

Protest U.S. embargo against Nicaragua

The following statement was issued by Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

The May 1 announcement by the White House of plans to impose an embargo on all trade with Nicaragua is a qualitative escalation of the U.S. war against that country.

The tens of thousands of unionists, Blacks, Latinos, students, and other young people who demonstrated against U.S. in-

Bipartisan vote on contra aid paves way for embargo. See story on page 6.

tervention in Central America on April 20 should build on the success of that action by protesting this latest attack on Nicaragua. Through our unions, civil rights organizations, solidarity groups, and April Action Coalitions we must answer this escalation of the U.S. war.

The U.S. economic sanctions, in the form of an executive order, are due to go into effect May 7. They include: halting the purchase by the United States of all Nicaraguan products; stopping U.S. exports to Nicaragua except those destined for the "organized democratic resistance" (i.e., counterrevolutionaries); suspension of service to the United States of Nicaraguan ships; cancellation of landing rights in the United States for Aerónica, the Nicaraguan airline.

Also under consideration as part of the sanctions are a freeze on Nicaraguan assets in this country and restrictions on travel by U.S. citizens to Nicaragua.

The executive order said in part: "I Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, find that the policies and actions of the Government of Nicaragua constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States and hereby declare a national emergency to deal with that threat."

In a letter to Congress, Reagan adds: "U.S. application of these sanctions should be seen by the Government of Nicaragua, and by those who abet it, as unmistakable evidence that we take seriously the obligation to protect our security interests and those of our friends." Reagan says he is or-



On April 20 tens of thousands demonstrated against U.S. war against Nicaragua. Today actions are needed to protest U.S. trade embargo which is an escalation of that war.

dering the sanctions because of the Nicaraguan government's "aggressive activities in Central America."

But the one who is carrying out aggression in Central America is the U.S. government, not Nicaragua. The U.S. government organizes, funds, and directs a mercenary army known as the *contras*, that

has murdered, tortured, and raped thousands of Nicaraguan civilians in the last four years. It is the U.S. government that violated all international law by mining Nicaraguan harbors. It is the U.S. government, through these new economic sanctions, that will cause the direct loss of

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Right-wing violence in San Jose denounced

BY LYNDIA JOYCE
AND SAM MANUEL

SAN JOSE, Calif. — Labor officials, civil rights figures, Vietnam veterans, and other political activists here are demanding that city officials take action to prosecute those responsible for a right-wing violent attack on the Socialist Bookstore and offices of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

On April 27 the socialists sponsored an educational conference at their offices on the history of the Vietnam War. A group of rightist Vietnamese thugs gathered outside the meeting, unsuccessfully trying to intimidate people from attending it.

The next day, April 28, 200 of the goons showed up at the socialists' offices, chanting, "Kill Communists!" and "Communists out of San Jose!" The police refused to disperse the mob and the 17 socialists inside had to be evacuated from the building in police cars.

The very next day a broad news conference to protest the attack was held here. Attending were Arnold Hart of the San Jose Rainbow Coalition; Saul Wachtler, chairman of the Santa Clara Communist Party; David Wald, of the Peace and Freedom Party; Sol Zeltzer, of the National Lawyers Guild; Thomas Izu, of the Nihon-machi Outreach Committee, a Japanese-American civil rights group; and Lynda

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Defend right to speak out on Vietnam

Supporters of democratic rights are organizing a nationwide campaign in defense of the right to hold public meetings and discussions about Vietnam without threats or violent disruption by right-wing thugs.

Numerous meetings are taking place across the country in commemoration of

goons have harassed or attacked participants in these gatherings.

On April 28, a mob of 200 Vietnamese right-wingers converged on the Socialist Workers Party offices in San Jose, California, where an educational conference on the Vietnam War had taken place the previous day. Police refused to disperse the mob. Those inside the offices had to be evacuated in police cars. The cops refused to arrest a single one of the attackers and even escorted one of the thugs into the offices after the socialists were forced to leave. The rightists have reappeared daily outside the office since, attempting to intimidate people from entering. (See story this page.)

In St. Paul, more than 50 right-wing Vietnamese harassed participants outside a rally in solidarity with Vietnam on April 27. The goons were unable to prevent the meeting from being a success, however. (See story on page 13.)

In response to these events, a national political campaign is urgently needed to demand that the democratic right to speak out and discuss Vietnam be guaranteed. Trade unionists, Black and Latino activists, women's rights fighters, civil libertarians, and other activists across the country should join in sending protests to the mayor and police chief of San Jose to demand they act to stop the disruption of the socialists' activities and prosecute those responsible for the attacks. Already, a significant number of protests have poured into the mayor's office, from representatives of trade unions, the Communist Party, civil libertarians, and antiwar and anti-apartheid activists.

This campaign of protest must be stepped up and extended nationwide. By forcing the San Jose officials to uphold the democratic rights of those opposing U.S. policy on Vietnam, the rightists can be iso-

lated and pushed back. Without such a response, they will only be emboldened.

A very important way for people on the East Coast to register their protest of such goon-squad tactics is to participate in the May 5 rally being held in New York City to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Vietnamese victory. A broad coalition of groups is sponsoring the meeting, and prominent individuals have contacted city officials to ensure the meeting takes place without attack. (For more information on the May 5 rally, see story this page.)

Vietnam forums are also taking place in New York City on May 3; Washington, D.C. on May 4; and Boston on May 11. (See Calendar on page 12.) In light of the events in San Jose and St. Paul these meetings are attracting wider support. More such meetings can and should be organized around the country.

As the response in San Jose shows, the stakes in speaking out on the right to hold such meetings is widely understood. As Stephen Manginelli, vice-president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 in San Jose, said in a letter of protest to that city's mayor: "The similarities that the union movement has experienced with thugs attacking free speech and assembly are very obvious. . . . The union movement has everything to gain by defending freedom of speech and assembly from threats of violence and actual violence."

His letter gets right to the point. Imagine if a gang of scabs surrounded a union hall, forcing the unionists out, and then the cops escorted the scabs inside! Imagine if Ku Klux Klanners swarmed in front of an NAACP office and the police invited them to step inside!

As many of those protesting the attack in San Jose have noted, what is involved in this assault is *not* a group of Vietnamese

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Support grows for NYC meeting celebrating Vietnam's victory

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — Support is growing for the May 5 meeting here to commemorate the 10th anniversary of Vietnam's victory over U.S. military intervention. In the last few days, an increasing number of people have called meeting organizers to get tickets for this important event.

The meeting will be addressed by a representative of the UN mission of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Jesse Jackson of the Democratic Party has just agreed to speak and has made promotional announcements for the meeting, which are being played regularly on local radio stations.

Among the new sponsors of the meeting are New York state assemblymen Herman Farrell and José Rivera and State Sen. Olga Méndez, as well as New York SANE.

A group of labor officials in the area, including Anthony Mazzocchi, director of the Workers Policy Project, and Al

Evanoff, from District 1199J of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, has prepared a statement for the meeting condemning the U.S. government's policy on Vietnam and opposing U.S. intervention in Central America.

In light of recent attempts to disrupt other celebrations of the 10th anniversary, the coalition sponsoring the meeting here has contacted Democratic Party officials, Black activists, and civil libertarians, who are calling the mayor's office and police department to express their concern that the meeting take place without incident.

The meeting will be held at 2 p.m. on Sunday, May 5, at Washington Irving High School, 16th St. and Irving Place, in Manhattan. Tickets are \$5. For more information call (212) 286-0396.

In addition to the speakers mentioned above, the meeting will hear David Delinger, just returned from Vietnam;

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY DONNA SHANAPHY

NEWARK, N.J. — Northern New Jersey is one of the most industrialized areas of the country. And as an important part of building the April 20 antiwar actions in Washington, D.C., socialist workers here decided to step up leafletting and sales at a couple of the big auto and electrical plants in the region.

Edison Products, a plant organized by the International Union of Electronic Workers employs more than 1,000 assembly-line workers making dehumidifiers and humidifiers. It is a bit of a challenge to sell there as the entrance to the plant is off a busy highway and the cars zoom in one after the other.

In spite of these difficulties, *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales teams have visited the plant off and on for a couple of months. We had some good responses at one sale handing out leaflets building the April 20 demonstration. More than 20 cars slowed down enough to place a leaflet in an outstretched hand.

We also found the presence of the sales team generated interest inside the plant. One young Puerto Rican woman asked a socialist who works there if she "knew the girls who were standing outside that morning."

Another coworker asked if the socialist worker in the plant "was a member of the *Militant*."

The interest generated by plant-

gate sales resulted in more sales inside the factory.

The week after the Washington, D.C., demonstration, the plant-gate team made a big sign saying, "Read the *Militant* — U.S. out of South Africa!" Many workers slowed down to read the sign, and one carload stopped and bought a paper. In addition, one of the Black women workers mentioned at her break that she wanted to stop to buy the paper, but couldn't because of the traffic. She did buy one later from a *Militant* reader who is a coworker.

We have also been selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at the big General Motors auto assembly plant in Linden, New Jersey, for a couple of years, primar-

ily to first-shift workers. We decided to step up our presence at this plant of 5,000 auto workers to help publicize the April 20 actions. We began selling to second-shift workers.

The Civil Rights Committee in the United Auto Workers local there had done a lot to publicize April 20. Many of the UAW members we talked to knew about the demonstration and were thinking about going to Washington for the march.

Because of the heightened interest in South Africa and the U.S. war in Central America, the first time the afternoon sales team went to the plant gates they were able to sell three *Militants* and two *Perspectiva Mundials*. This was

coupled with handing out hundreds of April 20 leaflets and getting into a few discussions about the U.S. war in Central America and Washington's support for South Africa's racist regime.

The morning team that went back to GM after the April 20 demonstration also got a good response. They sold five *Militants*.

It's obvious to us that as the discussions about U.S. foreign policy deepen, sparked on by anti-apartheid actions like the student sit-ins at New Jersey's Rutgers University, we must continue our presence at these plants with the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Both publications are a part of the ongoing political discussions that are taking place.

N.Y. sales campaign zeros in on subscriptions

BY CAPPY KIDD

NEW YORK — In the first five weeks of the 10-week national sales campaign to sell 30,000 single copies and more than 2,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, New York sales teams have sold over 1,000 *Militants*, 200 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and 150 copies of the *Young Socialist*. Our local goal is 1,800 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials*.

The upsurge in activity against the apartheid system in South Africa coincided with the beginning of our sales drive. Our sales teams sold 100 papers at the April 4 demonstration against South Africa. We sold

nearly 100 more at the divestment blockade on the Columbia University campus.

We went all out at the April 20 demonstration in Washington, D.C., selling 354 copies of the *Militant*, 69 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and over 60 subscriptions. We have projected selling 180 *Militant* and 50 *PM* subscriptions in the course of this drive.

The subscription aspect of the sales drive is particularly important to us. We want to develop a large number of readers who get our press on a regular basis.

We have discussed carefully how to go about meeting our subscription goal. There are several people in New York who are active supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. They will all be approached about subscribing. In another category are people we work closely with in coalitions, unions, and other organizations. There are coworkers where we work in industry who should have subscriptions.

Finally there are the hundreds of new activists who have come forward in the struggles against apartheid, police brutality, and the U.S. war in Central America.

We place a special emphasis on gaining new subscribers for *Perspectiva Mundial* among New York's Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Central American population.

Half of our sales are assigned to areas where Spanish is the primary language. A special sales team, whose members work Saturdays, sells at Hostos Community College, a bilingual campus, during the week.

An important part of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales campaign is the boost it has given to general sales of socialist books and pamphlets. In the four-day period from April 3 to April 6, sales teams sold a total of \$1,439 worth of books and pamphlets. Then on April 20, New York socialists staffed a book table in Washington D.C. that sold over \$4,000 in literature.

We also used sales to help build the campaign of Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York City, when sales teams gave out 8,000 copies of a bilingual statement by González urging all-out support for the April 20 antiwar actions.

We also sell in the Church Avenue and Flatbush section of Brooklyn which has a large Caribbean and Haitian population. Books about Malcolm X, Maurice Bishop, and socialist literature in French are always on demand there. We also sell in Harlem.

One surprising aspect of our sales has been our sales to farmers. No — New York hasn't changed its urban character. We simply discovered that there are working farmers who supply the various farmers' markets around the city.

They are quite interested in the *Militant*'s coverage of the farm crisis and in recent weeks have bought 40 copies of the *Militant*.



Militant/Fred Murphy
Andrea González (right), Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, helping staff literature table in Washington, D.C., on April 20.

Protest U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua

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\$57 million in export income alone to the Nicaraguan economy — a loss that will mean less hard currency to purchase medicine, food, and machinery needed to develop the country after decades of plunder by U.S. companies.

Cancellation of landing rights for the Nicaraguan airline, Aeronica, is an attempt to put further obstacles in the path of those who want to visit Nicaragua and see for themselves what the Sandinista revolution has accomplished. Thousands of U.S. citizens — including young people, unionists, farmers, and Blacks — have already visited Nicaragua and come back to report the truth.

The Democrats in Congress joined Reagan in proposing these sanctions. In fact it was the Democrats who, while voting against aid for the contras, urged economic sanctions against Nicaragua. Some

even suggested breaking diplomatic relations.

In his letter to Congress Reagan specifically notes this bipartisan support for the escalating U.S. war against Nicaragua. "In taking these steps, I note that during this month's debate on U.S. policy toward Nicaragua, many members of Congress, both supporters and opponents of my proposals, called for the early application of economic sanctions."

The Democrats and Republicans alike seized on Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega's visit to the Soviet Union to seek economic aid as a cover to promote this sanction proposal. They arrogantly claimed Ortega had no right to make such a trip.

But Nicaragua is a sovereign nation. Its head of state has the right to travel where he wants and to seek aid from any country in the world. The U.S. government has cut

off aid to Nicaragua, funds a war against it, and has caused tremendous economic damage to the country. Washington has no right to tell Nicaragua not to seek aid from the Soviet Union or any other country offering assistance.

Opponents of the U.S. war should demand that the sanctions be stopped and that all Nicaragua's trade rights be restored. We should demand that the U.S. government give economic aid to Nicaragua to help it to rebuild the schools, hospitals, child-care centers, factories, and farms destroyed by the U.S.-backed contras. While continuing to demand the U.S. government stop all funding to the contras, we must also demand the withdrawal of all U.S. personnel from the region — including the CIA, trainers of the contras, the U.S. troops currently in Honduras, the "advisers" in El Salvador, and the troops stationed in Panama.

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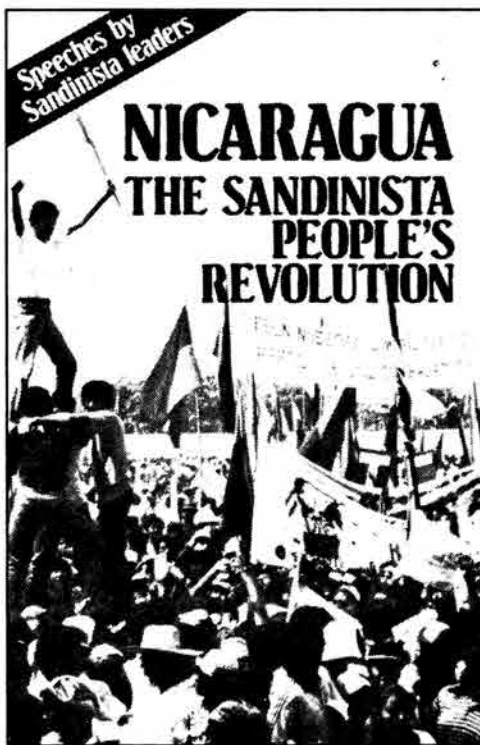
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This new collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. The 412-page book is an invaluable weapon in the struggle to stop the U.S. war against Nicaragua.

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Vietnam: victory for humanity

Questions and answers about the liberation struggle

BY FRED FELDMAN

The big-business media is overflowing these days with articles on the Vietnam War, marking the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese liberation forces over U.S. intervention — an event they invariably term the “fall” of South Vietnam.

Major newsweeklies like *Time*, liberal journals like the *New Republic*, dailies like the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* have all published evaluations of the war.

The three big TV networks staged broadcasts from Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) during the week of the 10th anniversary.

The result has been a deluge of lies.

All this coverage strikes similar themes and pursues an identical purpose: to prepare the working people of the United States for the massive use of U.S. combat troops in a new Vietnam in Central America.

All proclaim that the antiwar sentiments that took root among working people during the Vietnam war are dissipating and that U.S. working people now stand ready to defend “our” national interests. This in the face of the predominantly youthful marches by tens of thousands of working people, students, and others against U.S. intervention in Central America and U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa.

All pour venom on Vietnam, which is denounced with unbridled chauvinism as “a miserable country,” “a rotten country” and worse. An effort is made to portray the

Vietnamese workers and farmers as having been better off with U.S. bombs and chemical defoliants raining down on their heads than today when, as *Time* grudgingly concedes, “Viet Nam is peaceful now.”

As we will show in a future article, the living conditions of Vietnamese workers and farmers have improved since 1975 — and this in the face of a total U.S. economic embargo and U.S.-backed military aggression.

Above all, the articles suppress the truth about the causes of the war in Vietnam and about the defeat U.S. imperialism suffered at the hands of the liberation fighters. “Not much is heard these days of the once-fashionable argument that in Viet Nam the U.S. was on the wrong side of history because it was fighting a nationalistic social revolution....” declares *Time*.

“Not much” has ever been heard of such truths in the capitalist media, whether liberal or conservative. Their job is to cover up these facts, so that U.S. working people won’t know the truth about the wars the U.S. government wants to make us fight.

In this article, we seek to answer some basic questions about the U.S. war in Vietnam. Future articles will take up the lies the capitalist media are telling about Vietnam today and about the anti-Vietnam War movement that developed in this country.

Question. Why did the U.S. government intervene in Vietnam?

its war in Central America.

An added consideration was to strengthen Kohl’s hand domestically. The West German capitalist class confronts a situation of rising unemployment and a working class demanding a shorter workweek. And there is the opposition to the U.S.-sparked nuclear militarization. West German employers are determined not to yield on these issues.

In addition, saluting German imperialist history is a way of strengthening West Germany’s rulers in the face of the political challenge represented by the eastern part of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, which is a workers state.

It was for such considerations that Reagan stubbornly resisted the outpouring of rage at his decision to lay a wreath in a cemetery which includes the remains of members of Hitler’s Waffen SS. Reagan even declared it was “morally right” for him to go to Bitburg.

The issue not only evoked a flood of protest. It was also a reminder of the need for a continuing awareness of the danger of anti-Semitism.

Certainly, the White House itself is not

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Answer. The U.S. invasion of Vietnam was an imperialist war. It was not fought in the interests of the workers and farmers of the United States, but for the profits of a small group of billionaires with massive investments here and around the world.

There never was any popular demand for war against Vietnam. On the contrary, President Lyndon Johnson won reelection in 1964 in part by promising that large numbers of U.S. troops would never be sent to fight there.

He was lying. The big-business government had already completed plans for massively escalating the war against the Vietnamese people.

