THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Funds for jobs, not for war!

The following statement was issued May 14 by Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president. Pulley is a laid-off Chicago steelworker and member of United Steelworkers Local 1066; Zimmermann is a former staff writer for the 'Militant.'

The call by Operation PUSH—backed by major unions, the National Organization for Women, and scores of civil rights leaders—for the May 17 Youth Pilgrimage for Jobs, Justice,

and Peace can signal the beginning of a powerful, united fightback.

A fightback against the assault on the unions, women, and the Black and Latino communities by a *united em*ployer alliance backed by the Democratic and Republican parties.

In April, the official unemployment rate jumped from 6.2 percent to 7 percent—for a total of 7.2 million without jobs.

To coincide with the swelling unemployment lines, President Carter and Congress are working on "balancing the budget." That's their code word for Continued on next page

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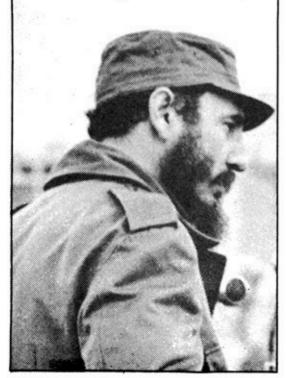
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May Day in Havana

Castro hits
U.S. war
moves,
explains
'refugee' issue







CHICAGO, May 10—Women's rights supporters take to the streets to demand ratification of the Equal

Rights Amendment in Illinois. Page 4.

...jobs, not war

Continued from front page

padding the \$150 billion military budget by slashing food stamp, retirement, education, and health programs.

We are asked to sacrifice our jobs, health, and livelihood. And now we're asked to get ready to sacrifice our very lives as Carter's proposal for draft registration moves ominously forward. The U.S. war acts against Iran have brought home the deadly reality of what the draft could mean. Rather than meet the just demand to send back the butcher shah, which would get the hostages released, Carter sent assault troops to Iran.

The draft threat is magnified by the hysterical anti-Cuba campaign and by the belligerent U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean and Central America. Washington's aim is to prop up repressive regimes such as that in El Salvador and undermine the revolution in Nicaragua, where youth have taken the lead in ousting the dictatorship and transforming society.

At home, those who will suffer the most from this bipartisan/employer assault are the youth, in particular Black and Latino teenagers.

They are the ones channeled into schools that are becoming more segregated, more crowded, with less and less education to offer.

They are the ones pushed out of these schools at an astoundingly high rate into a job market with no openings.

They are the ones who would be in the front lines of being drafted to fight a new war for Exxon.

That's the future the capitalist system offers youth.

Unless we do something about it. The national coalition of forces that found





expression in the May 10 Chicago march for the Equal Rights Amendment is present again among the groups and individuals supporting the May 17 march for jobs, justice, and peace.

The solidarity shown by women's groups supporting the fight for youth jobs, by Black organizations mobilizing for women's rights, by unions putting their muscle behind the struggles of the oppressed sectors of society is the best answer we can give to this employer offensive.

When we choose not to fight each other for jobs and meager social services but instead unite against our common enemy, the greedy corporations, we are at our strongest. It is our only hope for victory.

And that solidarity needs to be extended to our working-class brothers and sisters in other countries. Our cause is only harmed when the issue is posed as "us" against "them"whether it's under the guise of "saving" jobs here through import restrictions, pitting U.S. unionists against immigrant workers, or sending our youth to fight other youth in a new Vietnam.

There are steps that could be taken to effectively tackle unemployment and deteriorating social services: establishing a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, using the bloated \$150 billion war budget for public works projects, nationalizing the industries that are shutting down plants and mines.

These proposals would benefit working people at the expense of profits. That's why no Democratic or Republican politician is proposing them on the floor of Congress or in their election platforms.

That's why the union movement ought to break with these two profits-first parties and launch its own party-a labor party-to defend and fight for working-class interests.

Our struggles here can draw inspiration and lessons from the Cuban revolution-now the target of Washington's frenzied slander campaign. In Cuba there is no unemployment. Everyone has equal access to free health care and education. Illiteracy has been virtually wiped out.

Youth there are treated for what they are: the future of society. And old people are cared for with dignity, not tossed into the garbage heap as they are under capitalism.

In Cuba, racism has been abolished and

great strides taken toward full equality for

Despite all the hardships imposed by the U.S. blockade, Cuba has made the greatest economic and social progress of any underdeveloped nation. With the vast wealth and resources of this country, just think what can be accomplished once we-like Cuba-have a government that stands for the interests of the working people, the majority, instead of the exploiting capitalist minority.

That's what the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are fighting for. Join

A desecration

Two men were arrested May 10 after they climbed up the Statue of Liberty and unfurled a banner that declared: "Liberty was framed. Free Geronimo Pratt."

Later, a radio commentator described the action as a "desecration" of the statue.

There was a desecration of liberty involved, for sure.

Geronimo Pratt was a leader of the Black Panther Party who was convicted, in 1972, of murdering a woman in Los Angeles on December 18, 1968. He has served nearly ten years of a life sentence.

At the trial, he protested his innocence, swearing that at the time of the murder he was in Oakland, attending a series of Panther meetings.

After his conviction, Pratt obtained FBI files disclosing that prior to his trial he had been targeted, under the COINTELPRO program, to be "neutralized" by the cloak-and-dagger agency.

Pratt sought a new trial.

In court, the FBI testified it had turned over all available information at the murder trial. With, it was proven, a few exceptions.

For instance, an FBI plant was circulating among Pratt's defense team.

And the FBI now discovering an "overlooked" file establishing that Pratt was in Oakland "on or about December 20, 1968" [Emphasis added].

Despite this new evidence and more, Pratt has not been granted a new trial.

Who are the desecrators?

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Gov't bars visit to Iran

Susan Lyons (left) wanted to see her husband in Tehran and learn the truth about Iran. State Department blocked her flight and threatens to jail her if she makes the trip.

Machinists discuss ballot drive

Beginning June 9, more than 100,000 signatures must be collected to put Pulley-Zimmermann on the California ballot. A meeting of socialist members of the International Association of Machinists decided this big challenge is also a big opportunity. Page 9.





Solidarity with Nicaragua

Recent conferences in New York, Canada, and Britain answered media slanders against Nicaraguan revolution and pledged aid for reconstruction. Page 19.

The Militant

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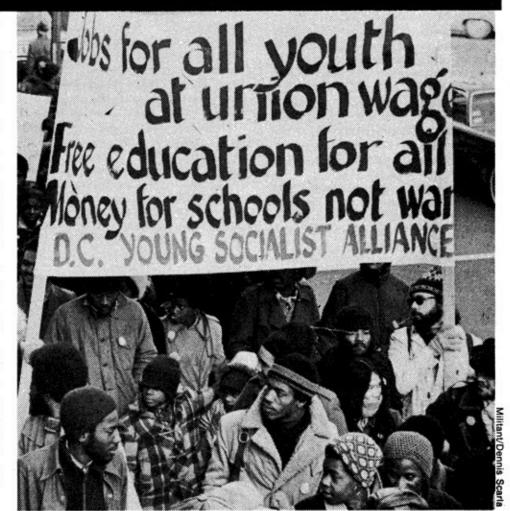
Young Socialist proposal for jobs, justice, peace

The Young Socialist Alliance, a nationwide youth group with chapters in more than fifty cities, proposes the following emergency steps to deal with the crisis facing youth and all working

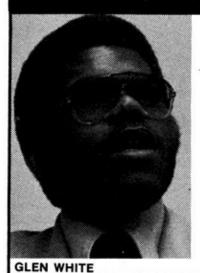
- · Emergency relief. The government should pay all jobless workers, including youth and others just entering the labor force, unemployment compensation at full union-scale wages for the entire time they are out of work.
- Funds for jobs and education, not war. Dump the inflationary \$150 billion military budget; use the money to expand and improve education and other vital social services. Launch a public works program to provide jobs and meet the needs of working people for schools, housing, hospitals, clinics, child-care centers, libraries, parks, and public transit systems.
- Shorter workweek. Ban forced overtime and reduce the legal workweek to thirty hours, with no reduction in current weekly take-home pay (including normal overtime premiums).
- Cost-of-living escalators to automatically raise wages to fully compensate for price increases. Also COLA for Social Security, pensions, and veterans' disability benefits. No wage controls. Repeal Taft-Hartley and all other

laws restricting workers' right to organize and strike.

- · Affirmative action plans in hiring and training women, Black, and Latino workers should be preserved and expanded. Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.
- No registration or draft. Our fight for justice is here at home.
- Stop racist attacks. Defend busing to desegregate the public schools. Expand and upgrade bilingual programs. Prosecute right-wing terrorists for their crimes against Blacks and Latinos. Halt police and FBI brutality and harassment of the Black and Latino communities.
- Open the books of the monopolies. Make public all the secret documents and transactions, financial and other records of the oil, steel, auto, coal, and other corporations that jack up prices or lay off workers.
- · Nationalize industry. Put the energy, steel, auto, rubber, and other industries under public ownership. Control over production-work, speed, automation, hiring and firing, health and safety-should be in the hands of the workers themselves through their unions or committees. The nationalized industries should be managed by elected public boards whose meetings and records are open to all.



After the march, the YSA invites you to hear:



member Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Washington, D.C., City Council. White is a member of Amalgamated Transit Workers Local 689.

Andrew Pulley SWP presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann SWP vice-presidential candidate

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Pulley and Zimmermann.

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YSA h.s. students organize against draft

By Nancy Cole

Andrew Walden and David Zev Rosenfeld, like hundreds of thousands of other high school seniors, will soon be pounding the pavement, looking for decent jobs that don't exist and facing the prospect of Carter's draft.

Both students are seventeen and attend Cass Technical High School in Detroit. They're members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"Most high school students who find jobs this summer will get them in fast food places and other minimum-wage jobs," Rosenfeld told the Militant in a phone interview. "It's dismal, and a lot of students think it's hopeless-that little can be done about unemployment and poor employment. But with the antidraft movement, students are becoming active. They see it as a way to strike back against the system.

"Eight Cass students and two other Detroit high school students went to the March 22 antidraft march in Washington," Rosenfeld continued. "It was inspiring for all of us to be with tens of

We won't go!' That's one reason why the May 17 march for jobs is so important-it cuts across the hopelessness."

Working against the proposed draft is a central activity for both Rosenfeld and Walden right now, as it is for the entire Young Socialist Alliance.

The two became high school leaders a couple of years ago when they helped found the Students Defense League at

"It started when the school administration said we had to give them our locker combinations," said Walden. "We circulated petitions against it, collected 1,400 signatures out of a student body of 3,800, and the administration had a sudden change of heart."

From there they successfully took on the administration on other high school rights issues.

Walden is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Detroit School Board. His experiences as a high school rights fighter qualifies him for the job more than any of the Democratic and Republican candidates, he believes. The biggest issue in the race

thousands of others chanting, 'Hell no! is the poor quality of education in things in this country could and Detroit. Walden has some proposals for that, such as using the \$150 billion military budget to build new schools and develop programs to wipe out functional illiteracy.

Now Walden, Rosenfeld, and most of the Student Defense League organizers, around twenty-five or thirty students, are active in the Cass Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD).

Cass CARD is concentrating on getting speakers before classes and informing students about local and national antidraft activities.

Six Cass students, including the two YSAers, went to the May 4 rally in Kent, Ohio, commemorating the tenth anniversary of the murder of antiwar students there. At the Midwest CARD meeting that preceded it, Cass CARD was asked to coordinate the Midwest High School Anti-Draft Network.

A mailing by Cass CARD with suggestions, experiences, and coming events is now going out to groups throughout the Midwest.

Rosenfeld first started thinking that

should be different when he attended the World Youth Festival in Cuba in 1978. He was fifteen then, and he came back wanting to change the United States to make it more like Cuba.

Later he came in contact with the YSA. "I was impressed with the work the YSA did in support of the Nicaraguan revolution, and then more recently against the draft." He joined the YSA early this year.

Walden joined a year and a half ago. "I radicalized around high school rights. Then I began to realize that most things that were wrong were never going to be solved under capital-

Walden will be marching in Washington May 17, and hopes to have the same opportunity many times more.

"We're going to have to keep marching in bigger and bigger numbers if we're going to win jobs and our rights. This is the kind of action the YSA is behind. That's why I urge other young people to join us-join the YSA in fighting for a socialist future where human needs will be the top priority."

Thousands march for ERA in Illinois

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO-In a mood of exhilaration and confidence, thousands of cheering demonstrators marched down Columbus Drive here Saturday, May 10, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in the critical state of Illinois.

Three more states must ratify before June 30, 1982, to make equality for women the law of the land. The ERA is now before the Illinois legislature.

The giant action-as the front page Chicago Sun-Times headline labeled it-was truly a triumph for the women's movement. At least 30,000 people marched and rallied (and some estimates of the crowd went as high as 50,000)-making it the largest ERA rally ever in this or any state. The media called it one of the biggest political demonstrations in Chicago

And what an inspiring sight—a sea of marchers dressed in white, carrying banners of purple, white and gold, the colors of the suffrage movement.

The march was organized by the National Organization for Women (NOW)-a fact that was clearly evident by the contigents of NOW chapters from numerous states.

The march was genuinely national. Representatives and contingents came



Shouting 'USWA for ERA,' steelworkers contingent was one of most spirited.

from states all across the country, including Hawaii and Alaska. Every region was represented, with the largest numbers coming from the Midwest.

A delegation of fifty people came from Virginia. Many had helped build the January 13 ERA march of 5,000 in Richmond.

Union contingents

The presence of major union contingents added to the political, impact of the march. They received some of the most enthusiastic applause from other participants of the march.

Contingents of several hundred came from United Steelworkers of America and United Auto Workers locals. There were also groups of marchers from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; United Electrical Workers; Communications Workers of America; United Transportation Union; Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; Illinois Education Association; International Association of Machinists; American Postal Workers; United Food and Commercial Workers; and other

Several chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women also marched. Chicago CLUW has been a central part of the ERA campaign in Illinois this spring.

While representing a cross-section of people, a large portion of the marchers were youthful. This was reflected in the various campus contingents, NOW contingents from campus towns, and students for the ERA signs. Sixhundred and fifty students had already rallied for ERA ratification in the state capital of Springfield.

Over 200 national organizations participated in the march. Contingents included: American Association of University Women, Association for Women in Science, Actors Equity Association, Americans for Democratic Action, American Association for Affirmative Action, Association for Women

in Psychology, Business and Professional Women, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Gray Panthers, Homemakers for Equal Rights Association, Illinois Gay Task Force, Illinois Nurses Association, Illinois League of Women Voters, Illinois Women's Political Caucus, Mormons for the ERA, Socialist Workers Party, Unitarian Universalist Women, Young Socialist Alliance, and many, many

Tied to other fights

The relation of the ERA to fights around other key issues was underlined by the presence of such contingents as: Coalition Against Registration and the Draft, War Resisters League, Daycare Action Council for ERA, and several antinuclear groups. Handlettered signs linked ERA and jobs, and some put forward a woman's right to choose abortion.

There were also contingents of women of the oppressed nationalities, including the League of Black Women, Mujeres Latinas, and Asian-Pacific Women for the ERA.

The action reflected the breadth of majority support for the ERA

Spirits ran high. Along with chants such as "What do you want? ERA. When do you want it? Now!" and "No draft, no way; ratify the ERA," people sang songs such as "When the States are Ratified" (to the tune of "When the Saints go Marching In").

The steelworkers contingent was especially exuberant-stomping, clapping, and cheering all the way down to the Old Band Shell where the rally was held. Their chants "USWA for ERA" and "What time is it? Steelworkers time" were among the loudest.

The march refuted all claims of equal strength made by the right-wing, anti-ERA forces. In her own home state, Phyllis Schlafly, head of "Stop ERA," could muster only 6,000 people at a May 7 Springfield rally.

She was reduced to stating on na-

tional radio that people had been paid ten dollars to come to May 10.

In her remarks at the rally NOW President Eleanor Smeal scoffed at Schlafly's ludicrous charges, sending a roar of glee through the crowd.

She pointed to the May 10 action as proof that this country is not moving to the right.

'Something is changing'

This was echoed by Marty Alston, one of many marchers the Militant

Noting that the last demonstration she had gone to was against the Vietnam War in 1970 in Washington, D.C., she said, "This is much different, better. There is more labor, older people, children, more ordinary people here. This tells you that since ten years something is changing heresomething very deep is changing.'

Two themes were underscored by the composition of the crowd, from interviews with participants, and by several of the speakers: ERA is at the center of labor's and women's defense against the brutal attacks on our standard of living. Only a fighting coalition that mobilizes the power of labor, women's and civil rights organizations can hope to achieve victory.

As William Stevens, leading the UAW delegation from Detroit Diesel, told the Militant, "ERA is definitely a union issue. More and more families see that they can't make it on pay and a half."

And Dani McFadden, a shop steward of the Pittsburgh Metro Area Postal Workers Union, commented, "The only way we're going to win ERA in the southern states is by labor and NOW working together. If everybody would work together-NOW, the unions, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the civil rights organizations, all the different groups-it would be no problem getting ERA ratified."

May 10 solidarity rallies were also held in Salt Lake City, Utah, and San Diego.

Women's equality: 'a matter of simple justice'

Below are excerpts from several speeches to the Chicago ERA rally. Other speakers included Leon Lynch, vice-president of United Steelworkers of America; actress Jean Stapleton; Sonia Johnson, Mormons for the ERA; Gloria Steinem; Wilma Espinoza, president of the Mexican American Women's National Organizations: and Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women:

We are a part of a coalition, a coalition of the women's movement; a coalition of the civil rights movement for Blacks, minorities, and brown people; a coalition of labor; a coalition of senior citizens and young people and students.

Some would like us to believe that this country is turning to the right. We know that it is not going backwards, that we have the courage to go forward, and that we will lead that movement forward arm in arm with those who believe in justice.

We are in a massive inflation today. Seven percent unemployment, 404,000 people from the state of Illinois are unemployed today. The inflation, the unemployment, the drastic economic times just underline the need for ratification of the ERA and the need for economic justice for women.

But we cannot forget that we are part of a great movement of unity and on May 17, next Saturday in Washington, many of us will be marching for jobs and for the end of drastic cuts to our budget.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, director of



NOW President Eleanor Smeal and PUSH Director Jesse Jackson at May 10 rally.

Operation PUSH:

Today we gather to congratulate the eadership of NOW, the various civil rights, labor, and religious bodies that have chosen to highlight one of the great injustices of our day: the second class status of first class people-

Thus today we start with a simple premise-human rights for human beings. No longer will we accept the idea of superior rights for some and inferior rights for others, but equal rights for all. Justice must be measured by one vardstick.

Simple justice is a threat to the hardened arteries of the status quo, who cling to the past by habit, culture or ignorance or superstition or economic exploitation or a combination of the above.

This coalition of men and women, this multi-ethnic coalition, must have as its highest purpose the affirmation of all human beings, their race, their sex and their religion.

We must see the ERA struggle in the context of our times.

Blacks and browns, youth, and poor,

likewise are fighting to overcome barriers at precisely the moment we are fighting for new opportunities for women. The youth, the Black, the brown have the same agenda.

These demands are occurring in the face of a shrinking economy. We must fight together for a new healthy economy or fight each other over an old, sick economy.

We must categorically reject racism and sexism.

Surely we must know that the change that we seek will not come from the White House or the state house. It will come from your house and my house.

Bella Abzug:

There are those in the state of Illinois and indeed around the country who say, "You don't need the Equal Rights Amendment, you have equality.'

Is it equality when women-who work because they must, to support themselves, to house themselves, clothe themselves, to feed themselvesare still only entitled to 59 cents on the dollar compared with men?

Is it equality to say that the president of this country and indeed the Congress of this country can decide that certain areas of the world are in America's vital interest and decide that they will use military force to defend that interest? And instead of giving us constitutional equality or economic equality or political equality, they ask of us an equality of sacrifice by saying that they will register and draft us in what probably will be a nuclear war?

And is it equality to say that those of us who are minority women, Black, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian-Americans must overcome a double burden of discrimination based not only on sex but also based on race?

Betty Friedan:

There is a mood of utter realism in the women of this nation and the women of this state at this time. Realism in knowing exactly how wonderful it is for women to have some sense of new self-respect, some ability to earn, even if so far we only earn 59 cents on the dollar. But at least some laws, some possibilities of equal opportunity.

Realism in that we know the hope of equal opportunity we now enjoy we can lose for ourselves and our daughters in the depression that has begun, if we do not get the underpinning of the ERA in the constitution underneath those laws so they can't be taken

We know that the layoffs in Caterpillar, in the auto plants, the layoffs all over this state and the nation are hitting women worse then men; and the cuts in budgets are taking away the services and the jobs essential to women and to children.



The many faces of May 10

Militant photos by Nancy Cohen, Susan Ellis, Suzanne Haig, Linda Nordquist









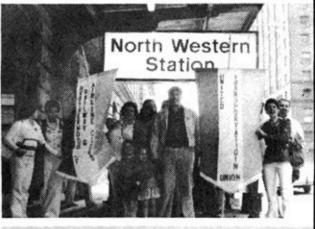
















Cop terror assailed

By Glova Scott

BALTIMORE—May 1 was Law Day here. The police, as a public relations event, invited residents to a fair with refreshments, a live band, and a TV star on hand.

A picket line of protesters gathered under rainy skies to denounce the cop shooting of Ja-Wan McGee. Passersby stopped and listened. At one point the crowd of sympathizers and supporters of the Coalition for Justice for Ja-Wan McGee swelled to sixty.

McGee, seventeen and Black, lies in a hospital bed, paralyzed from the waist down. He was shot in the back by a white, off-duty detective as he stopped at the Freedom Shopping Center one night last March.

