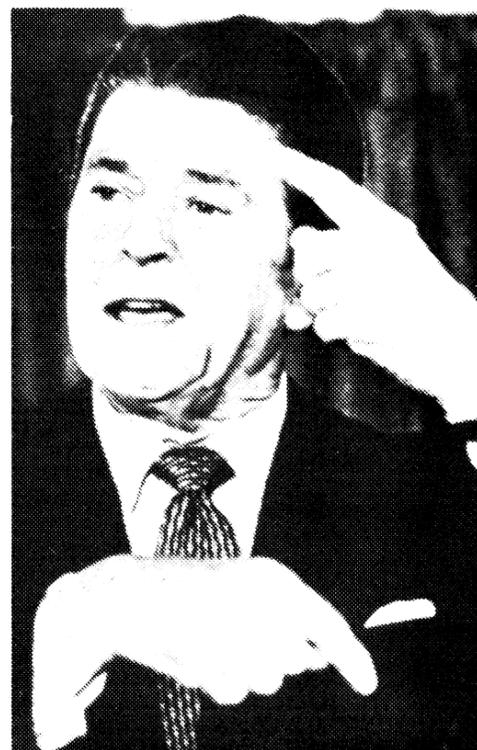
The farm depression has forced farmers to curtail purchases of farm equipment, leading to mass layoffs of workers in the farm equipment industry.

Inflation

Though the rate of inflation has fallen since the onset of recession three years ago (early in the recession the rate of



Jobless line up as Reagan points way to economic recovery.



price increases approached 20 percent per year) working people face continuing increases in rents, utility bills, food, car payments, and many other necessities. These increases come on top of many years of virulent inflation.

An economic crisis of the current length and severity would in itself be a major disaster for workers and other working people. But the recession is not the whole story.

The Reagan administration and Congress have substantially deepened a major assault, begun under presidents Ford and Carter, against government-financed social programs. They've attacked Social Security, Medicaid and Medicare, unemployment insurance, job training programs, public housing, food stamps, loans to small farmers and aid to college students. No social program has been exempt.

These slashes are occurring at the same time that the Reagan administration has embarked on a military buildup which will cost an estimated \$1.5 trillion over the next five years.

What caused the current crisis? Why did the 30 years of relative prosperity after World War II come to an end? Is the recession a prelude to another Great Depression? Is inflation really being licked like the Reagan administration claims? And finally, what is the way out of the crisis? These are some of the questions we will examine in this series.

The bosses' explanations

Let's first examine the analysis put forward by the capitalist ruling class and its spokesmen, the Reagan administration, Democratic politicians and many university economists. How do they explain the crisis and what is their solution?

The two theories they put forward are "monetarism" and "supply side economics" (David Stockman, Reagan's budget director, in a moment of frankness called it the "old trickle down theory"). Let's first look at the "supply side" or "trickle down" theory.

According to the supply siders working people are spending too much and saving too little. As a result industry has not been able to expand and create enough new jobs to meet demand. The result has been high unemployment and inflation. The shortage of savings is also responsible for high interest rates.

The only way out, say the proponents of the supply side theory, is to drive down wages (including the government programs paid for by workers' taxes, which constitute a "social wage," and in-

crease the profits of the rich.

This would, it is claimed, increase savings since the rich can afford to save a lot while workers generally tend to spend almost all of their income between pay days.

Increased savings would lead to lower interest rates and higher investment and thus more productive capacity in industry. The result, the supply siders claim, would be more jobs and lower inflation.

In order to achieve this, the supply siders argue, the national income must be shifted as much as possible from the "spendthrift" workers to the "thrifty" rich. Taxes on rich corporations and banks must be cut or eliminated. In order to finance these tax cuts for the rich (and the record military spending) social spending must be slashed.

Another watchword of the supply siders is "high productivity." In addition to investing in more labor-saving machinery, this means more discipline on the shop floor, fewer rest breaks, speedup, and curbing the right of workers or union stewards to challenge management.

It means relaxing or removing safety regulations and pollution controls in the interest of cutting production costs and boosting profits (making possible increased savings).

Restoring capitalism

Prosperity around the corner?

The supply siders argue that their program — at the cost of a "little" sacrifice now — will sooner or later lead to the restoration of good health for the capitalist economy. The economic boom that is just "around the corner" or as the supply siders might say, just around the next tax cut (for the rich of course) will mean increased jobs.

The federal budget deficit will then disappear as increased incomes for workers and rich alike lead to increased tax receipts in spite of the greatly reduced tax payments by the rich. It might even then be possible, some supply siders hint, to restore social services. Everyone will benefit . . . in the long run.

In the short run, to be sure, the outstanding feature of the supply side program is the sacrifices demanded of workers and family farmers; the unemployed; and the impoverished, elderly, the disabled who depend on social services. However the employers don't sacrifice. They reap the benefits from lower wages, lower taxes, more authority on the shop floor, and less stringent safety

and pollution laws. In short, they get higher profits at the expense of working people.

But even if it's unfair, the Reagan administration and other supply siders argue that working people should support it because it is the only way to restore prosperity. On this point they have obtained agreement from broad layers of the labor bureaucracy.

Does this claim at least correspond to the facts?

The answer is no. The supply side analysis outlined above — despite its repetition day in and day out by the news media, economists, and politicians — is fraudulent on every point. Let's reexamine the central point: that the current problems stem from the inability of industry to meet demand.

Overproduction

Are there shortages of commodities?

Not at all. Showrooms and lots are filled with unsold cars, vast stockpiles of unsold steel exist, and warehouses are filled with unsold consumer goods — these are not signs of short supply relative to demand. Even the world oil market has been experiencing a massive glut. The "surplus" of grain and dairy products is ruining more and more farmers.

Enormous amounts of industrial capacity are lying idle. Three years ago at the end of the last economic boom 13 percent of industrial capacity was lying idle according to the government. Now the figure has risen to about 30 percent.

Of course the huge amount of unsold commodities does not mean that enough goods are being produced to meet the needs of the people of the world, the vast majority of whom live in dire poverty. But since they have little income, they are hardly the source of "effective demand," that is demand backed up by the ability to pay. And for the profit-hungry capitalists that is the only kind of demand that counts.