The U.S. rulers wanted to retain South Vietnam as an arena for investment and as a source of cheap labor and raw materials for U.S. big business.

The rulers hoped that crushing the Vietnamese liberation movement would frighten others in Asia, Africa, and Latin America out of fighting for their self-determination and sovereignty. They wanted to stop the spread of anti-imperialist and popular revolutions which challenge the billionaires’ exploitation and oppression of workers and farmers around the world.

The war had nothing to do with protecting “democracy.” Washington propped up a succession of hated and corrupt dictators in South Vietnam.

When the U.S.-backed regime fell in 1975, it held 200,000 political prisoners. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, it had practiced torture on a massive scale.

Nor did the intervention have anything to do with protecting the “independence” of South Vietnam.

Q. What was “South Vietnam”?

A. South Vietnam and its government were entirely created by Washington as a barrier to the movement for real independence and unification of Vietnam, following the defeat of French occupation forces at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

The French imperialists had conquered Vietnam in the late nineteenth century. Until 1954, Washington had backed the French occupation army in its war against the Vietnamese people.

Make your pledge to Socialist Fund!

BY PAT GROGAN

Hundreds of new readers subscribed to the *Militant* at the April 20 antiwar actions. Just think about what they have been able to read in the pages of the paper in their first two issues.

There was the in-depth coverage of the April Actions themselves, of course, and the same issue had up-to-date reports from our Nicaragua bureau — a regular feature only the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, provide. That issue also had first-hand reports on the Columbia University anti-apartheid fight, a major defense campaign for Chicano activist Kiko Martinez, and an analysis of the Pan American airline con-



Le Thi Tuyet, deputy leader of a guerrilla detachment in South Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands like her defeated U.S. occupation and reunified Vietnam.

In the negotiations that followed the French defeat, the Vietnamese liberation forces were pressured into withdrawing north of the 17th parallel, where they established an independent Vietnamese government. A peace treaty promised free elections to decide the fate of the rest of the country to the south.

U.S. president Eisenhower admitted that Vietnamese Communist Party leader Ho Chi Minh would have easily won any fair election at that time.

Washington quashed the elections and established a puppet regime in the south. The Saigon regime began by murdering tens of thousands on the sole charge of sympathizing with the national liberation movement.

As opposition grew in the south, Washington stepped up its intervention until 1965, when massive bombings and landings of U.S. troops began.

Q. What were the Vietnamese fighting for?

A. The Vietnamese people were fighting for independence from foreign rule and occupation. They were fighting for self-determination. The peasants wanted an end to the ownership of the land by a small number of landlords who charged the peasants exorbitant rents. The Vietnamese people wanted to control their natural resources, like the rubber plantations. They

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Behind Reagan's visit to Bitburg, W. Germany

BY HARRY RING

In the face of outraged public opinion, the White House offered a welter of explanations for Reagan’s decision to visit the West German military cemetery at Bitburg, including a “warm” personal friendship for West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. But the only thing approaching the truth was offered in one news summary of the White House view:

“Mr. Kohl has staked considerable political capital on his firm endorsement of Mr. Reagan’s policies. The chancellor has especially supported the president’s nuclear policies and the installation of American Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in West Germany. He also endorsed his research program for missile defense in space.”

And, it could have been added, Kohl accepted deployment of the U.S. nuclear weapons in Germany despite strong domestic opposition.

West Germany is a key piece in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization which was designed by Washington as part of its encirclement of the Soviet Union. Washington wants to tie the entire NATO alliance more closely to the U.S. role as world imperialist cop and, concretely, to

In the March 22 issue of the *Militant*, we launched the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$75,000 by June 15.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* and other socialist publication projects.

Checks should be made out to: Socialist Publication Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014.

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**Militant/Larry Lukehart
Socialist literature display at April 20 antiwar, anti-apartheid rally in San Francisco.**

tract.

In the *International Socialist Review* supplement to last week’s issue, we ran an eyewitness report on the revolution in the West African country of Burkina Faso and a major speech by Nicaraguan vice-president Sergio Ramirez.

The present issue has the first installment of Fidel Castro’s interview with the Mexican daily *Excelsior*, in which he proposes the cancellation of the Latin American debt.

We have a report on the Eastern Airlines contract battle, questions and answers on the Vietnam revolution and its victory over U.S. imperialism, and an exclusive interview with Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a leader of the Canadian abortion rights struggle.

It’s pretty impressive. And that’s just some of what you’ll find in these two issues.

Our readers can be confident of getting fresh and honest reports from the front lines of the class struggle every week. And in-depth articles that explain and clarify how to advance the fight for socialism.

And that confidence — given an extra spur by the successful antiwar actions — is being reflected in our fund drive. Last week we urged our supporters to step up the pace of the drive, by setting pledge goals in each city. We are happy to report that 12 cities have pledged \$30,000 so far. If the generosity of our supporters in these 12 cities is equalled by others, we will make our goal and then some.

A big part of our fund goal will be made through organized activities. But we hope that every one of our readers will be a part of our effort to make our socialist press even bigger and better, by sending what you can today.

Internationalism: key to labor solidarity against apartheid

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

CHICAGO — As protests against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa continue across the country, more and more trade unions are joining this important movement. Trade union leaders such as Leon Lynch of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and Marc Stepp of the United Auto Workers (UAW) have been arrested at sit-ins at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C.

Union locals are passing resolutions condemning U.S. ties to South Africa. Recently three Black South African trade unionists toured the United States. One of them, Emma Mashinini, visited Chicago where she spoke before the Chicago Federation of Labor. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) helped organize her tour. Mashinini's talk at the ACTWU hall drew more than 100 people, including 40 garment workers from ACTWU shops.

Workers here support the struggle against apartheid out of international solidarity with our brothers and sisters fighting for justice and freedom. We recognize a common enemy, the big capitalist corporations that exploit workers around the world, and the governments the owners of these corporations control in South Africa and the United States.

Unfortunately, an attempt is being made to link the anti-apartheid struggle in the United States with the reactionary protectionist or "Buy American" campaign that many U.S. capitalists and trade union officials have been pushing.

For example, USWA Local 1033, a large Chicago steel local, recently passed an anti-apartheid resolution urging its members to participate in the weekly pickets here outside the South African consulate. But one section of the resolution states, "Whereas U.S. steel corporations such as U.S. Steel, Bethlehem and LTV have substantial investments in coal mines and steel mills in South Africa, the products of which are imported into the U.S. where they undercut the jobs of American miners and steelworkers. . . ."

Local 1033 also voted to distribute a USWA publication, "American Steel Jobs and South Africa." This brochure gives a lot of basic and useful facts about apartheid, but its main political point is that South African imports, and steel imports in particular, are putting U.S. workers out of jobs.

The opening paragraph describes the crisis in the U.S. steel industry — plant closings, layoffs, etc. "Big Steel is fleeing the United States and going to countries where workers are paid little, taxes are few, and profits are huge. These and other multinational corporations support repressive regimes in the Third World, profiting from their repression of labor rights while permanently sacrificing America's industrial strength."

The brochure goes on to explain how foreign steel imports are growing. "Although most foreign steel comes from Europe and Japan, a growing percentage is from low-wage Third World countries such as Brazil and South Africa." It states, "The main reason why South African steel can compete with U.S. produced steel is South Africa's labor control system known as apartheid."

"Chicago workers recently learned first hand how U.S. corporate collaboration with South Africa hurts them. Chicago steelworkers discovered that steel beams being used to construct a new state building in their city were imported from South Africa. At the same time, U.S. Steel's South Works plant in Chicago — which makes the same kind of steel beams — had laid off steelworkers by the thousands."

While the USWA is firmly against apartheid — including favoring economic sanctions against South Africa and divesting pension funds from companies doing business in South Africa — the implication of the USWA brochure, and the protectionist campaign itself, is that U.S. steelworkers and U.S. steel barons have a common interest and a common enemy — imported steel.

This is false. What working people here and abroad have in common is being ex-



International Metalworkers Federation/Paul Weinberg

South African steelworker

ploited by the capitalist owners. What wage workers get for selling our labor, power is determined in struggle.

Workers have nothing in common with the steel barons — who seek to make the highest profit wherever and however they can. They're why the relationship between worker and boss is always one of conflict. Workers seek a living income. Bosses seek the highest profit. This is true in the United States, France, and South Africa.

Workers in all countries have a common enemy — the handful of families that profit off their labor.

While it is correct to take a strong political position against apartheid, it is an error to mix that stand with support to protectionism. Protectionist measures merely strengthen the economic position of the capitalists, who are exploiting workers here and abroad.

That's why for several years now, the owners of the large steel corporations have urged the U.S. government to limit the imports of steel from foreign countries. Steel profits for the biggest steel companies have been declining due to both domestic competition, especially from mini mills, and international competition. This has led to plant closings and takeback contracts for steelworkers.

The response of the top union officialdom has been to work with the steel owners to make U.S. steel more competitive, through pay cuts and by supporting protectionist measures. They use patriotic appeals that workers and companies must work together to make America strong.

The result of this is more fuel for the racist war drive the U.S. government is conducting. It undermines the genuine international solidarity of all workers.

It simply isn't true that workers will gain if they help to make their bosses more competitive and profitable. Look at South Africa. The USWA pamphlet explains, "The international competitiveness of South African steel is built on the systematic denial of democratic rights to the black majority." South African corporations, whether government-owned — as the steel industry is — or privately owned, are reaping gigantic profits. Yet the Black majority there lives

in abject poverty, with virtually no civil, democratic, or human rights whatsoever.

Here in the United States, racism and sexism are used to divide workers. The result is lower wages for all workers and higher profits for the employers.

Nonunion wages are lower on an average than union wages. The bosses in all industries use the lower wages to drive down union wages. It never works the other way around.

The truth is that U.S. capitalists would like to drastically cut our standard of living to restore their position in the world market. They also intend to send U.S. working people to wage war against workers and farmers in Central America, Asia, and Africa who try to fight for economic and political self-determination, as the Nicaraguans are doing today.

The current top trade union officialdom subordinates labor's interests to the capitalists on both fronts. They refuse to lead U.S. workers in a militant political struggle to defend our standard of living. And they join in the red-white-and-blue campaign to keep the United States strong militarily.

Tying the anti-apartheid movement in this country to the jingoist anti-imports issue turns an antiracist, antiwar, and pro-workers position into its opposite.

Workers in the United States should demand Black majority rule in South Africa and an end to all U.S. military, economic, and political ties to the South African government. We demand economic sanctions not to strengthen U.S. corporations, but to weaken the South African regime and hasten its downfall.

More protests like the April 20 march on Washington, D.C., are an important way to get this message out loud and clear. Many unions, including the Steelworkers, participated in that march, which featured opposition to apartheid as one of the four central demands.

Workers who oppose war and racism can show their international solidarity by joining more such protests.

Holly Harkness is a member of the USWA in Chicago.

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Protests mark first anniversary of upsurge in Dominican Republic

April 24 marked the twentieth anniversary of the 1965 revolution in the Dominican Republic. The revolution was smashed by a massive U.S. invasion of that country.

While workers and farmers commemorated the anniversary with strikes and marches, the neocolonial Dominican government stepped up military and police patrols throughout the country.

In Santiago, the second largest city in the country, the Committees for Popular Struggle, neighbor committees that grew out of last year's rebellions against the International Monetary Fund's austerity program, organized a 24-hour work stoppage.

There were 12-hour stoppages in Licey, San Francisco de Macoris, Mao, and Puerto Plata.

In Santo Domingo, the capital, there was

a march from the Fort Ozama, the command post of the rebel forces during the 1965 revolution, to the cemetery, where rebel combatants are buried.

In one barrio in the capital, Capotillo, the Committee for Popular Struggle organized a 12-hour work stoppage. Capotillo is the barrio where last year's rebellion began.

In response to these protests, the Dominican government put the army and police on a state of alert. Armed soldiers were ordered to each of the public transportation centers.

In addition, political activists in the northern part of the capital were rounded up by police April 23 on suspicion of inciting violence.

Airline machinists say no to concessions



Members of International Association of Machinists Local 702 at Eastern Airlines, shown here meeting on previous, 1983, contract.

Kennecott Copper blames unions for mass layoffs

BY SCOTT BREEN

In 1983, the United Steelworkers (USWA) headed up a multi-union negotiating committee that agreed to a concessions contract with Kennecott Copper. The alleged purpose of the contract was to assure company profits and save the jobs of union members at a time when the price of copper was declining on the world market.

Now Kennecott has announced it is closing its Copper Division mine, smelter, and refinery in Utah where it was once the state's largest employer, with 7,400 workers.

On April 1, 800 workers were thrown on the unemployment line. The average age of the remaining 1,400 workers is 50 years. Many have 20 or more years of seniority. Their job prospects are bleak, and some will be forced to take early retirement. They will all be laid off over the next three months.

Kennecott Pres. Frank Joklik blamed the Environmental Protection Agency, labor unions, and foreign competition for the company's decision.

The truth is that despite union concessions in 1983, Kennecott, backed by the capitalist news media and politicians, has been attacking the copper unions and threatening to close down for over a year.

Last July, for example, when copper unions refused company demands for more large wage concessions, Kennecott responded by laying off 2,000 workers.

In January of this year, a national conference that included both bosses and union officials was held. At this conference, Kennecott spearheaded the copper companies' assault on the unions, demanding more major givebacks. These included a 25 percent cut in wages and benefits, elimination of the cost of living allowance, cutting the dental plan, and eliminating work rules that were beneficial to the workers. The copper companies threatened to shut down if they didn't have their way.

Despite the offer from union negotiators

at the conference to make concessions amounting to nearly \$10,000 per worker per year, Kennecott broke off negotiations. And now it is carrying out its threat to shut down.

Copper workers are angry. They blame Kennecott management and Standard Oil of Ohio (SOHIO), which bought Kennecott in 1981. They suspect the company will get a big tax write-off out of the shutdown.

They get especially angry when they hear the company and various capitalist politicians blame the workers for Kennecott's shutdown. Ralph Christianse, president of USWA Local 392, told the press, "The workers have devoted their life, a hard-working life, to a company. And for that company to say it was the fault of the working men, when they know very well it was poor management that caused this catastrophe... is a shame."

Other union members see the shutdown as part of a union-busting plan. "You watch," one laid-off worker told the *Militant*, "the day after the contract expires, Kennecott will open that mine up nonunion so fast your head will spin." The contract expires in May 1986.

Further fueling belief that Kennecott's shutdown is part of the union-busting pattern established by the Phelps Dodge copper company in Arizona and Texas, was company President Joklik's statement about the conditions necessary to reopen the copper facilities in Utah.

"If we can obtain some combination of lower labor costs, better market conditions, higher production efficiencies, and balanced environmental regulations, we could accelerate resumption of operations."

Despite company complaints about high wages and low worker efficiency, Joklik told a news conference that Kennecott, with SOHIO's blessing, still has enough capital to go ahead with plans for a one billion dollar modernization of the Utah facilities.

Miami IAM local circulates anti-apartheid resolution

MIAMI — An activist in the Miami Coalition for a Free South Africa reported to the *Militant* that Machinists Local 702 here is getting involved in the fight against apartheid. This local of airline maintenance workers participated in the April 20 march on Washington for peace, jobs and justice. The antiwar march demanded an end to U.S. government support to apartheid.

A resolution condemning apartheid was read and approved at the union's April 17 meeting. Previously, anti-apartheid coalition leader H.T. Smith had addressed the March union meeting. Copies of the reso-

lution are being circulated to other unions and community groups.

A representative of the local was also sent to Washington to participate in the April 20 march, and the local contributed money to help pay for the buses that took demonstrators from Miami to Washington.

Since Local 702, with 5,000 members, is considered the strongest union in Miami, it is hoped that their action will encourage other unions to get involved in activities against apartheid and open up more discussions about issues such as the U.S. war in Central America.

— L.L.

BY LOUIS LONG

MIAMI — Eastern Airlines machinists union members shocked top union officials and company management by defeating a proposed new concession contract on April 15.

The vote rejected years of pay cuts, productivity schemes, and union officials' participation on the company board of directors.

Rejection of the contract for 12,000 Eastern mechanics, cleaners, and baggage and freight handlers in Canada, the United States, and Puerto Rico was the workers' first chance to respond to company contract violations. On December 31 Eastern chairman Frank Borman outraged the workers by tearing up a signed agreement to restore an 18 percent pay cut.

With Borman's hand still in their pockets by mid-April, Eastern workers struck back.

A few days before the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 702 vote, the results of the flight attendants' contract vote was announced. They also rejected a proposed concession contract.

The flight attendants are members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU). The TWU executive board had recommended a no vote, but both the union president and company management had pushed for its acceptance.

Record profits

A company extravaganza was planned for Wall Street April 16. Borman would announce record profits for the first quarter of 1985 along with confirmation of "labor peace" that the contracts were supposed to assure.

But with both contracts rejected, plans were changed.

First, the \$53 million profit was cut by \$28 million, to be set aside for employee "profit sharing." Second, the glowing articles in the big-business press had to be dampened to reflect the contract rejections. As *Business Week* put it, "Labor relations are improving.... Experts caution, however, that such progress tends to proceed in fits and starts.... Union politics led to the [contract] turndowns."

But "union politics" is not how union members see the contract rejections.

Reeducation or resale?

The union members' dissatisfaction with the contracts is about equaled by anger at the way union officials are responding to the rejection votes.

TWU president Robert Callahan complained he was betrayed by the company which forced him to sell an unacceptable contract to the members. Callahan hasn't explained why he did not call for rejecting such an "unacceptable" contract. But Callahan's complaint does indicate what kind of pressure he is under from the company executive board of which he is a member.

Machinists union District 100 president Charles Bryan is head of a 12,000-member group that is the strongest union at Eastern. Bryan reacted to the members' vote against the contract by denouncing the union members. He told the *Miami Herald* that the vote resulted from lies spread by union dissidents.

And at a large union meeting in Miami two days after the vote, he reportedly told members that they would have to be "reeducated" on the same proposed contract until they accepted it. He refused to go back to the company to try to negotiate a better contract. Evidently sounding more like a company board member than a union representative, Bryan told union members the contract was best for them and the company.

Eastern workers the *Militant* has spoken to react angrily to Bryan's charge that the contract was turned down because workers did not understand it, and that they were influenced by lies spread by union "dissidents."

"I voted no because I do understand it and I don't like it," a ramp worker said.

Another Local 702 member wrote a letter published in the *Miami Herald* April 24 calling on Bryan to "acknowledge the loud and clear message that his IAM brothers are sending him by voting opposite to what he recommended."

And a cleaner who was at the Miami union meeting commented that Bryan's

charge of voter intimidation, especially concerning Atlanta where the contract was overwhelmingly rejected, does not stand up too well.

For one thing, a worker from Miami reported he was at the union meeting in Atlanta and had seen no intimidation. And after Charles Bryan reported on the voter intimidation allegedly committed by union leaders in Atlanta, he went on to say that he did not plan to file any charges against them.

A better contract, not a strike

Workers the *Militant* spoke with all made the point that the contract rejection was not a strike vote. A strike would be a mistake now, an aircraft servicer explained, because it is unlikely the union could win. No one has confidence that the union leaders could fight management when they seem to be so closely tied to it.