Detective Stephen McCown says he thought that a robbery was about to take place. Seeing a shiny object and relying on a "suspicious sixth sense," the cop shot McGee without first identifying himself or warning that he would shoot.

The shiny object in McGee's had was a cigarette lighter.

The state's attorney's investigation ended with officials saying there was no evidence ofcriminal intent by McCown.

On the day of the picket line, the police department finally filed charges against McCown. The cop must now face a police trial board hearing, which could mean exoneration, dismissal, or a slap on the wrist.

McGee's mother, Constance, has filed a \$15 million suit against McCown and the city.

Atlanta: 1,000 march against Carter's cutbacks

ATLANTA—Close to 1,000 people from nine southern states marched here May 11 to protest the Carter administration's budget cuts from vitally needed social programs.

The march was called in response to the appearance of Rosalynn Carter at Morehouse College, a Black institution, to receive an honorary degree for "contributions to disadvantaged people."

The five-mile march from the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change to Morehouse was followed by a rally addressed by author James Baldwin

Marchers included food stamp recipients, facing the possibility of hunger, Black students facing the cutoff of student loan funding, welfare recipients, agricultural workers from Florida, and representatives from Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

Most of the marchers were Black. Among the most popular chants were "Carter says cutback, we say fight back," and "Money for jobs, not for war."

Despite intense heat, several hundred stayed for a rally at the conclusion of the march. James Baldwin, in a rare political appearance, told the crowd, "I was born in Harlem fifty years ago. My father was a laborer and we lived in great poverty. Well-meaning people told me, 'It takes time to change things. It takes time.'



Demonstrators came from many southern states to demand jobs.

"They took my time and most of my life. How much more time do they want? . . . Poverty is created by certain people who run this country. To them we are all dispensable."

E. T. Kehrer, a southern area director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, attacked President Carter for his string of broken campaign promises.

Ethel Mae Matthews of the Welfare Rights Organization echoed Kehrer's sentiments charging that "Jimmy Carter hasn't done anything to help the Black, poor, and oppressed people." She called the choice between Carter and Reagan "a choice between a devil and a demon."

John Lewis, formerly an organizer of the Student Nonist campai Violent Coordinating Commitdistributed.

tee in the 1960s, called for a new movement to fight racist cutbacks.

Among the groups supporting or participating in the march were several local churches, American Federation of Teachers Local 1565, United Auto Workers members, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Federation of Southern Cooperatives, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Workers World Party, and the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).

Janice Prescott, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia, took part in the march. Supporters of her campaign reported a friendly response to the socialist campaign literature they distributed

Klan victims indicted

By Craig Stevens

GREENSBORO, N.C.—On May 2 a grand jury here indicted six anti-Ku Klux Klan demonstrators on felony charges of inciting to riot last Nov. 3.

These indictments are the latest in a series of attempts to turn the victims of the Klan's murderous attack that day into the criminals.

The grand jury also indicted two additional members of the Klan/Nazi group that drove into the Black community Nov. 3 and methodically opened fire on the group of anti-racist demonstrators, leaving five dead.

But even with these two new indictments, less than half of the 30 to 35 Nazi and Klan gunmen have been charged with riot, and only 11 of them face murder charges.

Five of the anti-Klan demonstrators arrested May 2 are members of the Communist Workers Party, the organizers of the Nov. 3 march. The sixth indicted demonstrator is not even known to the CWP leaders. He was apparently identified from video tapes of the Klan attack.

A number of racists, including Klan leader Virgil Griffin, who admit being part of the attack, or who can be identified from the video tapes, have not been indicted.

Police escort Klan

By Lee Martindale

KOKOMO, Ind.—Thirtyeight members of the Ku Klux Klan marched for about ten minutes in this central Indiana city on April 26, jeered by 150 anti-Klan protesters and protected by 175 city and state police and sheriff's deputies.

The Klan announced its march over three months ago and got a parade permit from the city administration.

The Midwest Coalition Against the Klan applied for a permit for a countermarch, which was denied on the pretext that the presence of anti-Klan demonstrators might lead to violence.

In fact, it is the Klan which has been responsible for violence, such as the murder of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, last November.

In the weeks leading up to the march, city officials steadily escalated a campaign of red- and violence-baiting against the anti-Klan group, which included members of the Communist Workers Party and the Revolutionary Socialist

League.

The city purchased \$4,000 worth of new riot-control equipment.

Kokomo Mayor Daily pressured all downtown merchants to close their stores for the day, "pleaded" with residents to stay away from the downtown area, and asked the governor to call out the National Guard.

The miserable turnout at the Klan march demonstrates that few workers in Kokomo are attracted to the Klan's attempts to whip up racism and incite violence against Blacks.

Despite the intense pressure from city hall, several hundred people from Kokomo gathered to watch the march. None expressed sympathy with the hooded and uniformed Klansmen.

After a quick turn around the square, the KKK was herded down an alley and into the back of a windowless U-Haul truck rented by the city.

The cops then returned to drive off the anti-Klan demonstrators. Police used riot sticks to push demonstrators away from the square and prepared to use tear gas, at which point the demonstrators marched away to a rally in the Black community.

The complicity of city officials with the Klan was noted by several people from Kokomo I talked with. One Black woman said: "They talk all the time about equal rights, but only the Klan got a permit. I'll bet half those cops were Klan themselves."

We found unanimous outrage in the Black community about the Klan march and the red-carpet treatment the city gave the KKK. Unfortunately, however, the tactics of the Midwest Coalition Against the Klan—which went ahead with the march without a permit and whose members sported crash helmets and long wooden sticks—worked against mobilizing the sentiment in the community in a mass response to the Klan.

Harlem protests FBI raid

By Osborne Hart

NEW YORK—Residents of Harlem marched and rallied here May 10 against FBI harassment.

During the predawn hours of April 19, fifty FBI agents armed with shotguns and automatic rifles had invaded the apartments of 92 Morningside Avenue.

Threatening and frisking tenants, the FBI went in without a warrant and bullied and detained several people under the pretense of searching for Joanne Chesimard.

Chesimard, also known as Assata Shakur, escaped from a New Jersey prison last November, where she was serving a life sentence for allegedly killing a state trooper.

At the pre-march rally on the steps of 92 Morningside, nearly 200 people heard speakers denounce the raid and appeal for support.

Victor Goode of the National Conference of Black Lawyers recalled the 1969 police murder of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton. "A decade later, we are visited once again by a predawn raid by the FBI—at a time when the president and attorney general swear to us that the Cointelpro program doesn't exist."

Cointelpro was the FBI's name for its schemes to disrupt and "neutralize" the Black rights movement, as well as socialists and antiwar groups.

"It may not exist by that name," Goode said, "but it existed in operation by what they did that night at Morningside Avenue."

Goode, one of the lawyers



Harlem residents demand full investigation into April 19 FBI raid.

acting on behalf of the raid victims, explained that the case will be fought in court. "But more importantly, the rights of the people of Morningside and Black people in this country must be vindicated by a political movement, political action, and political vigilance."

He concluded by urging more marches and activities in support of the case.

Other speakers included Gil from breaking in Noble, host of the Black television show Like It Is; Louis people. They are Clayton Jones, attorney and broke the law."

frequent contributor to the Amsterdam News; and residents of 92 Morningside.

Demonstrators then marched through the streets to the Harlem State Office Building chanting, "FBI, we're warning you—no more attacks on 92!"

In a letter to FBI Director William Webster, residents demanded an apology, compensation for damages, complete copies of the FBI's report, and a written request before agents investigating the incident question any of the tenants.

In addition, the tenants are filing a lawsuit and calling for a congressional investigation into the raid and FBI activities in the Chesimard case.

Douglas Harris, rally organizer and a tenant at Number 92, told the media, "We assume that what has happened here has happened in other places. People have been coming forward and saying that the same thing happened to a friend."

"It was a terrorizing experience," Ebun Adelona told reporters at the rally site.

Adelona, another tenant in the Morningside building, was detained and interrogated for an hour by agents claiming she might be Joanne Chesimard. The FBI agents demanded that she expose her thighs so they could see if she had a scar like Chesimard.

"I felt that my rights had been violated, and I was given no explanation," said Adelona. "The FBI has to be stopped from breaking into houses and intimidating and harassing people. They are the ones that broke the law."

Pulley meets Texas high school students

By Joanne Kuniansky and Steven Marshall

DALLAS—Over 100 South Oakcliff High School students crowded into the school cafeteria to meet Andrew Pulley. South Oakcliff is the largest Black high school in Dallas.

Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers presidential candidate, was in Dallas May 8 on part of a four-city tour of Texas. Pulley's campaign stops in Austin, Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio coincided with the opening of the petition drive to put the SWP on the Texas ballot. Texas socialists have collected 11,000 signatures so far in this drive to get well over the 24,000 signatures required for ballot status.

Pulley told the high school students, "At a time when American youth are jobless, with Black, Chicano, and Native American youth especially hard hit, Carter's solution is to lay off their parents and increase their poverty."

He said the Socialist Workers candidates are campaigning for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay in order to spread the available work. "If we put people to work building badly needed hospitals, child care centers, and schools, we'd create millions of jobs for the unemployed," Pulley said.

He told the students, "We must organize the unorganized throughout the South. Right here in Dallas, only eight percent of the workforce is in unions. Non-union workers have lower wages and no way to effectively fight back against their falling standard of living," said Pulley. "We need unions as a tool for defending our rights in the workplace and a labor party to advocate and implement proworker policies in the political arena."

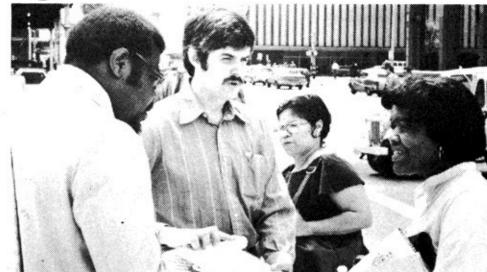
One student asked Pulley what he would have done if he had been president when the Iran crisis began. When he responded that he would have ended the crisis in twenty-four hours by personally escorting the shah to Air Force One (the president's private plane) and sending him back to the Iranian people, the students responded with a round of applause.

When the class period ended, one young woman volunteered to help with the Texas petitioning effort.

As Pulley was leaving the school, students leaned out of classrooms pointing him out to their friends. "That's him, he's running for president," one said. Three students followed Pulley down the hallway, asked for his autograph, and wished him luck with his campaign.

Workers from the Western Electric, General Motors, and Vought Corporation plants attended a brunch held at the socialist campaign headquarters in Dallas. One auto worker who came volunteered to help petition to put the SWP on the ballot.

A news conference in San Antonio was covered by the two major dailies, one television and several local radio



Andrew Pulley, left, petitions in downtown Houston

Militant/O. Charles

Pulley was also a guest on "Speak Your Piece," a talk show on KAPE radio, the major Black station in San Antonio. During the call-in period the first caller asked Pulley how he could join the SWP.

Pulley spoke to meetings of students at San Antonio College, the University of Texas at San Antonio, and Fox Technical High School. He also campaigned at the Ingram and Tampo construction equipment manufacturing plants, talking with workers.

Many agreed that Carter's foiled military attack on Iran brought the country close to the brink of war that the majority of working people do not want.

Texas socialists have announced plans to distribute 30,000 pieces of campaign literature during the petition drive. In Houston, thirty-four people who signed petitions also signed up on Young Socialists for Pulley and Zimmerman cards, indicating their support for the campaign and asking for more information about it.

Socialist campaigners have found a favorable response in Texas to the socialist demand to nationalize the energy industry. A particularly good response to this idea has come from Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union members who've recently been on strike.

"The receptivity of people to the Socialist Workers campaign has increased quite a bit in the two years since I last petitioned here," said Regina Dotson, Houston YSA organizer.

"People are impressed that we are running a Black steelworker for president and a woman for vice-president. One typical response I got was from someone who told me, "What? A Black steelworker for president? You're kidding me . . . Sure, I'll sign . . . This is great."

Campaign supporter Jo Carol Stallworth said, "Recently, I was stepping out of a car and getting ready to begin a few hours of petitioning when three young people came up to me. They recognized me as the person who had sold them the *Militant* recently. We talked about the articles they particularly liked. Then they signed the petition and called their friends over to do the same. So before I had really gotten started, I'd already collected six signatures that day."

Socialist Workers congressional candidate Arturo Ramirez said, "Before, when I petitioned, I would first ask people if they were registered to vote. When I realized how much interest there was in *socialists* running for office, I changed what I said and instead began by asking people what they though about putting a steelworker and a socialist on the ballot. The response was great."

The Texas SWP is appealing for help to successfully complete the Texas petition drive. If you can help, contact one of the state petitioning centers: in Dallas, 5442 E. Grand, phone (214) 826-4711; Houston, 806 Elgin Street, #1, phone (713) 524-8761; or San Antonio, 1406 N. Flores Road, phone (512) 222-

Mississippi ballot drive

By Karen Newton

JACKSON, Miss.—On April 26, supporters of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann successfully collected 1,200 signatures here to place the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the Mississippi ballot.

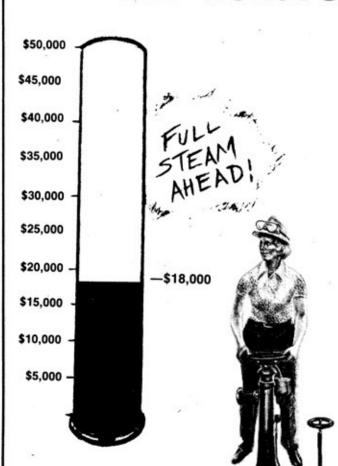
Another day of petitioning is planned for May 17 in order to far surpass the 1,000 signatures required by Mississippi law.

The response to the socialist campaigners was overwhelmingly favorable. Many Mississippians were especially eager to sign when they learned that Pulley was born in Sidon, a small town about 100 miles north of Jackson.

The legacy of the civil rights movement was apparent as petitioners collected signatures of Black voters. The vast majority of Blacks are registered voters. The right to vote is a recent and cherished acquisition, won through big civil rights battles.

Many were interested in discussing socialist solutions to the increasing problems working people face today. Others, Black and white, were glad to find a presidential ticket they would want to vote for, headed by a Black steelworker from Mississippi.

Your dollars can earn political interest



By Duncan Williams

"El pueblo trabajador debe gobernar el país"— Spanish translation of the campaign brochure titled "Working people should run the country" is the newest piece of Socialist Workers campaign literature.

The national campaign office has turned contributions to the socialist campaign fund drive into attractive literature that poses the Socialist Workers candidates' solutions to the crisis facing working people.

The new Spanish-language brochure is an especially welcome addition. "Often when I would sell a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*, I would also mention the campaign, but I had no literature," explained Justicia Dominguez, an SWP member in Los Angeles who coordinates sales of the Spanish-language biweekly, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

She said that before the first copies of the new brochures arrived, the campaign committee in Los Angeles was considering photocopying the translation that first appeared in *PM*.

Thanks to contributions to the fund drive, that wasn't necessary, and she and three other campaign supporters were able to use the brochure for the first time at a Cinco de Mayo demonstration celebrating the anniversary of Mexico's independence. The four sold fifty *PM*s and dis-

tributed the brochure, getting into many discussions on topics such as the U.S. government's threats against Cuba and the Nicaraguan revolution.

Your contributions to the fund drive will make it possible for us to print more bilingual literature as well as campaign statements on other important political issues. A total of \$18,373 has been collected in the drive to date. We face the challenging task of collecting the remainder of the \$50,000 goal by June 15.

Your help is needed.

Consider now how much you can give to the drive. Every dollar contributed earns more political interest than any bank can pay.

y contribution of \$	
	State
Phone	
	y contribution of \$

Make checks payable to:

Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Black steelworker joins senate race in Ala.

By Nelson Blackstock

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.-Mohammed Oliver, a Black steelworker, has launched his campaign for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

A news conference was held at Oliver's state campaign headquarters here April 30 to announce his candidacy. That afternoon, he also addressed reporters on the steps of the state capitol in Montgomery, only a few feet from the spot where Jefferson Davis was sworn in as president of the Confederacy in 1861.

The first statewide effort for the Socialist Workers Party in Alabama, Oliver's campaign will bring a new and different message to the working people of Alabama.

The podium at campaign headquarters was packed with microphones as virtually all the local media turned out for the announcement.

The Birmingham Post-Herald reported: "In a strongly worded statement announcing his candidacy, Oliver criticized the aborted rescue attempt of the American hostages in Iran, calling it an invasion of that country and an act of war.'

The Post-Herald quoted Oliver as saying: "Carter knew there was no way this military adventure could achieve its stated goal. Some or all of the Americans held in the U.S. embassy in Tehran would almost certainly have died in a rescue attempt.

. . [Democratic incumbent Senator] Donald Stewart says that at the bottom line what was wrong with Washington's invasion of Iran was that it had insufficient force. I say it should never have happened."

The Post-Herald continued: "The Socialist Workers candidate also said he favors nationalizing energy and utility companies so they can be run by a popularly elected board. He accused



A Steelworker for U.S. Senate Mohammed Oliver Socialist Workers Party

Left, Mohammed Oliver announces his campaign at Birmingham press conference. Right, Oliver campaign leaflet

the oil companies and specifically Alabama Power Co. of reaping 'super profits' at the expense of low-income workers already strapped by rising

"Turning to energy problems, Oliver criticized the oil companies for driving the price of oil up to increase their profits and deliberately holding back coal production, an energy alternative he favors in place of nuclear power."

The paper also noted Oliver's stands for jobs, for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and against the draft.

The Birmingham News reported that Oliver's "program includes reducing the work week to 30 hours with no cuts

in pay to spread available work among more people, and launching a massive government-sponsored public works program to build schools, hospitals and roads.

"He proposes cost-of-living escalator clauses in employment contracts, and similar clauses in welfare and pensions."

In his announcement, Oliver also pointed out that Tommy Lee Hines, a Black man framed up on rape charges, remains behind bars for a crime he did not commit. "Meanwhile, Ku Klux Klan murderers are walking the street, never charged with any crime.

The New York Times revealed this year that secret FBI files identify the killers of four Black girls in the 1963 bombing of a Birmingham church. Oliver called for the arrest and conviction of the racist killers and the release of all FBI files on Klan violence.

When one reporter asked if the majority of workers and farmers here will really support him this fall, Oliver responded:

"If the media gives me and my party the same coverage it gives Donald Stewart and Jimmy Carter between now and the election, I believe we will have a mass following. At my job, for example, most workers don't have any argument with the things I'm proposing. Their only question is whether we

can really win them."

Nuclear danger is issue in Zimmermann Pa. tour

By Kipp Dawson and George Dolph

Vice-presidential candidate Matilde Zimmermann's five-day tour of Pennsylvania helped to prepare the kickoff for the Socialist Workers petition drive here. On May 17, Pennsylvania socialists will launch a drive to collect far more than the 48,000 signatures required to place the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the November ballot.

At campaign rallies in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Zimmermann scored the U.S. government's "two front war. One front against the workers and farmers around the world who are battling for justice. The other against working people of the United States."

On her arrival in Philadelphia May 9, Zimmermann announced that in addition to petition centers at socialist campaign headquarters in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the SWP will set up a petition center in Harrisburg. "A team of campaign supporters will petition in Harrisburg, and they will organize classes and other events to introduce new campaign supporters to the ideas of the Socialist Workers candidates," she said.

John Sislo will be a member of the Harrisburg team. Sislo was one of 144,000 people who were evacuated from Harrisburg during the Three Mile Island disaster. He is an AFSCME shop steward and one of the newest members of the SWP in Pennsylvania.

Sislo first met the SWP when socialists went to Three Mile Island to talk with area residents and learn the truth about the disaster. Since that time, many other central Pennsylvanians have subscribed to the Militant and met the socialist candidates at antinuclear protests in Harrisburg and Washington, D.C.

Zimmermann pledged that socialist campaigners would speak out against the dangers of nuclear power during



Matilde Zimmermann talks with participants in March 28 antinuclear protest in Harrisburg. SWP is establishing petitioning center there for Pennsylvania ballot

the petition drive. "Throughout the period of the near meltdown until today, Democratic and Republican politicians have been part of the cover-up of the nuclear danger. They defend Metropolitan Edison and their profits at the expense of our lives," she said.

"And the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission has just granted Metropolitan Edison a rate increase to make up for profits they lost by the shut down of the Three Mile Island reactor! The New York Times explains that this is the way the General Public Utilities Corporation and its operating arm, Metropolitan Edison, 'could avoid bankruptcy.'

"We are going to talk to tens of thousands of people in this petition drive about the SWP program for Three Mile Island-shut it down now! Not one penny of working people's already meager income should be used for the clean-up at the reactor. Metropolitan Edison should pay.

"Working people can't afford to pay for the lies of the energy industry with our lives," Zimmermann said. "We demand to know the truth. Open the books of the energy industry so we can learn about the profits and the safety conditions."

Linda Mohrbacher, member of United Steelworkers Local 1219 in Braddock and SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, accompanied Zimmermann on part of her Pennsylvania tour.

In Philadelphia, Mohrbacher testified at a hearing organized by the Philadelphia Area Project on Occupational Safety and Health. One hundred fifty people attended, most of them unionists. Mohrbacher spoke against Sen. Richard Schweiker's proposed Occupational Safety and Health Improvements Act of 1980. Schweiker's bill threatens to gut already weak protection of workers on the job, Mohrbacher said.

In Pittsburgh, Zimmermann spoke on two local television and several radio stations. Articles on the Socialist Workers campaign appeared in the Pittsburgh Press and the Pittsburgh

Post-Gazette. Zimmermann was also interviewed by the Pittsburgh Courier, the local Black community newspaper.