Nor has demand been increasing from working people here at home. On the contrary, our "effective demand" has been falling. Layoffs, the credit crunch, takebacks, inflation, cuts in social programs, all these have lowered our incomes, thus restricting our "effective demand."

The real cause of the economic crisis is not the inability of the productive power of industry to keep up with demand, but rather the inability of "effective demand" to keep up with the productive power of industry. The next article will take a closer look at this phenomenon of "overproduction."

Defending American values — The Army is testing ways to parachute police dogs, but there are problems. A Fort



Harry Ring

Bragg officer explained: "We have soldiers here . . . jumping every day. But we wouldn't consider jumping dogs that often.

It's an expensive proposition to train dogs, and we don't want to take any unnecessary risks with them."

You have to learn how? — "Sex education is a principal cause of teenage pregnancy." — Women's rights opponent Phyllis Schlafly.

All for the best — True, the new tax reductions favor the rich, concedes the *New York Times*. But, actually, they'll end up paying more taxes. How? They'll reinvest that extra money, making even more. Ergo,

more taxes. Besides, a *Times* analyst speculates, with lower taxes for the rich, they'll be encouraged to engage in less tax dodging.

On the alert — Representative Robert Dornan, the right-winger from California, sees, and hears, more than red. He has a bill to require a label on some rock records warning that, when played backwards, they contain messages "glorifying Satan." An aide insisted records can be rotated backward manually. But don't try it on your

turntable without Satanic support.

Correction — Recently we reported that in a nuclear war the president's command post, a jet, would run out of fuel in 24 hours. But the *New York Times* says the plane can be refueled from the air. However, "the engines will suffer oil starvation within about 22 hours and the aircraft will have to land. . . . At this point the plane would be highly vulnerable."

Capitalist competition —

The Soviet Union may have the spaceage know-how, but on the gourmet side, the French food industry is still out front. They saw to it that the French colonel who shared the Soviet space ride had such items as crab soup, hare, and lobster pilaf. All, of course, squeezed from tubes.

Thought for the week — "The problem of maintaining civilian, constitutional government during and after a nuclear war is a top priority for the Reagan administration." — The *New York Times*.

—CALENDAR—

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Emergency March and Rally No U.S. Troops to Lebanon! Sat., July 10. Assemble 12 noon, Grand Circus Park, downtown Detroit. Rally 1:30 p.m., Kennedy Square. Ausp: Committee to Support Lebanese and Palestinian People. Endorsed by: Clergy and Laity Concerned; American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Detroit Coalition Against Registration and the Draft; Greg Mosberger, vice-president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2435; Lebanese National Movement; Socialist Workers Party; Palestinian Democratic Youth Organization; Abdeen Jabara; James Lafferty, antidraft attorney; Committee to Support Irish Political Prisoners; Committee for a Democratic Palestine; Eddie Hejka, member, Detroit steering committee, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Celebrate the Third Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Films, slide show, music, dance, food. Sun., July 18, 3 p.m. to 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, 4190 Front St. Proceeds to aid Nicaragua flood victims. Ausp: San Diego Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua, San Diego Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. For more information call (714) 292-0912 or 692-9476.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Rally to Launch Campaign of Suzanne Weiss, Socialist Workers Candidate in 1st Congressional District. Sat., July 17, 7 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign '82 Committee. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

What Strategy in the Fight Against War

and Nuclear War? Speakers: Tony Palomba, Mobilization for Survival; Penny Johnson, Association of Arab-American University Graduates; Peter Hogness, Central American Solidarity Association; Chris Gavreau, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., July 11, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Fiesta in Celebration of Third Anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution. Film: *Americas in Transition*; slide show. Sun., July 18, 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. Heights Community Center, 823 Buena Vista SE. Donation: \$1 (half of all proceeds go to Nicaragua flood relief). Ausp: Coalition for Human Rights in Latin America. For more information call (505) 345-4052.

In Concert for Cuba. Featuring Noel Nicola, renowned musician of Cuban New Song Movement, and Ayocuan. Thurs., July 29, 8 p.m. Student Union Ballroom, University of New Mexico. Donation: \$4 in advance, \$5 at door. Ausp: July 26th Coalition.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Celebrate the 29th Anniversary of Moncada. Featuring Noel Nicola, one of Cuba's most renowned musicians of the New Song Movement. Sat., July 24, 8 p.m. Washington Irving Auditorium, 16th St. and Irving Pl. Tickets \$10 and \$5. Ausp: Committee for July 26. For more information call (212) 260-8244 or 477-5891.

OREGON

Portland

Film: Cuba and Fidel. Celebration of anniversary of Cuban revolution. Speaker: Seth Rockwell, Socialist Workers Party, former volunteer worker in Cuba. Sun., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

Women's Movement at the Crossroads:

How to Advance Women's Rights. Speakers: Rosemary Gould, National Organization for Women, Pennsylvania Social Services Union; Lori Serratelli, Democratic candidate for 105th Congressional District, Harrisburg Women's Center Board of Directors; Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, member of Steelworkers union and NOW. Wed., July 14, 7 p.m. YWCA, 215 Market St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

Philadelphia

Women's Equality: How to Win It. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, *Militant* staff writer and Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., July 10, 7:30 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Pittsburgh

Israeli Aggression in Lebanon.

Speakers: Keith Jones, Socialist Workers Party; Hassan Mustafa, General Union of Palestinian Students. Fri., July 16, 8 p.m. 1102 E Carson St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

Meet the Socialist Workers Candidates.

Speakers: Deann Rathbun, candidate for Congress, Young Socialist Alliance; Mark Zola, candidate for governor. Sat., July 17, 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Charleroi Library, 638 Fallowfield, Charleroi. Ausp: Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

South African Freedom Struggle.

Speakers: Al Duncan, Socialist Workers Party; South African student; others. Fri., July 23, 8 p.m. 1102 E Carson St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

Picnic to Meet the Socialist Candidates.