And workers point to the failure of the recent strike against Pan Am by the TWU-organized ground workers.

What do Eastern workers want renegotiated in the contract?

Virtually everything.

At the union meetings workers criticized the continued pay cuts and the fact that future pay hikes are tied to profit sharing and cost savings by the workers.

There was opposition to the two-tier pay scale and the extension of probation to four months. It is felt this would create two classes of workers, weaken the union, and eventually set a lower pay standard for everyone.

The "employee involvement" committees, which collapsed at the beginning of the year when Borman refused to restore the 18 percent pay cut, are to be reinstated according to the new contract. In fact, union stewards are supposed to be tied even more closely to these productivity schemes, which as a number of people pointed out, undercut the union.

Workers at the union meeting criticized Bryan for being on the company board of directors and called into question the entire framework of union-management cooperation.

An especially cold-blooded company move that came under attack was the plan to terminate 300 Eastern ramp workers who have not yet finished probation. Some would then be called back at the starting pay of the new contract, which is \$4 an hour lower, and forced to start probation over again.

Bryan himself denounced this and got the company to at least temporarily rescind the termination notices.

'Not owners, but victims'

A March 1 article in the *Militant* predicted this contract might be rejected.

All the talk about the new model of labor relations at Eastern Airlines has not corresponded to the workers' perception of it for a long time.

While almost the whole political spectrum, from *Business Week* to the supposedly leftist magazine *Labor Research Review*, has been touting the employee stock ownership (in exchange for an 18 percent pay cut) and the "responsible" participation of union leaders on the company board of directors, few workers feel they have benefited from this.

The March 1 article in the *Militant* quoted a ramp worker saying: "Everybody I know feels less like an owner and more like a victim of the company."

The constant propaganda barrage from the company, union officials, and their cheerleaders in the news media, has not convinced a majority of the union members at Eastern to make more sacrifices to line the owners' pockets.

Eastern Airlines union members are in a bind. Since a large majority seem to feel that a strike is not feasible, they will have to accept some version of the concession contract that was proposed. But the rejection of that contract on the first vote was an important message.

It will sober up the union officials a little about how much they can act like part of management.

And it is another sign that a lot of clear thinking is going on among working people.

Meaning of 'contra' aid debate in Congress

BY WILL REISSNER

"Let us have no illusions. The war has not ended. The war continues. The CIA is still directing the mercenaries and seeking other ways of funding [them]." That was the response of Nicaragua's foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto, after the U.S. House of Representatives failed to approve a \$14 million package of aid for the counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) waging Washington's war against Nicaragua.

The debate in Congress over funding for the mercenaries took place in the context of a series of military defeats inflicted on them by Nicaraguan troops, and growing defections from the *contras*' ranks, including some top officers. While pushing the mercenaries back on the military front, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants government scored some important victories diplomatically, including a series of successful trips throughout Latin America by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega and new peace proposals further exposing Washington's war aims.

The Reagan administration's campaign for increased funding for the *contras* was part of a larger political drive aimed at countering the Sandinistas' initiatives and wearing down public opinion in the United States to get working people here more used to the idea of war against Nicaragua. By getting bipartisan approval for aid to the *contras*, the White House hoped to increase its authority for waging the war.

Goal: 35,000 contra soldiers

A White House document sent to two Congressional committees before the vote on the \$14 million for the *contras* outlined some of the Reagan administration's goals. The White House wants enough funds to "increase the size and effectiveness" of the *contra* forces, with the goal being 25,000 armed *contras* based in Honduras and 10,000 more operating from Costa Rica.

The report, entitled "U.S. Support for the Democratic Resistance Movement in Nicaragua," stated that "CIA advisers outside Nicaragua" will "provide intelligence, limited tactical advice based on that intelligence and logistical guidance" to the *contra* troops.

The CIA would also make "maximum" use of "cooperative arrangements with third countries" in order to keep its own profile as low as possible.

While the document ruled out "direct application of U.S. military force" for now, it warned that use of U.S. troops "must realistically be recognized as an eventual option, given our stakes in the region, if other policy alternatives fail."

Earlier, Reagan had demanded that the Sandinistas negotiate with the *contras*. If they did so, the president said, he would be willing to limit aid to the mercenaries to funds for "nonmilitary" purposes. The White House then announced that this "peace proposal" was supported by the heads of many Latin American governments.

That announcement backfired. Colombian president Belisario Betancur declared that linking negotiations to continued aid to the *contras* was "no longer a peace proposal, but a preparation for war." Mexican officials also protested the suggestion that they supported the plan.

Even Pope John Paul II dissociated himself from White House reports that he backed *contra* aid. According to a Vatican embassy statement, the pope said he excluded "the possibility of his support or endorsement of any concrete plan dealing in particular with military aspects."

Objections of liberal Democrats

Reagan's inability to muster support in Latin America for his plans made liberal Democrats and Republicans in Congress more reluctant to approve aid to the *contras*.

Most complained that the *contra* war has simply not been effective, noting the international protests of the *contras*' methods of torture, rape, kidnapping, and murder. Some argued that the *contra* aggression has united Nicaraguans more firmly behind the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and deepened their opposition to the U.S. government.

Among those opposing the *contra* aid was Stansfield Turner, former head of the CIA. He proposed that Congress not approve aid yet, but urge Reagan to go back

to negotiations with the Nicaraguans. If the talks lead to no agreement, he explained, Congress can pass the aid later. "I'm not supporting the Sandinistas," Turner said. "I think they are terrible, but the question is how do we get rid of them."

Democratic congressman James Jones from Oklahoma called for a "middle course" that would "move diplomatic pressure for peace to the front burner and move military pressure to the back burner, but keep both on the stove."

Jones emphasized that the Democrats agree with Reagan on the goal of rolling back the Nicaraguan revolution. Echoing the White House laundry list of slanders against Nicaragua, Jones said, "Let there be no mistake. We Democrats oppose the Sandinista government's repression of freedom, its military ties with Cuba and the Soviet Union, and its effort to export war to its neighbors."

Michael Barnes, a liberal Democrat from Maryland, joined with Jones in introducing an alternative proposal to grant "humanitarian" aid to the mercenaries. Barnes said, "If the vote were on whether you liked the Sandinistas, it'd be 20-to-1 for the *contras*. But that's not the issue."

Finally, on April 24, the House rejected all aid proposals, unable to come to any agreement on how to pursue the war.

This was a setback for the Reagan administration, but the U.S. war continues to escalate. In April U.S. troops in Honduras carried out the largest military maneuvers yet in the four-year war. U.S. battleships menace Nicaraguan shores. Washington continues to exert pressure to deny the Nicaraguans needed international loans and aid, exacerbating the economic problems the country has.

The *contra* war itself will continue, with or without official congressional support.

Washington has, in fact, many ways to fund the *contras* despite the House vote. In some cases, U.S. military aid is given to allies such as Israel and Honduras, who then provide a similar amount of "their own" aid to the *contras*. Through its perpetual military exercises in Honduras, the U.S. Army funnels weapons directly to the *contras*. And CIA personnel continue to direct the mercenaries' work.

CIA-funded foundations and institutions also make "private" grants to the *contras*' political and military forces. Take the case of Arturo Cruz, the Reagan administration's favorite Nicaraguan "democrat." His withdrawal from Nicaragua's presidential election in 1984 has been repeatedly cited to bolster Reagan's claim that the election was a sham.

Recently Cruz has publicly allied himself with the *contras* and admitted that he was receiving a "retainer" from a CIA-financed "foundation."

Nor has Washington given up on getting direct funding for the counterrevolutionary

military forces. The Reagan administration has included a request for \$28 million in funds for the mercenaries in the budget for fiscal year 1986, which begins Sept. 30, 1985.

Full speed ahead

Two days after the House voted down the \$14 million for the *contras*, White House spokesman Larry Speakes announced that "over the next several days, the Administration will be reviewing the full family of measures that can be taken to influence the situation in Nicaragua."

While refusing to specify what measures are being studied, Speakes acknowledged that "the options under consideration... do include political, economic and other measures."

According to *New York Times* reporter Gerald M. Boyd, "officials have said privately that trade sanctions are virtually certain." Trade with the United States accounts for some 20 percent of Nicaragua's imports and 18 percent of its exports.

It was Democratic members of the House and Senate who originally proposed economic sanctions and the political isolation of Nicaragua as an alternative to funding the *contras*.

Senator Sam Nunn, a Democrat from Georgia, proposed applying "maximum economic pressure on the Sandinista Government" as a different way of making the Nicaraguan people "cry uncle."

Claude Pepper, a liberal Democrat from Florida, wrote to President Reagan urging him to involve the Organization of American States in the fight against the Nicaraguan government.

But if that effort fails, Pepper added, U.S. policy should consist of "breaking off recognition of Nicaragua, boycott, blockade or whatever else we might think the situation requires."

Reagan's propaganda campaign

For months, the Reagan administration's propaganda war against the Nicaraguan revolution has been in full gear. No charge — including claims of drug dealing — has been too wild for Reagan to level at the Sandinista government.

Even though this campaign did not result in a majority vote for the \$14 million of aid for the *contras*, it succeeded in setting the framework of the debate in Congress on Reagan's terms.

The day after the vote in the House, Joanne Omang and Don Oberdorfer noted in the April 26 *Washington Post* that "virtually no member of the House or Senate defended Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government during the debate." They added that "it is significant for the future that most Democrats probably would agree with [Secretary of State George] Shultz's

goals for Central America."

Secretary of State Shultz himself has publicly gloated about the hostility in Congress to the Sandinistas. In an interview with the *New York Post* on April 17, Shultz stated:

"It's interesting to me that in arguing with members of Congress today and remembering what we argued about six or eight months ago — when people were saying: 'You know that the Nicaraguan government isn't that bad and are you sure they're trying to subvert El Salvador and so on.'"

"Now you go there and our opponents will say: 'We agree that this government is bad news and that they're trying to subvert their neighbors. We agree that something ought to be done about it. The question is what?'"

Shultz is getting lots of advice on that question from the big-business press. After the defeat of funding for the *contras*, the *Washington Post* editorialized on April 26 that Washington has other means to bring to bear against the Nicaraguan government. "The instruments should include a further economic squeeze," wrote the *Post*'s editors. "Its effect could be substantial since the United States is Nicaragua's No. 1 trading partner."

The editorial added that the administration should "enlist other Latins in economic sanctions and in political pressures," which "could include condemnation and diplomatic isolation."

Holding out an olive branch to the White House, the editorial stated: "The Reagan administration is stung by the defeat of its military option in Congress. But a new American consensus is there waiting to be formed, if it will take a hand."

Jim Hampton, editor of the *Miami Herald*, wrote of his conversion to the *contra* cause in an April 7 column: "Eight months ago I wouldn't have dreamed of suggesting that Congress give the *contras* a dime." Now, he writes, "the Sandinistas are following the path that Fidel Castro trod after leading Cuba's revolution 25 years ago."

Therefore, writes Hampton, "it is imperative that the United States thwart that progression. If peaceable means will suffice, then by all means every avenue of negotiation and conciliation should — must — be pursued."

"If peaceable means fail, then armed conflict involving U.S. forces is all but inevitable," Hampton concluded.

The April 20 demonstrations in the United States and Canada against U.S. intervention in Central America show that many people are not buying the administration's propaganda. These actions help lay the basis for building a massive international protest movement when Washington begins waging the war with U.S. troops.

Background on Sudan upsurge in 'IP'

In Sudan, the largest country in Africa, the U.S.-backed dictator Gaafar al-Nimeiry was overthrown in early April following nearly two weeks of demonstrations and a massive general strike. The new military regime, while trying to maintain Nimeiry's proimperialist course, has been forced to make concessions to the masses. Trade unions and political parties are reorganizing and holding public rallies. Anti-imperialist sentiment runs high.

The May 13 *Intercontinental Press* features a background article by Ernest Harsch on this most recent upsurge, as well as on the history of the Sudanese peoples' struggle against imperialist domination.

Colonized by British imperialism a century ago, Sudan has experienced many popular rebellions, beginning with the anticolonial Mahdist revolution of the 1880s. That was followed by the rise of a militant labor movement in the 1940s, the independence struggle of the 1950s, and a popular insurrection against neocolonial rule in

1964, as well as guerrilla struggles by the non-Arabic-speaking peoples of southern Sudan.

Sudanese working people have also experienced fierce repression, including Nimeiry's massive crackdown of 1971, which beheaded the Sudanese Communist Party, the largest CP in the Arab world.

But now with Nimeiry's overthrow, a new period of mass struggle has once again opened up.

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Protests Hit U.S. War Against Central America



Sudan: Why Nimeiry Was Overthrown

Cuba's New Housing Law

Central America teachers tour New Jersey

BY MARY ROCHE

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J. — How education and unionism are affected by the U.S. war in Central America was the topic of an April 17 forum here sponsored by the New Jersey Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. It was held at the Rutgers Labor Education Center.

The program included a presentation by two Central American educators: Felicidad Esperanza Alas of El Salvador, who is a primary school teacher and a founder of ANDES, the Salvadoran Teachers Association; and Luis Ricardo García, a teacher from Costa Rica.

Welcoming remarks were given from cosponsors of the forum. These included statements of solidarity from Ray Peterson of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT); Leni-ann Zibor, state vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; and Miles Galvin, president-elect of the Rutgers Council of the American Association of University Professors.

Felicidad Esperanza Alas spoke about the difficulties imposed on the Salvadoran people by the U.S.-supported war in her country. She explained that 2,000 schools have been destroyed by artillery; a half million children have no schools whatsoever; 5,000 teachers have no jobs; and one million Salvadorans have fled into exile.

This is occurring, she said, when 65 percent of the population in the urban centers and 80 percent in the countryside are illiterate.

The situation of the workers is desperate, she said. Union offices are vandalized and ransacked; trade-union leaders are abducted and disappeared.

Alas urged those in attendance to oppose military and economic aid to El Salvador's government of José Napoleón Duarte and to demand negotiations be continued with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Luis Ricardo García focused his remarks on the economic austerity programs imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the international banking community.

"The repression carried out in our country," García said, "is economic repression that kills on the installment plan." He spoke about the "law of national emergency," according to which "those who own businesses in our country, who control the media, and who have absolute control of political parties are benefited," while education suffers and unions are repressed.

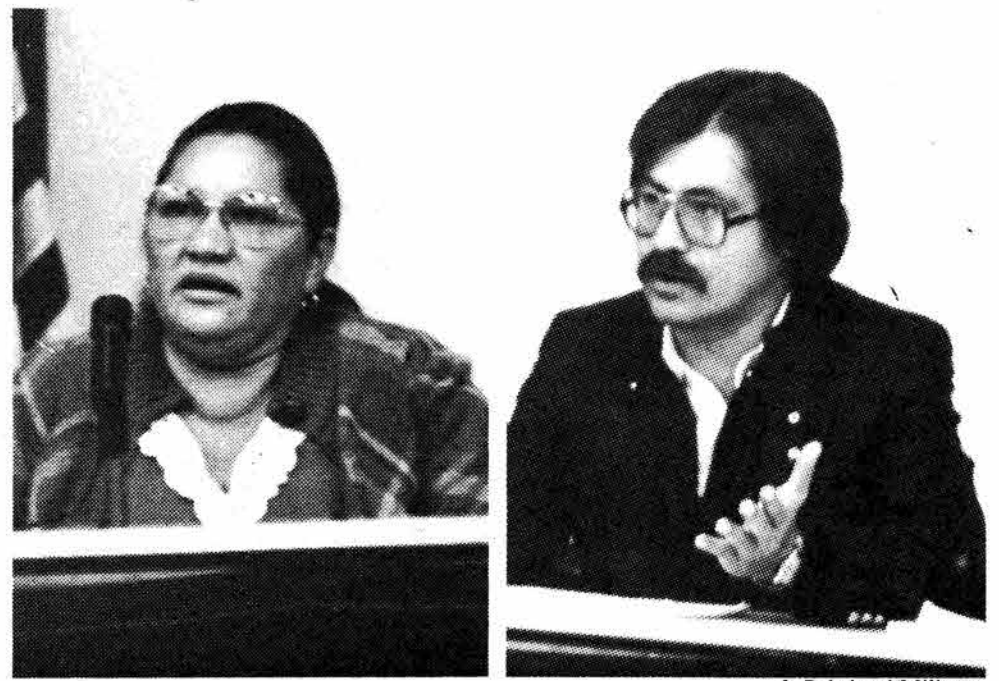
The two Central American educators also spoke at a reception sponsored by the Newark Teachers Union; and at meetings at Ramapo State College, sponsored by AFT Local 2274; at William Paterson College, sponsored by AFT Local 1796; and at Jersey City State College, sponsored by AFT Local 1839.

Prior to the New Brunswick Rutgers forum, the two teachers spoke at the sit-in demonstration at the campus Student Center organized by students demanding Rutgers University divest holdings in companies doing business in South Africa. A representative of the students, Marion Pitts, attended the forum and invited participants to go to the student center to show solidarity with the sit-in.

It was announced at the meeting that a report back from a fact-finding labor delegation to El Salvador and Nicaragua is planned for May 14 at Ramapo College in Mahwah, New Jersey. Dave Dyson, union label director, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and secretary of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, is scheduled to speak.

The New Jersey tour of Alas and García is part of an East Coast tour of Central American teachers sponsored by FOMCA, the Federation of Central American Teachers Organizations, formed in 1982.

About 35 people attended the forum.



L. Paltrineri/Militant
Felicidad Esperanza Alas of the Salvadoran Teachers Association (left) and Luis Ricardo García, a Costa Rican teacher, speaking at forum at Rutgers.

Ortega hits U.S. war

BY BILL GRETTHER

JUIGALPA, Nicaragua — "If you're walking by someone's house and are attacked by their dog, you don't try to talk to the dog," said Pres. Daniel Ortega, explaining the refusal of the Nicaraguan government to negotiate with counterrevolutionary mercenaries. "You have to take it up with the dog's master. And in this case, the master who feeds the dogs is the U.S. government."

Ortega spoke April 21 to a crowd of 2,000 people here in the heart of Nicaragua's cattle country. The occasion was the first Boaco-Chontales regional conference of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG). The region produces 90 percent of the country's cheese, as well as beef, pork, vegetables, and fruit.

Ortega condemned Pres. Ronald Reagan's efforts to obtain \$14 million in funding for the mercenaries. He contrasted this to the U.S. government's determination to block a \$58 million loan to Nicaragua. The loan from the Inter-American Development Bank would be used to finance improvements in agriculture and ranching, benefiting primarily private farms.

This, Ortega pointed out, is precisely the

kind of private-sector initiative that Reagan supposedly favors. But Reagan is "intransigent in his opposition to the Nicaraguan revolution. He is still pushing a policy of war."

Also speaking was Daniel Núñez, national president of UNAG, who reported that the group now has 80,000 members. The goal, he said, is to unite "all of the small and medium producers, and, if they are honest and patriotic, some of the larger ones as well."