Zimmermann handed out campaign literature and talked with steelworkers at the Edgar Thomas and Homestead steel mills near Pittsburgh.

The Pittsburgh campaign rally heard greetings from Tom Moriarty, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of West Virginia; Reggie Hickman, a civil rights activist in the United Steelworkers of America; Molly Rush, a leader of the antinuclear movement; and Mohammed Sidky, a student from Afghanistan.

Sidky acknowledged the SWP's "courageous stand" supporting the revolution in his country. "Against the deaths and destruction promised by the war hawks," he said, "progressive parties like the SWP can offer hope for the people of the U.S. and around the world. It is imperative that we lend our support to progressive parties like the SWP, especially since they are struggling in the heart of the monster."

Supporters at the rally contributed over \$3,200 to the socialist campaign.

Senatorial candidate Linda Mohrbacher appealed to campaign supporters to help in the petition drive. "It would be a crime if working people and farmers had no one to vote for in Pennsylvania but the parties of war and depression," she said.

In addition to Mohrbacher and the presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the SWP is running Tory Dunn, a Philadelphia locomotive engineer, for state treas-

Your help is needed in the massive petition drive to put the socialist candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot. If you can help, contact one of the petitioning centers in Philadelphia, 5811 North Broad Street, or phone (215) 927-4747, or in Pittsburgh, 1210 East Carson Street, or phone (412) 488-7000.

See big opening for socialist ideas

SWP machinists plan for Cal. ballot drive

By Nan Bailey

Beginning June 9, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann will be on the streets from one end of California to the other, gathering well over the 101,000 signatures required to put parties other than the Democrats and Republicans on the

The huge signature requirement is intended by state officials to intimidate parties such as the SWP from even trying to get on the November

The California petitioning effort will be the biggest challenge facing the SWP campaign in its drive to get on the ballot in thirty states.

But the Socialist Workers Party is treating the task of meeting this undemocratic requirement as a big political opportunity.

This was one of the main discussions at a meeting of socialists who are members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. The meeting was held April 12-13 in Los Angeles.

Sara Gates, the SWP's California campaign coordinator, outlined goals of the drive in a report to the meeting.

"The Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential campaign is offering American workers solutions to the crises caused by a decaying economic system," said Gates.

"Right now, the focus of our national campaign is a major political project: petitioning to get our candidates on the ballot in thirty states. Petitioning to get on the ballot gives us the chance to take our program to the hundreds of thousands of people we meet during ballot drives," she said. "These drives are an opportunity to show the stuff the party is made of-that we are a serious party capable of the kind of organization and planning necessary to achieve ballot status."

Socialist Workers campaign supporters have already collected more than 160,00 signatures in the national drive. Petitioning has been completed in North Carolina, Ohio, Massachusetts, Arizona, New Jersey, Kentucky, Utah, Missouri, and Michigan. Drives are now under way in Texas, Mississippi, Iowa, and Colorado. States in which ballot drives will be opened in the next few months include Pennsylvania, Indiana, Tennessee, South Dakota, Illinois, Wisconsin, Virginia, Minnesota, New York, and California.



Militant/Diane Jacobs

Gates explained, "We will also be collecting many more than the 101,000 required to put George Johnson, our candidate for U.S. Senate, on the ballot." Johnson is a laid-off auto worker and member of the United Auto Workers union.

Labor party idea

Gates described the new responsiveness among working people to some of the points in the program of the SWP candidates. She noted that John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO, appealed last fall for a discussion about forming a labor party. "Many other union members took up this appeal. Several AFL-CIO central labor councils and union locals here have passed resolutions that propose pursuing this discussion.

"Our party has every interest in participating fully in this discussion," Gates said. "Our candidates are the only ones who are campaigning for the unions to take the step of forming a labor party. This is an idea we want to take to every factory and union hall, every community and school in the state."

California socialists plan to distribute 300,000 leaflets that summarize the SWP program during the course of the petitioning.

Mary-Alice Waters, a national leader of the SWP, explained why the massive task of getting on the ballot in 1980 is also a big opportunity.

"These laws that require massive petitioning to get on the ballot are not our laws," said Waters. They're undemocratic. We point out to everybody we talk to that they're designed to try to keep us off the ballot."

Political opportunity

Waters said that fulfilling the requirements doesn't guarantee the SWP a place on the ballot, because often state officials will still try to keep the party off. "But we don't approach petitioning as simply a legalistic thing," she said. "We don't approach it like we approach filing financial statements for the federal election commission. That is simply a legal requirement that we have to meet and we do it. But that's not the way we look at petitioning. We see it as a real political

"Our petitioning drive is the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party for the next few months," Waters explained. "This is the way that we are taking our campaign, our program, our ideas about what needs to be done, to hundreds of thousands of people in this country. If we didn't do this with the petitioning campaigns, we would invent something like them in order to mobilize the party to take our campaign to masses of people that we would not otherwise talk to.

"This massive mobilization of the party takes our election campaign to our class on a national scale," she continued. "And it's also one of the ways we can learn an awful lot about the general political mood. It's a big job. But it's one that we're totally capable of. We've proven that over and over again."

Industrial workers key

Waters also explained that the SWP members who are in industry play a decisive role in the petition campaign. "It's a question of everyone figuring out how they can take some time off work and organize their schedule in order to be part of the campaign."

IAM member Sonja Franeta described her experience on a recent petitioning team. "In Arizona we found an incredible amount of support," she said. "There's a lot of opportunity for recruitment. We collected a long list of people who were interested in finding out more about the campaign.

"One thing I found is that the signatures are out there, they really are," she said. "All we have to do is get organized, get our energy and numbers together, and go out there and get them."

Marcia Scott explained that she had also petitioned recently. "Before that, I hadn't had much experience in petitioning," she said. "I didn't expect it to be a political experience. I just thought it was a technical thing—that you had to go and get these signatures and that it didn't really matter what the people

thought. But actually, it really does matter and we were able to talk to people a lot about our politics."

Mark Friedman, organizer of the San Diego branch, discussed the possibilities of petitioning among co-

"We will be petitioning at the plant gates," he said. "And we should think about petitioning among our coworkers during lunch breaks or at other times."

Volunteers needed

"We have to primarily count on ourselves," said Friedman, "but I think there is a bigger opportunity than ever before to involve our co-workers and other campaign supporters in the petitioning effort. Two supporters in San Diego have already volunteered to help petition to put our candidates on the

"One of these," Friedman said, "is a retired worker who came into the campaign headquarters. He's been coming to our forums and other activities. On Friday he came in and said he had just resigned from the Democratic Party, had registered SWP, and was available for fulltime petitioning."

Friedman described an experience in San Diego when the party petitioned to put mayoral candidate Raúl Gonzalez on the ballot. "Raul wrote a letter to coworkers in his plant. It explained what this campaign was about and why we needed support in the petitioning effort. The letter was distributed at the plant two days before we petitioned there and it provoked many discussions about who our candidate was and why people should sign the petition to get him on the ballot. Fifteen percent of the total signatures collected for the Gonzalez campaign came from that one plant," said Friedman.

John Naubert explained how one lesson from other petition drives will be implemented in the big California effort. "One thing that will be unique about this year's drive to get on the California ballot is our plan to do it in three and a half weeks," he said.

"It has to be quick, bold, and well organized so that we can move on from there and set our tasks for the fall," said Naubert.

The petition drive will also attract new members to the Young Socialist Alliance, explained Deborah Liatos, a member of the San Francisco YSA. "The political situation has changed since we petitioned in 1976," she said. "There's a labor party discussion going on in the union movement. It means the labor party isn't just an abstract idea anymore. This discussion is just beginning, but it's a significant step forward.

There's a real disillusionment in the Democratic and Republican parties,' Liatos said. "Not only can the petition drive introduce millions of people to our campaign, it can bring people around our movement and help us recruit some of them to the YSA and the party."

police act on break-in NEW YORK-Reba Williams A further political break-in was Dixon, Socialist Workers Party reported May 8 at the home of a

SWP candidate demands

teenth Congressional District, has called for the arrest of those responsible for the May 6 burglary of her New York City campaign headquarters. The office is located at 108 East Sixteenth Street.

The burglary was discovered by party campaign workers.

"I do not believe this was a simple robbery," declared Dixon. "Some campaign files were destroyed. Campaign financial records were taken from their files, obviously examined, and then refiled into the record cabinet. In the burglars' haste some files were incorrectly refiled.

"The government has been barred by a special court order from examining SWP campaign financial records."

Dixon continued: "The evidence points to the distinct possibility that this was a political break-in by the FBI or other police agencies."

candidate for Congress in the Nine- campaign activist who is a leader in the movement to get the U.S. Navy out of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

> No items of value were taken. There was no forced entry, but an attempt was made to make it look like a break-in by tampering with the locked and barred windows from the inside. Only last month, a federal court report documented that FBI agents have engaged in burglaries and other illegal acts of disruption and harassment of SWP activities.

> On May 9 Dixon sent a letter to the New York Police Department demanding "an immediate and thorough investigation." She charged that the police have so far failed "to make any serious investigation of the crime."

> Dixon declared that the burglaries were "an attack on all the individuals and groups in this society working for progressive social change."

Help petition

Do you want to help put the socialist alternative on the ballot in California this year?

Your assistance will be greatly needed, whether for petitioning, paper work, or other help.

To volunteer, contact one of these petitioning centers:

East Bay: 2864 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland 94609, phone (415) 763-

Los Angeles: 2211 North Broadway, 90031, phone (213) 225-3126. San Diego: 1053 Fifteenth Street, 92101, phone (714) 234-4630.

San Francisco: 3284 Twenty-third Street, 94110, phone (415) 824-1992. San José: 201 North Ninth Street, 95112, phone (408) 998-4007.

Kurds resist government offensive

Iran: massive rallies defy Carter's threats

By Fred Feldman

May Day, the international workers' holiday, was marked in Iran with marches and rallies in cities throughout the country. Factories and workplaces were shut down so that workers could participate.

The May Day actions were an impressive sign of how the struggles of workers and other oppressed people of Iran are deepening. Their target is Washington and U.S. big business, which are trying to roll back the revolution and restore their former complete domination over the country.

The Tehran march was organized by the Islamic Workers Shora, a federation of workers' shoras (committees) in the Tehran area. An estimated 250,000 people turned out, with contingents of workers carrying banners from their factory committees.

This large outpouring showed the growing political muscle of the factory-based shoras. Last year's May Day demonstration was not organized by the workers' organizations, which were then only beginning to develop.

Coming one week after Carter's abortive military raid, the dominant theme in this year's May Day rallies was opposition to any further military moves by Carter and support for the students occupying the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

U.S. targets regime

"America! America! The army of 20 million is prepared to fight," was one popular chant, referring to Khomeini's call for arming the people.

At a May Day rally in Isfahan, President Bani-Sadr denounced an "American plot" to overthrow the government. He repeated the same theme in a letter to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, charging that Washington's actions were "carried out with the aim of toppling the revolutionary regime and reestablishing U.S. domination over Iran."

Recent bombings in Tehran, including the placing of bombs along the route of the Tehran May Day march, are widely regarded in Iran as part of a U.S. effort to destabilize the regime. Washington is hostile to the Bani-Sadr government because of its anti-imperialist stance and its failure to put an



Committee of Representatives of the Kurdish people meets. Hosseini, most prominent Kurdish leader, is second from left. Among most militant supporters of Iranian revolution, Kurds have come under attack from Tehran government.

end to the struggles of workers, farmers, students, and oppressed nationalities.

There is mounting evidence that Carter is backing counterrevolutionary armed gangs seeking to crush the revolution.

The April 30 Christian Science Monitor cited the case of General Gholam Ali Oveisi, leader of a rightist group called Azadegan. Oveisi was the head of the shah's ground forces before the monarchy was toppled in February 1979. He was responsible for the deaths of thousands of peaceful antishah demonstrators. He lived in the United States until recently, and is now said to be based in Iraq.

"General Oveisi," reports Strategy Week, a newsletter with close Pentagon ties, "has moved quietly . . . to develop a strong military team and the bases from which to prepare. His funding position is known to be sound."

Washington's support for Oveisi

shows Carter's goal in Iran—to restore a regime of torture and murder like the shah's.

But the capitalist government of Abolhassan Bani-Sadr has not responded to Washington's threats by strengthening the workers' committees. Nor has it forged unity between the oppressed nationalities and the rest of Iran's working people. Instead Bani-Sadr has attempted to launch attacks on these revolutionary forces.

The Islamic Workers Shora of Tehran distributed a leaflet at its May 1 rally protesting the arrest of four Abadan workers active in the Islamic Shora of Oil Workers and the Islamic Anjoman of Oil Workers (see box).

Bani-Sadr also gave a green light to ultraright gangs that attacked the campuses in several cities in mid-April. They were attempting to back up the government's call for an end to political activity on campus.

The attackers wanted to block and

disrupt moves by the Islamic Students Organizations (ISOs, often called Students Following the Imam's Line) to transform the universities into a base for arming the masses, spreading literacy, and deepening the revolution. The ISOs are linked to the students occupying the U.S. embassy.

Students maintain rights

The rightists centered their attacks on organizations which have a following at the universities but are less popular than the ISOs among the Iranian masses—the Fedayeen and the Mujahedeen. Dozens were reported killed in heavy street fighting.

But the attempt to crush campusbased political activity did not have the desired result. On May Day, the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen were able to stage rallies of their own with tens of thousands of participants. (These groups have taken a sectarian stance toward the mass workers movement; they abstained from the May Day demonstrations organized by the factory committees.)

And the ferment on the campuses continued. In the aftermath of May Day, meetings of thousands were held at Tehran University where members of the ISOs, Fedayeen, Mujahedeen, Tudeh Party (the pro-Moscow Stalinist party), Revolutionary Workers Party, and others freely debated proposals on how to put the universities at the service of the revolution.

Kurds under attack

The regime's most brutal attacks are being carried out in Kurdistan, where the Kurdish minority has been fighting for autonomy.

A general military drive was apparently launched April 24 against most of the main Kurdish towns and cities, including the capital of Sanandaj.

Most of these towns and cities had been under de facto Kurdish control since an offensive by the previous Bazargan government collapsed in October.

Helicopter gunships and tanks are being used against civilians protesting the new attacks, and many casualties have been reported.

According to a report from Tehran by John Kifner in the May 10 New York Times, government military forces have ignored cease-fire agreements proclaimed by Bani-Sadr. Figures in the Bani-Sadr govern-

ment have suggested that the Kurdish struggle is a CIA plot to destabilize the revolution. But the Kurdish people have been in

Continued on page 24

'Free oil workers,' say factory committees

At the Tehran May Day rally, the Islamic Workers Shora, which represents a number of *shoras* (committees) in the Tehran area, distributed a leaflet calling for the release of four Abadan oil workers who are imprisoned in Tehran. The four were arrested April 10.

These oil workers were active in the Islamic Shora of Oil Workers and the Islamic Anjoman (Association) of Oil Workers.

The Tehran workers declared, "We see their imprisonment as a threat to all shoras in other industries."

The Tehran workers' shora explained the background leading up to the oil workers' arrest: "With the appointment of Mr. Moinfar [as Iran's oil minister] a new hope came to the hearts of the oil workers. They hoped that after so many years of struggle and exploitation, a new beginning would appear."

"But they were mistaken," the statement continued, explaining that the same hierarchy as before continued to exist in the oil industry.

Mr. Moinfar, "who thinks along the old lines, could not accept the concept of shora and started opposing the shora," they explained. This even extended to opposing the oil workers' publication, *Payan*, the organ of the Islamic Shoras of the Oil Refinery and Service Industry.

Representatives of the oil workers' shora traveled to Tehran to discuss their concerns with Iranian president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and to give an interview to the newspaper, Engelab Eslami (Islamic Revolution) "so that everyone in the country



Iranian oil workers were decisive in struggle against shah, and led way in forming workers committees.

would know the situation in this industry."

They wanted to discuss the bad conditions and the fact that "remnants from the old regime" were still within the oil industry.

But four of these oil workers were arrested and thrown into prison. No formal charges were brought against them.

The Tehran workers' shora asked, "How can we accept that agents of the old regime are still in the administration [of the oil industry], yet these Islamic fighters are in prison?"

They demanded the immediate and unconditional release of the four imprisoned oil workers: Mousa Souri, Hajali Shahkari, Abdullah Jafari, and Ahmed Golisourani; and the resumption of publication of the oil workers' organ, Payan. And, they supported the oil workers' call for a nationally televised debate before the nation's workers and toilers on the problems in the oil industry.

They also demanded that the "shora have the right to oversee the affairs of the industry and in cooperation with the administration, cleanse this country's vital industry from the betrayers and agents of the old regime."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Threatens jail if she visits husband

U.S. gov't bars woman from flying to Iran

YORK-Susan Lyons, a twenty-one-year-old electrical worker from Birmingham, Alabama, was looking forward to being reunited with her husband, Abdul Arefi.

But on May 9, at Kennedy Airport here, she was barred by airline officials from boarding a Scandinavian Airlines plane for Tehran, Iran. The airline employees acted on orders they had received from the U.S. State Department.

The State Department is also threatening to prosecute Lyons if she goes ahead with her plan to see her husband in Iran. They claim travel to Iran by American citizens carries a penalty of as much as \$5,000 and up to two years in jail.

"My husband is an Iranian oil worker," Lyons told reporters at the airport. "We met while he was a student at the University of Washington in Seattle and were married two years ago. After the shah was overthrown my husband returned to look after his

"My husband always opposed the shah while he was a student in this country," she continued. "He convinced me that the shah is regarded by the Iranian people as another Hitler. I've always thought that Carter's support for the shah is a disgrace. And this ban on traveling to Iran is another disgrace."

Lyons said she and her husband have been saving for their reunion for six months.

Although her main reason for going

to Iran is to be with her husband. Lyons said that she is "anxious to see for myself what the effects of the revolution have been in Iran.

"As a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I have been trying to explain Iran's side of the story to the American people. I think many people agree with me that the U.S. government has wronged Iran by backing the shah and that the best way to get the hostages safely released is to send the shah and his stolen billions back to Iran.'

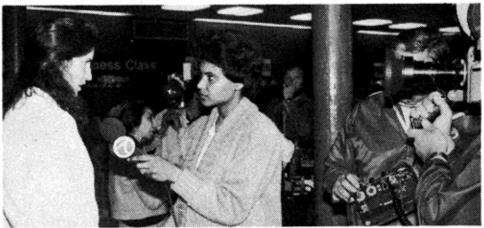
Lyons' attempt to travel to Iran was widely covered by the media in New York. The Daily News carried a story the following morning. Five local television stations also reported the event.

Because of State Department threats to have Lyons arrested and prosecuted, she was accompanied to the airport by her attorney, Margaret Winter.

Winter said there is no legal basis for the government's action in barring Lyons from boarding her flight. "The Supreme Court has ruled that the right to travel is a basic right of Americans. All attempts to punish Americans for defying travel bans have been ruled unconstitutional. But Congress has never enacted any law to punish Americans for traveling to Iran.'

Lyons said she plans to continue fighting for her right to visit her husband. "I think any American has the right to travel to Iran or any other country to see for themselves what's happening there or to visit loved ones. And the government has no right to stop us.'





Susan Lyons (top) and attorney Margaret Winter (below) talk to news media after Lyons was refused boarding on flight to Iran.

Behind incident at Iranian embassy in London

By Gus Horowitz

British government representatives could not restrain their glee as they announced that a squad of elite troops had successfully stormed the Iranian Embassy in London May 5, putting an end to a six-day takeover by men who said they were fighting for justice for the Arab inhabitants of Iran.

When it was all over, five of the six Arabs and two of their twenty-one hostages were dead. Two more hostages were in serious condition with gunshot wounds.

It "made us all proud to be British," Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the assault.

"I think we had best consider how we can turn this superb operation to the best advantage of the American hostages," she went on.

For the British ruling class, and especially for its ally in Washington, the outcome could hardly have been better. They reaffirmed that their policy is to resort to force to resolve such crises on their own terms-whatever the cost.

Deception

When the Iranian Embassy was first seized, London told the occupiers it could do nothing to meet their stated demands: the release of ninety-one Arabs imprisoned in Iran and the granting of autonomy for the largely Arab region of Khuzestan.

But British authorities insisted that they wanted "to resolve the situation without the loss of life."

Facts reveal that this was deliberate deception.

London police official John A. Dellow, who was in charge of negotiations, told a news conference May 6 that the occupiers had dropped their original demands. "I think that after making a certain amount of publicity for their cause, they just wanted to leave safely," he acknowledged.

But the British government had "given no consideration at all" to this offer, Dellow said. Instead, it kept the embassy surrounded by police and commandos, just waiting for a pretext



Iranian embassy in London under assault by units of the British Special Air Services. At right, one of SAS commandos, the same terrorist force used to torture and assassinate Irish freedom fighters.

to move in. They soon got their chance. On May 5, at 7:00 p.m. according to police, the body of a dead hostage was pushed out the door of the building.

At 7:30 p.m. the British commandos launched their assault. It was after this that all remaining deaths and injuries occurred.

SAS terror squad

"This operation, an outstanding success, will show the world that we in Britain will not tolerate terrorism," crowed British Home Secretary William Whitelaw right afterwards.

Whitelaw-who had been London's appointed ruler over Northern Ireland in the early 1970s-clearly had in mind reaffirming the policy of brutal suppression against the Irish freedom struggle.

It could not have been lost on his audience in Britain that the commando squad used at the Iranian embassy was the Special Air Service. notorious for its brutal methods, including torture and assassination, against Irish freedom fighters.