Food, sports, entertainment. Sat., July 24, 12 noon to 10 p.m. South Park, Sevens Pavilion off Corrigan Rd. Donation: \$5 adults, \$2.50 children and unemployed. Ausp: Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Benefit for Flood-Damaged Nicaragua.

Slide show from Nicaragua, music by Small Axe Band. Sun., July 18, 7 p.m. Maxwell's, 1 Wall St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Latin America Solidarity Project. For more information call (304) 594-1821.

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Remembering saxophonist Art Pepper (1925-1982)

BY RICH LESNIK

It's really hard to write about your heroes — men and women who defy the "accepted" ways of functioning, even if doing so invites destruction.

So it's kind of difficult to write about saxophonist Art Pepper. He died June 15.

He wasn't cut down in the prime of his life like Charlie Parker, the alto saxophone genius, inventor (with Dizzy Gillespie) of bebop, whose young body

AS I SEE IT

was twice its chronological age in wear and tear. Art Pepper died of a cerebral hemorrhage at 56.

He was a fine musician, who got hooked on drugs and ended up in San Quentin for a stretch. Free again, he tried to pick up the pieces of a life and art lost in the shuffle, and was well on the way to a new beginning in his work.

Back in the fifties, the "West Coast," "cool" sound was born. Perhaps the two most fluent and creative exponents of that school were Chet Baker (on trumpet) and Art Pepper (alto saxophone).

To teenage aspiring musicians, Art Pepper's name was magic. He was an important source of independ-

ence and creativity. His indomitable spirit and musical freedom were as inspiring as they were mystifying.

Remember: this was the period of the Beachboys, Dion and the Belmonts, and all the bubble-gum culture and Gidget movies that went with them. In the midst of all this rip-off hype, there stood our rebel-heroes, who went against the stream, who defied the strictures of straight society, and proclaimed their freedom through their music.

Sure, they were messed up. Sure, they used drugs. Sure, they led "immoral" lives (check out Lenny Bruce if you want some interesting insights into the hypocrisy of the "morality" of capitalist society). But they had a purpose, and they lived for it. The music, always the music.

And they could play!

When Art Pepper was in his prime, nobody around could touch him (at least not on the West Coast). He had a clean, lyrical style that could break loose with raucous, swinging sounds that would take you higher than the clouds. He could play a ballad so tenderly you felt like you were in love, and then turn around and swing so hard you didn't know which way was up.

It's a hard life when you have so much creative spirit, and time and again you meet a stone wall erected by the architects of our "pop" culture — the

corporate "entertainment" interests who can make or break all but the most brilliant (or lucky) artists, who can rob you of your audience, which is essential for any performing artist.

Art Pepper was a victim of the vicious, manipulative imperatives of the mass-entertainment-market moguls, who make white "stars" from Black music, and whose idea of *real* culture is a plastic remake of some tired fifties rock tune. The same ones who suppress and ignore new, creative directions in music and art.

So Art Pepper got caught in the middle, ground up by the relentless machine that may have given him some grudging tidbits of respect (now that he's gone, of course, the praise will gush forward!), but just as surely put every nail into his coffin.

Any young person who decides to make a go of it as an artist knows from the outset that the stakes are high, the odds are against them. Yet — a testimony to the unbeatable spirit of human creativity — they keep on coming, stepping forward to take up where others have left off. So it was with Art Pepper, and so it will be as humanity continues to move forward.

Rich Lesnik is a freelance alto saxophonist in the New York City area. He grew up in the Los Angeles area in the 1950s and '60s.

The '10,000 Day War': how Vietnam won it

The Ten Thousand Day War by Michael Maclear. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1981. 368 pages, \$16.95.

BY STEVE BRIDE

In an April 21 *Wall Street Journal* column, Col. Harry Summers of the Army War College says he still gets worked up over the memory of U.S. troops hightailing it out of Vietnam in 1975.

Apparently in this condition, he recalls, "I once blustered to a North Vietnamese colonel in Hanoi, 'You know you never beat us on the battlefield.'"

"That may be so," the Vietnamese replied, "but it is also irrelevant."

* * *

Some people in the U.S. ruling class think the current administration's unprecedented nuclear buildup rather misses the point. Greater emphasis, these people argue, should be put on bettering Washington's ability to wage "conventional" wars — that is, to oppose wars of national liberation.

This is essentially what Robert McNamara, George Kennan, et al complain of in their well-publicized article calling on Washington to renounce first use of

BOOK REVIEW

nuclear weapons. We remember, they warn, the last time we were so preoccupied with nuclear weapons, in the early 1960s. A conventional war rolled around, and we all know what happened. So let's sit down and figure out how we're going to win one of these things.

Which is why it has become popular in ruling-class circles to ask how they lost the last one, in Vietnam, to the Vietnamese.

In *The Ten Thousand Day War*, Canadian journalist Michael Maclear has some answers.

People's war

"Every available Viet Minh* soldier was converging on one remote valley, and behind them came hundreds of civilian brigades — People's Porters — with thousands of hand-pushed bicycles and pack animals somehow inching across the rivers and mountains."

The valley was Dien Bien Phu. Maclear is describing the mobilization of the Vietnamese countryside that encircled and brought down the French garrison there in 1954. Earlier, he describes the force that accomplished this:

"Ha Van Lau, then a guerrilla fighter in the South, points out that the Viet Minh was not, as popularly imagined, the army; the soldiers were only a part of it. 'The Viet Minh, for example, brought together organizations of peasants, workers, the youth, the women.'"

Vietnamese Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, who headed up the forces that brought the French to their knees, adds: "Self-defense units were organized in almost every hamlet, village, street and factory. . . . They

* As the liberation movement was known during the war with France. The Second Indochina War, against Washington, was fought by the People's Army of Vietnam in the north and the National Liberation Front in the south.

included workers, poor laborers, schoolboys and students."

"[I had] very strong feelings," observes U.S. Gen. Edward Lansdale, "that a colonial power — which the French were — couldn't win the people's war that was being waged."

Maclear's writing has been syndicated by, among others, the *New York Times*. He doesn't lean toward Vietnam's revolutionaries. He is, though, a fair reporter. So his book — drawn from his own experience and from interviews by Peter Arnett for a TV series of the same name — is a relatively fair account of the people, soldiers, and leaders who drove the French from their country.