Both speakers took up directly the problems facing ranchers: the shortage of barbed wire, and acute scarcity of transportation, and low wholesale prices, among others.

Ortega announced a 67 percent increase in the price paid to producers of cheese. At the same time, he pointed out that many problems cannot be solved immediately, because the country's needs far exceed its resources and because defense of the revolution must have top priority.

The revolution, he said, organizes the people to take on these problems, "and to take them on with courage and determination and enthusiasm. The will of the revolution is the will of the people."

Activists protest break-ins of Boston solidarity offices

BY JON HILLSON

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Solidarity activists responded swiftly and publicly to break-in attempts at a local church housing Central America and antiwar organizations here on April 22. The two organizations targeted by night-time intruders were the Committee to Support Salvadoran Educators (CAPA) and New Institute of

Central America (NICA).

CAPA carries out activities in behalf of ANDEN, the Salvadoran teachers union. NICA is a language school and solidarity project in Estelí, Nicaragua.

According to NICA staff member Garrett Brown, the break-ins occurred sometime in the early morning of April 21.

Financial records of NICA were rummaged through, he said, but nothing of value was taken. This repeats a pattern of break-ins which hit NICA and other solidarity and antiwar organizations in Old Cambridge Baptist Church last November and December.

The CAPA offices, fortified with a thick wooden door, dead-bolt lock and sealant to prevent jimmying, were not entered, but markings testified to the attempt, Rachel Wyon, a leader of CAPA, told the *Militant*.

The teachers union support group had just completed work in New England on a successful tour of educators from Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica, and the church was headquarters for the East Coast tour of the educators. CAPA shares office space with Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Martí.

The attempt, Wyon said, "was definitely harassment."

"It was very significant we were all in Washington over the weekend" at the April 20 antiwar march, she said, when the break-in attempt took place.

The act, she said, neither discourages CAPA "nor will make us leave here."

The NICA break-in, Brown said, "is an attempt to intimidate and disrupt organizations active in opposing U.S. foreign policy in Central America."

Its timing was "not accidental, when tens of thousands of people were marching in Washington to protest against U.S. efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan government."

Cambridge police confirmed they are "investigating" the break-in.

Two commanders of Salvadoran freedom fighters captured

Two commanders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) were captured by the Salvadoran forces.

On April 11, Commander Miguel Castellanos was captured in his home in Olocuilta, in La Paz department. The rebel radio stations reported that after his capture, Castellanos was taken to the National Guard headquarters in the departmental capital of Zacatecaluca and then transferred to the direct custody of the armed forces high command.

On April 18, Commander Nidia Díaz was captured in combat in San Vicente. Díaz was a representative of the FMLN in the first dialogue between the rebels and the Duarte regime in La Palma in October of last year.

The armed forces confirmed that Díaz was in their custody. They reported that she was wounded three times in the fighting before her capture.

Pointing to their own policy of treating prisoners well and releasing them quickly, the FMLN has called on the regime to "respect the moral and physical integrity" of both commanders and to release them promptly.

The Salvadoran armed forces have yet to admit that they are holding a third FMLN commander, Yanet Samour Hasbun, captured in San Miguel on Dec. 30, 1984.

Central Americans speak to unionists

BY LYNN ALLEN

PHILADELPHIA — About 50 members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) heard eyewitness reports about the situation of workers and peasants in three Central American countries — El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

The program was sponsored by the Legislative and Social Services Committee of the Philadelphia Joint Board of ACTWU. The meeting occurred at the end of March.

Francisco Acosta, the representative of the Salvadoran union federation FENASTRAS, was the first speaker. Acosta described the poverty and terror that is life in El Salvador. His description struck a sympathetic chord among the Black women in the audience.

"The U.S. government gives \$1.8 billion in aid to El Salvador. This money could be used for health care, housing, education. But the U.S. seeks military solutions — 71 percent of the 1.8 billion goes to the military."

Acosta explained that unions are under attack. He explained that only 40,000 of the 89,000 members of FENASTRAS were in legal unions. The other unions are not recognized by the government.

Acosta explained that, contrary to U.S. government reports, the death squads still operate in El Salvador. He told the audience that of the 60,000 people killed by death squads, 10,000 were trade unionists.

Joel, a Guatemalan refugee arrested in Philadelphia as part of the government

crackdown on the sanctuary movement in January, also addressed the meeting. He explained that in Guatemala "there are no hospitals, no schools. The national budget goes for arms. The right to organize is denied. Union leaders are persecuted. Many have disappeared."

"The government declared open war on the people. Peasant leaders, religious leaders, student leaders, union leaders were persecuted and killed."

"Whole villages were wiped out. Women and children massacred. Three to four hundred people were murdered daily."

Joel told the audience that it was not outside forces that caused revolution, but the people "organizing ourselves to get rid of slavery." He gave everyone a tiny bandana, the symbol of the sanctuary movement.

The third speaker was Doug Cooper, a member of ACTWU who recently returned from Nicaragua. He showed slides of his trip.

Cooper began his presentation by saying, "If El Salvador and Guatemala could be described as a nightmare for working people, then Nicaragua is daylight for all Central America."

Cooper gave a brief history of Nicaragua, describing the poverty and repression the people faced under the Somoza dictatorship. With the revolution in 1979, Cooper explained, workers and farmers have made great gains. Workers get paid maternity leave, there are clinics in factories, and new schools and hospitals have been built.

Interview with Canada's Dr. Henry Morgentaler

— champion of a woman's right to abortion

BY PAT GROGAN

During the last week of March and the first week of April, I went to Canada to learn more about the determined fight for abortion rights being waged there, in both English Canada and the oppressed French-speaking nation of Quebec. (See "Abortion rights battle in Canada," *Militant*, April 19, 1985.)

In 1969 Canada's federal law was changed to make abortion legal, but only under extremely restricted conditions. Canada's criminal code permits legal abortions only when performed in a hospital, after a three-doctor committee has granted its consent on the basis that the woman's health or life is endangered.

Morgentaler key figure

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal physician, has been a key figure in the long struggle to break the shackles of this law.

Morgentaler is a survivor of the Nazi concentration camps of Dachau and Auschwitz and emigrated to Canada in the 1950s.

In 1973 Morgentaler first defied the restrictive law by publicly declaring that he had performed abortions outside a hospital, without the approval of any committee, and argued that abortion is a woman's right. Three times the government of Quebec Province brought him to trial and three times Quebec juries refused to convict him. Despite this he spent 10 months in jail, where he suffered a heart attack after being beaten by a prison guard and thrown into the "hole." Finally in 1976, the Parti Québécois (PQ) — which has a position favoring independence for Quebec — was elected to government on the crest of militant struggles by the Québécois people. It declared that there would henceforth be no prosecutions of doctors who provide abortions. Since that time women in Quebec have been able to obtain abortions on demand in clinics, health centers, and government-funded abortions in hospitals, although this is formally a violation of the law.

Canada has a parliamentary system of government. The two major capitalist parties are the Liberals and the Conservatives (commonly known as Tories). The New Democratic Party (NDP) is Canada's Labor Party based on the unions. Nine of Canada's 10 provinces — including the Parti Québécois government — have governments run by capitalist parties. The ex-

ception is the Province of Manitoba, where an NDP government was elected. Under the Canadian system, the federal criminal code is administered by each of the provincial governments, and the attorney general of each province has the right to decide whether or not to enforce a federal law, and may decide not to prosecute, as was done in Quebec.

New challenge

In 1983 Morgentaler announced a new challenge to the federal law and opened two clinics outside of Quebec: one in Toronto, Ontario, and the other in Winnipeg, Manitoba. He was brought to trial in Toronto, and for the fourth time a Canadian jury acquitted him. At present the not guilty verdict is being appealed by the Ontario government.

In Manitoba, the NDP government — despite the fact that it has a strong, official position favoring abortion rights — has recently waged a vicious campaign against the clinic, twice raiding it and stealing the equipment, and slapping Morgentaler with an injunction preventing him from practicing medicine in the province.

The fight to establish the clinics in English Canada, protect the gains in Quebec, and bring down the federal law is growing. Recent months have seen the largest and broadest mobilizations for abortion rights in Canada's history.

Women's rights groups are more and more being joined by unions — from steelworkers to auto workers to public service workers — that are being actively drawn into the battle. The 800,000-strong Ontario Federation of Labor (the equivalent of a state affiliate of the AFL-CIO), reflecting the strong prochoice sentiment for women's rights among the ranks of labor, has become involved in the struggle. At the summer 1984 convention of the New Democratic Party, it was the unions and the women's committees who led a successful struggle to win the NDP to the fight to defend the Ontario clinic.

Defending Quebec gains

In Quebec, also, the strong pro-women's rights, prochoice positions of the unions are beginning to be tapped. There is a growing consciousness in Quebec that the gains made there are not secure as long as the federal law stands, and that a united movement for abortion rights across Canada is needed. Students in Quebec are taking the lead in organizing to defend the gains in Quebec, and reach out to working people in English Canada.

New abortion rights coalitions are being organized in many cities and campuses, and plans are underway to organize the fight across Canada.

In a future issue of the *Militant* we will run excerpts from interviews with Judy Rebeck, spokesperson for the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics; Josée Chapdelaine, a Québécoise student leader; and Cliff Pilkey, head of the Ontario Federation of Labor.

The following interview with Dr. Morgentaler was obtained on April 2 on a flight from Toronto to Montreal. In the few hours I spent with Dr. Morgentaler in the airports and on the plane, no less than 10 people came over to wish him well, give encouragement, and ask how things were going. Others smiled and waved. As we were leaving the plane, a flight attendant said, "Au revoir, on vous supporte" (Good-bye, we support you).

Question. You have been involved in the struggle for abortion rights for almost two decades. Can you describe how you became involved?

Answer. I started doing general practice in Montreal in 1955 and as a doctor doing replacement work on weekends and nights. I was called to emergencies. One night I had a 22-year-old girl at 3 o'clock in the morning who had had a bad abortion. She was white as a sheet, she had no blood pressure, she was barely conscious, and

from the story I got, she had had an abortion by some incompetent non-doctor. It was clear that she would die if I didn't hospitalize her.

This was not an uncommon occurrence in the '50s. Whole wards of hospitals were filled with women who had either induced abortions on themselves, or had gone to whoever would offer them that help. It was a major health hazard. About 15 years ago, the World Health Organization estimated that every year 100,000 women were dying around the world as a result of botched or self-induced abortions. A real epidemic.

'Nothing you can do'

And when I talked to my colleagues, they would say, "Well, you know Henry, there's not much you can do about that. If you ever did, you'd be struck from the register, you'd go to jail." The penalty for helping a woman with an unwanted pregnancy was life imprisonment. It is still the same today.

Q. What was the first step you took to change the situation?

A. In 1967 I presented a brief in the name of three Humanist groups to the House of Commons Health Committee, which was debating about changing the

the spot, from air embolism. And the poor man came before a judge, and he was crying, and he got a jail sentence. These are not criminals. This can happen to anyone.

I decided that it was my duty as a doctor, as a human being, as a Humanist, to offer the help I could. And that decision gave me a great deal of integrity. Suddenly there were women going out of my office happy, relieved, and healthy, and when I compared it to the stories the women told me of the times they went to back-alley butchers — the exploitation, the dirt, the sordidness, the real danger — I had the really good conscience of having helped so many women to protect their lives, their health, their dignity. On the other hand it was very stressful. Because suddenly I was an outlaw.

Now, I knew that eventually this thing would come to court, and I told myself that when it does, I will tell the jury my story, just what I've told you.

U.S. Supreme Court decision

Q. The 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion had a big effect on your decision to take a public stand, didn't it?

A. Yes, the Supreme Court decision in the United States was historic, so much



Criminal code is administered by each of Canada's 10 provincial governments. In 1976 after three juries acquitted Morgentaler, Quebec government declared it would no longer prosecute doctors for providing abortions. In 1983 Morgentaler again challenged federal law by opening clinics in provinces of Ontario and Manitoba.

abortion laws in Canada. And for the first time in a public body, I declared that the right to a safe, medical abortion should be granted to women as a right, not a privilege.

What happened then, I didn't predict, but should have. As a result of the publicity that surrounded my appearing on radio, TV, and panels, people came to know my opinions on the subject and women would look me up in the yellow pages, where I was listed as a doctor. And women started coming to my office and would say, "Doctor, I know you are sympathetic. I am pregnant, I can't possibly go through with this pregnancy. Will you help me?"

And I would say, "Yes, it's true I sympathize with you, but I can't help you. I might have to go to jail, it's a crime. It took me a long time to get my medical license. I'm married, I have two children. I'm sorry, I can't help you."

Decision to provide abortions

And these women would go out feeling sad, but understanding. And so this parade of women was coming through my office all the time for a number of months, and I started feeling like a coward and a hypocrite. I had a very big struggle with my conscience. And from time to time there were newspaper stories that were terrible. I remember one that said a young woman got pregnant by her boyfriend and asked him to abort her. And since she didn't know how, she encouraged him to use a bicycle pump to push air into the uterus. And she died on

more than we ever won here. It said that any legislation prohibiting abortion in the first three months of pregnancy was unconstitutional. And that any restrictions in the second trimester could only be justified to protect the woman's health. The highest judicial authority of the United States had recognized the right of women to legal medical abortion on request.

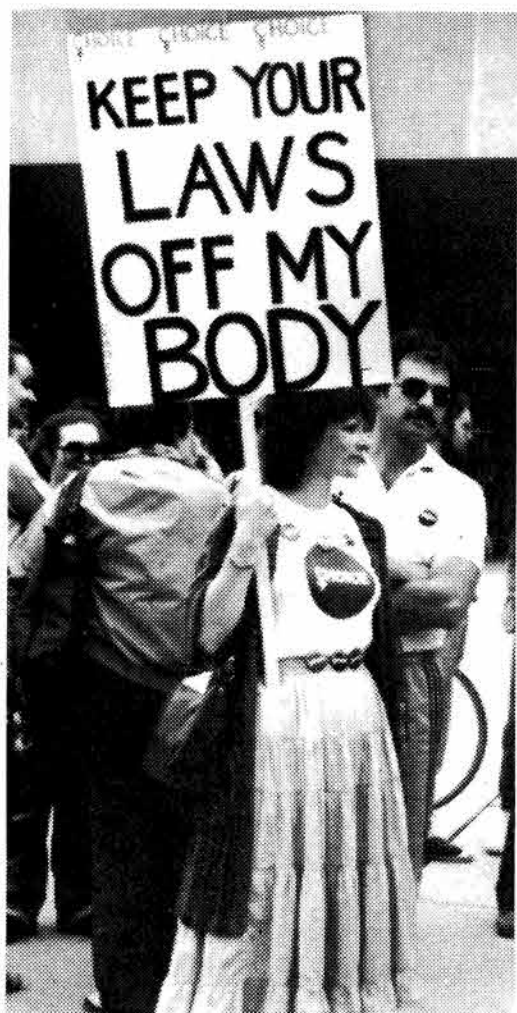
I wanted to see Canadian women have the same rights as their American sisters. So, I publicly declared in Toronto that I had performed 5,000 abortions without a single death. I made a film of an abortion to educate people that was shown on television. So, I challenged the authorities to prosecute me. I was confident that a jury would acquit me, and this would open the way for safe, legal abortions.

So, in Quebec a French-Canadian, Roman Catholic jury acquitted me [in November, 1973]. The jury understood the motivation, they understood the problems of French-Canadian women who could not get a hospital abortion. And they knew of the death and injury women were subjected to. It was a great victory. And I said, well, this is beautiful. The law is going to be blown away.

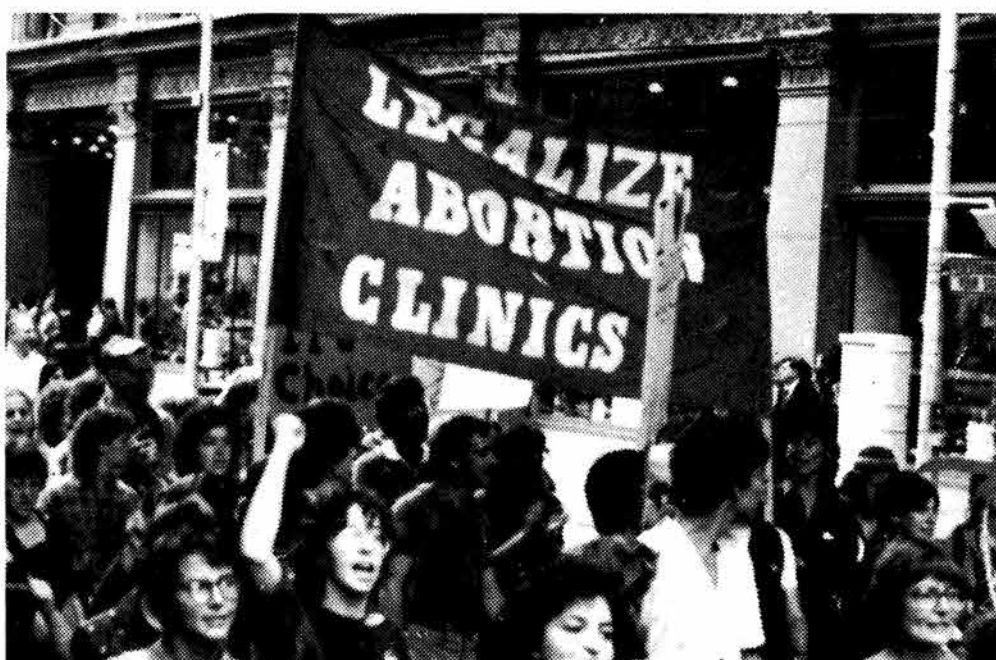
Well, it's now 12 years later, and we're still battling the same battle.

Acquitted and jailed

Q. You were acquitted three times by juries in Quebec before the provincial government relented and declared the law unenforceable, is that right?



Militant/Iona Gersh
Action in support of Toronto clinic



Militant/Illona Gersh

Dr. Henry Morgentaler (left) after November 1984 acquittal on charges of operating a Toronto abortion clinic. He continues 18-year-long fight to provide women with safe, medical abortions. Four times Canadian juries refused to convict him for opening clinics, a violation of Canada's restrictive law. At right, demonstration held during his Toronto trial. Last months have seen largest abortion-rights mobilization in Canada's history.

A. Yes. The court of appeals of Quebec, in a decision that has no precedent in the annals of British or Canadian jurisprudence, set aside the jury verdict and declared that I was guilty. I was declared not guilty by the jury. But I was then declared guilty by the court of appeals. They took away the fundamental democratic right to be tried by one's peers. The Supreme Court of Canada upheld this, and so 10 years ago, I went to jail in Montreal for an 18-month sentence.

While I was in jail, the government of Quebec decided to bring me to my knees. It wasn't enough for them that I was already in jail. They wanted me to plead guilty. And my lawyer said to me, "Well, Henry, you are already in jail, you have no money to pay me, why don't you plead guilty," and he would raise with the prosecutor that I would get a concurrent sentence. I told him I would never, never, never plead guilty, and he finally understood that he had to defend this as a *cause*, not as a case.