London's assertion of the value of strong-arm methods was also an announcement to the world that it backed Carter's stand towards the embassy crisis in Iran. A clear aim was to help cushion the impact of the U.S. debacle in the Iranian desert a couple of weeks before.

'Irony'?

In addition, the capitalist media all over the world seized on the incident to berate the Iranian government for not seeing the supposed irony in the situation. They insisted that the lesson to be learned was that everyone must play by the same rules.

These rules, which are, of course, drawn up by the capitalists, decree that aggrieved parties must petition meekly to redress their grievances; they must never resort to force or direct action, which are prerogatives of the powerful alone.

In other words, the Iranians should not have seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, mobilized millions, and put their demand for justice at the center

of the world's attention. They should instead have gone through diplomatic channels, where their request for the return of the shah could have been stalled forever.

For those who support the struggle of the oppressed, there are different rules. Actions are judged on the basis of how well they advance the cause of justice and freedom.

How does the incident in London measure up against this yardstick?

Arab struggle

Little is known about the Arabs who seized the Iranian embassy. Whether they are a group that arose out of struggles by the people in the Arab province of Iran; whether they are agents of Iraq, as Tehran has charged; whether they are a group of any significance at all-these still remain unanswered questions.

What is indisputable is that the Arab people living in Iran are an oppressed minority. Their fight for their rights is just. The Arab protesters in Iran's jails should be released.

Moreover, the Iranian government's denial of Arab rights weakens the Iranian revolution and the fight of all the peoples who live in Iran against imperialist domination.

The seizure of the Iranian Embassy in London, however, in no way advanced the struggle of the Arab people

The action came only six days after an aborted U.S. raid against Iran. It came in the midst of a months-long imperialist propaganda drivehypocritically focused on the hostage issue-that aims to justify such aggres-

In this context, and regardless of intent, how could the political result of the London takeover have been anything but to give ammunition to Washington? How could it have helped the Arab masses win support from other Iranian working people for their demands?

Instead, the issue of Arab rights ended up buried in an avalanche of imperialist invective against Iran.

Carter cracks down on sealift from Cuba

By Harry Ring

President Carter opened his arms to the Cuban emigres—for as briefly as possible.

On May 5, Carter had declared he welcomed "with an open heart and open arms" those arriving by boat from the Cuban port of Mariel.

On May 14, Carter ordered a halt to the airlift, threatening penalties against those who tried to bring Cubans here.

Carter said he would propose a U.S.organized sea and airlift. The "condition" would be that Cuba agree that U.S. officials screen people desiring to leave. Restrictions would be even tighter than they were before Cuba opened the port at Mariel.

Carter asserted it was necessary to block the sealift because Castro had sent "prisoners" and "mental patients."

Carter declared, "We will not permit this country to be used as a dumping ground."

His racist lie about becoming a "dumping ground" for criminals and mental defectives was refuted by Carter's own screeners in Florida.

The decision to choke off the immigration testifies to the hypocrisy of the

It wanted to make anticommunist propaganda against Cuba with head-lines about those seeking "freedom."

But it didn't want them to have the freedom to come here.

When the Cubans opened the port at Mariel, the Carter administration was caught flatfooted.

Initially, it ordered heavy fines for boat operators bringing people from Mariel. At least ten big boats were impounded in an attempt to stop the arrivals.

The enraged protest from the Cuban community forced Carter to retreat and "open his arms."

But an open-door approach went directly counter to the real U.S. immigration policy. That policy today is one of an ever more tightly closed door.

The rulers of this country don't want more Cubans coming here. They don't want Haitians coming in. They don't want Mexicans and Central Ameri-

This country is in a recession and they have less need for that pool of cheap labor. And they want to scapegoat the immigrants, putting the onus for unemployment on them instead of where it belongs—on capitalism.

That's why "open arms" Carter is

ready to risk exposure of his hypocrisy by stubbornly denying political asylum to Black Haitians fleeing the repression and hunger of the Duvalier regime.

And that's why Carter wants to halt the Mariel boatlift.

By spotlighting the administration's reactionary and racist double standard, that boatlift has proven an important contribution to the Haitians seeking asylum.

The Cuban action in opening the port at Mariel has lifted a corner off of the "freedom" mask from the reactionary face of the U.S. rulers. The KKKers and other racist scum demonstrating against the arriving Cubans are simply the most plain-spoken proponents of U.S. government policy.

The poisonous racist campaign—designed to smear and victimize the entire Cuban community—has been pressed on all fronts. The media, like Carter, suddenly discovered that those they initially hailed for seeking "freedom" are really "diseased," "retarded," and "felons."

Thus a May 11 New York Times dispatch from Mariel was headlined: "Retarded People and Criminals Are Included in Cuban Exodus."

The reporter describes a young man

he deemed to be suffering "apparently from mental retardation," plus "a handful of people of similar appearance."

"Apparently." "Similar appearance." "A handful."

Meanwhile, a Key West dispatch to the very same issue of the *Times* reported that screening officals estimated that perhaps 1 percent of those arriving were convicted criminals and "a handful" psychiatric patients.

Similarly, a May 10 Miami Herald piece was headlined "Emotional Problems, Malnutrition Found Among New Refugees."

But the article itself reported the findings of federal health officials that of 2,000 people examined there were 5 "suspected" cases of tuberculosis and 10 of venereal disease.

"My impression," said one of the medical officers, "is they are in good health."

Another, the article reported, said "he had seen no serious malnutrition."

One mental health screener said he did find that those arriving "are in a state of complete confusion. They ask everyone they meet, 'Do you have a car, do you have a TV?' They are very much into material things."

Bahamas 'patrol' boat: anti-Cuba provocation

By Fred Feldman

The disturbance May 2 at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana and the May 11 clash that resulted in the sinking of a Bahamian "patrol boat" are incidents that fall into an established pattern.

The Carter administration and the media are blazoning the events as proof that Cubans are dangerous, violent—and perhaps crazy—people who rove the Caribbean and Central America in search of victims.

The idea is to persuade us that the U.S. government ought to intervene to protect the region from Cuban bullies.

The real targets are the deepening revolutions in Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador, and Cuba's solidarity with these revolutions.

What happened at the U.S. Interests Section?

This office was established in 1977 as a form of low-level diplomatic contact between Washington and Havana. Some 700 people came there May 2. U.S. diplomats had set up the large gathering by giving many of them "appointments" for that day.

Some of the Cubans said they wanted to protest the U.S. government's stalling on admitting them to the United States.

Most were among the 3,000 counterrevolutionaries released from jail by the Cuban government in 1978 and 1979. Many had carried out bombings and plotted assassinations under the direction of the CIA.

U.S. officials came out and told them that Castro—not Carter—was blocking their departure. A plain lie, since Cuba puts no obstacles whatsoever in the way of would-be emigrants.

Some of the 700 then began chanting counterrevolutionary slogans. Inevitably, there were clashes with angry Cubans who support the revolution.

Perhaps the counterrevolutionaries hoped that such a display would earn them admission to the United States. In the melee, they broke into the U.S. Interests Section, where many remain.

The Cuban government responded by reiterating that the counterrevolutionaries and their families could leave Cuba immediately by way of the port of Mariel. Those who attacked Cuban citizens and broke into the interests section must be handed over to the Cuban authorities, the government said.

Carter used the incident as a pretext for reducing the size of the interests section in Havana, removing officials who process visas. This move served a double purpose: It attempted to diplomatically isolate Cuba, while placing new obstacles in the way of Cubans who want to come here.

The clash with the Bahamian government has the same odor of provocation. A boat fired on and attempted to seize two Cuban fishing boats May 11.

Cuban planes picked up a call for help from the fishermen and sank the attacker, believing it to be one of the CIA "pirate ships" that are often used to harass Cuban shipping and kidnap Cuban sailors and fishermen. Four people died.

The Bahamian government protested, claiming the sunken boat was one of their patrol boats.

On May 12 the Cuban government expressed regret about the incident to Bahamian authorities. But, their note asked, if the boat was a Bahamian patrol boat, why did it act so like a CIA pirate ship?

The Bahamian government "should explain why it opened fire on Cuban fishermen in international waters only twenty miles from Cuban shores," the Cubans suggested.

The note concluded: "The whole thing created all the appearances of a

pirate attack as has happened many other times in that zone."

It's not surprising that the Bahamian government would play along with anti-Cuba provocations. Although formally independent, it remains virtually a wholly owned subsidiary of British imperialism.

Bahamian Prime Minister Lynden Pindling denounced Cuba's response from London. And the U.S. State Department had the gall to chime in with a condemnation of Cuba for "an unwarranted use of force in this hemisphere."

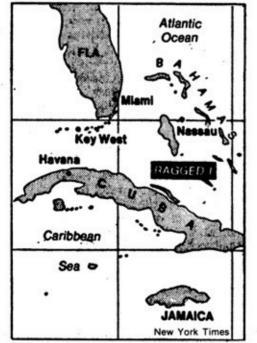
The pattern is familiar indeed.

Incidents like these played a part in the buildup for the U.S. invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961 and the naval blockade of 1962.

Then as now, the Cuban government charged the CIA with engineering the clashes. Then as now, the U.S. media and government dismissed the charges as ridiculous and paranoid.

But the Cuban charges were later proven to be true—certified by congressional investigation into the CIA and by testimony of former CIA agents.

It's a safe bet that the Cubans will be proven right again.



Cuban fishing boats were attacked about twenty miles north of Cuba and fifty miles south of Ragged Island.

Cuba solidarity theme of Los Angeles forum

By Jim Little

LOS ANGELES—A big, spirited rally at the Militant Forum on May 3 defended Cuba and the rising revolution in Latin America.

Speakers included Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress; Mario Velasquez of the Frente Solidaria con el Pueblo Salvadoreño; and Kathleen O'Nan, an aerospace worker and United Auto Workers member who recently visited Cuba.

Participants at the meeting, which celebrated May Day, continually interrupted the speakers with applause and cheers.

Scherr relayed to the enthusiastic crowd news of the giant May Day rally held two days earlier in Havana, which featured Daniel Ortega of the Nicaraguan government and Maurice Bishop of Grenada, along with Fidel Castro.

Scherr explained, "Cubans have lived the lives of revolutionists for the past twenty years. What's important about Cuba is not that a few thousand want to leave, but that ten million are still determined to struggle after twenty long, hard years."

Velasquez pointed to the support that the Cubans have given the liberation struggles in El Salvador and Nicaragua. He said that the first book he had ever read was by Che Guevara and that hundreds of other Salvadoran revolutionaries were born out of the inspiration of the Cuban revolution. O'Nan cited the gains that Cuba has made in the fields of education, health care, and working conditions.

She said that the people of Cuba are committed to aid revolutions throughout the world. They are proud to tell you that their fathers or sons fought in Africa or are teaching school in Nicaragua.

A lively hour-and-a-half discussion followed the presentations.

Scherr appealed to those present to help in the upcoming petition drive to put the SWP candidates determined defenders of the Cuban revolution—on the California ballot. Many signed up to help.

After the forum two people joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

May Day in Havana

Fidel Castro: Building socialism is the task of free men and women'

The Washington-led gang-up on Cuba received a powerful response from Havana on May Day.

An estimated million and a half Cubans poured out that day to demonstrate their determination to defend their revolution against any and all attacks. It was said to be the biggest single turnout in the history of the revolution.

The featured speakers at the giant rally symbolized the united stand of the revolutionary forces in Central America and the Caribbean-the principal targets of mounting U.S. threats.

Sharing the platform with Cuban president Fidel Castro were Daniel Ortega, a central leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Nicaragua, and Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada, whose New Jewel Movement led the revolutionary overthrow on that island a year ago.

In a speech repeatedly interrupted with resounding cheers, chants, and applause, Fidel Castro explained what had actually happened at the Peruvian embassy. He harshly condemned the provocations by the capitalist governments of Peru and Venezuela, charging they were serving as pawns of U.S. imperialism.

He explained Cuba's open-door emigration policy and discussed why a tiny minority of the Cuban people want to leave.

He spoke frankly of the mounting menace of U.S. military aggression and indicated the new defense measures being readied. He warned Washington that nothing could force the Cuban people to surrender.

The massive May Day turnout climaxed several weeks of demonstrations throughout Cuba. These underlined that revolutionary morale had been deepened, not shaken, by Washington's threats and its slander campaign surrounding those who are leav-

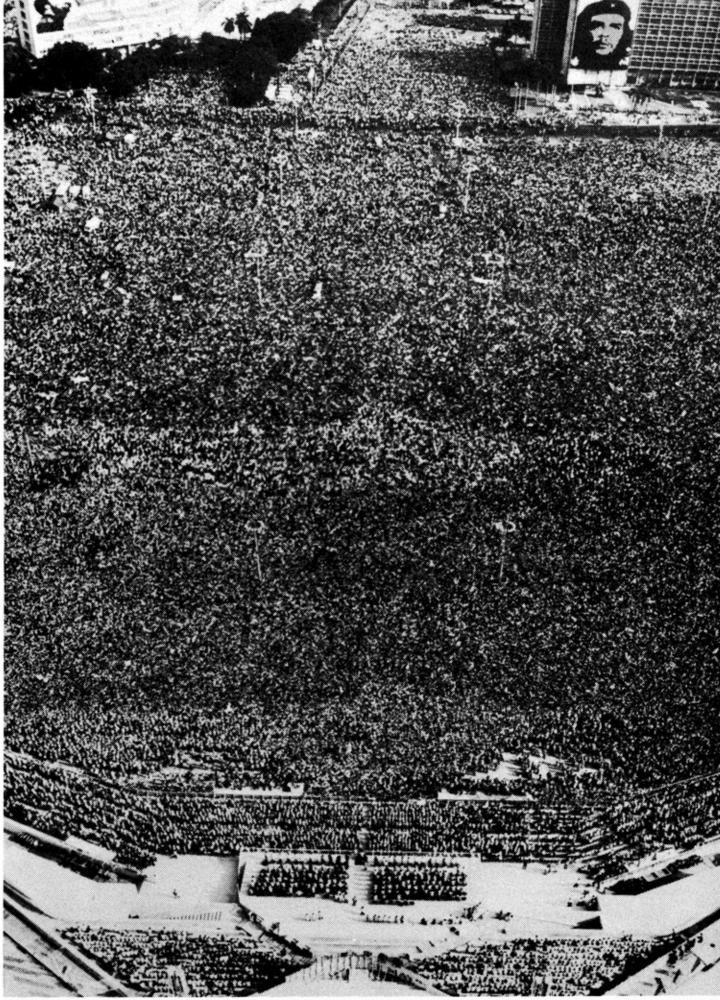
"In recent days," Fidel declared, "a mass battle has been carried out, the likes of which has never before been fought in the history of the revolution, both in terms of its breadth and in terms of its depth."

He added: "And this image that we see here before us is the one they dreamed of destroying: the image of what the people are, the real revolutionary people, the proletarian people, the working people, the peasant people, the fighting people, the student peo-

He reviewed the provocations conducted for some months at the Peruvian and Venezuelan embassies. He said: "When corrupt elements, delinquents, lumpen would go to the Peruvian embassy to ask for a visa, they wouldn't give it to them. They didn't give them visas. But when they entered by violence, crashing a truck or crashing a bus through the fence, ah, then they received them with full honors, they sheltered them, they gave them asylum, they paid for their passage, and they received them as heroes. This could have no other consequence than encouraging the lumpen to carry out these activities, there could be no other result."

The problem reached a climax when a group of Cubans crashed a bus past the guards at the gate to the Peru embassy, killing Pedro Ortiz Cabrera, twenty-seven, a member of Cuba's national security force.

From a poor peasant family, Ortiz left a wife and infant daughter. He had been a member of Cuba's Young Com-



CUBA SPEAKS: May Day in Havana

munist League since 1973.

When Peru declared the perpetrators of this crime "political refugees" and refused to turn them over to Cuban authorities, Fidel explained, Cuba had no choice but to withdraw its guards from the embassy. It was then publicly announced that anyone wishing to leave Cuba could apply at the Peru embassy.

Fidel declared, "The point had been reached when we could not tolerate any more and we said: whatever the price-and understand this clearlywhatever the price there must be an end to the provocations.

"And when the revolution says: it is ready to put a stop to something whatever the price, the world can be sure that it will put a stop to it. . . .'

While stressing Cuba's continued solidarity with the "sister peoples" of Peru and Venezuela, Fidel noted that the problems created by the Peruvian and Venezuelan governments at their embassies were consistent with earlier anti-Cuba actions.

It was in Venezuela, he recalled, that a bomb was planted on a Cuban plane on October 6, 1976. The plane exploded over Barbados, killing all seventythree aboard.

Credit was taken by Cuban counterrevolutionaries and Castro charged at the time they were acting in collusion with the CIA. In his May Day speech, he noted that while some of those involved had been arrested in Venezuela, none have been tried and there is even talk of freeing them.

Another major provocation occurred, he said, when the Peruvian Navy sank two Cuban fishing boats.

He told how the Peruvian government failed to fulfill a contract with Cuba to construct twenty tuna boats. This was done after Cuba had built, at great cost, a fish processing plant.

"Behind all these provocations," Fidel emphasized, "is the CIA."

He explained that parallel with the provocations at the Peruvian and Venezuelan embassies, a similar trick was being employed by Washington. In recent months, he recalled, there had been a number of hijackings of Cuban boats and that hijackers who made it to Florida were granted asylum by Washington. This despite an

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anti-hijacking treaty signed by Washington and Havana several years ago.

Fidel recalled he had publicly warned that if the United States continued to encourage hijacking by granting asylum to those who committed it, Cuba would open a port for anyone who wished to come from Florida to pick up people.

Cuba had done this in a similar situation in 1965, and Washington—which has severely limited admissions of Cubans since the early years of the revolution—was forced to reopen its doors to Cuban emigration for a period.

When the guard was withdrawn from the Peruvian embassy and the port of Mariel was opened, Fidel explained, the Cuban leadership understood that many lumpen and disaffected elements would flock to leave. But, he added, this was necessary. "Because you cannot have imperialism and the lackeys of imperialism going around for so long enticing the lumpen by offering them villas and castles, offering them paradise, offering them everything, filling them with illusions on the one hand, while on the other hand they close off entry into those countries. It's a curious thing: they encourage them to enter illegally by force, they encourage them to leave illegally; but they won't allow them to enter if they ask normally and peacefully."

He continued: "Imperialism immediately began using this problem, the whole bourgeois and rightist press in this hemisphere and in the world began using it, to launch a deluge of slanders and propaganda against Cuba.

"We expected it. But in this battle we win, we are winning, we will win completely, because we not only defied Yankee military threats; we defied the imperialist information monopolies. . . .

"If one is not ready to defy dangers of all types," he added, "dangers of military aggression as well as dangers of their propaganda, one cannot respond adequately to the enemy; to be intimidated in the face of the propaganda is like being intimidated in the face of enemy rifles."

Fidel added: "But they unleashed the international campaign . . . especially around this idea: dissidents. There are lumpen there, in that embassy—as you were able to see for yourself in the documentary—who don't even know what the word dissidence means."

In recalling his earlier speech warn-

ing Washington against allowing the hijacking provocations, Fidel declared:

"That day we pointed out what the policy of the revolution is and will be, a basic idea of ours, and that is that the work of a revolution and the building of socialism is a task for absolutely free men and women and is absolutely voluntary.

"Those who do not have revolutionary genes, who do not have the revolutionary blood, who do not have a mind that adapts itself to the idea of a revolution, who do not have a heart that adapts itself to the effort and the heroism of a revolution, we don't need them in our country.

"And, in short, they are an insignificant part of the people; because the imperialists want to hide, it hurts them to recognize some truths; for example, no other revolution has the strength of militant masses that the Cuban Revolution has."

He added: "This is the picture that imperialism wants to hide, because that picture does not suit it, it wants the peoples to lose faith in Cuba, it wants peoples to get discouraged about the example of Cuba."

Cuba, he said does have lumpen and antisocial elements. But, he added, "we have the fewest antisocial and lumpen elements in the whole hemisphere, we are the country in the Americas that has the lowest robbery rate—in spite of the fact that there are thieves—and the lowest crime rate, the tiniest drug rate. . . ."

Antisocial elements are problems for every revolution, he explained, adding:

"The Grenadians and the Nicaraguans still have not been able to overcome this situation and it will take time to overcome it, because we too were not able to overcome it in the first or second year of the revolution."

He continued: "But no society in the entire hemisphere has a more healthy moral atmosphere than our society, no society has greater moral values than those that this society of ours has reached after twenty-one years of revolution, with a sense of justice, with a sense of honor, with a sense of dignity, with an appreciation and an admiration for merit, for work, for sacrifice. And it is shown every time it is put to the test.

"As we have said other times, when the wars in Ethiopia and Angola broke out, hundreds of thousands of Cubans came forward to volunteer to participate in those struggles.

"It is shown by the fact that there are 50,000 of our compatriots, between military and civilian personnel, who

are working abroad; it is shown by the fact that Cuban technicians are working in thirty-five countries."

Further, Fidel added, imperialism no longer has allies inside Cuba.

"In the beginning," he said, "it had the bourgeois elements, the landlords; it had vacillating elements of the middle class... but now, where is it going to find allies? Among the workers? Among the peasants? Among the students?"

Shouts of "no!" echoed through the

Now, he said, "all that is left to imperialism is the lumpen, that is imperialism's only potential ally; and some people who have a lumpen mentality or are mixed up with the lumpens. . . and starting from that it has to invent its refugees, its asylum seekers, its dissidents."

With its maneuvers and provocations, Fidel said, Washington had afforded Cuba the opportunity to cleanse itself of elements that could not be integrated into the revolution.