And then were pitted against the most awesome display of firepower the world has seen.

The war with Washington

In the 30 years it spent in Vietnam, the U.S. government deployed 2.8 million troops, 57,000 of whom it sent home dead. It dropped almost 8 million tons of bombs — four times the tonnage used in World War II. It killed 2 million Vietnamese.

It was, in the end, defeated by the liberation movement described above, with important help from a massive antiwar movement in the United States. Both are essential to understanding how the Vietnamese waged and won the war.

Maclear quotes Gen. William Westmoreland: "They were smart enough to realize that they couldn't defeat us on the battlefield. But they realized that we were vulnerable to political defeat."

There are equal parts of boast and sour grapes in this statement by the former head of U.S. forces in Vietnam. But there is also a bit of truth.

Vietnamese Gen. Van Tien Dung, who led the victorious 1975 offensive, writes in *Our Great Spring Victory* that during the 1968 and 1972 offensives "the enemy were still relying on the extremely strong fire and logistics support of the United States." In the 1968 Tet Offensive, this firepower meant the city of Hue could only "come under our desperate control for twenty-five days."

Military analyst Brian Jenkins saw it much the same way: "Ultimately, [U.S.] superiority of weapons would prevail. Hard-fought battles were ultimately won.

"But," he adds, "the military success did not translate into political success."

Maclear's equation is simple. To fight a war against an entire people, Washington's only resort was the incineration tactics it used. To win against such an onslaught, the Vietnamese had to do what they could to create a climate that would force Washington to withdraw. The military struggle, for them, was part of this larger political struggle.

The political victory

Maclear returns to the Tet Offensive, quoting another analyst: "The immediate objectives were the occupation of a few cities, not necessarily permanently, in order to reveal the revolution's strength. . . . to weaken faith in the [Saigon] government."

He draws his own balance sheet. "U.S. military strategy. . . presumed that any nation would surrender its territory or ideals rather than die for these,

and in Vietnam that policy totally collapsed with the sacrificial Tet Offensive. . . .

"Though the Marines would clearly win at Hue, the people at home could not understand this sudden bitter street fighting when they had been told that the war was but a mopping up of the countryside. The battle of Hue made it seem that the fight was everywhere. . . .

"Militarily, Tet was a clear-cut American victory; psychologically, it was the decisive reversal."

Shortly after Tet, Americans learned that Westmoreland had asked for 206,000 troops on top of the 495,000 he already had. Americans were horrified. Polls for the first time showed a majority opposed to the war. A few months later, the antiwar movement held its fall moratorium protests. They were the largest to that date.

It would be five years after Tet, and another offensive, before the Vietnamese strategy prevailed. Finally, in January 1973, the United States was forced to sign a treaty and begin pulling out for good. That treaty marked the beginning of the end for the Saigon regime.

Maclear's sources are practically unanimous on where things stood at the time of the treaty.

• U.S. negotiator John Negroponte: "The peace treaty did nothing for Saigon."

• Nguyen Van Thieu, head of the Saigon government: "At that point, the Americans wanted. . . . to quit Vietnam because of the domestic problem in the United States."

• Historian Tad Szulc: "[The Vietnamese] calculation was, Okay, let's get the Americans out, let's sign the bloody peace treaty, let Thieu stay and let nature take its course; in the next year or two he will disappear — as he, indeed, did."

Vietnamese Col. Ha Van Lau agrees. With the pull-out of U.S. forces, "the balance of strength had changed fundamentally in our favor."

In October 1973, the Vietnamese renewed military operations to counter Saigon's actions in the south. In March 1974, their leaders met in Hanoi to plan the final offensive, not knowing if it would trigger a new U.S. involvement. Plans were finalized in December of that year.

On January 6, 1975, the Vietnamese liberated Phuoc Long Province in the south. They waited. Washington did not send in the B-52s. By May 3, 1975, Saigon had been renamed Ho Chi Minh City.

* * *

Astonishingly — because it is central to his equation — Maclear shows almost no understanding of the U.S. antiwar movement. He reduces it to a series of ultraleft stunts and failed presidential bids.

Another weakness is the book's treatment of wartime leaders of the U.S. government. Maclear gives them credit for a degree of integrity they could not plausibly have had — even as he shows them lying through their teeth to the American people.

Still, with the Reagan administration entertaining thoughts of sending troops to El Salvador or elsewhere, *The Ten Thousand Day War* is a good reminder that Washington faced an entire people in Vietnam, and will likely face the same elsewhere. It thereby reminds American workers that we have no interest in supporting such wars and can accomplish much by opposing them.

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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.

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

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

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

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

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409.

Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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.

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

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

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19. P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

New openness to truth about Mideast

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has led to an important shift in attitude among the American people. For the first time, masses of people are beginning to realize that Israel is the aggressor in the Middle East.

Israel's annexation of Arab land, its brutal repression of the Palestinian population in occupied territories, its sale of arms to hated dictators like Somoza in Nicaragua and Pinochet in Chile, its close ties with the racist regime in South Africa — all these things have contributed to a new awareness about the role of the Zionist regime. But the savagery of its actions in Lebanon have led to a turning point.

A CBS News Poll released June 28 found that 38 percent of those interviewed opposed the Israeli invasion, while 34 percent supported it. Twenty-four percent of those polled favored a reduction of U.S. military aid to Israel.

Around the country, people who have never before spoken out against the Israeli regime have begun to take a stand, including some rabbis.

Demonstrations and teach-ins have taken place in many cities, and a National Emergency Committee on Lebanon has been formed. More than 1,000 turned out for a teach-in in Boston, and a similar action is planned for New York on July 25. Successful protests against the invasion and against the U.S. military

and political support to Israel that made it possible have also taken place in Detroit, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Seattle, Philadelphia, and many other cities.

Among the new forces that have joined in opposition to Zionist aggression are leaders of the Mobilization for Survival and others who played a central role in organizing the gigantic June 12 peace demonstration.

Antiwar forces in the United States have a particular responsibility to take up the Lebanon war, since the U.S. government is directly involved in backing the Israeli aggression. Most of the U.S. protests have linked the call for Israeli troops to get out of Lebanon to the demand for an end to U.S. aid to Israel.