Anyway, I had another trial while I was in jail. The jury came back 55 minutes after the judge told them to convict me and they said, "Not guilty." And here I was after two jury acquittals, and I was still in jail. I remember a cartoon in the newspaper that shows me in a jail cell, with the guard pushing my food under the grill and saying, "Congratulations, doctor, you've been acquitted again."

Civil liberties

Well, this created an uproar in Canada, on civil rights. An amendment to the criminal code passed that prohibited the court of appeals from nullifying a jury verdict. It is called the Morgentaler amendment, of which I am justly proud. This really extended the civil liberties of Canadians. In particular I remember a union leader in Montreal with whom I spent lots of time in prison going in and out of court, who had been tried 10 times on the same charge. They really wanted him in jail very badly, but juries kept acquitting him. There's no way now for a court of appeals to reverse that acquittal.

Q. And yet you were put on trial a third time.

A. Yes. Because what happened to me violated the new legislation, the minister of justice set aside the guilty verdict of the court of appeals, but ordered a new trial on the first charge! I was already in double jeopardy, here I was in triple jeopardy. I was tried again, and I was acquitted again. And even that wasn't enough. They wanted to try me a fourth time. And I remember very well, people would come up to me and say, "It's terrible what they are doing to you. These are supposed to be representatives of the people." And at the next election [Nov. 15, 1976] the Bourassa government was thrown out and they brought in the Parti Québécois. [Robert Bourassa headed the Liberal Party which ran the provincial government of Quebec at that time.]

Victory in Quebec

Anyway, when the PQ government came into power, the new minister of jus-

tice declared that henceforth no more trials would be held against doctors for providing safe, medical abortions. Instead the government was going to prosecute the non-doctors who do abortions that endanger women.

And so some of the doctors I trained reopened their abortion clinics, and I opened mine. And then I was approached by the Community Health Centers in Quebec, which provide storefront medicine to people, to train doctors to provide abortions. So now, about 10 of these institutions are now providing abortion services on request in Quebec, under medicare.

They are in clear violation of the abortion law. My question is why doesn't the federal government prosecute the government of Quebec for breaking the law, when I am being prosecuted all the time?

By the way, Mr. Bourassa has just been reelected leader of the Liberal Party, and he has started saying that if he is reelected again, he will tighten the screws again, and enforce the federal abortion law in Quebec. Well, he has gotten older, but I don't think he's gotten wiser.

The federal law has to be changed. It is irrational, unfair, discriminatory, and dangerous to women. Why is it dangerous? Because women cannot obtain abortions in many of the provinces of Canada, and when they do, there are usually delays because of the committee system, and the operation comes three, five, eight weeks later than it should. And it's common medical knowledge now that each week of delay increases the danger of complications.

Extend the fight

Q. What led to your decision in 1983 to launch the struggle anew, by opening clinics outside of Quebec?

A. In this country hundreds and thousands of women are not able to get abortions in their own provinces. They come to Quebec province, to Montreal. Or they have to go to the United States. Recently two women came to my Montreal clinic from Edmonton. That's about 2,000 miles. It costs \$800.

And the same happens for the Maritimes. There's one hospital for the whole province of Newfoundland. There's Prince Edward Island, which hasn't got a single hospital performing abortions. The province of Nova Scotia is better, but there is only one hospital performing 90 percent of all abortions. And 27 percent of them are in the second trimester, which are more dangerous. Canada has the second highest percentage of second trimester abortions in the world.

And the situation was getting worse, rather than better. The ability of women to get abortions in hospitals was whittled down by one hospital after another, by pressure from the antiabortionists, who would organize to get elected to the hospital boards.

The final straw was a lawsuit by one of the leading antiabortionists, Joseph Borowski, who went to court to try to make all abortions illegal.

So, I thought, instead of fighting him, let's do what we've done in Quebec, where we went ahead and provided services for

women which they need. We'll go before a jury, and probably we'll get the same result. And that is the reason why three years ago, I decided to reopen the campaign by opening clinics in Winnipeg [Manitoba Province] and Toronto [Ontario Province].

Turning point

Q. You and your associates were brought to trial in Toronto, and in June of 1984, the jury came back with a verdict of not guilty, the fourth time a Canadian jury refused to convict you. Did the verdict surprise you at all?

A. Well, I wasn't surprised. I expected it all along. I told them my story from the start, and they didn't take much time to deliberate. It was a tremendous victory for justice, for the women's movement, for the common people. I don't think any jury in Canada would convict doctors in good faith who gave help to people who needed it. The jury system is the last bulwark of democracy.

Q. The acquittal in that trial seems to have been a turning point that has put the women's rights movement on the offensive.

A. There's no doubt about it. First of all, we've made a breakthrough in Ontario, which is supposed to be a Tory blue conservative province. The Tories have been in power more than 10 years there. Everybody said you couldn't get a jury acquittal in Ontario. But we did win a jury acquittal. The public was very strongly with us. And the big breakthrough is that we reopened the clinic after the acquittal, and we have kept it open. It has been open now for three months, despite the fact that we have been charged again with a criminal offense, despite pickets outside the clinic, and disturbances outside the clinic organized by the Roman Catholic cardinal of Toronto.

And there has been a tremendous movement of solidarity. And hundreds of women have acted as escorts for the patients, who go across the picket lines. So all of this has given a tremendous boost to our troops. We know we have the people with us.

'Right to life'

We have to fight two main powers: one is the government itself, and the provincial governments. The other is the organized antiabortion movement. They're shrill, they're organized. Their strength is or-

ganized mainly in the Catholic church hierarchy, and in the fundamentalist churches. When I was in Edmonton one day, one of the ministers there said publicly that in order to stop abortions, we could kill one woman as an example to all others! Some of these people are really devoid of humanitarianism, and I really have to fight that.

We have an uphill fight against powerful forces in the government, religious fanatics, antiabortionists, but we all have this tremendous sense of, well, we've finally accomplished something.

Q. There are those who argue that the right-to-life forces are just fringe elements, and the best tactic in dealing with them is to ignore them. Can you comment on that?

A. They can't be ignored, because if you leave them alone, they will take away your rights. You can't let them take away such a fundamental right as a woman's right to abortion. If they take away this right, they might take away other rights as well. You have to stand up to them. And you have to counter their lying propaganda. Otherwise people will accept it. And it's very dangerous. It turns against women, and against people who help them. Basically what underlies all these antiabortion people is contempt for women, a desire to turn the clock back to the time when women were seen in their stereotype roles as breeders, where women have to procreate year after year, do kitchen work and take care of the children, and nothing else.

Women's rights

I think if we have accomplished anything in our society, it's the legitimacy of the women's rights movement, and the acceptance of the fact that women should be able to be equal partners in society. There is a movement against that. And this movement is reactionary.

And we have to fight that. It's not just a question of fighting for the right to abortion. If women do not have control over their own reproductive functions, they can never develop their other potential. The thing that holds together these antiabortion people — usually they are antiwoman, they are anti-Jew (90 percent of the calls we get that are hostile at the Winnipeg clinic are anti-Semitic), they are anti-Black, they are antiminority, they are antiunion. They are against any progressive forces in society.

And they give themselves this kind of high, moral stance of being "prolife." But it doesn't mean anything: "prolife." What does that mean? Pro-spermatzoa, pro-ova, pro-zygotes, pro-blastocysts, pro-embryos?

They say that every abortion kills a child. This is not true. A blueprint is not a house. This is lying propaganda. So you have to bring the facts of biology to the people, so they understand what's going on. They have to understand that a woman who wants an abortion isn't killing a child. She doesn't want a few cells to become a child.

So either we give in and run, or we stand and fight. Either we stop providing services to women who need them or we take whatever measures are necessary to provide them.

Abortion speakouts to be held in U.S.

During the week beginning May 15, the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) and other abortion rights groups, will sponsor forums in 33 cities.

On May 20-22, the coalition is planning a national speak-out on abortion rights in Washington, D.C.

These meetings will be the culmination of a drive to collect tens of thousands of letters from women explaining from personal experience why the freedom to choose a safe, legal abortion is a fundamental right. The campaign is aimed at countering the barrage of "right-to-life" propaganda, by

putting the axis of the debate where it belongs — on the rights of women.

The meetings will publicize the letters from women describing their experiences, including what it was like to be forced to have back-alley or self-induced abortions before legal abortions were available, the devastating effects of unwanted pregnancies on women's lives, and the freedom and relief that come to women who are able to obtain safe, legal abortions.

The campaign was endorsed by the National Organization for Women (NOW) at its February National Board meeting.

'Latin America is financing the rich countries of world'

Castro interview on foreign debt

With this issue of the *Militant*, we begin serializing the complete text of a major interview with Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro on the subject of Latin America's foreign debt. The interview was conducted by Regino Díaz on March 21 of this year for the Mexican daily *Excelsior*.

The interview is entitled, "How Latin America's and the Third World's unpayable foreign debt can and should be canceled and the pressing need for the new international economic order." In the interview Castro explains how the imperialist system works, through the International Monetary Fund and in other ways, to exploit the colonial and semicolonial countries. He lays bare the injustice of the imperialist system.

Castro's in-depth exposition of how imperialism robs the wealth of the underdeveloped countries, causes economic crises, and has saddled them with massive debts that are impossible to pay off has had a broad impact throughout Latin America. His proposal that the debtor nations unite to demand the cancellation of the debt and resist the demands of imperialism to further lower the standard of living of their people is winning support.

The Cuban government has issued the interview as a pamphlet, put out by Political Publishers, Havana. This underlines the importance they attach to the ideas and proposals in the interview.

* * *

(First of a series)

Question: Can there be unity among such dissimilar governments in Latin America?

Answer: I think so.

The economic crisis and the debt will unite the Latin American countries, much more than the War of the Malvinas did. [On April 2, 1982, Argentina reclaimed possession of the Malvinas Islands — an inalienable part of Argentina that had been occupied by British imperialism since 1833. Britain responded with massive force, invaded the islands, and on June 14, 1982, reestablished colonial rule.] In that case, the Latin American peoples were united by a problem which we might call one of family relations — sentiment, morals, and politics; it was a struggle against a sister people caused by colonial pretensions, historic plunder, an act of injustice dating back to the period when England was the most powerful empire in the world. The War of the Malvinas was a war waged by a European country against a Latin American nation, but it wasn't something that affected the Latin American countries' vital economic interests — except for the Latin American patriotic aspect and the political aspect of the matter, they had nothing to win or lose economically. That solidarity was truly selfless. In the case of Latin America's economic crisis and foreign debt, however, the solution of that problem is a matter of survival for the Latin American countries.

There is talk of the crisis of the '30s. The present crisis is worse than the one in the '30s. Except for oil, Latin America's export products have less purchasing power than they had during the crisis of the '30s. Even if we don't go so far back, referring to the prices our products had 24 years ago, the purchasing power of our main traditional export products, including sugar, is in many cases only a third or a fourth of what it was at that time.

Let me give you an example. Twenty-four years ago, it took 200 tons of sugar to buy a 180-horsepower bulldozer. Now, it takes 800 tons of sugar at the world market price to buy that same bulldozer. And, if you analyze coffee, cocoa, bananas, and the minerals Latin America exports, the amount of products needed to buy a bulldozer or other piece of construction, transportation, agricultural or industrial equipment imported from the developed countries is three or four times as great now

as it was then. Compared to 1950, the deterioration in trade relations is much greater.

What is the difference between the '30s and the present situation? At that time, Latin America's population was less than a third of what it is now; today's social problems are incomparably greater than the social problems in the '30s; these problems have been accumulating. That is, we now have three or four times as many people, and social problems have multiplied since the '30s.

The most important thing, though, is that, at the time of the crisis of the '30s, Latin America had practically no foreign debt. Now, we have a bigger crisis, incomparably greater accumulated social problems, and a debt of \$360 billion [one billion = 1,000 million]. A mathematical analysis of this situation shows that this debt cannot be paid, and this is so whether you analyze the situation as a whole or whether you consider the individual situations of the countries; in some cases, it's more serious than in others, but it is serious in all, without exception.

According to the latest official data gathered by the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Brazil owes \$101.8 billion; Mexico, \$95.9 billion; Argentina, \$48 billion; Venezuela, \$34 billion; Chile, according to calculations that, in my opinion, are very conservative, \$18,440 million; Peru, \$13.5 billion; Colombia, \$10.8 billion; Costa Rica, a small country with a population of around 2 million \$4,050 million; Panama, with a similar population, \$3,550 million; and Uruguay, \$4.7 billion. And these are conservative figures, since, according to reports by distinguished Uruguayan and Chilean friends, Uruguay's real debt is \$5.5 billion, and Chile's is \$23 billion. That is, the official figures are lower than the real level of the debt. In many cases, it isn't easy for the international agencies — or the governments of the countries themselves — to know the real amount of their debts, because, in addition to the controlled debts, there are other ones, to private bodies, that aren't reported.

Q: Are the debts of the countries with the most indebtedness, such as Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela, really greater than is said?

A: I'm not sure. A figure of \$105 billion is mentioned for Brazil, around \$100 billion for Mexico, and \$35 billion for Venezuela, but none of the figures that are mentioned frequently are lower than the

Fidel Castro's statements to *Excelsior* on the Latin American debt are having a deep impact internationally. Among Latin American countries, and especially those most heavily saddled with debt, Castro's proposals are being broadly discussed.

The April 7 English-language edition of *Granma* carries a round-up of responses to Castro's statements by political leaders, left and workers organizations, and major media in countries throughout the world, including Mexico, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Honduras, the FMLN-FDR of El Salvador, Brazil, as well as Angola, Poland, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and China.

We are reprinting here a few excerpts from the *Granma* round-up article.

* * *

Fidel Velásquez, top leader of the official Confederation of Mexican workers — one of the three sectors making up the ruling party in Mexico — said, "It's really difficult to pay the debt, especially under the difficult conditions and situations under which it has been agreed."



Cuban president Fidel Castro

ones given in the official data of the international economic agencies.

Some countries, such as Argentina, are using 52 percent of their exports to pay the interest on their debts. Bolivia is using 57 percent of its exports for this purpose; Mexico, 36.5 percent; Peru, 35.5 percent; Brazil, 36.5 percent; and Chile, 45.5 percent — and this when it is considered practically impossible to keep going when 20 percent of exports are absorbed by payments on foreign debts.

What do these figures mean? That it is impossible for any country to develop under these conditions. This has been expressed in the fact that the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the Latin American countries as a whole dropped between 1981 and 1984. In Uruguay, for example, it dropped by 13.9 percent; in Argentina, by 6 percent; in Chile, by 5.4 percent; and in Venezuela — in spite of that country's enormous economic resources — by 6.1 percent.

Since the population has grown during these years, the per capita GDP has dropped even more — in Bolivia, by 24.6 percent; in Costa Rica, by 14.1 percent; in Chile, by 11.2 percent; in Mexico, by 6.3 percent; in Argentina, by 11.8 percent; in Venezuela, by 16.2 percent; and in Uruguay, by 16.2 percent. In the case of Venezuela, the per capita GDP dropped not only between 1981 and 1984, but also in the last seven consecutive years, plummeting by 24 percent. The incidence of the economic crisis and of the foreign debt, especially in the last few years, may be seen in the fact that each country's production has not only stopped developing, but has even declined. Some countries are making truly impressive efforts to confront the situation. Here, I will cite three of the largest, most important ones:

In 1982, Brazil exported \$20,172 mil-

lion worth of goods; in 1984, it exported \$26,960 million worth. In 1982, it imported \$19,395 million worth of goods; in 1984, its imports were reduced to \$14,360 million worth.

In 1982, Mexico exported \$22,081 million worth of goods; in 1984, it increased its exports to \$23.5 billion worth. It reduced its imports from \$14,434 million worth of goods in 1982 to \$10 billion worth in 1984.

Argentina increased its exports from \$7,622 million worth of goods in 1982 to \$8.7 billion worth in 1984, and reduced its imports from \$4,859 million worth in 1982 to \$4,270 million worth in 1984.

By making great efforts to increase their exports and by cutting their imports drastically, to levels that are nearly untenable for their economies, these countries obtained favorable balances of trade. Brazil obtained a positive balance of \$12.6 billion; Mexico, one of \$13.5 billion; and Argentina, one of \$4,430 million. All of these balances — the results of tremendous efforts, using and practically exhausting their stocks of raw materials and possibly adversely affecting the maintenance and replacement of productive installations — have been used exclusively in all three countries to pay the interest on their debts.

As a whole, the Latin American countries paid \$37.3 billion for interest and profits in 1984 — nearly \$3 billion more than in 1983 — and they received \$10.6 billion in loans and investments.

In 1984, Latin America's net transfers of financial resources abroad for interest and profits rose to \$26.7 billion. In just two years, 1983 and 1984, the net flow of financial resources from Latin America amounted to \$56.7 billion. That is, the Latin American underdeveloped countries are financing the economies and develop-

Continued on next page

Debtor nations hail Castro interview

Representatives of the United Socialist and Popular Socialist Parties said debtors face a grave situation that may cause social problems to explode.

René Villarreal, deputy planning secretary in the Secretariat of Commerce and Industrial Development of Mexico was of the opinion that there must be radical changes on the international scene so as not to further bleed the economies of Latin America.

Fidel Castro's proposal to cancel the Latin American foreign debt is just and rational, said Jorge Blanco, director of the School of Economics of the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

[Mexican] Senator Filiberto Vigueras Lázaro said the debt grows by the day. It has been impossible to meet a single payment deadline, while the working class increasingly suffers the consequences.

Dominican Ambassador [to Mexico] Aníbal Campagna García, on being asked about the interview, stressed the need for a common front of Latin American countries to seek solutions to the problems of peace and development.

Bolivian ambassador to Mexico, Mario Guzmán Galarza, described Fidel Castro's views as reflecting the concern and worries

of all Latin Americans, since "we are all trapped by an international financial system which reproduces an unjust economic order in all its weight."

The Bolivian dailies *Hoy* and *El Diario* commented on the interview, highlighting the fact that "Bolivia is the most dramatic example of the Latin American economic crisis."

The Nicaraguan daily *Barricada* published a headline reading, "Fidel: the figures speak, the debt is unpayable." This aspect was also emphasized in *La Republica* of Costa Rica.

The conservative Panamanian daily *La Estrella* ran an eight-column headline that read "Crisis rather than democracy advanced in Latin America, says Fidel to *Excelsior*."

Angolan media gave major coverage to excerpts from the interview.

Jornal de Angola ran a headline, "Foreign debt is economically and politically impossible."

In Brazil, the influential daily *Jornal de Brazil* summarized the remarks of the Cuban leader on why payment of the foreign debt is politically, morally, and economically out of the question.

7,000 rally against South African racism

BY GEORGES SAYAD

BERKELEY, Calif. — "The regents are protecting apartheid, we are fighting against it," Pedro Noguera, the newly elected student body president of the University of California at Berkeley, told the more than 4,000 students assembled at Steven Biko Plaza. This noontime campus rally April 24 formed one of the events of the second student boycott of classes in as many weeks. The boycotts protested UC investing in companies doing business in South Africa. The Biko Plaza rally preceded another event, a public airing of views of the UC regents and opponents of apartheid.