"Now they are complaining," he observed. "They say that there are delinquents, as if this were really a discovery, as if they were surprised to find some delinquents. But who did they think entered and remained in the embassy of Peru?

"Did they think they were intellectuals, artists, or technicians, engineers? What did they think, what did they think was in there?

"They thought that it was propaganda on our part," he continued, "they thought that we were unjust, and that we were calling these 'poor little dissidents' lumpen. And this was the type of element that made up the immense majority of those who were in the Peruvian embassy.

"Of course," he added, "some of them brought family, and we are not going to say that a child is a lumpen; it is a sad thing for a child to be the son of a lumpen, it is a terribly sad thing."

Fidel also took a jab at those Raul

following our slogan: that anyone who wants to go to any other country that will receive them, should go; and that the building of socialism, the revolutionary work, is the task of free men and women. Don't forget this principle, don't forget this principle, which has immense moral value."

He continued: "Now, we did not just give safe-conduct passes and passports only to those who were in the embassy, no. We gave them to every lumpen who

'If one is not ready t types, one cannot re the enemy. To be in of the propaganda dated in the face of

asked for one, to everyone who asked for one.

"But, of course, the lumpen said: 'This is International Lumpen Day.' When they heard us say this, well many lumpen wanted their passports and their safe-conduct passes. And what are we going to do? Why should we deny this to them? As *Granma* said, 'it would be unfair and unconstitutional.'

"So, what do they think they are going to receive over there? Of course, at the beginning, ah!, they got the ohso-refined bourgeois, the oh-so-well-dressed landlord, and they got the doctor, the professional. . . . And doctors, remember they took half the doctors there were in this country. . . . Now it is very difficult for them to get a doctor, very difficult indeed.

"Because we now have a different kind of doctor. First there are those who stayed here, the best; then there are the doctors trained in a different spirit of solidarity, in a different spirit of humanity, doctors who are not merchants.

"And we have plenty. This is proven



Nicaraguan Sandinista flag at Havana May Day rally testified to solidarity of the two

'We have the right to authorize the departure of the antisocial elements that want to go. We force no one—absolutely no one!—let that be understood. We have never deported a single person.'



Cuban naval ships are stationed every eight miles between port of Mariel and U.S. waters to ensure safety of boats making trip. Sign says: 'There will be no safer transportation in the world than the Mariel-Florida route.'

Castro had earlier labeled the "faint-hearted"—those, especially in the government or managerial positions, who have developed the habits of bureaucrats, pursue only their own personal comfort, value "buddyism" over discipline, and believe that Cuba should trade in its internationalism for economic and diplomatic deals with Washington.

Fidel pointed out that some of these "softies," some "shameless types who had hidden their feelings," were among those leaving Cuba. And he remarked that "these pretenders were the ones who produce the most irritation" among the majority of Cuban working people.

Again Fidel reemphasized a basic point: ". . . we are strictly, rigorously

by the fact that there are about 1,500 doctors serving in internationalist mis-

Turning to another major theme, Fidel told the rally, "But this was not the whole problem; this was only part of the problem. While this was going on . . . they announced military maneuvers in the Caribbean—now this is much more serious—with air and naval landings at the Guantánamo Base. This was . . . especially more serious taking into account the world situation; more serious if we analyze imperialism's increasingly aggressive policy toward us."

The escalation of the hostility toward Cuba, Fidel said, began with the Sixth Summit Meeting of the Nonaligned countries, which was held in Havana last September.

They were angered by the fact that Fidel had previously been elected chair of the nonaligned countries and that Cuba was playing a more and more central role in voicing the aspirations of all the countries oppressed by imperialism.

In a move to wreck that conference, Fidel charged, Washington raised a "huge and hypocritical cry" about Soviet military personnel in Cuba.

defy dangers of all pond adequately to midated in the face like being intiminemy rifles.'

"They said it was a brigade," Fidel commented. "For our part we did not feel like calling it a brigade, and we called it something else. I think it was Training Center Number Twelve. It's all the same. The name is of no great importance.

"But yes, we do not deny that there were these personnel, that they are there, and we are very happy that these personnel, have been there for seventeen years.

"We're only sorry that there have not been more training centers, that this was not number thirteen, number fourteen, number fifteen! Because we would be much happier still if we had several more such training centers. . . ."

Coupled with the propaganda about 'Soviet troops," Fidel noted, was the establishment of a U.S. military command post at Key West for a Caribbean Task Force.

The basic imperialist concern, Fidel explained, "was caused by the revolutionary victory in Nicaragua and the growing upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Central America. They began to make their preparations to



olutions

establish a capability to intervene. And, of course, they used the pretext of the Soviet military personnel in Cuba.

"And they also used it," he continued, "to begin exerting pressure against us and to make threats against Cuba, and at the end of last year they carried out a little maneuver at Guantánamo." This, he said, proved a prelude for "Operation Solid Shield 80," the present U.S. maneuvers in the Caribbean. Initially, "Solid Shield" was to include a major landing exercise at the Guantánamo Base.

This maneuver, Fidel said, "was to be much bigger, more massive, with more resources, more soldiers, of a strange character.

"And we said: No, no, no, this cannot be. We are not going to sit still to the idea that they are going to organize this maneuver just like that.

"This maneuver, as has been said, is clearly a practice invasion of our country, a masked practice invasion on our own territory. This is what is really intolerable, what is unacceptable: a maneuver on how to invade Cuba carried out on our own territory."

In response to this aggressive move, Fidel said, Cuba set a countermaneuver in Oriente province near Guantánamo.

The projected landing, he said, was but a culminating point in a whole history of U.S. aggression against Cuba.

He harshly denounced the twentyyear-old U.S. blockade of Cuba, a blockade "that even prohibits the sale of food and medicines."

Of the U.S. base at Guantánamo, Fidel declared: "The United States occupies a piece of our territory by force and against the will of our people. On what doctrine, on what principles, on what law . . . can you base the act of maintaining a naval base on the territory of another country against the will of the people?

"This has no legal basis . . . no moral basis . . . it is simply an act of force"

Fidel cited more of the U.S. record of aggression: The exploding of the French ship *La Coubre* in the Havana harbor in 1960, the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, the acts of sabotage, attempting assassinations, introduction of cattle and crop disease, the current spy flights, and more. So, he continued, the present emigre crisis began not with Cuba, but Washington.

Despite U.S. complaints about the influx into Florida, he said, "we have the right to authorize the departure of the antisocial elements that want to go. We force no one—absolutely no one!—let that be understood. We have never deported a single person!"

Fidel then announced to the cheering throng that just that day Cuba had been informed by the U.S. government that the Guantánamo landing exercise had been "totally cancelled."

He noted that U.S. maneuvers would still be held in the Caribbean, "still definitely aimed against us and against Central America and the Caribbean." But, he said, with cancellation of the Guantánamo landing, Cuba would suspend its slated countermaneuvers.

However, the Cuban leader emphasized, the nationwide protest demonstration set for May 17 would proceed as scheduled.

This demonstration, in which half of Cuba's population of ten million is expected to participate, will be, Fidel declared, "a mobilization of the people against the blockade, against the base at Guantánamo, and against the violation of our air space."

And, he told the people, more would be done to prepare to meet the U.S. military threat.

To buttress the Cuban army, he announced, there would be a major expansion of the people's militia to form Militias of Territorial Troops.

It will be, he told the cheering rally, "made up of men and women, workers, peasants, students, all those who are able to fight, and will organize and structure them so they will be able to defend every piece of the national territory. All those who are able to fight and are not part of the reserves of the regular troops will be able to be part of the Militias of Territorial Troops."

It should be clear, Fidel continued, that in Cuba—just as in Nicaragua— "aggression against us will be confronted not just through a regular war; it will also be necessary to confront the enemy through people's war. Both things: resistance by the regular units and resistance by the whole people."

He asked: "Do you know what really makes us strong—us, Nicaragua, and Grenada? The fact that these are people's revolutions, revolutions with deep roots, with great popular support; and any enemy would have to think that it would be madness to invade a country like this. . . . Yes, they can enter; but

Fidel's May Day speech

The complete text in English or Spanish



The current issue of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* features the English-language text of Castro's speech. The Spanish text is available in *Perspectiva Mundial*.

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if they are going to tangle with a people like this . . . it is much harder to then leave."

But, he stressed, the danger for Cuba is real. "There are dangers for us, because some of those people have already begun to speak in more aggressive terms, some have called for ignoring the 1962 agreements, that is, they are again beginning to put forward the thesis that they have a right to invade us." (In return for the USSR withdrawing missiles from Cuba, Washington agreed, in 1962, that it would not invade Cuba.)

Fidel continued: "Others have very cynically said that if a conflict should develop in another part of the world, they would take the liberty of carrying out action wherever it best suits them; in a word, they were referring to Cuba, given the fact that Cuba is extremely far from the Soviet Union and the socialist camp."

He declared, "We have already begun working on drawing up plans of how the country could survive and resist in the event of a total blockade; in the event of a total blockade what each one of us would have to do. And beginning with the premise that no food entered the country, that no fuel entered the country, what we would have to do to survive and resist.

"Because they are also talking about this thesis. They say: okay, let's not carry out military activity on the ground, instead let's mine the ports. One of the objectives of the planned maneuvers was to study how they would do this. They speak of naval blockades, reckoning how difficult it would be for a country without oil to survive a naval blockade. And we have to draw up plans for what we would do in such a situation."

And he added: "We have the duty as revolutionaries, as a realistic people, to have a response ready for each and every one of these problems.

"But what they cannot count on is that Cuba would ever surrender, because we will never surrender, we will never surrender!

"If a climate of peace does not exist in the Caribbean, the blame for that is not ours, it is theirs. They should end their blockade, they should give up their base at Guantánamo, they should stop their flights over Cuba, they should respect Nicaragua, they should respect Grenada. And if to this we add the point of noninterference in the internal affairs of other peoples in Latin America, then a climate of peace, of détente could be created. We have the duty to struggle to develop peace and collaboration between peoples. But we will never do it by getting on our knees at imperialism's feet to beg for peace."

An added danger to Cuba and the world, Fidel continued, is the U.S. military threats in other areas.

In this context he discussed the situation in Iran.

He summarized the U.S. record of imperialist intervention in Iran, its installation of the shah and how the CIA helped keep him in power.

Despite this, he said, the Iranian people succeeded in smashing the shah's rule. But the memory of the U.S. crimes left a deep legacy of anger in Iran.

This anger, he said, exploded when the Carter administration brought the ex-shah to the United States and this in turn led to the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

"In Iran," Fidel declared, "a real people's revolution has taken place—there is no question of that—which has extraordinary force. And it is our duty to support Iran, to solidarize ourselves with Iran, because everything that is taking place in Iran reminds us of

Continued on next page

'We have the duty to struggle to develop peace and collaboration between peoples. But we will never do it by getting on our knees at imperialism's feet to beg for peace.'

Continued from preceding page

what happened in our own country.

"At the same time," he added, "we must work to try to get the conflicts between our Iraqi brothers and the Iranian brothers to cease. We must work to see they resolve their problems through diplomatic means, because these conflicts are only grist for the imperialist mill."

Assessing the prospect of an effective U.S. blockade of Iran, he noted that Iran was a member of the Non-aligned Movement and of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

"OPEC," Fidel declared, "has the power to stop an economic blockade of Iran; it has that power in its hands if it warns that oil shipments will be suspended to countries that join the blockade against Iran. Because the West cannot apply an economic blockade against Iran if OPEC is against it, if OPEC resists it, if OPEC, totally correctly, warns of the consequences."

He added: "This is OPEC's hour, the moment of truth for OPEC, when it can show that it is good for something besides raising prices and accumulating big fortunes. It is the moment of truth for OPEC, it is the moment of truth for the nonaligned countries, and it is the moment of truth for the countries of the Third World."

Fidel continued, "Of course, Iran is far away. But right here, near us, we have the case of El Salvador, where they are committing real genocide, where they are murdering thousands of patriots."

In a further indictment of the Andean Pact governments—Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Peru—Fidel charged them with playing the role of a "political Mafia" in the area and serving the cause of imperialism.

What have the Andean Pact governments done, he asked, in response to the escalating provocations and military threats of U.S. imperialism.

"What have they done with regard to a blockade of Cuba, which is a crime? They have not even issued a statement condemning the blockade.

"What have they done with regard to the base at Guantánamo? They have not issued a single statement demanding that this territory be returned to us.



Sharing platform with Fidel at rally were Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega (left) and Grenada's Maurice Bishop (center).

"What have they done with regard to the spy flights over Cuba, which are a shameless violation of our sovereignty? They have not issued a single condemning statement.

"What," Fidel continued, "have they done about Puerto Rico, a brother people, which imperialism wants to gobble up, which the United States wants to annex? They have not said a word.

"What have they said about Iran and the blockade against Iran? As far as it is known up to now, they have not said even one word.

"What have they said about the genocide being carried out in El Salvador? Not a word. And in recent months thousands of people are dying and have died there."

Fidel emphasized: "There is, I repeat, this situation in El Salvador, which requires the broadest international support in order to stay the hands of the imperialists." Returning to the projected mass Cuban demonstrations May 17, Fidel declared these would be "part of the struggle not only in defense of our own integrity, but also in defense of the integrity of Grenada, of Nicaragua, in defense of sovereignty of the countries of the Caribbean and Central America."

With the representatives of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions and other international figures on the platform with him, Fidel declared:

"Therefore this meeting has a unique character. It has really been an international meeting of the workers. For us it has been an occasion of great honor, great satisfaction; we have felt very encouraged, very strengthened by the presence of Comrade Bishop at this meeting. . . . The presence of Comrade Daniel Ortega. . . .

"The presence of the president of the World Peace Council, Comrade Chandra, who is among us. The presence of the leader of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Comrade Pastorino. We have been honored by the valued presence of representatives we could call them, of the best of the Latin American intellectuals, Comrade Juan Bosch and Comrade Gabriel García Márquez."

Fidel concluded:

"Many emotion-filled things have taken place today, many stirring things. The most basic, the most fundamental, has been the people. I believe that for all of us, this afternoon will remain an unforgettable experience, an indelible experience.

"Without being demagogic, without trying to flatter, but rather expressing the deepest, most sincere, and most heartfelt spirit of justice, I would venture to say that a people like this deserves a place in history, a place in glory. A people like this deserves victory!

"Patria o muerte! Venceremos! [Our country or death! We will win!]"

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How the U.S. stole a naval base in Cuba



By Cliff Conner

Millions of Cubans will demonstrate May 17 against the danger of U.S. military aggression. One of the central Cuban demands is that Washington withdraw its forces from Guantánamo Naval Base and return the area to Cuba.

Many people in this country must wonder: How does the United States happen to have a military outpost on Cuban territory? And, in light of Washington's hostile attitude toward Cuba since the island's revolution of 1959, how has it been able to maintain such a base?

Just a few months ago Carter and the news media were raising a hue and cry about "Soviet combat troops" in Cuba—at the invitation of the Cuban government. But the U.S. government and media consider it perfectly natural, hardly worth comment, that thousands of U.S. troops have been on Cuban soil for more than eighty years against the will of the Cuban people.

There are some 3,000 American military personnel stationed at the U.S. Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay. The base sits on fifty square miles of Cuba's national territory, enclosed by a twelve-mile fence guarded by armed sentries. It has two airfields, an underground arsenal, and about 10,000 inhabitants, including resident marines, U.S. civilian workers, and transient troops.

Guantánamo is the oldest foreign base occupied by the U.S. military anywhere in the world. When Fidel Castro addressed the general assembly of the United Nations on September 26, 1960, he restated Cuba's decades-long call for U.S. withdrawal.

After Fidel's speech the American ambassador to the UN issued a "fact sheet" that claimed to refute what it termed Castro's "untrue and distorted allegations." It stated that the U.S. acquisition of the Guantánamo naval base was not imposed by force but was the result of an agreement negotiated between sovereign governments in 1902-03 and freely reaffirmed in 1934.

Does the United States really have some justification for holding onto a piece of Cuba? Let's take a look at how Guantánamo came under American control.

'Spanish-American' War

Standard U.S. history texts tell of the "Spanish-American" war of 1898. The very name contains an enormous lie—that is, that the war to liberate Cuba from Spain was fought and won by the United States, with no help from the Cubans themselves.

In fact, the Cuban people had risen in revolt against Spain in 1868 and had fought a thirty-year war for independence. By 1898 Spain had lost 100,000 troops in Cuba and was clearly heading for defeat. The U.S. intervened to deal the final blow to Spain in order to prevent the Cuban people from gaining power in their own country.

American politicians and the press at first claimed that the purpose of the intervention was to help the Cubans win their freedom from imperialist Spain. The American people rallied behind this just cause. But a funny thing happened on the way to the American "liberation" of Cuba.

Even before the final Spanish surrender, the politicians and press began singing a different tune. It seemed that the Cubans did not really deserve to be liberated after all. The New York World, on July 30, 1898, described the Cuban people as a "base rabble unfit for freedom and self-government."

The New York *Tribune*, on August 7, added that only anarchy could arise from such a population of "ignorant niggers, half-breeds and dagoes."

General S.B.M. Young, a U.S. divisional commander in Cuba, stated that "the insurgents [i.e., his Cuban allies in the war against Spain] are a lot of degenerates, absolutely devoid of honor or gratitude. They are no more capable of self-government than the savages of Africa."

This racist campaign was launched to prepare public opinion to accept U.S. domination over Cuba after Spain had been driven out. And on January 1, 1899, the Spanish representative officially turned the government of Cuba over, not to Cubans, but to a U.S. military occupation force. By March of that year 45,000 U.S. troops were occupying the island.

Safe for Wall Street

In December 1899 General Leonard Wood became military commander of the Cuban Occupation. In a letter to Secretary of War Elihu Root (a protegé of the leading American finance capitalist J.P. Morgan), General Wood wrote: "The people ask me what we mean by a stable government in Cuba. I tell them when money can be borrowed at a reasonable rate of interest and when capital is willing to invest in the Island, a condition of stability will be reached."

In a letter to President Theodore Roosevelt, General Wood later wrote: "This is a natural sugar and tobacco country and as we must, in any case, control its destinies, and will probably soon own it, I believe it sound policy to do what we can to develop it. . . . With the control which we have over Cuba . . . combined with other sugar producing lands which we now own, we shall soon practically control the sugar trade of the world. . . . I believe Cuba to be a most desirable acquisition for the United States. She is easily worth any two of the Southern States, probably any three, with the exclusion of Texas."

This was very straight talk, but it was in confidential letters. For the public, the standard fare was hypocrisy about the great benefits that the U.S. occupation would bring to the Cuban people. Nevertheless, the Washington *Post*, a leading proadministration newspaper, let it all hang out in an editorial that stated: "... we want these newly

acquired territories [Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines], not for any missionary or altruistic purpose, but for the trade, the commerce, the power, and the money that are in them. Why beat around the bush and promise and protest all sorts of things? Why not be honest?"

Platt Amendment

The first U.S. military occupation of Cuba lasted four years; the troops were withdrawn in May 1902. But before they left, they made sure they were leaving behind a regime that would loyally protect Wall Street's investments.

As its price for removing its occupying army, Washington demanded that the new Cuban Republic adopt a constitution including a guarantee of American "rights" in Cuba.

A U.S. congressional committee headed by Senator Orville Platt wrote the American demands into the form of an amendment to the Cuban constitution. That is how the notorious Platt Amendment originated.

James Slayden, a Spanish-speaking congressman from Texas, visited Cuba during the period leading up to the adoption of the Platt Amendment and gave this assessment: "I do not believe that 10 percent of the Cubans cheerfully accept the Platt Amendment. . . . If it is accepted, it will be done in circumstances very similar to those in which the citizen yields his purse to the robber who has him covered with a pistol."

And General Wood, in another letter to Theodore Roosevelt, wrote: "There is, of course, little or no independence left Cuba under the Platt Amendment."

The heart of the Platt Amendment was contained in its articles 3 and 7. Article 3 gave Washington the unlimited right to intervene militarily in Cuba at any time. And article 7 stated that "the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States land necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points. . . ."

In February 1903, Cuba signed an agreement leasing Guantánamo Bay to the United States "for the time that it may deem necessary." The "rent" was set at \$2,000 a year.

The Cuban people mobilized in massive demonstrations to fight the Platt Amendment, and especially the permanent establishment of U.S. military bases on Cuban territory.

Sending the marines

American imperialism was strong enough to impose its will on the Cuban Republic. But the Cuban independence struggle refused to die. Just four years later, in 1906, Washington again sent troops to occupy the island, this time staying until 1909.

U.S. Marines from Guantánamo again reoccupied Cuba in 1917 and remained until 1922; direct U.S. rule under General Enoch Crowder continued until 1926

In 1934 the Platt Amendment was finally abrogated, but Washington demanded a new treaty leaving the Guantánamo base in its hands. Franklin D. Roosevelt—of "Good Neighbor" policy fame—sent gunboats to Havana Bay to compel the Cuban government to accept the new treaty.

That is the history of how the United States got Guantánamo. After the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, when Fidel Castro demanded the withdrawal of American troops from Cuba, President Eisenhower responded that the treaties governing Guantánamo could only be changed by mutual agreement, and that Washington had "no intention of agreeing to modification or abrogation of these agreements."

That remains the position of the Carter administration today—that it has a right to remain in Guantánamo until Washington decides on its own to leave; the Cuban people and their government cannot "unilaterally" break the "lease."

The Pentagon continues to mail Cuba its \$2,000 a year "rent"—less than the rent on a two-bedroom apartment in most American cities—but the Cuban government refuses to accept the checks.

The United States clearly has no legal or moral justification for maintaining its military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. American working people should join hands with their Cuban sisters and brothers in demanding: "All U.S. troops out of Cuba now!"