Israel's ties to South Africa and to the most reactionary regimes in Latin America give Black activists and those working against U.S. intervention in Central America an additional stake in opposing the invasion of Lebanon and explaining Israel's reactionary role in world politics.

There has never been a bigger opportunity for those who support the just cause of the Palestinian people to explain the real issues in the Middle East conflict and to involve broader forces in the struggle against imperialist aggression in the Middle East.

A public works program to create jobs

At its midterm convention in June, the Democratic Party adopted a proposal for a \$7.5 billion jobs program "to rebuild, renovate and upgrade water and sewer services, bridges and streets, mass transit and other infrastructure facilities."

The Democrats said this would provide jobs for an estimated 500,000. That barely makes a dent in the more than 10 million officially unemployed.

To pay for their jobs program, the Democrats proposed limiting the scheduled 1983 tax reductions. They were careful not to touch a cent in the military budget.

The Democrats' proposal is intended mainly as a vote-catcher for the November elections. If, under a Democratic administration, this proposal were actually put into effect, big contractors would be hired and guaranteed a profit. A large part of the funds supposedly earmarked to provide jobs would go instead to line the pockets of the contractors.

The fact that the Democrats at this time demagogically project a public works program, however fraudulent, testifies to the popularity of this idea. A massive public works program is desperately needed.

The millions of workers who have been thrown out on the street have no prospect of a job today. For many, their unemployment benefits have already run out. The social programs they could have relied upon in earlier times — such as food stamps, medical services, and education loans — are being cut to the bone.

At the same time, there is a desperate need for a crash program to build housing, new schools, and hospitals. But the Reagan administration and Congress are closing down schools and hospitals, and taking away funds for low-cost housing, as they build up what is already the biggest military arsenal in history.

Meanwhile, Reagan is moving ahead with the prosecution of draft resisters. That is one job the U.S. rulers are always willing to offer the unemployed — the chance to get killed fighting imperialist wars in Central America or the Middle East.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates running in November put forward a different solution to the crisis of unemployment. Working people should not pay for the crisis big business has caused, they argue. The work week should be shortened with no cut in pay to

spread the available work. Unemployment benefits should be at union scale, and maintained for as long as workers are out of a job.

The Socialist Workers candidates also call for a massive public works program to create millions of jobs and build the things working people need.

They advocate a crash program to construct millions of new housing units, schools with adequate classroom space, libraries and other educational facilities, hospitals and clinics.

Such a program, they explain, should give priority to the Black and Latino communities, where housing has been gutted by landlord arson; schools are overcrowded and understaffed; and public transportation is unsafe, expensive, and totally inadequate.

They call for preferential hiring of Blacks and Latinos — who suffer the most from the ravages of unemployment — on all such public works projects.

Unlike the subminimum wage offered to most youth in current government jobs programs, the socialists call for full union-scale wages.

Where would the money come from to conduct such a massive program? Over the next few years, Reagan plans to spend \$1.5 trillion on missiles, bombs, nuclear weapons, and other instruments of destruction. The socialists call for dismantling this war budget to provide the funds needed to put everyone back to work.

Many will be quick to point out that Reagan would never go along with such a plan. They're right. And neither would the Democrats. That fact points to the need for a different kind of government, a workers and farmers government that would put human needs — like jobs, and hospitals and schools — before profits.

To fight for such a government, working people need our own party, a labor party based on a revitalized union movement. Such a party would be a champion of the unemployed. It would be a champion of working people's right to decent schools, transportation, and housing, especially in the communities of the oppressed nationalities. It would be an antiwar party, one that would fight against the attempt to drag working people into new Vietnams in the interest of big business; one that would say our fight is here at home.

Socialists and the fight against anti-Semitism

Supporters of the Zionist regime in Israel assert that socialists and others who support the Palestinians are anti-Semitic.

Nothing could be further from the truth. One of the clearest examples can be seen from World War II.

When Hitler launched his extermination of the Jews, European Jewish refugees were denied entrance to the United States. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) campaigned vigorously to open the doors to all refugees fleeing Nazi persecution in Europe. The major Jewish and Zionist organizations in the United States refused to fight for asylum for Hitler's victims.

Below are excerpts from a pamphlet by Peter Seidman, *Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism*, which is available for \$.60 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

By May 1939, there were enough applications for U.S. entry visas on file in the U.S. consular offices in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia to fill the existing U.S. immigration quotas for the next five years!

It is true that the major Jewish and Zionist organizations contributed money and personnel to rescue operations in Europe, and that they also organized a number of rallies bringing attention to the plight of Jews suffering under Nazism.

But with the exception of a few organizations — such as the Jewish Labor Committee, at that time a non-Zionist organization, and Peter Bergson's Emer-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

gency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, a maverick group in the Zionist movement — the major U.S. Jewish organizations never demanded that the U.S. government "open the doors" to the victims, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, of fascism in Europe.

When asked to state the position of the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee on proposed legislation that would loosen U.S. visa requirements and permit more German refugees to enter the country, Max J. Kohler testified on behalf of those organizations to the House Committee on Immigration: "I think that is a salutary thing, but our plea is in behalf of non-laborers and some exceptional persons."

"I oppose special legislation for their [German refugees] benefit."

The *Socialist Appeal*, which reflected the views of the SWP, explained why the demand for opening the door to refugees should be supported by working people.

The SWP carried out two kinds of campaigns aimed at doing as much as possible, given its limited resources, to put its ideas into action.

First was participation in the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, an organization established in June 1938 with George Novack, an SWP leader, as its secretary, and with John Dewey, Suzanne LaFollette, Sidney Hook, Meyer Schapiro, and Vincent R. Dunne on its national campaign committee.