At the rally, Noguera said that the student position was "divest now." He was interrupted repeatedly with the chants, "UC, USA out of South Africa!"

At 12:45, the students began to march from the plaza to Harmon Gym where the meeting with the regents took place. They were joined by contingents of other students, faculty, trade unionists, and others.

By the time they reached the gym their numbers had grown to well over 7,000.

At the gym, Andrea Pritchitt, a leader of the anti-apartheid sit-ins on campus, told the protesters and the regents that "for decades the system of slavery has existed in South Africa — that's long enough. Divest now!" Referring to the proposal by some for partial, "responsible" divestment, Pritchitt said, "a loose chain is still a chain, we won't accept any of that."

Fred Gaines, the student representative on the board of regents spoke next. He explained that the students should act in a responsible manner and consider all options. He was booed repeatedly by the crowd.

Percy Hintzen, a representative of the over 150 faculty members who support the students, demanded that their pension money not be invested to prop up apartheid. A representative of the Association of Graduate Student Employees also spoke and linked the history of the UC regents' union-busting efforts with their support for



Berkeley students rallying against investments in South Africa

apartheid in South Africa.

Steve Wood, member of the Executive Board of Council 10 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) told the crowd, "AFSCME Council 10 just voted for full and immediate divestment. We don't want to retire on profits from slavery in South Africa."

A number of other speakers who demanded full and immediate divestment explained that U.S. investments helped to prop up apartheid no matter what the stated goals of the investments are.

Only two regents took the floor in response to any of the students' demands. The demands call for a regents' pledge to completely divest the university; the presentation of the UC treasurer's report on divestment be given at the May 16-17 regents meeting, not at one held during

school vacations; the regents meeting be held in a publicly accessible place; and a full amnesty for the anti-apartheid sit-in protesters.

Chancellor Gardner rejected the students' amnesty demand outright. "You can't expect me to advocate unlawful actions," he said.

The other UC regent who spoke was John Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO. He told the crowd, "I know of no economic value that can justify investments in slavery. Eight years ago I voted for divestment and I will vote for it again." Henning was greeted with a standing ovation.

By the end of the meeting the 7,000 students were clearly determined to continue their protest until complete divestment was won.

4,000 say: 'Divest now!'

BY KEVIN KELLOGG

SANTA CRUZ, Calif. — At the University of California at Santa Cruz, 4,000 students and faculty held an outdoor rally opposing the university's more than \$2 billion in investments in South Africa. The rally was a culmination of an all-day teach-in on South Africa organized as part of the National Student Protest Day, April 24.

Santa Cruz students have been staging a sit-in at McHenry Library, renamed Nelson Mandela Library. The students have pledged to continue fighting until the university divests from companies doing business in South Africa. The students have been receiving community support. Over \$450 as well as food has been donated by local groups and merchants to those sitting in.

At the rally, representatives of several

local unions spoke. They included ones from the Santa Cruz Central Labor Council; American Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Graphic Communications Workers Union; and others. The warmest response was given to a Chicano cannery worker, a member of Teamsters Local 912. He drew the connection between U.S. racism and the government's support to apartheid.

As one of the leaders of the demonstration said, "This issue has united all students — antinuclear, antiwar, feminist, gay liberationist — around a single demand. Everyone is personally offended at this blood money the university is involved in. We won't stop, we won't go away as long as South Africa is oppressing our people."

'Won't quit 'til you divest'

BY LYNDIA JOYCE

SAN JOSE, Calif. — Eight hundred students rallied against apartheid at San Jose State University as part of the National Anti-apartheid Student Protest Day, April 24.

The rally was addressed by Teresa Guyton of the California State Employees Association. She told the students, "We are Blacks, trade unionists, women, students together! We are all fighting for justice now."

Steve Rudnick, one of the student leaders of the demonstration, said, "Until South Africa is free, nobody will be free."

Striking Black miners attacked by police in South Africa

South African labor leader Cyril Ramaphosa, head of the National Union of Mineworkers, charged that the police used tear gas against thousands of Black gold miners in the Anglo American Corporation's Vaal Reefs mine near Klerksdorp. Vaal Reefs is the world's biggest gold mine.

Fourteen thousand miners were fired April 27 for organizing a two-day strike for better wages. Mass firings is a common practice by the racist regime to break strikes. Mine bosses admit that this is the largest such mass firing in many years.

Under apartheid, once fired the miners must return to the so-called homelands set aside for the Black majority inside South Africa. Only when the miners refused to be paid off and took refuge in the hostels near the mine were they attacked by the police, according to Ramaphosa.

In response to this charge, Peter Gush, managing director of the mine, told reporters that "tear gas may have been used but we have no knowledge of it."

Meanwhile, other protests by the Black majority are continuing in several parts of the country.

Carmen Gutiérrez of MEChA, a Chicano student organization, also addressed the spirited rally. "Students have come out in great numbers against apartheid and intervention in Central America," she said. "We marched with 50,000 in San Francisco on April 20. We're organizing to stop oppression!"

Many speakers made the connection between U.S. support for apartheid in South Africa and its war in Central America.

Jack Kurzweil, a professor who is a delegate to the Santa Clara Central Labor Council from the United Professors of California, proposed that San Jose State University adopt as sister universities a Black South African university, a Nicaraguan university, and one in the Soviet Union.

The chair of the rally asked everyone to wear red ribbons to signify the blood shed in South Africa and Central America.

The students read a message from Winnie Mandela. Mandela is currently under house arrest in South Africa. In her message, Mandela said, "You are our inspiration, without your inspiration we would have thrown in the towel a long time ago. When we win this struggle, we will remember our friends who fought with us along the way."

The rally broke out in a standing ovation as the amphitheater was renamed "Winnie Mandela" amphitheater.

After the rally, the students marched to the university president's office shouting, "Free South Africa!" and "IBM and all the rest, we won't quit 'til you divest!" They presented President Gail Fullerton with a list of demands including breaking off ties with companies doing business in South Africa and establishing a peace studies program to counteract the presence of ROTC on campus.

The students then marched to the Bank of America branch near campus, where they burned mock South African passbooks and withdrew their accounts from the bank.

Castro interview on debt

Continued from preceding page

ment of the richest industrialized countries in the world with impressive sums of money. These are the facts. And that money has gone forever; there is no possible way of getting it back.

The growth rate of the debt has declined and fallen far below the record 24 percent reached in 1981. This is only logical: now, nobody dares to lend those countries any more money. But, even so, for one reason or another, their debt grew by 5.5 percent. It is expected that, in the next ten years, the interest on it — even if it is held at more or less the same level — will average \$40 billion a year.

Twenty-four years ago, when the Alliance for Progress was created, [President John F.] Kennedy proposed a program of economic cooperation for meeting Latin America's social problems and development needs, calling for \$20 billion to be invested over a period of 10 to 15 years. That idea arose during the period of obsessive trauma over the Cuban Revolution and sought to avoid the creation of objective conditions that would be propitious for new revolutions. Now, the economically underdeveloped countries of this hemisphere, with twice the population and triple the social problems, will be giving the industrialized countries \$40 billion a year as interest on their debts. In ten years, they will have to pay \$400 billion — 20 times as much as Kennedy suggested investing over 10 to 15 years as economic cooperation for solving Latin America's economic and social problems, when there were half as many people and incomparably fewer accumulated social problems, the international economy was advancing full speed ahead, there were no crises and the prices of their basic export products had much greater purchasing power.

The political, economic, and social situation of Latin America is such that it can't hold up under any more restrictions and sacrifices.

In recent months, when the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) measures began to be applied, there were repercussions in the Dominican Republic, a country that had a relatively stable political situation, with a constitutional regime. Rising prices, triggered by the devaluation of the Dominican peso, which had been at par with the U.S. dollar but was reduced to a rate of three pesos per dollar applied to the foreign currency that was invested to import medicines and other articles of popular consumption, caused an uprising. The government's reply was to order the army and the

police into the streets to put down the protest demonstrations. The result, according to the official figures, was 50 dead and 300 wounded. Many people say that the real figure of victims was larger. A few weeks ago, new demands by the IMF led to the application of a rate of exchange of three pesos per dollar on all import products, including fuel. The government, acting before the people did, once again ordered the army and the police to occupy the cities and try to crush the people's protests. This has created a situation of great desperation and tension in the Dominican Republic.

Another recent example of this occurred in Panama, after the new government was inaugurated. A 7 percent tax on certain services and the postponement of wage increases for doctors and teachers that had been agreed on previously caused a similar situation. Hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets, but there was no repression and no victims, due to the attitude of the National Guard, which has played a progressive role, has struggled for the recovery of sovereignty over the Canal, and has close ties with the people. It doesn't want to fire on the people. As a result, the measures had to be annulled. And these weren't measures for solving Panama's serious economic difficulties, which are similar to those of the rest of the Latin American countries; rather, they were simply attempts to balance the budget to a certain extent and thus create the minimum conditions that the International Monetary Fund requires for beginning to renegotiate the debt.

In Bolivia — where the preliminary report of ECLAC had predicted that inflation would be 1,682 percent in 1984, and where it really, according to the latest figures, rose to 2,300 percent in one year — an economic situation has been created that, in the last 13 days, has completely paralyzed the country, with tens of thousands of miners armed with sticks of dynamite, workers, students, and other people in the streets and farmers mobilized in the countryside blocking the highways and demanding wage increases, price controls, supplies of provisions and other measures in a real state of desperation, making the situation almost unmanageable. Nobody knows how the country can emerge from the serious economic crisis that is afflicting it.

The curious thing is that these things that I've mentioned have come about practically spontaneously, in response to the objective situation.

(To be continued)

Forums on Vietnam

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Vietnam: Commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the Victory Against U.S. Aggression. A panel discussion. Sat., May 11, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Defend the Indochinese Revolution, Vietnam, and Kampuchea! Speakers: representatives of Vietnam 10th Anniversary Committee; Dave Zilly, Socialist Workers Party, Vietnam vet and U.S. marine in Vietnam during Tet offensive. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

After Ten Years What Is the Legacy of Vietnam? Why Vietnam Defeated the World's Strongest Imperialist Power. Speaker: Mike Fitzsimmons, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 4, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Israel's Crimes in the Mideast. A panel discussion. Sat., May 4, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Mexico in Crisis. A panel discussion on the extreme crisis facing Mexican workers and peasants. Speakers: representative from Mexican Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores; representative Arizona Farmworkers Union; Barry Fatland, Socialist Workers Party. Translation available. Sat., May 4, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell, #3. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

Famine in East Africa: Legacy of Colonialism. Speakers: Eliza Carney, World Hunger Ecumenical Arizona Taskforce; Sue Adley, Socialist Workers Party. Translation into Spanish. Sat., May 11, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell #3. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Generations of Resistance. A film about Black resistance to white rule in South Africa. Translation into Spanish. Fri., May 10, 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2 Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

San Jose

Grenada Under U.S. Occupation. An eyewitness report. Speaker: Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers Party, just returned from trip to Grenada. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 11, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO

Denver

Cuba — The Revolution and Its Leadership. Speaker: Harry Nier, attorney who has traveled extensively in Cuba; Michael Hebert, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 10, 7:30 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Crisis Facing Family Farmers. Speakers: Tom Headley and Sheryl Hongsermeier, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 11, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Which Way Forward for the Antiwar Movement? Panel of antiwar activists to be announced. Sun., May 12, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

What Is the Road to Peace in the Middle East? A panel discussion. Speakers: Argiris Haras, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., May 5, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Albany

State of Siege: Israeli Violation of Palestinian Rights Intensifies. Eyewitness account. Speakers: Jeanne Butterfield, recently returned from West Bank and southern Lebanon as part of National Lawyers Guild delegation; Mohammed Ramieh, Palestinian who spent 10 years in and out of Israeli prisons. Tues., May 7, 7:30 p.m. Unitarian Church, 405 Washington Ave. Ausp: Capital District Committee for Palestinian Rights. For more information call (518) 489-8860 or 439-3858.

Brooklyn

Conference on African and American Women Working Together. A panel of speakers from Africa and America; food and entertainment. Sat. May 11, 2-6 p.m. Paul Robeson House, 50 Greene Ave. Registration \$10. Ausp: Network Africa Club. Call for reservations: (718) 638-4150.

Manhattan

Socialist Educational Conference — How to End Imperialist War: From Vietnam to South Africa to Nicaragua.

1. Class: "How the Imperialist System Works." Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, National Committee Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 10, 7:30 p.m. (call for location).

2. Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Andrea González, SWP candidate for mayor of New York; Mark Satinoff, SWP candidate for governor of New Jersey; George Harrison, longtime fighter for Irish freedom; Nick Sánchez, president, Puerto Rican Association of Community Affairs and vice-president, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights. Sat., May 11. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal).

3. Class: "Why the U.S. Government Lies About Vietnam." Speaker: Diane Wang, garment worker and *Militant* correspondent in Southeast Asia in 1984. Sun., May 12, 11 a.m.

4. Class: "How to Stop War — A Socialist View." Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, SWP National Committee. Sun., May 12, 2 p.m. All events except #1 at 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2 each

class and rally: \$5 for class series. Ausp: N.Y. Socialist Workers 1985 Campaign, N.J. Socialist Workers 1985 Campaign, and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 219-3679 or (201) 643-3341.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Militant Bookstore Grand Opening Celebration.

1. Program: "Reagan's Wars Against Working People — from the United States to Central America to South Africa." Speaker: Mac Warren, National Organizational Secretary of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 11, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2.

2. Classes: "History and Lessons for the Civil Rights Movement." Sat., May 11, 2 p.m. "The Road Forward for Black Liberation Today." Sun., May 12, 11 a.m. Speaker: Mac Warren. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$1.50 per class.

Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Jobs Not War! Socialist Workers Campaign

Messages protest rightist attacks

A nationwide campaign is underway to protest the threats and violence by Vietnamese rightists in San Jose and St. Paul and to defend the democratic right to hold meetings on the Vietnamese revolution. A special effort is being made to demand that New York City mayor Edward Koch take necessary steps to ensure that the May 5 New York meeting commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Vietnamese victory over U.S. military intervention take place without disruption.

As the *Militant* goes to press, we have received reports from several cities where broad support is being organized.

From San Francisco, the following people are among those who have sent messages to San Jose mayor Tom McEnery: Charlene Tschirhart, director, San Francisco Nuclear Freeze; Bill Bea Eisman, U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association; Dolores Taller, national board member of the Western Region of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Renata Tervalon, Alliance Against Women's Repression; Laurie Soman, Action Committee on Abortion Rights; Eva Royale and Jean Royale, Rainbow Coalition; Pat Norman, member, steering committee of the April 20 coalition; Al Lannon, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6; Howard Wallace, co-chair, Lesbian and Gay Labor Alliance; Matthew Hallinan and Vivian Hallinan, long-time antiwar activists; Roger McAfee, local spokesperson, American Agriculture Movement (AAM) Grassroots; Elisa Weingort, Antonio Maceo Brigade; Becky Cohen, Nicaragua Information Center; Seymour Kramer, United Transportation Union; Lyle Wing, co-chair, National Executive of the Nuclear Freeze and steering committee of the April 20 coalition; Aubrey Grossman, Committee in Support of Trade Union Rights; Bill May, National Lawyers Guild; John Sef-ton, CISPES Northwest Regional Coordi-

nator. Rally. Speaker: Henry Scheer, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland; Gary Watson, candidate of Canadian Revolutionary Workers League in Toronto parliamentary elections; others. Sat., May 11, 6:30 p.m., reception: 7:30 p.m., rally. 15105 St. Clair. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1985 Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

TEXAS

Houston

Farm Crisis: What Future for U.S. Farmers? Speaker: Tom Kincaid, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 83. Translation into Spanish. Sat., May 4, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Struggle for Freedom in South Africa. Speakers: Dr. Bill Lawson, professor, West Virginia University; Representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., May 4, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

nator.

In Atlanta, John Lewis, Atlanta City Council member; Hosea Williams, civil rights activist; Rev. Joe Beasley, co-director, Georgia Rainbow Coalition; and Emory Searcy, coordinator of Clergy and Laity Concerned, sent messages to both San Jose Mayor McEnery and New York Mayor Koch.

From Pittsburgh, messages were sent to New York Mayor Koch from Ron Weisen, president, United Steelworkers of America Local 1397; Charles Kindle, director, African and International Affairs, NAACP; John Gillie, committeeman, United Mineworkers of America Local 1197; John Beverly, Democratic Socialists of America, Pittsburgh chapter; Art McDonald, executive board member, Thomas Merton Center; Jan Neffke, executive board, YWCA; Jeffrey Richardson, coordinator, Pennsylvania Jobs with Peace Campaign; Molly Rush, Ploughshares 8 defendant; and José Correal, Nicaragua Aid Project.

Support grows for N.Y. Vietnam meeting

Continued from front page

Guadalupe González, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador; a representative from Nicaragua; a Vietnam veteran; and Mel King of the Rainbow Coalition.

The broad coalition organizing the meeting includes Arnaldo Alonso, Casa de las Americas; Association of Vietnamese in the U.S.; New York Black United Front; New York Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Communist Party; *Guardian* newspaper; Mobilization for Survival; Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Socialist Workers Party; U.S. Peace Council; and War Resisters League.

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

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-4434.

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

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, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: 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, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 2219 E. Market. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Road, Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 422 Shrewsbury St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Right-wing attack in San Jose denounced

Continued from front page

Joyce and John Harris, of the SWP.

Izu told the press conference, "Our experience as Asian people in this country has taught us why it is so important to stand up against any infringement of our democratic rights. From the lynchings of the first Chinese immigrants to the U.S. and the concentration camps for Japanese-Americans during World War II, to the recent murder of journalist Henry Liu, killed [by Taiwanese government agents] because of his dissenting political views, our experience has taught us to speak out against acts of violence such as the one perpetrated yesterday."

A series of protest statements were read from labor officials, who condemned the right-wing attack.

"I believe I join the sentiment of the majority of persons in San Jose who have no sympathy for such behavior," said a message from Peter Cervantes-Gautschi, business agent of the Santa Clara Central Labor Council.

"This union must insist that you respond to the recent attack by right-wing Vietnamese against the Socialist Bookstore," declared a letter to the city's mayor from Stephen Manginelli, vice-president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265. "The similarities that the union movement has experienced with thugs attacking free speech and assembly are very obvious."

Messages also came from Richard Anderson, Post 5888 commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; Sandra Kelly, a member of the executive board of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 562; Carlos Avitia, president of International Molders Union Local 164; and Harry Adams, president of IAM Local 565.

Adams took on the argument that the thugs were simply holding a "demonstration," exercising their "right to free speech." "The attempts to physically intimidate, harass, and attack people attending a Vietnam War program and at the Socialist Workers Party office far exceed the bounds of free speech and expression and instead enter the same corrupt and undemocratic territory that characterized the defeated South Vietnamese government," he said.

John Harris, representing the SWP, explained to the press that the aim of the right-wing attack was "to silence anyone who is opposed to U.S. foreign policy and the drive toward war. If this act of violence is not answered, then it will escalate."

Background to assault

Right-wingers here targeted the SWP and YSA because they were sponsoring the April 27 educational conference on the war in Vietnam.