U.S. Marines at Guantánamo during October 1962 'missile crisis.' Washington has occupied Cuban territory for eighty years against the will of Cuban people.

Capitalist parties boycott

Nicaragua Council of State holds first session

By Pedro Camejo and Fred Murphy

MANAGUA-Nicaragua's Council of State held its first session here on May 4, "Day of National Dignity." The date marks the fifty-third anniversary of the opening of Gen. Augusto César Sandino's war to oust the U.S. Marines from Nicaragua.

The Council of State will function as a consultative and legislative body subordinate to the FSLN-led Junta of National Reconstruction; it may not override the junta's decisions. The council is made up of forty-seven delegates, the substantial majority of which represent working-class and

peasant organizations.

Members of the council were sworn in at the morning organizational session presided over by the chief justice of the Supreme Court. They then elected Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce as president of the Council of State and chose a directing board.

The ceremonial high point of the evening came when Commander Edén Pastora, chief of the Sandinista People's Militias, presented to the Council of State the Nicaraguan flag his commando unit recovered from Somoza's Congress in the daring August 1978 takeover of the Nicaraguan National Palace.

Pastora, who gained fame as "Commander Zero" of that action, was embraced on the stage by Commanders "One" and "Two"-Hugo Torres and Dora María Téllez-who are now FSLN delegates to the Council of

How council was chosen

After the governing junta announced the decrees setting the council's composition on April 21, each organization was free to decide for itself how to choose its representative.

The mass organizations led by the FSLN—the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Rural Workers Association (ATC), Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMN), and July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS-19)-chose their delegates through provincial, regional, and national assemblies. The candidacies of various activists and leaders were democratically discussed and voted on.

Most other organizations' representatives were selected by their executive bodies.

Three capitalist parties were alotted one seat each in the Council of State. However, the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN)-led by ex-junta member Alfonso Robelo-and the Democratic Conservative Party are boycotting the council. They charge that it is "totalitarian" because the FSLN and mass organizations have a majority. The Social Christian Party has chosen its delegate but refused to participate in the initial session.

The six organizations of the industrialists, merchants, landlords, professionals, and big farmers that make up the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) joined Robelo in protesting the council's composition. But the COSEP organizations decided at the last minute to send their one delegate each.

Capitalists complain

All the bourgeois forces had complained bitterly when the makeup of the Council of State was made known on April 21.

In democratizing the council by providing majority representation to the workers and peasants, the FSLN had altered the original Program of Government adopted by the Junta of National Reconstruction before the anti-Somoza victory last July. That program called for a thirty-three member Council of State, with representation disproportionately weighted toward the bourgeois sectors of the anti-Somoza front.

Alleging that a supposed "pact" had been broken by the Sandinistas, the COSEP and bourgeois parties held meetings and issued statements calling for maintenance of the old formula. On April 22, Alfonso Robelo resigned from the governing junta, and his party, the MDN, declared that it was boycotting the Council of State.

Robelo had hoped to present the Sandinistas with a governmental crisis and discredit the Council of State, while rallying all the bourgeois forces around himself and the MDN. By shouting about the FSLN's alleged "totalitarianism," the MDN has sought to broaden its popular base, especially among the petty bourgeoisie.

Support to FSLN

Contrary to Robelo's hopes, however, the revolutionary regime weathered his withdrawal from the junta, as well as that of Violeta Barrios de Chamorro (who resigned April 19 citing failing health).

Instead of following Robelo, the vast majority of middle-class professionals and technicians employed by the government remained in their posts; some even publicly announced their resignation from the MDN.

The FSLN continues to enjoy the support of an overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants and of decisive sectors of the petty bourgeoisie as well. This was obvious from the huge May Day turnout in Managua: more than 200,000 people participated, the vast majority in organized contingents from the trade unions, the ATC, and other mass organizations.

It was the first time in Nicaragua's history that working people could celebrate May Day without the threat of repression. They did so in numbers even beyond those of the massive rally that celebrated the revolutionary victory last July 20.

And one of the most popular chants was, "In the Council of State-the Organized People!"

Democratic step

The FSLN's decision to expand the Council of State and give dominance to the mass organizations of workers and peasants is widely recognized as a profoundly democratic measure, hardly the "totalitarian" move Robelo claims.

It marks a further step toward the consolidation of a state that safeguards the interests of the working masses.

The development of democratic mass participation and organization in Nicaragua can be traced to the Civil Defense Committees that both arose spontaneously and were initiated by the FSLN during the June-July 1979 insurrection.

After the victory, these became the Sandinista Defense Committees coordinated at the city, regional and national levels. Now, the CDS and other mass organizations with similar origins in the class struggle (the CST, AMN, ATC, and JS-19) have been officially integrated into the government.

Non-FSLN currents

The composition of the Council of State also recognizes the right of non-FSLN currents in the Nicaraguan workers movement to express themselves and participate in the revolution-what the Sandinistas have called "political pluralism."

For example, despite the FSLN's overwhelming support among the workers and the continuing rapid growth of the Sandinista Workers Fed-





Workers' trade unions (top) and peasants' associations (bottom) have representation in new Council of State. Capitalist parties, outnumbered by representatives of the masses, decided to boycott.

eration, five of the eight positions in the Council of State reserved for trade unions were given to non-FSLN-led unions.

Two representatives were alotted to the Independent General Workers Federation (CGT-i), led by the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) and based primarily among construction workers; one representative to the Confederation of Trade Union Action and Unification (CAUS), led by the ultraleft Stalinist Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN) and based mainly among Managua textile workers; one to the Confederation of Trade Union Unification (CUS), whose leaders are tied to the AFL-CIO officialdom in the United States; and one to the Confederation of Nicaraguan Workers (CTN), which is controlled by an anticommunist Christian Democratic current.

In addition, a seat on the council was alotted to the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, as well as one each to the small petty-bourgeois Independent Liberal and People's Social Christian parties, which have collaborated closely with the FSLN.

Reconstruction

The nine seats set aside for three bourgeois parties and the COSEP reflect the decision by the Sandinista-led workers and peasants government to solicit the cooperation of sectors of the capitalist class in restarting production. The aim is to prevent a severe economic crisis in Nicaragua and to make it more difficult for the capitalists to organize sabotage of the econ-

The small minority offered the capitalists gives them no possibility to alter the overall decisions of the coun-

Since the revolutionary victory last

year, the FSLN has fostered a continual strengthening of the workers and peasants movement, while blocking the political consolidation of the forces of the bourgeois counterrevolution.

That this continues to be the case is shown on the one hand by the mass organizations' hegemony in the Council of State, and on the other, by the disarray in the bourgeoisie's ranks over what policy to adopt toward the council and economic cooperation.

Election pledged

In concluding the junta's report to the Council of State and to the nation on May 4, Sergio Ramírez reaffirmed a pledge by the government to hold elections "by means of which we will be able to choose our municipal representatives, the representatives to a national assembly, and the authorities of the executive power."

"We understand [democracy] as the participation of the entire people, not a minority," he went on.

"And when we talk about elections, we don't mean elections with artificially mounted propaganda, but popular elections, elections by a conscious people who vote in a conscious and not in a manipulated way. And to have conscious people, they must be educated, taught to read and write, taught the history of their country, taught to think freely-that is the great task facing our revolution at this moment.

"Those who have been thinking that there are going to be elections like those Somoza had or like the ones [dictator Alfredo] Stroessner might have down in Paraguay can forget it. Here there will be elections with a different content, with a different aim—popular elections."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

350 attend N.Y. meeting on Nicaragua

By Arnold Weissberg

NEW YORK—Representatives of Nicaragua's revolutionary government were the featured speakers at a one-day educational conference here May 3 that drew more than 300 people.

The conference offered an answer to the "media boycott and actual campaign of malinformation" about Nicaragua, declared Alejandro Bendaña, a member of that country's United Nations delegation. "We are going to educate people about Nicaraguan reality."

Bendaña noted that Nicaragua's Council of State, a legislative body, would convene for the first time the next day. He explained that a majority of the council's seats would go to "the majority of the Nicaraguan people"—workers and peasants—organized in trade unions and other mass organizations

Despite efforts of the U.S. news media to label this as "totalitarian," Bendaña said, "those with the right to have a majority in this Council of State are not the ones who shipped their capital and their children out of the country or who lived comfortably in Miami during the fight against Somoza. The right to a majority belongs to those who fought."

Joining Bendaña in the morning panel discussion was David Funkhouser, national coordinator of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. Funkhouser reviewed the history of the solidarity movement in this country and listed some of its accomplishments, which included tours of Sandinista leaders, as well as the raising of nearly \$90,000 for Nicaragua's literacy campaign.

Funkhouser said the solidarity movement here, however, needed to broaden its appeal and reach more people, including those in the trade unions. He urged linking up with struggles in this country, in particular the antidraft

The solidarity movement has been "free of major political divisions," he said, and "we must continue to not divert our energies" with sectarian infighting.

"Most important," he said, "is the need for the movement to develop a clearer understanding of the Nicaraguan revolutionary process within a regional context."

The Carter administration, Funk-houser said, does not develop a separate policy for each country. "Rather it is a policy for the region as a whole and it is reflected in the continued militarization of the region, in the support militarily and economically toward the repressive military junta of El Salvador, in the increasingly belligerent attitude toward Cuba, and finally in the attempts to isolate Nicaragua as Cuba was isolated."

A representative of the El Salvador

Human Rights Commission also spoke to the conference here as did Professor Richard Falk of Princeton University.

Workshops covered a range of topics from the literacy campaign to health care to the role of women in the new Nicaragua.

In a workshop called "Education: the Second War of Liberation," speakers described the vast task the Nicaraguan government has undertaken in its priority campaign to erase illiteracy.

The cost of the literacy crusade is estimated at \$20 million. Funkhouser said that such materials as audiovisual equipment, tape recorders, and mimeograph supplies are still in short supply and badly needed.

Nicaraguan musicians Los de Palacaguina, Otto de la Rocha, and El Guadalupano performed at a concert following the conference. Nearly 1,000 people jammed the auditorium, with many demanding their favorite Nicaraguan songs and singing along.

Canadian conference shows labor support

Representatives of the Canadian labor movement, churches, solidarity groups, and political activists came together in the prairie city of Saskatoon April 5 and 6 for a Conference on Solidarity With Nicaragua.

Speaking at the opening session of the conference, Pastor Valle-Garay, Nicaragua's permanent representative to Canada, said:

"Nicaragua is now becoming the focal point not just in our hemisphere but in the world. What may happen is a challenge and victory over capitalism and imperialism. . . .

"We need your constant support. Make no mistake about it . . . as Nicaragua goes, so goes the rest of Latin America. If for any particular reason we fail, it will be a failure for the rest of the countries. . . . But I can promise you that we are not going to fail. And we are not going to fail because we have the help of people like you. . . "

Valle-Garay pointed out that aid from Canada since the victory in Nica-

British Labour Party

hosts solidarity conference

the founding conference of the Ni-

caraguan Solidarity Campaign in

London March 29. The conference,

which was cosponsored by the La-

bour Party, drew representatives

Local solidarity committees in Bri-

tain have been raising money for the

literacy campaign and for health

projects. More than £100,000 (about

\$228,000) have been raised so far.

duced on Nicaragua-one by the

Three pamphlets are being pro-

A special session at the confer-

ence was devoted to the struggle in

El Salvador. A resolution was passed

condemning U.S. intervention there

and welcoming the formation of an

The Labour Party's International

Committee also passed a statement

on El Salvador April 15. It con-

demned the massacre at Archbishop

Oscar Arnulfo Romero's funeral and

the Salvadorean armed forces in an

attempt to protect its own interests

The resolution concluded that

"the people of El Salvador should be

allowed to determine their own fu-

ture and we deplore any attempt by

the United States to influence El

Salvador's internal affairs."

"The US appears to be backing

El Salvador Committee in Britain.

from eight trades councils.

Labour Party itself.

in the country."

More than 200 delegates came to

ragua has been higher per capita than from any other industrialized country. But he noted that most of this aid has come from church and labor groups, with little or nothing from the Canadian government.

The extent of labor support was evident at the conference. Javier Sandoval, an observer from the 2.3 million-member Canadian Labor Congress, brought greetings from the CLC. Sandoval expressed solidarity "with a popular movement that overthrew one of the worst dictatorships in the world," and said that "the CLC will do the most possible to contribute to the campaign for Nicaragua. . . ."

The conference passed a motion urging the CLC executive to sponsor an emergency resolution at the CLC convention in May that would call on affiliated unions to raise \$1 per member for Nicaragua's literacy crusade. Some Canadian unions have already done this.

Setting an example for workers all across Canada, the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) launched a drive for funds and supplies for the literacy campaign March 16. Ads were placed in newspapers throughout Quebec announcing that "students, parents, and staff in all schools and colleges in Quebec will be approached for contributions."

A special teaching manual outlining how to present lessons about Nicaragua in different subjects and grade levels was issued by the CEQ, and 100,000 leaflets promoting the campaign were distributed. In greetings to the conference, the CEQ reported that as of April 1, more than \$100,000 had been raised for the literacy campaign, and that the fund drive was not yet over.

On Canada's Pacific coast, the 29,000-member British Columbia Teachers Federation voted at its annual general meeting March 30-April 2 to send one dollar per member to aid the literacy campaign.

With these inspiring examples in front of them, the 150 participants at the conference voted for a campaign to raise \$200,000 for the Nicaraguan literacy drive, and to organize a speaking tour for a representative of the CEQ.

Solidarity with the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador was also voiced by the conference. Greetings were brought by Alfredo Monge, a representative of the united mass movement in El Salvador, and the final motion passed by the conference called on the Canadian government to oppose any U.S. or other foreign military intervention against the Salvadoran liberation struggle.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



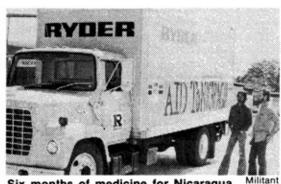
Milwaukee coalition tops \$100,000

Milwaukee's Coalition to Aid Nicaraguan Democracy has topped the \$100,000 mark in its efforts to aid Nicaraguan reconstruction, reports *Militant* correspondent Matthew Herreshoff. CAND has sent forty boat motors, worth more than \$30,000, which are being used to bring literacy workers into the many areas of Nicaragua with no roads. The motors were provided through contributions by Johnson Motors, Mercury Motors, and the Sisters of Saint Mary.

In April, CAND put 2,040 pounds of medical supplies, including badly needed antibiotics, on planes to Nicaragua. The medicine was donated by charitable and religious sources, and transportation was supplied by Republic and La Nica Airlines. In a joint project with solidarity groups in Dallas, Houston, and New Orleans, CAND also recently sent \$62,000 in Tylenol to Nicaragua.

Cultural group starts tour in New Orleans

The Nicaraguan musical group, Los de Palacaguina, together with Otto de la Rocha and El Guadalupano began their U.S. tour by playing for 200 Nicaraguans in New Orleans April 19. They also performed for hundreds more at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival. All proceeds will go directly to Nicaragua for the literacy campaign.



Six months of medicine for Nicaragua N

"The concert tour was not all that arrived in New Orleans for the benefit of the Nicaraguan people," adds *Militant* correspondent Russ Panecki, "A shipment of six tons of medicines arrived by truck April 19 for further transfer to Nicaragua. The truck, donated complete with fuel by Ryder Rental, was driven from Dallas to New Orleans by two solidarity activists from Dallas. The donor of the medicines is anonymous."

Seattle committee raises \$5,000

The Nicaraguan cultural group also appeared in Seattle April 25 at a concert sponsored by the Committee for Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. This followed a successful walkathon sponsored by the Seattle group on March 29 that raised \$5,000 for Nicaragua's literacy crusade.

Solidarity appeal issued in Guadeloupe

Nine trade union federations, political parties, and women's groups in the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe have issued an appeal for solidarity with Nicaragua and Grenada.

Citing the progress made in both countries, the appeal calls on the people of Guadeloupe to "defend the gains of these revolutions and support all the struggles of the people of the Caribbean and Central and Latin America against imperialism and colonialism."

Among those signing the appeal were the General Workers Confederation of Guadeloupe, Guadeloupe National Education Federation, Workers Federation of Guadeloupe, Guadeloupean Communist Party, and Socialist Revolution Group, the Antilles section of the Fourth International.

Compiled by Nancy Cole

THE MILITANT/MAY 23, 1980

Stop bombing Vieques!

May 17 march to hit navy role in Puerto Rico

By Gus Horowitz

Supporters of Puerto Rican rights from more than 16 cities are expected to converge on Washington, D.C. May 17 to protest the U.S. Navy's use of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques to practice artillery bombardments and amphibious landings.

Among the speakers at the rally will be Rev. Jesse Jackson, the well-known Black rights leader; Oscar Collazo, one of the recently freed Puerto Rican nationalists who had spent over 25 years in U.S. prisons; and Wilfredo Velez, a resident of Vieques and one of the 21 people arrested there in a May 1979 protest on land claimed by the navy.

The 8,000 residents of tiny Vieques have been fighting for years against the navy, which has expropriated 80 percent of the land.

People living in Vieques have been killed and maimed during the navy bombardments. The lives of all inhabitants have been disrupted.

Most hard hit are the island's fishermen, who cannot work during navy military operations.

Protesters from Vieques and else-

where in Puerto Rico have been subjected to police repression.

"There can be no more appropriate occasion to demonstrate in Washington" in support of the Vieques struggle, said José Alberto Alvarez, leader of the New York region of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, "than on the day that imperialism has dedicated to honor its armed forces."

This year, he said in a statement in the PSP paper, Claridad, Washington will find its streets filled with Puerto Ricans and their supporters "demanding a halt to the bombardments, the occupation of land, and other abuses that the north American navy commits against the people of Vieques."

Labor will be represented among those in the streets of Washington May 17. The Vieques struggle has the endorsement of the Hispanic Labor Committee of the New York Central Labor Council, Local 1199 of the hospital workers union, and several locals of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union.

The Vieques struggle also has the support of the national committees of the Baptist, Episcopal and Methodist

Militant/Dan Dickeson

Thousands of people greeted Puerto Rican nationalists last year on their release after twenty-five years in prison. Oscar Collazo will speak at May 17 rally in Washington to demand U.S. Navy get out of Vieques, Puerto Rico.

churches, reports New York City Councilman, Gilberto Gerena-Valentín, one of the march organizers, and a scheduled speaker at the rally.

The May 17 action will be just the beginning, he told the *Militant*—"the beginning of a bigger drive to get the navy out of Vieques."

Protest attempted murder of Panama socialist

PANAMA CITY—Well-known Panamanian socialist Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal was the victim of an assassination attempt here April 9. A bomb was placed in his car. Fortunately, however, the explosives failed to go off simultaneously, permitting him to escape without injury.

People in the surrounding homes came out to help and called the police, who did not show up for over fifteen minutes. The police have so far refused to make any investigation.

This is the second attempt on Bernal's life in only four months. On December 19, 1979, a group of National Guardsmen attacked Bernal, beating him for fifteen minutes until he lay unconscious. The guard beating took place at a demonstration that Bernal helped organize to protest the welcome given the shah of Iran by the Panamanian government.

After the beating, the National Guard arrested Bernal and took him in a semiconscious state to jail. Only the intervention of a doctor at the prison saved Bernal from possible death. He suffered permanent brain damage, requiring continuous medication and limiting his activities.

Bernal is a leader of the Socialist Revolutionary Movement (MSR), which is affiliated to the Fourth International. He became especially popular in Panama because of his half-hour



Miguel Antonio Bernal was badly beaten by Panamanian police last December, when he led a demonstration protesting Panama government's decision to admit deposed shah of Iran.

daily radio program, "Alternative."

When the radio station was unable any longer to finance the program because no capitalist concern would buy advertising, Bernal appealed to listeners for financial support. The result was overwhelming, literally purchasing the survival of the daily broadcast.

But the Panamanian government could not tolerate even this small halfhour of open discussion; so it moved through other channels to stop Bernal's program.

His license as a radio commentator was cancelled on March 3 by the government, which charged that "Alternative" violated "the public order" and "national security."

Ever since Bernal publicly criticized aspects of the Panama Canal treaties that violated the sovereignty of Panama, exposing the "nationalist" hypocrisy of the Torrijos regime, he has been at the top of the Panamanian government's enemies list.

Deported from Panama for two-anda-half years, he was allowed to return in April 1978, but was blacklisted from work.

In 1979, backed by pressure from the student body, Bernal was able to return to teaching at the university. Recently, however, the university has begun to eliminate Bernal's courses, and he has been the victim of threatening telephone calls, surveillance, and other harassment.

Trade unions, civil liberties groups, and individuals in Panama have protested the attacks on Bernal. The teacher's union federation, for which Bernal has acted as a legal consultant, has been outspoken in his defense.

International messages of support are urgently needed to pressure the Panamanian government to halt its illegal campaign of intimidation and terrorist violence. Messages should be sent to: President Aristides Royo, Palacio Presidencial, Panama, Panama, with copies to Miguel Antonio Bernal, Apartado 4677, Panama 5, Panama.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor



Demonstrators in Washington, D.C., May 4 demand asylum for Haitian refugees

...Haitians

Continued from back page

to join the closing rally of 250 people. It focused on testimony from Haitians.

Jocelynn Marcellus told how he was imprisoned and tortured in Haiti for being a dissident. He lost his hearing

result.

Patrick Lemoine was a political prisoner in the feared Fort Dimanche for six years. He said he saw over 200

in one ear and was partially blind as a

people die in the prison.

Haitians "dream of leaving to escape from the reality of repression." he said. "I hope, however, that one day Haitians will wake up and stop dreaming."