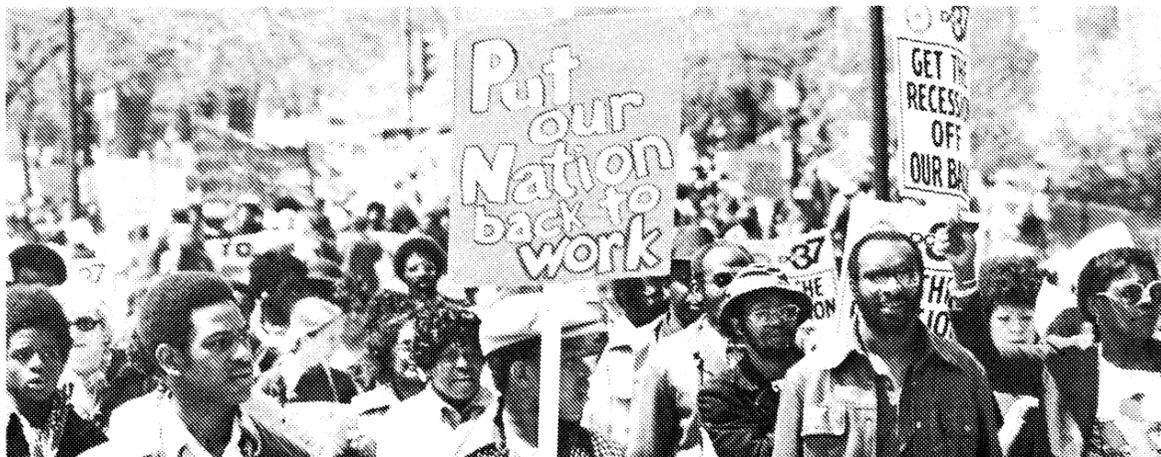
American Fund supporters also organized public meetings, petition drives and educational work in unions, and other activities to win broad support and endorsement for resolutions and actions demanding that the government open the doors to *all* the refugees.

After only five months, for example, New York City supporters of the Fund had distributed more than 15,000 manifestos demanding the admission of the refugees; pasted up more than 25,000 stickers; and held street meetings in every borough. The SWP produced a special one-cent edition of the *Socialist Appeal* on the refugee issue; 10,000 of these were sold in New York. And the Young People's Socialist League, at that time a youth organization in solidarity with the SWP, vigorously sought support on campuses for the demand to open the door.

Nationally, a massive petition drive was launched to win support for the demand that Congress admit the refugees.

In addition to its support for the American Fund, the SWP was also active in alerting U.S. workers to the need for vigilant action against fascist and anti-Semitic goon squads in the United States. The most dramatic of these actions was called by the SWP for February 20, 1939, when a fascist meeting was scheduled for Madison Square Garden in New York.

Fifty thousand workers turned out to show their opposition to the fascists.



Militant/Dennis Scarla

Building June 12 in a Baltimore clothing plant

BY TIVAL FOGUEL

BALTIMORE — There was a lot of debate among peace activists involved in building the June 12 disarmament demonstration over whether to include the demand of "No U.S. intervention in Central

UNION TALK

America." Where I work, at Joseph A. Bank Clothier, workers saw nuclear disarmament and the U.S. wars abroad as interlinked.

After the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) reserved a bus to go from Baltimore to New York for the demonstration, I approached many co-workers about going to the demon-

stration.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador leaflet that I distributed, highlighting the demand "No U.S. intervention in Central America," was very well received. I signed up 15 people to go on a union bus and later sold 14 round-trip tickets to co-workers to go on the June 12 Coalition bus when the ACTWU bus had been all filled up.

A total of 60 ACTWU members from Baltimore went to the June 12 demonstration. People saw the trip as an opportunity to express their disagreements with Reagan's war moves abroad.

One co-worker told me why she had gone to the demonstration. Her story expresses the sentiments of many people on the bus.

She asked me if I had seen the Maxwell House television commercial about the Colombian, Juan Val-

dez, who picks select coffee beans one by one. She said the commercial forgets to mention that he gets paid about \$1 for each bag he fills, which takes hours.

If Juan Valdez should ever demand \$2 a bag, she added, he would not appear on Maxwell House commercials any more, and Reagan would send the Marines after him. And if he made too much trouble, Reagan would consider dropping the bomb on him.

I think the story basically sums it up. Any military intervention against working people abroad poses the danger of a new Hiroshima.

The participation of 60 workers from Baltimore is an example of the willingness of working people in this country to fight against the U.S. warmakers.

Tival Foguel is a member of ACTWU Local 51 at Joseph A. Bank in Baltimore.

LETTERS

'Natural' disaster?

It was terrible to read about the damage caused by violent storms in Nicaragua. However, I would take issue with your presumption that it was an "attack by the blind forces of nature." My money says it was an attack by Reagan, Haig, and company.

Accidental damage caused by weather modification programs in the United States alone is devastating. Satellite pictures virtually prove that the destructive Kansas City flood a few years ago was caused by cloud-seeding over Kansas farmland. This technology, coupled with the administration's promises to set back the Nicaraguan revolution, makes me suspicious.

Daniel Priest
Cleveland, Ohio

Jehovah's Witnesses

I am writing in reference to a letter in the June 4 *Militant* submitted by Jane Harris.

In her letter, Harris defends the deportation of 10 Jehovah's Witnesses from Nicaragua. She quotes Minister Sixto Ulloa of Nicaragua's Ecumenical Committee to Aid Development (CEPAD) as saying "their principles run counter to the revolution."

This is simply not true. Their principles run separate from the revolution, not counter to it. They do not support any "worldly" systems. Their allegiance is to the "Kingdom of God."

What bothers me is that the Nicaraguan minister feels so threatened by their principles. The Jehovah's Witnesses have not taken up arms to topple the Nicaraguan revolution or any other revolution. It is strictly forbidden within the framework of their belief system.

The threat that Ulloa speaks of is a threat in the domain of political theory and thought.

However, when the revolutionary vanguard involves itself in the deportation of individuals on the basis of theory, without giving credence to the actual

practice of such individuals, one can only conclude that a growing bureaucratic mentality is at work.

As Trotsky says: "To be guided by theory is to be guided by generalizations based on all the preceding practical experience of humanity in order to cope as successfully as possible with one or another practical problem of the present day. Thus, through theory we discover precisely the primacy of practice-as-a-whole over particular aspects of practice."