Prior to the conference, the socialists had received phone threats against the meeting. They contacted the police and mayor's office, demanding that they guarantee the rights of those attending the meeting. But only two cops were sent the day of the conference. A gang of 30 to 50 Vietnamese thugs gathered outside the of-

fice where the conference was being held. They chanted, "Kill communists!" and sought to provoke a confrontation. The cops refused to halt their harassment, but a well-organized defense by meeting organizers assured that the conference came off successfully.

Seventeen people were in the offices the next day when a mob of 200 right-wingers returned. They arrived at 1 p.m., the time set for the weekly meeting of the SWP branch.

Earlier in the day, several hundred of the goons had met in a park to mourn the 10th anniversary of Vietnam's victory. The media reported they marched in military attire and burned a Vietnamese soldier in effigy.

According to the police, the mob of 200 came directly from the rally to the socialists' offices. The police, however, sent no officers to the scene. Chanting, "Kill Communists!" and "Communists out of San Jose!" the Vietnamese thugs began beating on the office door. A projectile crashed through the window, whizzing past the head of one person inside.

The socialists called the police and contacted local unionists, other activists, and the press, who also telephoned the cops. It took 15 minutes for the police to respond. They sent only two cops.

Instead of dispersing the mob outside, the police entered the bookstore to "investigate" what had happened. Finally, four more squad cars arrived, and the socialists were evacuated from the building as the right-wingers chanted and shouted epithets from across the street. By this time, news reporters and several concerned activists had arrived on the scene.

Thugs allowed to enter office

After the socialists had been driven away from the area, the police escorted one of the Vietnamese thugs into the SWP offices. This was a further outrageous violation of the socialists' rights. The cops' excuse for this intrusion was that the goons refused to leave until they were assured that no "communists from Vietnam" were in the building. But this was simply the pretext for gaining entrance to the offices for their own purposes.

Not a single one of the attackers has been arrested thus far. Each day since the attack, gangs of from 15 to more than 50 thugs have gathered across the street from the bookstore in an attempt to intimidate people from visiting the socialist offices. The city has taken no action to halt this harassment.

'Right to free speech'?

From the beginning city officials and the cops have tried to justify their failure to defend the rights of the socialists by claiming



Militant/Harry Meserve

April 29 news conference outside San Jose mayor's office demanded that city uphold democratic rights of socialists and other opponents of U.S. government policy.

the Vietnamese are simply exercising their "right to free speech." The day of the educational conference, when organizers asked the police to stop the harassment by the goons, they responded that the thugs had "the right to express their opinions."

On April 29, following the protest news conference, SWP representatives Lynda Joyce and Cathy Sedwick met with a group of city officials, including Mary Ellen Icter, press secretary to the mayor; Gregory Larson, legislative coordinator for the mayor; Norma Sanchez, the mayor's administrative aide; and Thomas Seck, one of the cops on the scene during the attack on the previous day. Seck repeated the line that the right-wingers were simply exercising their democratic rights.

It was clear at that meeting that the mayor's office had not planned any investigation into the attack on the socialists. The fact the meeting took place, however, indicated the pressure already building for official action to defend the socialists' democratic rights.

Growing support

Since then, the socialists have addressed a meeting of the city council. In addition, they have been able to speak before meetings of the National Organization for Women, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the local Central America solidarity committee, and an anti-apartheid sit-in at San Jose State University. They have received a warm response.

A number of the socialists work at the nearby FMC plant, which manufactures tanks for the army. On Monday morning, when their coworkers learned of the weekend attack, many were outraged, par-

ticularly at the behavior of the police and the fact that the cops took one of the right-wingers into the socialists' offices. Dozens of FMC workers, who are members of the IAM, volunteered to phone the mayor's office, send letters of protest, or circulate petitions demanding that the socialists' democratic rights be protected.

Activists throughout the Bay Area have been calling the San Jose SWP to express solidarity and ask what they can do to help.

The socialists are calling for immediate city action to halt the disruption of their offices by the gangs that continue to gather outside, and for a full investigation and prosecution of those responsible for the attacks on them. They are urging trade unionists, Blacks, Latinos, antiwar activists, civil libertarians, and all other supporters of democratic rights around the country to immediately telegram the mayor of San Jose.

Protest messages should be sent to: Mayor Thomas McEnery, Office of the Mayor, 801 North 1st St., San Jose, California 95110 or Joseph McNamara, Chief of Police, 201 West Bishop Street, San Jose, California 95110.

Copies should be sent to: San Jose SWP, 46 1/2 Race Street, San Jose, California 95126.

As IAM official Harry Adams explained, the issue in this defense campaign is "whether people have the right to conduct peaceful and lawful political activities in San Jose without the threat of violence."

Adams declared, "I will stand with the progressive people of this city and make it known that we will not be intimidated, that we will not stand aside and watch quietly while some are attacked..."

Vietnam meeting harassed in St. Paul

BY TOM JAX

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Despite harassment by right-wing Vietnamese, a successful Rally in Solidarity with the People of Vietnam was held here April 27.

Speakers at the meeting, organized by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and held at their headquarters, were Diane Wang, who traveled to Vietnam and Kampuchea in 1984 for the *Militant* newspaper; Alan Hooper, a University of Minnesota professor who has also recently visited Vietnam; Janice Payne Dorliea, co-convenor of the Twin Cities National Black Independent Political Party; and well-known community activist Mahmoud El-Kati.

Dorliea explained that she had been inspired and politicized during the Vietnam war by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. "Anyone who can struggle against the French, British, and the U.S. — and win — is an inspiration to all fighters around the world," she said.

Alan Hooper said U.S. government policy today toward Vietnam and Nicaragua is "a policy of economic blockade and military aggression."

Hooper is active in the U.S. Committee for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam (USCSCV). Last October USCSCV chair-

man Ed Cooperman was assassinated by a right-wing Vietnamese student. Hooper noted that Vietnamese patriots in this country are also under attack from right-wing Vietnamese. He urged that "we demand the U.S. government protect and defend their rights."

Before the rally began, groups of right-wing Vietnamese began to assemble in front of the door to the SWP headquarters. Two of the right-wingers attempted to enter the meeting, but were turned away by ushers organized by the SWP. However, with more than 50 counterrevolutionaries assembling on the street, the rally organizers decided to demand a police presence to ensure that the democratic right to hold the meeting was not violated.

Several St. Paul police squad cars did respond and remained throughout the evening. However, the police allowed the right-wingers, numbering close to 75 people, to march up and down the street within less than 10 feet of the door of the SWP office. At least one Vietnamese who planned to attend the meeting called the SWP to say that he had seen the counterrevolutionary marchers and felt it would not be safe to attend.

Rally organizers also called on the police to ensure that participants at the meeting could leave the building safely, as the right-wing Vietnamese shouted epithets

and attempted to photograph those leaving. On more than one occasion, ushers had to request that police clear some right-wing thugs from the building's parking lot.

On the following day, Wang presented three classes on her visit to Indochina. At least two carloads of the same right-wingers were observed in the area circling the block. The organizers of the meeting again requested police assistance, and no incidents occurred in the morning.

However, about 15 minutes before the final class concluded, two carloads of right-wingers arrived. They began to hang around on the corner in front of the building. With police again in the area, participants in the classes were able to leave the building without incident. But only a short time later about 40 counterrevolutionaries had again appeared.

While no organization took public responsibility for these attempts to intimidate and harass the weekend activities, the effort was clearly planned and organized in advance.

The SWP and YSA, along with Janice Dorliea and others, are initiating a public effort to demand that St. Paul mayor George Latimer speak out against these right-wing actions and guarantee that democratic rights will be upheld for all those who wish to discuss or speak out against U.S. policy on Vietnam.

From Pathfinder Press Report from Vietnam and Kampuchea

By Diane Wang & Steve Clark

The authors spent three weeks in Vietnam and Kampuchea in 1984 and wrote this compilation of articles that originally appeared in the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*. This pamphlet covers the advances made in the postwar reconstruction of these two countries, and Kampuchea's recovery from the devastation brought by the Pol Pot regime. It contains valuable lessons for the fight against Washington's new Vietnam-style war in Central America.

Price: \$2.

Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

Labor movement vs. U.S. war

The April 20 marches and rallies showed the potential power of an independent mass movement that takes an uncompromising stand against imperialism's escalating war in Central America and its complicity with the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

More action is needed as the next step toward fulfilling that potential.

The rulers' fear of this developing movement was shown April 25 when Secretary of State George Shultz linked the obstacles Washington confronts in its war against Nicaragua — particularly the opposition among U.S. working people — to the defeat U.S. imperialism suffered 10 years ago in Vietnam.

In the Vietnam War, the determination of an oppressed people to win independence and freedom, combined with a mass antiwar movement in this country, forced Washington to end its occupation of South Vietnam.

Shultz, speaking for the billionaires who rule over us, expressed fear that this could happen again.

As April 20 demonstrated, an antiwar, anti-apartheid movement will not be a rerun of the antiwar movement of the 1960s — in part because the experience and some of the lessons of that movement have had a deep impact on U.S. working people.

The top AFL-CIO officialdom strongly supported the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam, and largely succeeded in paralyzing the antiwar sentiment that existed in the union ranks. Only in the later stages of the war — after millions, including thousands of workers, had already marched in protest against it — did some unions express support for antiwar protests.

Today, the U.S. war in Nicaragua and El Salvador is the subject of a discussion and debate in the labor movement. While the AFL-CIO officialdom continues to support the U.S. rulers' reactionary policies and their anti-communism, the top bureaucrats are more conscious of, and feel the pressure from, the antiwar sentiments of the rank and file.

Thus, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, a strong opponent of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua now says that he opposes overt U.S. funding for the Nicaraguan *contras* (counterrevolutionaries).

A dozen presidents of national unions have joined the National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, which opposes Washington's war. A number of union officials visited Nicaragua and El Salvador and returned with reports challenging Washington's lie machine.

These developments indicate how union officials read the mood of union members today. That mood explains the role unionists played in building April 20.

The International Association of Machinists and the United Food and Commercial Workers were among the initiators of the April 20 actions. Seven other national unions, including the United Steelworkers of America, endorsed them.

Thousands of workers marched in union contingents. Black workers played a notable part in the organization of many of these contingents.

Unions have also responded to the overwhelming opposition among workers — with Blacks again in the forefront — to apartheid South Africa. Unions have been an integral part of the wave of anti-apartheid protests. The AFL-CIO is now in favor of a policy of escalating economic sanctions against South Africa.

Top union officials submitted to arrest in sitdown protests at South African offices.

And when students moved into action demanding that universities unload their investments in South Africa, unions provided them with financial and other help. Hundreds of workers mobilized to join rallies in support of student demands for university divestment.

The union movement can become the most powerful component of the struggle against the U.S. war in Central America and U.S. backing of apartheid. The mobilization of these potentially mighty organizations of working people will place massive obstacles in the way of the war-makers. Unions can provide troops, finances, and coordination for the struggles of Blacks, farmers, women, students, and other allies in the fight against imperialist policies.

Doing so is a life-and-death matter for the labor movement. The same ruling class and government which is trying to beat down the working people of Nicaragua and El Salvador is also trying to weaken and ultimately bust the unions. The same ruling class that bolsters racism in South Africa is reinforcing racist discrimination in this country in order to push down and divide the working class as a whole.

Massive, visible actions like April 20 provide U.S. working people with a clear alternative to the bipartisan war policies being pursued by the Reagan administration and both capitalist parties in Congress. It allows the independent voice of working people to be heard, instead of drowned out by the official debate over *how* to bring down the Nicaraguan revolution, *how* to crush the Salvadoran freedom fighters, and *how* to cover up Washington's support to racist apartheid. What began on April 20 must be continued with more activities aimed at bringing the truth to more working people and winning broader support for the fight.

Union locals can hold more discussions of the war and apartheid.

Resolutions can be adopted expressing the antiwar, antiracist views that are spreading in the union ranks.

Unions can become involved in supporting local protests against the war and apartheid.

More union members can visit Nicaragua and see for themselves how the workers and farmers government is advancing the interests of working people.

The labor movement has the power and the responsibility to lead this antiwar, anti-apartheid struggle.

May 5: Symbol of Mexico's fight for national liberation

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

May 5 is celebrated throughout Mexico and by Mexicans and Chicanos living in the United States. While it marks the date of the victory of the Mexican people over the French army's attempt to resubjugate that country in the last century, May 5 has come to represent the determination of the Mexican people to resist any intervention in their homeland and in the Americas. May 5 forms part of the anti-imperialist consciousness of the Mexican workers and farmers. The history of the events surrounding May 5 offers an example of the valor of the Mexican people in defense of their country.

In 1861, England, France, and Spain announced plans to intervene in Mexico. In the Nov. 8, 1861, *New York*

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Daily Tribune Karl Marx condemned this plan as "one of the most monstrous enterprises ever chronicled in the annals of international history."

By January 1862 several thousand troops from the three nations had landed on Mexican soil and occupied the city of Veracruz.

The joint intervention came at a crucial time in the history of the Americas. Mexico, Bolivia, Venezuela, Haiti, and other countries had only recently gained their independence from the European monarchies. Each of the young republics was struggling to rid itself of the legacy of centuries of colonial rule. The joint intervention in Mexico was aimed at the independence of the Americas.

In 1857, in Mexico, a civil war developed between the backward semifeudal power of the Catholic church and the *hacendados* (rural landowners) on the one hand, and the forces of bourgeois democracy led by Benito Juárez and the Mexican Liberal Party on the other. After three years of warfare the revolutionary forces of Juárez won out over the *hacendados* and the clergy.

No sooner had this victory been won than a new challenge to the sovereignty of the Americas emerged. The U.S. slave-owning aristocracy of the South revolted against the capitalist government headed by President Lincoln, and the Civil War in the United States began. The Confederacy received aid, both covert and overt, from the European powers.

The depth of antislavery sentiment among the working classes of Europe, among other factors, made an open alliance with the Confederacy difficult, however. But with the U.S. involved in a civil war the opportunity to intervene militarily in Mexico, with its newly formed government, presented itself.

Once the joint expedition had landed, it ran into immense problems. A skillful diplomatic offensive by Juárez, backed by guerrilla warfare by a hostile Mexican people, kept the joint expedition off balance. Within Europe, anti-intervention sentiment grew, which hampered the ability of the three armies to act jointly.

The armies of intervention once in Mexico began a debate over which of the three would become dominant. Spain and England withdrew. France alone decided to go ahead with the intervention, announcing its intentions of establishing a monarchy in Mexico. Two unemployed members of the Austrian royalty, Maximilian and Carlotta, were chosen for the jobs of emperor and empress of Mexico.

On their way to Mexico City, the French forces had to march through the city of Puebla. All attempts at a diplomatic solution, while they had bought time for Mexico, were no longer useful. Juárez called on the entire people to defend the nation.

The Mexican Liberals, the party of the bourgeois revolution, in the weeks before the battle had aimed their diplomatic offensive at the French soldiers as well. These troops, reared on stories of the great French revolution of 1789 that overthrew the monarchy and the power of the Catholic church, were not immune to the leaflets in French that the *Juaristas* (followers of Juárez) filtered to them. The idea of supplanting the Mexican republic with a monarchy did not sit easy with the French soldiers.

On May 5, 1862, the French commander threw his forces into an attack on Puebla at the point where its defenses were strongest. The Mexican workers and peasants behind the walls of Puebla fought with a ferocity that surprised the world and inspired their allies in Europe and the Americas. The French army retreated back to the coast.

It took a year before the French were again able to march on Mexico City. They succeeded in establishing a throne for Maximilian, but the tremendous victory of *el Cinco de Mayo* had rallied the Mexican people.

After five years of war the French army was forced to withdraw. A Juárez army of 40,000 brought Maximilian to bay. In June 1867, over the protests of the European powers, Juárez had Maximilian executed as a warning that Mexico and the Americas were a tomb for foreign interventionists and princes.

Defend rights on Vietnam

Continued from front page

just exercising their "right to free speech." Gangs shouting, "Kill communists!" have nothing whatsoever to do with free speech — especially in light of the pattern of violent attacks by Vietnamese rightists in recent years. One year ago, right-wingers gravely wounded Nguyen Van Luy, honorary president of the Association of Vietnamese in the United States, and murdered his wife, Pham Thi Luu, in a San Francisco ambush. More recently, Prof. Edward Cooperman, chairman of the U.S. Committee for Scientific Cooperation with Vietnam, was murdered by a right-wing Vietnamese student in southern California.

The rightists have routinely tried to bust up meetings being addressed by representatives of Vietnam and others who oppose U.S. foreign policy.

To most effectively push these rightists back, it is necessary to understand the political context in which their attacks are occurring.

There is a propaganda offensive by Democratic and Republican politicians and the capitalist media in this country to falsely paint post-1975 Vietnam as a totalitarian nightmare. The U.S. rulers are attempting to rewrite the history of the Vietnam War. Many prominent liberals who were "doves" during the latter years of the war are today in the front ranks of this reactionary chorus.

For the first time, the U.S. government is floating trial balloons about sending open military assistance to rightist Kampuchean forces based in Thailand. The U.S. rulers are also using anti-Vietnam propaganda to further justify their efforts to overthrow the workers and peasants government of Nicaragua and to defeat the national liberation fighters in El Salvador.

This propaganda is an incitement to organized Vietnamese rightists in this country. But their recent attacks are not part of a generalized increase in public mobilizations and extralegal violence by rightist forces.

The U.S. rulers have not decided they need to unleash these right-wing outfits in order to achieve their goals in

attacking the living standards and democratic and social rights of working people. Given the current political situation, they have no need to do so.

In fact, last year prominent right-wing Cuban terrorists were convicted and jailed for the first time by a U.S. court. The government has felt pressure recently to rein in other ultraright and terrorist groups. Such organizations are not growing. The Vietnamese rightists, for example, are not representative of the big majority of Vietnamese living in this country.

It's in this context that a broad campaign to counter the rightist Vietnamese gangs is both urgent and possible. The size and breadth of the April 20 demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America indicate the potential to organize such a campaign.

Antiwar and anti-apartheid activists, unionists, Black and Latino groups, liberal politicians, civil libertarians, and many others should be encouraged to join in demanding that city officials of San Jose act to protect the democratic rights of the socialists there and all other opponents of U.S. foreign policy. Messages demanding that the city halt the ongoing disruption of the socialists' offices and prosecute those responsible for the attacks can be sent to Mayor Thomas McEnery, Office of the Mayor, 801 North 1st St., San Jose, California 95110; or to Joseph McNamara, Chief of Police, 201 West Bishop St., San Jose, California 95110.

Combined with protests defending democratic rights is the need to step up efforts to answer the lies of the U.S. government and media against Vietnam. There is potential to build significant meetings, educationals, and teach-ins on Vietnam across the country, helping get out the truth and reaffirming the right to speak out on this issue.

Such meetings are all the more important now, in light of attempts to silence opponents of U.S. foreign policy, the stepped-up anti-Vietnam campaign of the U.S. rulers, and the new, major escalation of the war in Central America, with the U.S. trade embargo slapped on Nicaragua.