By Robert Dees NEW YORK-Garment workers were well represented at a rally of 200 people in Manhattan's Bryant Park May 3, where placards in English, French, Spanish, and Chinese proclaimed the message: "ILGWU Supports Political Asylum for Haitian Refugees."

Members of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union were also highly visible at the rally, with signs saying, "We Ask Justice for Haitian Refugees."

Jay Mazur, manager of Local 23-25 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, told the Haitians and their supporters, "We stand behind you 100 percent. The history of this nation and the history of this union is a history of immigrants."

"The refugees escape not only poverty," he added, "but also the oppression of Jean Claude Duvalier.

" . !

"Why not the Haitians?"

Brazilian metalworkers defy military

Brazil's metalworkers have ended a 42-day strike, the longest since the military dictatorship came into power 16 years ago, the Wall Street Journal reported May 14.

At its high point the strike involved 250,000 workers and shut down almost all of the country's auto plants.

"The strike was seen," the Journal reported, "as an important political confrontation between the government of President João Figueiredo and the emerging labor movement, which has been subject to harsh repression during much of the 16 years of military rule."

The Latin America Weekly Report, published in London, said May 2 that the Brazilian government "has been dismayed, not only by the extent of support for the strikers among nonworking class sectors, but also by the militancy displayed by groups which normally confine their dissatisfaction to verbal protests."

Support for the strike came from leading church figures and from the four main opposition parties, which issued a joint manifesto denouncing the dictatorship's labor laws for the "perpetuation of an unjust and wicked social order concentrating power in the hands of a privileged minority."

Church activists provided food to the strikers' families, and churches were made available for strike meetings.

Even though the metalworkers have gone back, the union in the São Paulo industrial suburb of São Bernardo has pledged to continue to "boycott production.

With 100,000 members, it is the most important union in Brazil, and represents a third of all metalworkers in the heavily industrialized state of São Paulo.

When strike leader Luís Inácio da Silva and 33 others were arrested by the regime, the strikers called mass meetings in São Bernardo and in another São Paulo suburb, Santo André, on April 22.

The meetings were banned by the government, but went ahead anyway, drawing tens of thousands of strikers and deciding to continue the strike.

Ten strikers still remain in jail, the Wall Street Journal reports.

A key issue in the strike was for a wage increase to meet the inflation rate of 83 percent a year.

The workers also demanded the right to elect stewards to defend their interests on the shop floor, and job security for the next year.

But more was involved. One reason the regime tried to remove da Silva from his leadership post in the union is that he is leading a movement for the formation of a labor party in Brazil.

In the state of Minas Gerais, just north of São Paulo, the labor movement has already organized 100 branches of the incipient party.

Clearly the government would like to halt this development and drive the labor movement back. If the reaction of the auto and metal workers is any indication, however, the regime will not have an easy time of it.

Frankly, 'Intercontinental Press/

Inprecor' carries far more articles, documents, and special features about world politics than the 'Militant' has room for.

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Brazilian police use rifle butts to dislodge striking metalworkers from union head-

Sales scoreboard

	MILIT	ANT	P	м	T	OTAL	s	Y	S	Ttl.	tl. Subscriptio	
Branch	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Ind.	Goal	Sold
Portland	85	117	0	1	85	118	138.8	0	26	.0	20	26
Piedmont	90	106	0	0	90	106	117.7	0	45	64.7	20	10
Louisville	80	91	0	0	80	91	113.7	0	11	11.7	25.	1
Baltimore	90	100	0	0	90	100	111.1	0	0	••	35	20
Iron Range	70	77	0	0	70	77	110.0	0	7	.0	35	30
Morgantown	80	84	0	0	80	84	105.0	0	47	2.5	30	1
Atlanta	100	104	0	0	100	104	104.0	0	0	••	25	9
Albuquerque	80	82	20	20	100	102	102.0	0	37	26.8	30	9
Philadelphia	135	123	25	40	160	163	101.8	0	17	13.2	60	21
San Diego	120	136	20	5	140	141	100.7	0	87	22.7	40	13
Los Angeles	240	202	35	73	275	275	100.0	0	34	27.5	70	27
Oakland/East Bay	90	90	10	5	100	95	95.0	0	0	6.3	0	11
San Jose	70	61	20	20	90	81	90.0	0	34	••	25	24
Cleveland	80	80	10	0	90	80	88.8	0	18	3.7	15	7
Miami	70	60	10	5	80	65	81.2	0	3	1.4	15	15
Seattle	140	108	5	2	145	110	75.8	0	35	10.9	30	11
N.Y. Upper Manh.	95	66	30	27	125	93	74.4	0	0	64.5	40	23
Newark	140	97	20	11	160	108	67.5	0	0	••	30	17
Birmingham	115	71	0	0	115	71	61.7	0	43	9.0	30	5
Albany	50	32	2	0	52	32	61.5	0	15	.0	25	6
Phoenix	100	65	25	10	125	75	60.0	0	30	3.2	25	10
Salt Lake City	110	61	7	5	117	66	56.4	0	38	6.7	20	12
N.Y. Brooklyn	80	33	10	9	90	42	46.6	0	25	20.9	25	20
Cincinnati	80	30	0	0	80	30	37.5	0	0	3.3	15	7
Detroit*	210	65	10	1	220	66	30.0	0	0	**	100	22
Twin Cities*	175	49	0	0	175	49	28.0	0	0	8.1	80	29
Misc.									76			246
TOTALS	4606	2190	505	234	5111	2424	47.4	0	628	14.4	1385	632

Not Reporting: Boston,* Chicago, Dallas,* Denver,* Gary, Houston,* Indianapolis, Kansas City,* Milwaukee, NY Lower Manhattan, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, San Antonio,* San Francisco, St. Louis,* Tacoma, Tidewater,* Toledo, Washington, D.C.

Tacoma, Tidewater,* Toledo, Washings
*Petitioning to put SWP on the ballot.

*Petitioning to put SWP on *Information not available.

"Ttl. % Ind.' indicates percentage of Militant and PM sales reported at plantgates and to co-workers on the iob.

Covers sales of issue 17 of the Militant, the second week of sales of issue eight of PM, and the second week of sales for the May-June YS.

Big 'Militant' sales at Chicago ERA rally

By Nancy Rosenstock

The final week of the spring circulation drive got a big boost as hundreds of supporters of Andrew Pulley for president and Matilde Zimmermann for vice-president joined the crowd of thousands at the Equal Rights Amendment rally May 10 in Chicago.

The largely young, female crowd responded warmly to the Socialist Workers Party campaigners. Demonstrators bought:

 832 Militants (including seventyseven special one-dollar-for-threeweeks subscriptions).

 225 copies of the May-June Young Socialist, and

 787 "ERA NOW" buttons, distributed by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign.

Socialists at the action gathered 2,800 signatures on petitions to put Pulley and Zimmermann on the ballot in Illinois. They also distributed 10,000 campaign brochures.

These impressive results, added to the successful sales at a series of national demonstrations this spring, make this an outstanding feature of our drive to increase the circulation of the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial.

Sales to industrial workers continue to be a key part of the circulation drive. Socialists in the Piedmont area of North Carolina completed their final week of the drive with highly successful sales to workers who are battling for union recognition there. Armed with a special four-page section of issue 17 of the *Militant* on "Organizing the South today," socialists sold sixtytwo *Militants* at two shifts at PPG

Industries in Lexington, North Carolina

Newark socialists, at the center of the big layoffs affecting northern New Jersey auto workers, had the same determination. They sold thirty-seven copies of *Militant* number 16—with the headline "Jobs crisis: Labor needs its own party to fight layoffs and inflation"—at the General Motors plant in Linden, New Jersey.

In addition, thirty copies of issue 17 were sold in nearby Elizabeth, New Jersey, where residents recently suffered through the effects of a dangerous chemical waste dump that burned out of control.

The accompanying scoreboard reports sales for issue 17 of the *Militant*, which concludes the spring circulation drive. (Sales for issue 16, which were not reported last week, totaled 3,653, or 71.4 percent of our weekly *Militant* and *PM* goal.)

More areas were involved in the ambitious petitioning drive to put the socialist candidates on the ballot this past week, cutting down the total number of papers sold.

Opportunities are continuing to increase the circulation of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*. Sales at the May 17 Youth March on Washington for Jobs, the May 17 march against the U.S. Navy presence in Vieques, Puerto Rico, as well as sales to industrial workers will be important activities for socialists during the spring and summer months.

A future issue of the *Militant* will contain a wrap-up report on this spring's circulation drive.

Zionists stage racist march

Palestinians stand up to Israeli terror

By David Frankel

Using the pretext of a Palestinian guerrilla ambush in the city of Hebron, Israeli authorities are lashing out at the Palestinian people on the occupied West Bank, trying to crush their will and beat down their struggle.

Immediately following the May 2 action, in which six Israeli occupiers died, the entire city of Hebron was placed under a twenty-four-hour curfew, with nobody allowed out of their homes.

Army demolition teams blew up as half-block row of Arab shops in the vicinity of the ambush, and residents of the area were evicted from their homes.

House-by-house searches—along with the beatings and terrorism that are a standard part of the process—were begun.

More Arabs expelled

Mayor Fahad Kawasmeh of Hebron and Mayor Mohammed Milhem of Halhul, along with Sheikh Raja Bayud Tamimi, the Muslim judge of Hebron, were routed out of their beds and forced across the border into Lebanon.

None of the three were given any hearing or chance to appeal. Occupation authorities didn't claim that the three had played any role in the guerrilla attack; they merely charged them with encouraging resistance to the occupation.

Kawasmeh, Milhem, and Tamimi were welcomed as heroes by thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese demonstrators in Beirut. Crowds in the street chanted "Our heroes!" and "Death to Israel! Death to America!"

Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yassir Arafat declared May 5: "Hebron was a legitimate act of resistance against foreign occupiers who have seized the land, driven away its inhabitants and trampled on the religious and cultural values of our people."

Vowing to return to the West Bank, Kawasmeh said in an interview May 6, "Why not? I'm a Palestinian. I live in Hebron. What mistake have I made? If I did something wrong, why not take me to a court?

"All right, I say no to Israeli settlements in the West Bank. All the world says no. Some Israelis say no. Does that mean they must be deported?"

Other West Bank leaders have also been threatened with deportation if they speak out against the injustices the Palestinian people are subjected to. Expressing his racist view of the Palestinians, occupation chief Maj. Gen. Danny Matt said to reporters, "Before sending a schoolchild home, of course, a teacher first has to warn him and hope he will change his ways."

The Israeli regime and its defenders



Continued struggle of the Palestinian people, coupled with Iranian revolution, poses big obstacle to Israel's goal of expropriating the people of the West Bank. They have stymied Washington's efforts to impose Camp David settlement in Middle East. Above, Palestinian youth in East Jerusalem demonstrate, carrying their flag, in 1979.

in the capitalist media brand the Palestinian liberation fighters as "terrorists," just as they branded the liberation fighters in Vietnam and southern Africa. But the real terrorists—several thousand armed Zionist demonstrators—marched through Hebron May 5.

Racist demonstration

The demonstration provided glaring proof of the racist nature of Zionism.

"Young Jews wearing skullcaps and jeans hurled stones through the windows of Arab houses while Israeli soldiers for the most part watched impassively, sometimes talking over their radios," New York Times correspondent David K. Shipler reported. "A few of the mourners, eager to impress the Arabs with the Jewish presence, fired into the air."

Some marchers "attacked cameramen who photographed car and house windows that had been smashed." One stone thrower said "that he had thought of shooting into the houses but did not want the complications of a trial." He added, "Whenever an Arab sticks his head up, cut it off."

Battle for land

But the repression has only spurred new protests throughout the West Bank. Through their courageous struggle, the Palestinians have kept their plight in the center of world attention. And they have prevented the Camp David treaty, which would deny them their rights, from gaining support in the Arab world.

"Above all, we are in the midst of a battle for the land of Israel," declared Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman May 3.

Weizman's statement goes to the heart of what is behind the mounting struggle in the Israeli-occupied West Bank—"a battle for the land."

The 2,200-square-mile West Bank (including East Jerusalem) is the home of some 950,000 Palestinian Arabs. Since the area was taken over by Israel in the June 1967 war, however, Zionist colonists have begun to settle there. Perhaps 15,000 are now in the West Bank, in addition to the tens of thousands in East Jerusalem.

Backed up by the Israeli regime, these settlers hope to do in the West Bank exactly what was done within the pre-1967 borders of Israel. They want to take Arab land away from the original inhabitants.

Already, 30 percent of the West Bank has been expropriated by Israeli authorities. On May 2, the Israeli government announced that it would expropriate another 30,000 acres of West Bank land—more than 2 percent of the area's 1.4 million acres.

Along with the land expropriations go the policies required to terrorize the Palestinian workers and peasants and hold down their opposition—demolition of houses, collective fines, deportations, administrative detention, torture, murder.

Among the most enthusiastic participants in this policy of terrorism are the hardened Zionist racists who volunteer to settle on the newly expropriated Arab land.

Terrorist pioneers

In April 1979, settlers from Kiryat, Arba, outside of Hebron, gunned down two Palestinian high school students who were demonstrating against the Israeli occupation.

On May 2, 1979, another Kiryat Arba settler shot a student at Bir Zeit University. Newsweek magazine said in its May 14, 1979, issue that "the peaceful rally at Bir Zeit [against Zionist colonization] so incensed nearby Israeli settlers that one of them shot and wounded a 20-year-old Arab student in the chest. . . ."

Typical of the Zionist "pioneers" at Kiryat Arba was Eli Hazeev, who, according to the May 6, 1980, New York Times, "used to tell friends that the 'only good Arab is a dead one.'"

A follower of Rabbi Meir Kahane, who founded the ultrarightist Jewish Defense League in the United States and the Kach movement in Israel, Hazeev left Virginia to settle in the West Bank.

Last year he was convicted of breaking into Arab houses in the city of Hebron, shouting that they were "Jewish houses," smashing furniture, beating residents, and ordering them to leave their homeland.

Recently Hazeev was arrested again after a window-smashing rampage by Zionist thugs in the Palestinian village of Halhul.

Hazeev was one of those killed in the May 2 ambush. Of the six dead, two were from the United States and one was from Canada.

Yet General Matt cannot understand why the Palestinians resist foreign settlers who try to steal their land and drive them out of their homes. Attributing the Hebron ambush to Arab irrationality, the racist in charge of governing more than a million Palestinians said, "Here in the Middle East, unfortunately, it's very easy to incite people and move them into such an attack. . . ."

Other Israelis, however, are beginning to have their doubts about just who is being irrational. One Israeli woman told *New York Times* correspondent Shipler May 4 that "my friends feel some ambivalence about this. It is as if they are saying, but don't quite use the words, that these people were asking for it."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Hundreds protest jailing of Irish activist

By Gerry Foley

NEW YORK—Over three hundred Irish activists marched in front of the New York *Daily News* building May 10 to protest the jailing of an Irish-American grandmother, Olive Mc-Keon, and the biased reporting of this case by the press.

McKeon was imprisoned in March because she protested against harassment by a federal grand jury investigating procurement of arms in the U.S. for the Irish Republican Army.

The *Daily News* has not reported the actions in defense of McKeon. At the same time, it has tried to link IRA supporters with the Mafia.

The demonstration was an enthusiastic and colorful one, helped along by a bagpipe band. The crowd testified to the breadth of support in the United States for the Irish struggle. It included many radicalized young people, along with veteran Irish community activists.

Irish groups supporting the demonstration included Northern Aid, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and the Irish National Caucus.

McKeon's daughter, Meg Baker, was on the picket line with her infant son. She told me that her parents had only a chance connection with a man alleged by the FBI to be involved in getting guns for the embattled Catholic ghettos in Northern Ireland. Her father rented him a premises.

"But they couldn't find this man, Moran. And so they arrested my parents because they had to arrest somebody, and they knew that my folks have been Irish activists for more than a decade."

Olive McKeon refused to provide handwriting samples and fingerprints. She argued that this was an attempt to harass and humiliate her, because the police already had these things. She was ordered to jail, even though she is an elderly woman with a long history of heart disease.

When she went to prison, she was held for twenty-eight hours without sleep in a cage before being taken to a cell.

On the night of May 8 McKeon suffered a heart attack, and so had to comply with the grand jury's demands in order to get proper medical attention. She went directly into the hospital after they released her and is still there.

"But the grand jury could call my parents again at any time and try to force them to do anything," Meg Barker said. "We think everybody has an interest in fighting this kind of injustice."

Behind referendum on 'sovereignty'

The struggle for a French Quebec

By Ernest Mailhot

On May 20 voters in Quebec will be asked to cast their ballots in a referendum concerning Quebec's ties to Can-

The wording of the referendum is: "The government of Quebec has made public its proposal to negotiate a new agreement with the rest of Canada, based on the equality of nations;

This agreement would enable Quebec to acquire the exclusive power to make its laws, levy its taxes and establish relations abroad-in other words, sovereignty-and at the same time to maintain with Canada an economic association including a common currency;

"No change in political status resulting from these negotiations will be affected without approval by the people through another referendum.

"On these terms, do you give the government of Quebec the mandate to negotiate the proposed agreement between Quebec and Canada?"

Dominant issue

The discussion around the referendum dominates political life today in Quebec. When I was in Montreal in March, bookstores were piled high with literature about Quebec and the referendum. The debates on it in the Quebec national assembly were televised.

Quebec is one of the ten provinces in Canada. It is located north of New York State, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine. Quebec is larger than any U.S. state including Alaska. It has about 6 million people, of whom about 80 percent speak French as their first language.

Although the referendum arises from the specific historical and economic situation of Quebec, the issues it raises concern all working people in the United States and English Canada.

Holding such a referendum was one of the central promises of the Parti Québécois (PQ-Quebec Party), which won the 1976 provincial election.

The rise of the PQ resulted from the upsurge of the Québécois movement in the past twenty years. The movement was inspired by the civil rights struggle in the U.S., the victory of the Cuban revolution, and the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Most industry in Quebec is owned by English Canadian and American firms. The U.S. controls 30 percent of Quebec's manufacturing.

Quebec's industrial development is hampered by discrimination.

Almost all of Canada's steel industry is located in Ontario even though the iron ore is mostly in Quebec.

Aircraft workers in the United Auto Workers and International Association who work at Pratt & Whitney and Canadair in Quebec make two dollars an hour less than workers on the same jobs at McDonnell Douglas and DeHavilland in On-

While all of Canada is supposedly bilingual, it is only workers in Quebec who are forced to work in a foreign language. English language blueprints, work orders, job instructions, and orders from usually Englishspeaking bosses are facts of life for Québécois workers.

History of Quebec

What is now Quebec was a French colony conquered by the British in 1760 (in what U.S. history books call the "French and Indian War").

The French-speaking Québécois were

Ernest Mailhot is an auto worker in New Jersey. Of Quebecois parentage, he is bilingual and spent part of his youth in Quebec.

subordinated to the British crown and later to English Canadian capitalists. Many, including my parents, left over the years to find better jobs in other parts of Canada and in the U.S.

Nationalist sentiment in Quebec showed its strength during the two world wars.

In a referendum on the Canadian military draft for World War II, 80 percent in English Canada voted in favor. In Quebec 85 percent voted against.

World War II brought the beginning of an expansion of mining and industry in Quebec. The growing Québécois working class was a source of new strength for the nationalist protests of the 1960s.

Student demonstrations and strikes were met with repression. In 1970 Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, a Québécois from Montreal who heads the Liberal Party, ordered the army to occupy Quebec and suspended basic civil rights.

But repression didn't stop the nationalist movement.

A capitalist party

The 1976 election win of the Parti Québécois, headed by René Lévesque, was greeted as a victory by hundreds of thousands of Québécois.

But once in power, this party proved incapable of defending the interests of the Québécois masses.

That is because it is a capitalist party. Although it has the support of many workers and farmers, it represents the interests of Québécois businessmen. They want economic concessions from the central government, but fear the struggles of Québécois working people.

In 1977 the Lévesque government passed Law 101 making French the only official language in Quebec. This Canadian" bosses instead of with Québécois workers.

The capitalists will suffer if an independent Quebec ends the lower wage rates and economic distortions. But these are not losses for Canadian

Quite the contrary. The special oppression of Québécois workers is used to hold down the wages and living standards of all working people in

The U.S. ruling class is also against the referendum. Although Quebec Premier Lévesque tried to assure U.S. business groups and government officials that an independent Quebec would not jeopardize the interests of U.S. big business, the U.S. rulers are not convinced.

able to work in our own language and to be restricted to low level jobs because we only speak French is to be a stranger in our coun-

–Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor

'For francophone workers in Quebec, not to be

law represented a significant advance, comparable to civil rights laws in the U.S.

try.'

But last December the Canadian Supreme Court struck down several provisions of the law. Lévesque protested, but bowed to the Supreme Court

Like the Trudeau government and the Carter administration. Lévesque is trying to solve the economic problems of capitalism by attacking the living standards of workers. Earlier this year striking Quebec teachers, whose union has been a strong backer of the PQ. had to organize a demonstration of 23,000 against the PQ government in order to win a decent settlement. The PQ also introduced legislation this year to break a long strike by Montreal blue-collar workers.

The PQ's concept of sovereigntyassociation does little to respond to the oppression of the Québécois.

The PQ calls for maintaining a central bank and a common currency for Quebec and Canada. It supports imperialist alliances such as NATO. The PQ suggests Quebec should stay in the British Commonwealth.