The deportation of the Jehovah's Witnesses is one indication of the transformation of the revolutionary vanguard into a privileged, petty-bourgeois caste. Such a bureaucracy subordinates the whole of world revolution to the defense of its base on top of the workers state.

Gayle McLaughlin
Homer, Illinois

The case for torture

For those who were lucky enough to miss it, the June 7 *Newsweek* contained a curious *My Turn* guest column entitled "The Case for Torture." The author, a Dr. Michael Levin, creates a few extreme and imaginary cases in which the torture of an individual "terrorist" might save the lives of millions of innocents, i.e., an atomic bomb is hidden on Manhattan Island and about to go off! After creating this particular Batman and Robin-type scene, Levin melodramatically asks, "If you caught the terrorist, could you sleep nights knowing that millions died because you couldn't bring yourself to apply the electrodes?"

Although Levin argues very carefully, stating, for example, "[torture] is justifiably administered only to those known to hold innocent lives in their hands," he is clearly hinting at something broader.

Strangely enough, those who Levin wants to torture are always "terrorists" or "freedom fighters" (this, sarcastically) —



THE WIZARD OF ID PARKER & HART

no hypothetical situations about how many innocent lives might be saved should the Salvadoran rebels decide to torture a captive Roberto (Major Blowtorch) D'Aubuisson, for instance.

Levin concludes in part: "There is little danger that the Western democracies will lose their way if they choose to inflict pain as one way of preserving order. . . . We had better start thinking about this." And so we should.

Apparently, while the ruling class isn't ready to drag torture out of the closet yet, certain of its sectors do feel it's time to at least open the door a crack.

Paul Dougan
Iowa City, Iowa

War plants in prisons

I am a prisoner and, until recently, I was a clerk in an electronics factory run by the Federal Prison Industries Corporation.

Some of the cables the factory made are used on nuclear weapons such as the Trident sub-launched missile, Titan and Minuteman land-based and silo-launched missiles. Some of these weapons systems are to be used against Third World countries such as revolutionary Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and were recently supplied to British forces in their war with Argentina.

Class-conscious workers (including socialists and union activists) are being subjected to political firings for "security" reasons by Lockheed-Georgia, Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, and other defense contractors,

while prison inmates do the same work in federal prisons. What's going on here?

The only reason that people are being fired on phony "national security" grounds is to break the back of the union movement and to drive down wages by exploiting the labor of prisoners, who are only paid \$.40 to \$1 per hour laboring in sweatshops. This is a multimillion-dollar operation at this prison alone.

I could not continue to work there once I found out the full dimensions of the industrial operation. I was an antiwar activist during the 1960s and could not, in conscience, carry on war production for imperialist military intervention. So I complained, was harassed, and quit.

I am sending information to the press and to Representative Ronald Dellums, the Black congressman from California who is on the House Armed Services Committee, and encourage him to hold congressional hearings. I also hope Mel Mason, SWP candidate for governor, sees this and makes it a campaign issue, since two plants are in the state of California.

A prisoner
Tennessee

Sales in Brooklyn

Thousands of Latinos and Blacks work in the many garment shops located in the Bush Terminal area of Brooklyn.

Recently, the Socialist Workers Party held a successful campaign rally there. Susan Jacobson, SWP candidate for the 14th Congressional District, told the crowd that her campaign opposes the Immigration and Naturalization Service's roundups of foreign-born workers that have continued to take place in the garment shops nearby.

The workers listened attentively, and many came to the big literature table set up on the street. One young Latino bought the *Communist Manifesto*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, by V.I. Lenin.

One campaign supporter selling *Perspectiva Mundial* told some workers about her recent

trip to Cuba and answered many questions they had about Cuban society. One young man in the discussion was a Nicaraguan supporter of the Sandinista government.

Many Latino workers stopped abruptly when they saw the headline of *Perspectiva Mundial*: "¡No! a la agresión contra Argentina." This headline had been met with the same response the week before at a Socialist Workers campaign rally in a Latino section of Queens, when 45 *PM*s were sold in 45 minutes.

Two women stopped to take campaign brochures and explained that they always buy *PM*. It turned out they are Cuban and support the revolution. When they were told that the latest issue of *PM* had a speech by Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge, they exclaimed, "The Nicaraguan people are much better off now that they got rid of Somoza!" Two West Indian women bought pamphlets on the revolution in Grenada.

Campaign supporters met a young man from Ghana who said he buys the *Militant* because "Malcolm X said this was a serious paper."

Daniela Dixon
Brooklyn, New York

Lebanese relief

I can only send \$5 at this time. In view of the massacres perpetrated by Israel at this very moment, I've sent all my extra funds for Lebanese relief funds. I enclose one address for *Militant* readers to help out: Middle East Philanthropic Fund, D.C. Chapter, P.O. Box 9493 Friendship Station, Washington, D.C. 20016.

John Guteman
Cleverdale, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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Black miners rebel in S. Africa Strikers murdered, hundreds jailed as walkouts spread

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Eight Black gold miners were killed and hundreds arrested or fired in early July in one of the most brutal police crackdowns against strikers in South Africa in recent years.

On July 3, company officials admitted that six of the miners were killed by police who were called in to break their strike.

The immediate issues behind the miners' revolt were job safety and wages. Several days earlier, six miners were killed in an accident at the mine in Grootvlei. Around the same time, Black miners were offered a paltry pay hike of 11-12 percent, which is below the annual inflation rate of 16 percent.

Because of South Africa's racist system of apartheid, Black workers are superexploited, receiving wages far below those of white workers. Black miners, for example, earn about \$216 a month while whites earn an average of \$1,080 a month.

On July 1, thousands of Black gold miners demonstrated at the West Driefontein and Buffelsfontein mines, some 40 miles southwest of Johannesburg. The next day the strikes and protests spread to the Stilfontein and Grootvlei mines.

The South African authorities have always reacted sharply to labor actions in the gold mines, which are a key sector of the South African economy. Large numbers of police swarmed into the mining areas, using helicopters, tear gas, and gunfire to try to put down the protests.

In addition to the miners who were killed, suspected strike leaders were arrested and hundreds were fired from their jobs. In face of the repression, hundreds of others quit.