Vietnam revolution: victory for humanity

Continued from Page 3

wanted economic development and the right to medical care, education, and other basic needs.

They fought a 30-year war for these goals, first against the French and then against U.S. forces.

Q. Why did the U.S. imperialists lose the war?

A. To hear the big-business media tell the story today, the Vietnamese won because they were evil and ruthless while the U.S. war machine was too humane.

"The Americans tried to fight a 'limited war,'" states *Time*. "The Vietnamese Communists were fighting an absolute war."

The *Washington Post* describes retired Gen. Henry Emerson as "still angry that the war was fought 'with such ridiculous restraints. . . . Somehow bombing Hanoi was a no-no.'"

Washington's restraint will come as news to the people of Hanoi, who had to live through Washington's savage bombing of that city. The *Post*, of course, doesn't bother to correct Emerson's lie.

To put over the claim that Washington fought an excessively civilized war in Vietnam, the media are virtually silent about what Washington actually did to Vietnam. No mention of the fact that the U.S. government poured almost three times as many tons of explosives on Indochina than were dropped by all sides in all theaters of World War II.

No mention of the 72 million liters of defoliants like Agent Orange that were dropped on the Vietnamese countryside. To this day, disproportionate rates of cancer and birth defects afflict Vietnamese peasants as a result.

No mention of the systematic depopulation of much of the countryside. Washington's war created more than 10 million refugees in Indochina. They were driven into the cities by bombing or herded into concentration camps called "strategic hamlets."

No mention of the U.S. government's Phoenix Program, which organized death squads that assassinated at least 20,000 Vietnamese suspected of sympathizing with the liberation struggle.

Vietnam was occupied by 540,000 U.S. troops plus tens of thousands of additional forces from Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines, and South Korea. The Pentagon trained, organized, and armed a massive Saigon army as well.

The media focuses on the 58,000 U.S. soldiers who died in Washington's war against Vietnam.

The 1 to 3 million Vietnamese who died barely rate a line of type.

The U.S. imperialists fought one of the most bloodthirsty, total wars in history — and lost.

They lost because the liberation forces had an ineradicable base of support among the workers and peasants of Vietnam. They were determined at any cost to win independence, unification, and freedom from imperialist domination.

The Saigon army and the U.S. occupa-

tion forces, in contrast, were made up largely of drafted workers, farmers, and other young people who had no stake in preserving imperialist domination of Vietnam.

As the liberation forces fought on in spite of the savage measures of the imperialists, the U.S. occupiers and the Saigon army increasingly lost the will to fight. This was a major factor in forcing Washington to withdraw its troops by 1973, and in bringing about the collapse of the Saigon army in 1975.

As Fidel Castro says today of Cuba and Nicaragua, the Vietnamese people could have been exterminated, but they would never be defeated.

To claim that Washington could have won in Vietnam by being more bloodthirsty is like claiming that Hitler lost World War II because he was too gentle with the Jews, Poles, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians, and Russians. The argument reveals

the criminal mentality of the imperialists who make it — and it is dead wrong.

Q. Who won the war in Vietnam?

A. The Vietnamese people, and working people all over the world — including here in the United States. "We" did not lose the war. The losers were the small group of ruling families who have their boot on the neck of workers and farmers in this country.

The Vietnamese struggle and victory strengthened the hand of the peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are fighting to be free of imperialist domination. It paved the way for the victory of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions in 1979, and for the new rise in the South African freedom struggle.

It strengthened the working people of this country against our rulers. The experience of the war and the antiwar movement makes it harder for the rulers to force us

into new wars, as they are trying to do in Central America. They will have to pay an even higher political price to do so.

The breadth of the April 20 antiwar marches shows the potential to build a mass movement against the U.S. war in Central America involving significant trade union and Black participation from the outset.

Vietnam also raised the self-confidence of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, other Latinos, and Native Americans in this country.

It advanced the education of all U.S. working people about imperialist wars, and raised their suspicions of the warmakers and their government.

By weakening our common imperialist enemy, the Vietnamese struggle also weakened the rulers' capacity to roll back our unions, reverse the social gains won by Blacks, Latinos, and women, and undermine our democratic rights.

Behind Reagan's visit to Bitburg

Continued from Page 3

free of it.

Discussing Reagan's "anguish" at the protest, his chief of staff, Donald Regan, remarked, "Here's a man that has spent all his life in Hollywood dealing with members of the Jewish faith. He was president of the Screen Actors Guild."

He probably had to restrain himself from adding, "Some of his best friends . . ."

In Bitburg, Mayor Theo Hallet, a member of Kohl's Christian Democratic Party, was reported as assailing the "hateful reaction of Jewish groups."

And the West German mass circulation magazine, *Quick*, spoke of the "influence" of Jews, "supported by the power of the big media" as responsible for the protest.

Such anti-Semitism is not the preserve of a right-wing lunatic fringe. It is woven deep into the fabric of class society. A capitalist system that cannot rid itself of crises always has the need for scapegoats. Historically, Jews have been among those targeted for such scapegoating, with Nazism but the most horrendous example of this.

True, anti-Semitism in the United States today is relatively low key. But it was even more low key in pre-Hitler Germany.

The Reagan episode illuminates how phony the antifascism of the U.S. ruling class really is.

In World War II Washington warred against Germany as an imperialist rival challenging it for world domination.

To mobilize support for that war, the politicians of both capitalist parties and big-business media labeled this interimperialist war as a war against fascism. This was done because among the masses of working people, hatred for fascism was real and justified. As well, there was a genuine war against fascism by the Soviet workers state which German imperialism tried to overthrow.

Many historical facts have exposed the declared antifascism of U.S. capital as duplicity.

The German capitalists installed Hitlerism in power in 1933 for the purpose of smashing the German working-class movement — that is, to destroy its powerful unions and mass Socialist and Communist parties.

To shape an economically ruined and desperate middle class into a battering ram against the workers' movement, anti-Semitism became the demagogic battle cry.

Millions of German and European Jews fell victim to the genocide that followed.

What was the response of the U.S. rulers to the desperate plight of German and European Jewry?

The doors of the United States were virtually slammed in their face.

Not by some hard-nosed right-wing Reagan type. But the much vaunted liberal, Franklin D. Roosevelt and his Democratic administration.

During the 1930s and 1940s under Roosevelt, when millions of Jews were trying to flee the Nazis, emigration quotas were maintained, and visa procedures and consular regulations were used to hold the number of Jews who came here to a relative trickle.

Between 1933 and 1945 a maximum of 250,000 Jewish refugees were permitted to come here. Existing quotas were not even filled by the government. During that 12-year period another 400,000 victimized Jews could have entered even under the established quotas.

Breckenridge Long, Roosevelt's assistant secretary of state for refugee problems, was a stone anti-Semite who wrote in his diary of "the criminal Jews who crowd our police court dockets in New York."

Another Roosevelt official for refugee

affairs was Myron Taylor, a former president of U.S. Steel. He had two pictures on his office wall, one of Roosevelt, the other of Mussolini.

At the end of World War II another type of refugee did find a haven here — Nazi refugees.

Wanted Nazi war criminals were smuggled into this country and into Latin America by the CIA. Why? Because they were staunch anticommunists.

Hundreds of German scientists who had worked for the Nazi machine were brought here to work on the space program and other projects.

One of the Nazi scientists brought in to work on the U.S. space program, Dr. Ernest Stuhlinger, praised Reagan's projected visit to Bitburg as "a beautiful idea."

"These two countries [Germany and the United States] have come so closely together now," he beamed. "We are very happy about the president's initiative to celebrate this event."

What brings them together, he might well have added, is a common enmity toward the Soviet Union and the other countries where capitalism has been toppled.

For Washington and its allies the stakes are high. On a world scale, the crisis of capitalism today is deep and irreversible. The anti-imperialist forces are gaining ground and Washington's counterrevolutionary agenda is long. It is implacable in its determination to crush the Nicaraguan revolution. It continues to aim at Cuba. It aspires to "contain" the Soviet Union and China, and to reverse the revolutionary gains in Vietnam. The national liberation forces of the entire globe are targeted. For this big job, the alliance with imperialist Germany and the other NATO partners is essential.

This is what set Reagan on the path to Bitburg.

LETTERS

Coming together

On April 20, thousands and thousands of activists in this country met and marched together in solidarity against U.S. government policies.

It was composed of a large cross-section of friends and comrades from every sector of life and the country. We were united by strength of conviction for the need for radical change in the political and economic system which controls our country.

The ruling class politicians and the capitalist press would have us believe that we are fragmented. This gathering, this coming together of people, shows these lies to be just what they are.

The feeling of calm defiance and militancy could not be missed by anyone, friend or foe, who was there.

Jack Bresee
Newport News, Virginia

Martin Luther King

On April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was gunned down. He was a great man. He was not only for Black people, he was for the poor people of this country, white and Black.

He had to struggle just to be treated equal like a human being. He was a man who won the Nobel Peace Prize, and yet he was attacked by a police dog.

This great man gave his life for the people he loved. All he wanted was freedom for the people.

K.L.G.
Pendleton, Indiana

Rainbow Coalition

Nan Bailey's fine article in the April 19 *Militant* ("Rainbow Coalition's Democratic Party Strategy . . .") demonstrates so clearly that the "trickle down" theory works no better in politics than it

does in the sphere of economics. One of the oldest political hoaxes played on women and minorities is the inducement to elect "one of our own." In truth, Herman Farrell's election as mayor would have about as much benefit for New York City Blacks as Geraldine Ferraro's, as vice-president, would have had for American women.

Susanne R. Fitzsimmons
Auburn, New York

IBM and apartheid

The huge IBM complex in South San Jose was the target of a spirited demonstration. The demonstration, sponsored by the Central Labor Council of Santa Clara County, the South Bay Free South Africa Movement, and the South Bay Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Justice drew over 125 anti-apartheid protesters.

According to Peter Cervantes-

Gautsche, business agent of the Central Labor Council, IBM was selected as a target for the demonstration in an effort to get the corporation to end business dealings with South Africa. At present, it is IBM computers that are the backbone of the South African passbook system. In addition, IBM trains the South African police and military in the use of the IBM communication systems. Gautsche pointed out that it was worthwhile to bring the anti-apartheid case before IBM workers, pointing to the case of British Communications Ltd. where workers were able to pressure the company into severing its ties with South Africa. Thousands of IBM workers received leaflets explaining the purpose of the demonstration and urging them to show their opposition to racism in South Africa by wearing a red ribbon at work.

The demonstration at IBM came on the heels of two other important local developments in the struggle against apartheid. On March 4, the Central Labor Council unanimously passed a resolution condemning apartheid and pledging to take part in direct action campaigns against apartheid. The resolution also backed legislation to prohibit U.S. investment in South Africa. On April 2, the San Jose City Council voted 10 to 1 to begin the process of curtailing South Africa-related investments of municipal funds.

Harry Meserve
San Jose, California

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.

AMC cheats on auto agreement Toledo workers demand money from '82 concessions

BY JOE CALLAHAN

TOLEDO, Ohio — Production was slowed to a virtual standstill for several days at the Jeep plant here in Toledo beginning on April 11. Cars needing repairs piled up in the body shop and the company began shutting down production lines and sending workers home early.

The company and the big-business news media have accused workers of "sabotage" and "vandalism." Workers were accused of things like hammering dents in quarter panels and welding doors shut.

This situation developed following a drive by American Motors Co. to avoid beginning to repay \$140 million owed to workers under the so-called Employee Investment Plan (EIP).

The EIP was a package of wage concessions demanded by AMC in 1982. Unlike wage concessions gained by General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, AMC called the concessions an "employee investment," and said the money would be paid back with 10 percent interest beginning in May 1985.

A worker who was not laid off since 1982 will have about \$8,000 owed to them in the EIP.

In 1982 it was agreed that the concessions would not be approved, unless they were passed by all three United Auto Workers (UAW) locals at AMC — Local 12 in Toledo, Local 72 in Kenosha, Wisconsin, and Local 75 in Milwaukee. When the vote was taken it passed in Kenosha and Milwaukee, but was defeated by about 200 votes in Toledo.

The 3,200 Toledo Jeep workers were then forced to vote again and AMC president Jose Dedeurwaerder came to town to increase pressure on the union. UAW secretary-treasurer Ray Majerus also came to Toledo and pushed for the concessions. Under this combined pressure, the second time round it passed.

During the January 1985 Jeep contract talks the EIP was one of the biggest issues and it was agreed that the money would be repaid as planned. But there are two alternative formulas for repayment. The first is based on profit-sharing, and the second on a "wheel tax" of \$100 per car for the first 200,000 cars and \$150 per car after that.



Some of 2,000 Jeep workers and supporters protesting at Toledo AMC plant on April 18

It's estimated that the profit-sharing plan will yield only \$5.4 million, or an average of about \$180 per worker for 1985. This is less than the 10 percent interest. It's estimated that the wheel-tax plan would produce \$40 million, or several thousand dollars each for most workers.

The 1982 agreement said that the union had the right to choose the wheel-tax plan instead of profit sharing if this was agreed to by all three union locals.

As the April 27 deadline for the union to make its choice approached, AMC stepped up its threats to close the Kenosha and Milwaukee plants. They said that if the union chose the wheel-tax plan, then the Milwaukee plant would close on Sept. 16, 1985, the Kenosha assembly plant on July 1, 1986, and Kenosha Basic Manufacturing within two years.

In the face of these threats, at an April 10 meeting the executive committees of the two Wisconsin locals opposed taking the wheel-tax plan, while the Toledo Jeep committee strongly favored it.

The company declared that this meant that the profit-sharing plan would be used

and that was that.

Jeep workers responded angrily, many workers slowed down, and cars were handled less carefully. On the side of one car waiting to be repaired was written, "EIP — pay now or pay later." One body-shop worker said, "This is a war zone." Repair workers and others refused to work overtime, bottling up production even more.

The company began to ring the line in the body shop with more and more management personnel watching workers all day long. On April 16, the company fired four second-shift workers. After this, with huge numbers of management people standing every few feet along the line in the body shop, production began returning to normal.

On April 18 about 2,000 workers participated in a demonstration held by the union outside the main gate at lunch time. Some wives of workers had begun the demonstration earlier. Signs demanded repayment of the EIP money. Some workers wore T-shirts saying, "No wheel - No deal, Don't tread on me!" The crowd of workers jeered management people who were looking

down from the roof and filming workers below.

On April 19 AMC conveniently announced a \$29 million quarterly loss.

On April 23 AMC filed a lawsuit against the union for an unspecified amount of money in damages. They also obtained a temporary restraining order against "work stoppages, slowdowns, sabotage, vandalism, or any other form of interference."

The company's antiunion suit specifically names as defendants Jeep UAW unit chairman Danny Wilson, vice-chairman Dan Twiss, and body-shop committeeman Ron Conrad. The company alleged that there was \$300,000 worth of repairs to 743 vehicles. They claimed a total loss in production of 1,961 cars. The company has said it will not pay supplemental unemployment benefits to workers sent home early, because the reason was sabotage.

A federal court hearing is scheduled for April 29. International UAW officials told Jeep committeemen that the suit was not a serious threat. However, it was only last fall that courts in Toledo victimized Jeep workers and union officials, and other workers, for participation in a solidarity demonstration against union-busting by AP Parts Company.

Unfortunately, along with anger at the company's moves to avoid repayment of the EIP, resentment has been directed toward workers from Kenosha. Laid off Kenosha workers are getting preferential hiring at the Toledo Jeep plant. In the 1982 AMC agreement there is a provision that would give eligible workers from Kenosha 1982 seniority in the Toledo plant, in the event of the Kenosha plant being closed.

A petition was recently circulated in the plant against this, and most workers who were approached signed it.

Solidarity is needed between Toledo and Kenosha workers. One example of this is that one of the four workers who was fired is from Kenosha. We are all being attacked together by the company. Work will need to be done to build unity and solidarity and mend divisions that have been sown between the Toledo and Kenosha workers.

Joe Callahan works in the body shop at Jeep and is a member of UAW Local 12.

Youth shot on Mexican soil by U.S. border cop

BY MARI HAWKES
AND RICK REEVES

SAN DIEGO — A U.S. Border Patrol agent shot a 13-year-old Mexican youth in the back April 18.

The youth, Humberto Carrillo Estrada, was in the Mexican city of Tijuana when he was shot from the U.S. side of the border by Border Patrol agent Edward Cole.

Humberto Carrillo Estrada's 15-year-old brother Eduardo had crossed the border to go to a Jack in the Box restaurant in San Ysidro, California. When he was returning to Tijuana he was caught by Border Patrol agents who started beating him. Humberto, playing on the Tijuana side of the border, saw the beating and started yelling for the agents to stop. Cole then drew his gun and shot at the youth twice, hitting him once in the back. The teenage youth is in serious condition.

Cole claims the shooting was justified because allegedly the younger Carrillo Estrada and a playmate were throwing rocks. Witnesses from Tijuana, however, have stated that no rocks were thrown until after the agent started shooting.

Nevertheless, a San Diego police inves-

tigation has backed up Cole's story and he remains on duty.

In the wake of the shooting there have been protests from both sides of the border. The Mexican consul general in San Diego, Javier Escobar, denounced the shooting as "a brutal, unjustified action and a very serious violation of the Mexican border."

The Coalition for Law and Justice, an umbrella group of Chicano organizations in San Diego, has issued a statement calling for a "thorough and unbiased investiga-

tion of what is a very tragic incident." They have also called for the immediate suspension of Cole.

"We cannot accept that the only alternative to a confrontation with children throwing rocks is to shoot them," the coalition said.

Most Mexicans see the Border Patrol for what it is — a force intent on harassing and terrorizing them. Marta Sánchez, a mother of eight who lives right across the border,

refuses to let her children play near the fence separating the two countries. "I'm afraid they [the Border Patrol] will kill them."

The Carrillo Estrada shooting comes in the wake of a racist slander campaign by the U.S. government, which claims that U.S. tourists are not safe in Mexico. This shooting is further proof that it is Mexican working people who are not safe from racist U.S. violence — not only inside the United States but also in Mexico.

La. protestors march against poor housing

BY ELIZABETH ZIERS

NEW ORLEANS — On April 14 demonstrators were arrested in St. Charles Parish (county), Louisiana, for demanding rights for tenants of three federally subsidized housing projects there.

Nearly 200 tenants participated in the protest action and 34 demonstrators were arrested.

Another march demanding justice for those arrested is being organized for May 4

in Boutte, Louisiana.

The marchers were demanding better conditions and repairs in the projects, refunds of rent overcharges, and the firing of the projects' housing authority executive director, Janard Peychard.

The march organizers had requested a permit from St. Charles Parish officials to march along State Highway 3160. They were told that no such permit would be needed if they marched on the shoulder of

the road. They did so. But were arrested by the parish sheriff under the pretext that the highway is an emergency evacuation route in case of a nuclear accident. Marchers had stepped briefly onto the highway to avoid shoulder construction.

Many of the protestors used their court hearing to proclaim their determination to keep on marching. The May 4 march will draw in activists from tenants organizations in Mississippi as well as southern Louisiana.