Out of the 13,500 Black miners at the West Driefontein mine, for example, 1,150 were dismissed outright or forced to quit.

Despite this crackdown, the protests continued. On July 5, some 12,000 miners at the Kloof mine — who had been locked up in their dormitories by security guards — broke out. When several hundred marched to the gates of the mine, they were attacked by police and security guards who broke up the demonstration with tear gas.

The South African press — like the big-business press in the United States — called these protests "riots," as a justification for the murderous police attacks against the workers.

In fact, labor protests in the mines often take the form of spontaneous outbursts, largely because most Black miners are denied any right to form trade unions or declare legal strikes.

One reason for the brutality of the police attack is that the miners' actions come in the midst of a general upsurge among Black workers throughout South Africa. The racist authorities wanted to set an example to other workers as well.

Over the past couple of years, tens of thousands of Black workers have flocked to join new militant Black trade unions, in defiance of the government's restrictive labor laws. In 1981, South African industry was hit by more strikes than ever before.

This year as well, strikes by Black workers — usually for higher wages or union recognition — have swept most major cities. In the weeks preceding the miners' revolt, there were strikes by metalworkers in Germiston, textile workers in Hammarsdale, dairy workers in Parow, gold miners in Evander, and some 5,000 autoworkers in



Black miners in South Africa are paid about 20 percent of what white miners receive.

Uitenhage, among others.

In Pinetown, striking Black municipal workers won the backing of their white co-workers. While examples of such solidarity by white workers are still rare, they have been increasing with the growth of the Black labor movement.

Because of South Africa's racist system of apartheid, which is designed to keep Black workers oppressed and superexploited, strikes by Black work-

ers pose a direct challenge to the white minority government.

An editorial in the April 22 issue of the *Sowetan*, a Black-run newspaper in the Johannesburg area, pointed out:

"The spotlight is now on the workers. There have never been so many strikes or retrenchments [lay-offs] in such a short time as now. There is a massive movement among labor and agitation all over the country. . . . It must all be a serious threat to the government."

Mason ballot drive shoots for 200,000 signatures

BY GLOVA SCOTT

LOS ANGELES — More than 185,000 signatures have been collected across California through the fourth week of a five-week petitioning campaign to put the name of independent gubernatorial candidate Mel Mason on the November ballot.

With one week remaining, the success of petitioning has led the Mason for Governor Campaign to raise the statewide goal from 180,000 to 200,000 signatures. This is well over the legal requirement of 113,000.

The petitioning has made a substan-

tial impact in Los Angeles.

Day after day, Mason campaign supporters visit malls, unemployment and welfare centers in Black and Latino communities, beaches, downtown, and surrounding municipalities.

They talk with hundreds of workers, convincing many to sign petitions for Mason's name to be on the ballot.

A lot agree with the ideas of the socialist city councilman from Seaside.

A 19-year-old Black woman spoke with one petitioner. "I don't need any campaign literature," she said. "My father has a leaflet at home and I've read

it. He's already signed this petition. Now let me sign it."

In nearby Bakersfield, members of the Peace and Freedom Party helped to organize petitioning teams.

Statewide, more than 5,000 people are signing petitions every day, on the average.

Los Angeles is the home turf of Mayor Thomas Bradley, the Democratic Party's candidate for governor. His supporters here ask questions about splitting the Black vote with two Black candidates running for governor.

Mason's petitioners respond by com-

paring Mason's campaign program and political activities to Bradley's. Of particular concern is police brutality and Bradley's longtime record, first as a member, and then a defender, of the notorious Los Angeles Police Department.

Mason's opposition to police brutality has convinced many to sign. One young Black man in a wheelchair added his name and said, "This is why I'm in this wheelchair."

He explained that a cop stopped him for a traffic violation and made a derogatory remark to his wife. When he protested, the cop slammed the car door on his ankle, breaking it. The cop continued to beat him, breaking his knee and injuring his eye.

Bradley also supports draft registration. When young Blacks and Latinos hear that Mason is opposed to the draft and to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, they have no more questions. They sign.

Often people ask, "Wouldn't it be better to support Bradley because he has a better chance of winning?"

One Mason supporter answered this question by saying: "Why support Bradley, who stands for the same old business as usual?"

"Mason is for using his office to build a movement to defend the rights of workers, Blacks, Latinos, and women. Bradley agrees with the system that allows the rich to make all the political and economic decisions in this country.

"Mason is for building a society where workers and farmers can make those decisions instead."

Salinas Valley farmworkers sign for Mason

BY JIM CARSON

SALINAS, Calif — Petitioners for the Mel Mason for Governor Campaign spent the week of June 21 here in this agricultural valley, just 20 miles from Mason's hometown of Seaside.

Mason supporters are circulating petitions throughout the state to place the socialist city councilman on the ballot as an independent candidate.

In their large majority, farm workers and their families here eagerly signed the petitions, especially after learning of Mason's opposition to the U.S. government's intervention in El Salvador.

Petitioners circulated among crowds at Sunday soccer games and at a picnic grounds outside of Salinas. Hundreds of

young Chicano workers smiled as they read the leaflet clipped to the petition board, which also demands "No draft" and "No nuclear power or weapons."

One young worker interrupted a petitioner and eagerly took the board, saying, "Okay, I'll sign if he is for stopping the Yankees in El Salvador." The boards were passed from person to person.

A petitioner walked into a group of young workers playing horseshoes at the picnic grounds. One worker asked in Spanish about Mason's view on undocumented workers. After looking at Mason's campaign brochure, which calls for a halt to deportations and opening the borders, the worker announced to every-

one in the area Mason's positions. Again, the petition boards were passed from person to person, all of whom signed.

Petitioners also took the Mason campaign to a Salinas meeting in solidarity with the Salvadoran revolution. San Jose television reporter Don Gomez gave an eyewitness account to the 100 people present on the fraudulent Salvadoran elections. Three farm workers at the meeting signed up to get more information on the Mason campaign.

A total of 1,800 signatures were obtained in this predominantly farm worker community, boosting the number of signatures in Monterey County to over 7,000 for the third week of the petitioning drive.