Nonetheless, the English Canadian ruling class is solidly behind the "no" vote. They are trying to whip up chauvinist sentiment against the Québécois throughout Canada. They want to convince English Canadian workers to identify with their "fellow

New York Times columnist James Reston explained why in his April 20 column: "Canada is our strategic shield, lying between this country and the Soviet Union. It is our most important trading partner. And maybe even more important, if we ever get around to defending our common civilization . . . it is our dearest friend. . . . "

Challenge to labor

The vote no camp includes the leadership of the labor movement in English Canada, the Canadian Labor Congress, and the labor party, the New Democratic Party. But most NDP supporters in Quebec favor a yes vote. And quite a few unionists in English Canada oppose lining up with the employers on the issue of self-determination for Quebec.

The leaders of the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), which is the Quebec wing of the CLC, are strongly for a yes vote, together with most leaders of the other two union federations in Quebec.

But unionists in Quebec are increasingly critical of the PQ.

At the April 19 special convention of the FTQ in Quebec City, the 2,500 delegates voted overwhelmingly in favor of the "yes" vote. According to an article by Colleen Levis in the May 5 issue of Socialist Voice, "In the keynote address, FTQ president Louis Laberge reaffirmed the 'right of Quebec to self-determination and the existence of two nations in Canada.'

". . . But he insisted that in supporting the yes vote in the referendum, the FTQ was saying, 'yes for the negotiation of a major political change . not a yes for the Parti Québécois.' He criticized the PQ government for its recent anti-strike legislation. . .

"Laberge concluded by saying that 'we will continue to maintain our links of solidarity with unionized workers in English Canada, in the United States, and internationally.""

Position of RWL/LOR

The Revolutionary Workers League/ Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/ LOR) is the sister party in Canada of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. It stands with the advocates of Québécois self-determination against the chauvinist campaign of big business against it. But it calls for spoiling the ballot in the referendum rather than a yes vote.

The RWL/LOR notes that the referendum does not propose a single concrete step toward independence or any specific national rights for the Québécois. It only mandates the Lévesque government to negotiate with Ottawa over "sovereignty-association" in the name of the Québécois people. It amounts to a vote of confidence in Lévesque's capitalist government.

The RWL/LOR is not alone in pointing up the inadequacy of the referendum. Pierre Bourgault, former president of the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN), the major pro-independence party in the sixties, also rejected Lévesque's proposal.

"Whatever Lévesque says, [the proposal] means that everything is negotiable, including our right to selfdetermination.

The RWL/LOR calls for an independent, socialist Quebec. They call for the unions to end their support to the PQ and form a labor party.

RWL/LOR activists report increased interest and discussion around these ideas among workers in the course of the referendum debate.

Whatever the outcome, the referendum has opened up discussion of big political ideas. Québécois workers, and to a lesser extent English Canadian workers, are grappling with the question: where do the interests of working people lie, and how do they relate to the Québécois struggle for national rights?

As growing numbers of workers come to see that defense of Québécois rights is vital to unifying the working class and its allies in Canada, they will be better prepared for the big battles to come.



By William Gottlieb

(third of a series)

To understand the present economic crisis, the worst in fifty years according to some writers in the big-business press, it is helpful to look back on the crisis that was developing fifty years ago—the Great Depression. To save capitalism then, the government embarked on new economic policies whose full effects are only now being felt.

Then as now, production was being slashed, workers laid off, and plants shut. Just like today, production was being cut back not because of shortages of raw materials or fuels but because more had been produced than the capitalists could sell at prices they considered profitable enough.

The slump had begun quietly during the summer of 1929, several months before the famous stock market crash. For three and a half years the crisis deepened until production had fallen almost 50 percent.

The totally unemployed are conservatively estimated at 25 percent of the labor force by early 1933. Taking into account those who were employed only part time, it was more like 50 percent joblessness.

Farmers lost their farms because the depressed price of their produce wouldn't cover mortgage payments, while in the cities the unemployed went hungry because they had no money. Life savings were wiped out by bank failures. Those who continued to work faced huge wage cuts as the bosses took full advantage of workers' fear that they might join the unemployed at any moment.

Trade war

The United States had initiated world trade war with the protectionist tariffs of the Smoot-Hawley Act, signed by President Herbert Hoover in June 1930. The contraction of world trade caused by this protectionism contributed to the severity and duration of the Great Depression and paved the way to World War II. (The dismal historical record doesn't stop today's union bureaucrats from advocating protectionism as a "solution" to unemployment.)

As late as 1940, unemployment was still in double digits. Only the slaughter of World War II, with its inflation and shortages, brought mass unemployment to an end.

The depression of the 1930s, though by far the worst in the history of capitalism, was not the first or only one. The plague of mass unemployment and poverty amid "too much" production has periodically returned as long as capitalism has existed. Since records have been kept, the United States has never gone as long as ten years without a recession of some kind.

The depression of the '30s, however, had conse-

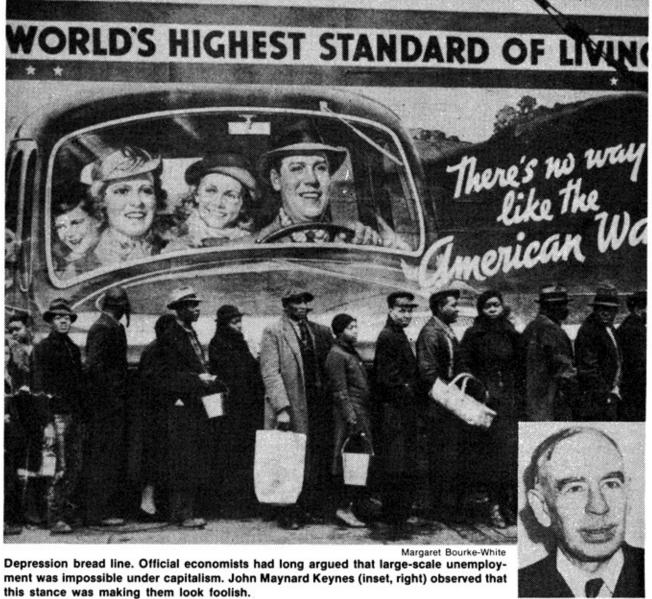


quences far greater than any of its predecessors. This was not only because of its greater severity but also the changed world context in which it occurred.

The biggest change was the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Soviet Union showed that economic planning and nationalization of the means of production, made possible by a workers' revolution, could eliminate the horror of depression forever. While every capitalist nation was devastated by economic crisis, the Soviet Union in the 1930s (despite the bureaucratic misrule of Stalin) was experiencing a growth in production and employment never before seen in world history.

The very fact of the Russian Revolution and its gains helped inspire the labor movement in other

The Great Depression & rise of 'Keynesianism'



countries, including the United States. After nearly four years of setbacks and defeats during the depression, the working class here began to fight back. A series of victorious strike battles in 1934 paved the way for the mass workers' upsurge that built the industrial unions.

Roosevelt administration

The government and the capitalists had treated earlier depressions as natural disasters, akin to hurricanes or earthquakes, that the workers and farmers simply had to bear as best they could. But in the 1930s this approach was no longer politically possible.

The U.S. government under President Franklin D. Roosevelt felt the need to make concessions to the workers as the only way to head off independent labor political action and even a revolutionary challenge to the entire capitalist system.

Roosevelt announced a "New Deal," legalized the right of labor to organize (after the workers were already winning that right in the streets), launched public works programs, and established the social security system. And, to a limited extent, he began following economic policies designed to accelerate recovery from the depression. These policies are often referred to as "Keynesian," after British economist John Maynard Keynes.

Who was Keynes and what did he say?

Official academic economics had "proven" that unemployment and depressions were impossible in a "pure" capitalist economy. If depressions and joblessness occurred, they were merely a result of friction and accidents that were sure to be shortlived.

In this the official economists sharply differed with Karl Marx, who had argued that capitalism fosters permanent unemployment to one degree or another and that periodic depressions with mass unemployment are inevitable as long as capitalism survives.

Keynes

John Maynard Keynes was himself a staunch procapitalist economist and longtime advocate of the official theories. Amidst the Great Depression, however, he realized that economists were making themselves look absurd by continuing to claim that massive, longterm unemployment was impossible under capitalism.

Keynes modified the old arguments. Depressions were possible, he acknowledged. But they were not the product of capitalism itself (as Marx had said) but simply the result of bad policies followed by capitalist governments.

Keynes and his followers argued as follows: During depressions there is insufficient spending in the economy. As a result, supply exceeds demand. Production and employment are depressed. The answer is to increase the total amount of spending in the economy.

The Keynesians recommended that when economic depression threatened, the government follow an expansionary fiscal policy—budget deficits—and an easy monetary policy. How these work, and what the results have been, will be the subject of the next article.

...Iran

Continued from page 10

the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and its agents. They mobilized to support the occupation of the U.S. embassy and to protest Washington's threats.

Their demands are simply for the right to control their own affairs, and to be free of repression and discrimination by the capitalist government in Tehran.

Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini, the most prominent Kurdish leader, recently reiterated his people's stand in the face of threats against Iran by the Iraqi regime. "The Kurdish people will defend Iran from outside, whether it comes from America or the Baathist regime in Iraq."

Hosseini continued: "The Kurdish people throughout history have fought against aggressors and today the guerrillas of Kurdistan will respond decisively to any attack on Iran."

Hosseini pointed out how attacks on

the Kurds divide the Iranian people in their struggle for full independence: "If the government would deal with internal problems such as the one in Kurdistan by means of discussion it would be better able to take decisive action against American imperialism."

The attacks on the Kurds were denounced by the Iranian Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) in the April 9 issue of its newspaper *Kargar*. The HKE blamed the government for "a fratricidal war that the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people want ended."

It charged Bani-Sadr with trying "to disarm an oppressed nationality that has suffered under the yoke of imperialism" when an army of 20 million is needed to defend the revolution against Washington.

"All working people in every Persian city must raise their voices," Kargar continued, "to demand that the Kurds be granted their national rights. Victory in the struggle against imperialism demands the elimination of all forms of oppression and exploitation. This question must be put on the agenda of all the workers shoras."

Harry Ring



Carter fan?—A man tried, unsuccessfully, to hijack a plane from California to Iran to free the hostages.

Someone noticed?—A correction in the Los Angeles Times advised that a photo caption four days previous "incorrectly identified a crowd outside the Peruvian embassy in Havana as Cubans seeking to leave the country. The protestors were actually supporters of Fidel Castro's government demonstrating against the refugees."

Starry-eyed idealists—The Boulder, Colorado, Chamber of Commerce, which lights an Xmas star each year, vowed to keep this year's burning until the Iran hostages were free. But they didn't anticipate how long that would be. Meanwhile, the \$2.50 a day electric bill was mounting. So now the star will be lit for a "freedom hour" each night.

Blessed are the poor—A New York Times article explains that "The number of people who lose their job in a recession is relatively small. . . . The more prevalent effect is the loss of opportunities and mobility as well as the lost business profits . . ." The "slowing of mobility" hits hardest at middle-level execs, in the \$25,000-\$50,000 bracket.

Spiritual development—Ministers of the Worldwide Church of God have a new employer. What with a California probe of the financial escapades of church founder Herbert Armstrong, employees have been advised they are now working for "Herbert W. Armstrong the Apostle of the Churches of God and His Successors, a Colorado Corporation."

Shopping tip—Tired of fighting the crowds at the clearance counter? Try Bijan's men's wear in Beverly Hills. It's not the cheapest—cotton shirts, \$180. Mink-lined topcoat, \$24,000. But, to ensure relaxed shopping, sales are by appointment only. And, assures the owner, "Anybody can make an appointment. I'm not snobby."

By Any Means Necessary

For us, recession means depression

Beginning this week the 'By Any Means Necessary' column will be written by Osborne Hart.

The May 17 national march for jobs couldn't be more timely.

The official overall unemployment figure for April was 7 percent—the highest in three years.

For Blacks, of course, the situation is far worse. The economy is in a recession and for us, recession means depression. The truth is that Blacks never recovered from the 1974-75 slump. At the peak of "prosperity," our unemployment rate hardly dipped below 11 percent.

For many years Black joblessness was twice that of whites. But in the aftermath of '74-75, that discrimination ratio got worse! Our unemployment hit a rate nearly three times that of whites.

The National Urban League, which pays particular attention to Black employment and unemployment, says that in April overall Black unemployment was 12.2 percent. But they have a stat called the "Hidden Unemployment Index." It takes into account jobless victims not included in the government because they're "discouraged" or they have a part-time job even though they want full-time work.

Black hidden unemployment for April was 22.8 percent. For Black teenagers, it was 57.1 percent! And as summer approaches, we can expect even higher percentages for Black youth.

During the '76 election campaign the Democratic and Republican politicians promised to deal with the unemployment problem. Many pushed the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill as the answer.

After some haranguing by Blacks and labor leaders, Carter, who initially didn't support Humphrey-Hawkins, agreed to a watered-down version of an already watered-down proposal. The inclusion of Humphrey-Hawkins in the Democratic platform was then pointed to as an example of how effectively Blacks and labor can work in the Democratic Party.

A lot of Blacks believed it—of those who voted, 90 percent cast their ballot for Carter.

So Humphrey-Hawkins—two years later—became law, but we didn't get any jobs.

Humphrey-Hawkins didn't allocate one cent for jobs. And this year, as the law allows, Carter has "postponed" its 1983 goal of 4 percent unemployment. He can keep postponing it forever.

This election year, we're not even hearing promises from the capitalist politicians. Carter, Kennedy, and Anderson even snubbed an invitation to speak to Black leaders at the Black Agenda Conference in Richmond two months ago. The only thing Carter and the others are offering is sacrifice and war.

But the May 17 demonstration offers Blacks and other working people the opportunity to put forward our demand for *jobs now*. History shows that it's only when we pour into the streets and not rely on the likes of Carter that we've gained anything. And the fact that the May 17 march has significant labor endorsement is a step forward. It shows a recognition that depression-level joblessness for Blacks is not just our problem—it hurts all working

Osborne Hart



people and needs to be fought by the entire labor

It's no secret how to create jobs. A shorter workweek with no cut in pay, and public works programs to meet social needs, could put millions to work. That beats the empty promises of Humphrey-Hawkins—and the chauvinist campaign against imports—all hollow.

An action alliance between Blacks and labor also points the political way forward—an end to our reliance on the two capitalist parties to solve our problems. To fight unemployment and other attacks on working people, the union movement needs to break from the Democrats and Republicans and launch a party of its own—an independent labor party.

A labor party can offer an alternative program for the benefit of the majority. A labor party would be a party fighting against racism, Klan and Nazi violence, and police brutality. It would be for full employment, school desegregation, and affirmative action.

Black workers, who make up such a large section of organized labor today, would be right in the middle of such a party. In the forefront of establishing it, setting its program, and organizing to put its candidates in office. A labor party would give the Black community a real political instrument for the first time.

Flexing our muscle in the streets May 17, making it known that our demand for *jobs now* is not to be ignored, is a step in the right direction.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BARBEQUE. Sun., May 18, 1 p.m. Golden Hills Park. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

COLORADO

HOW TO STOP THE DRAFT. Speaker: Harold Sudmeyer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, District One. Film: "May 1970: Kent State." Sun., May 18, 7 p.m. 126 W. 12th Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, SWP candidate for vice-president. Sun., May 18, social hour 3 p.m.; rally 4 p.m.; reception 6 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. (near Broad St.). Donation: \$3. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 824-3899

Forums on Cuba & revolution in Central America

ALABAMA BIRMINGHAM

STOP U.S. THREATS AGAINST CUBA.
Speakers: Janice Prescott, Socialist Workers
Party candidate for U.S. Senate, recently toured
Cuba. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m. Univ. of Alabama,
Building 3, Room 105. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp:
SWP Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance.
For more information call (205) 328-9403.

INDIANA

GARY

CUBA AND THE CRISIS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. Speaker: John Studer, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., May 17, 7:30 p.m. Hawthorn Hall, Room 103, Indiana Univ. Northwest, 3400 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE

CUBA AND NICARAGUA. THE LATIN AMERI-CAN REVOLUTION TODAY. Speakers: John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio, who will show slide show of Nicaragua; Russell Pelle, who recently toured Cuba. Sat., May 31, 7 p.m. 131 W. Main. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN

HANDS OFF CUBA! Speakers: Charlie Russel, Socialist Workers Party; David Zev Rosenfeld, Young Socialist Alliance, attended 1978 Youth Festival in Cuba. Slide show. Sun., May 18, 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW YORK

CAMPAIGN RALLY: HANDS OFF CUBA! Speakers: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers candidate for president; Pat Mayberry, SWP candidate for Congress, 28th C.D. Thurs., May 22, 7:30 p.m. Sheraton Inn Towne, 300 Broadway, Albany Room. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 463-0072.

TEXAS SAN ANTONIO

STOP U.S. THREATS AGAINST CUBA. Speakers: Nelson Blackstock, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member, author of Workers in the Changing South. Tues., May 20, 8 p.m. 1406 N. Flores. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 735-3141.

VIRGINIA

NEWPORT NEWS

SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA. Speakers to be announced. Sun., June 1, 2 p.m. 111 28th Street. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Why Cuba has jobs for all

When the Cuban revolution came to power in 1959, about 25 percent of the people were jobless and many more worked only part of the year.

By ending capitalist production for profit and developing a publicly owned system of production for use, unemployment was ended in Cuba.

On February 11, 1961, during one of the periodic recessions in the United States, Fidel Castro made a speech challenging the John Kennedy administration on how to solve unemployment.

The following are excerpts from the speech as published here by the Young Socialist Alliance.

And we might ask Mr. Kennedy, if your system is better than ours, why is it that the number of millions of unemployed in the United States is increasing, while in Cuba we have to organize batallions of volunteers to go to work in the fields?

Why is it that while your factories are closing down, our factories are going twenty-four hours around the clock, and many previously closed factories are being brought back into production?

If your system is better than ours, why are you heading toward a crisis while we are heading toward progress?

Does Mr. Kennedy want to end unemployment in the United States? Why, then let him nationalize the big monopolies [applause]; let him nationalize the big utilities companies; let him nationalize the banks; let him put an end to military bases abroad; let him stop the armaments race. Pursue a policy of peace, and you will see how the problems and the crisis in the United States will be over.

Instead of following our example, while the water reaches up to their neck, they try to make us disappear from the surface of the earth.

And that is the irrationality of imperialism, prisoner of its own contradictions, prisoners of their own spiderweb. Simply because that system is a system operating for the benefit of an absolutely parasitic class.

How do they expect to convince us that a system like that is good, if they themselves admit they have a tremendous deficit in reserves, that there are about six million unemployed, that a deep economic crisis is on the way.

That's not me talking, that's Mr. Kennedy talking. Now what he didn't say is why: It's not enough just to say there are around six million jobless, it's not enough to talk about recession. You've got to give some reason for it. But Mr. Kennedy cannot even give a reason. He knows the reason perfectly well, and he also knows why he can't mention it.

That is the tragedy of imperialist rule,



Militant/Harry Ring

Cuban sugar mill lab worker. Before revolution women were excluded from such jobs.

that is the reason why, while the Revolutionary Government maintains a calm and fair attitude, dedicated to work, this gentleman has taken upon himself the trouble of leveling five attacks in twenty days against the Cuban Revolution.

Now they are getting upset about the radio station that Cuba is going to put on the air [applause]. So they're going to claim the right to put up all the radio stations they feel like putting up? To preach counterrevolution in our country? They think they have the right to put up funds for counterrevolutionary exiles?

Well then Cuba feels it has the right to put up funds to help Puerto Rican exiles and the revolutionary exiles of all of Latin America! [prolonged applause].

Cuba, Cuba will go in front of the UN to declare that if the United States feels it has the right to promote counterrevolution in Latin America, Cuba feels it has just as much right to encourage revolution in Latin America!

And we hope that Mr. Kennedy will not try to pretend that logic has disappeared from the earth, because we are speaking with strict logic and strict reason. It is in virtue of that logic that we proclaim our right to defend ourselves against imperialism.

Do they think they are going to intimidate the people of Cuba? How naive they are! How ignorant!

Letters

Crickets vs. shah

Recently my wife and I, along with a friend, attended a concert by country music outlaw Waylon Jennings. Playing along with Waylon were the Crickets, Buddy Holley's old back-up band. Aside from the overall excellence of the show, one incident occurred which readers of the Militant might be interested in.

The Crickets were doing the old Sonny James hit, "I Fought the Law," which has the refrain "I fought the law, and the law won" repeated twice. Suddenly, near the end of the song, the singer changed the refrain to "I fought the shah, and the shah run."

This received an immediate and enthusiastic response from the more than 7,000, mostly young, working-class people in attendance.

Do you think things could be changing?

Dean Cohen
Cleveland, Ohio

Conservatives vs. shah

Even some conservatives are beginning to realize the solution the *Militant* recommends for the Iran situation. The other day I was reading the *Ann Arbor News* and an article by its generally conservative editorial page director included the following.

"I don't wish to scapegoat or divert attention from our own country's flawed policies in Iran, but I often catch myself wondering how much tensions could be improved if the Shah would give himself up to trial in Iran. . . .

"He could spare his country further agony and win the release of the fifty hostages. One life for fifty. But the Shah too is conscious of his niche in history as the father of modern Iran and to end life before a firing squad to the jeers of his countrymen is not the proper exit for royalty.

"Even ones with blood on their hands."

This editorial writer may just be wondering but I think in the light of lunatic Carter's recent actions, working people around the world must now more than ever demand: Send back the shah! Bob Warren Ann Arbor, Michigan

Enthusiastic renewal

Enclosed is a check for renewal of my subscription. I have been concerned about much of the rhetoric, but have managed to work my way around it, largely because your recent articles on Afghanistan, Cuba, and El Salvador have been so illuminating.

I am looking forward with enthusiasm to receiving future issues. *G.H.*

Seattle, Washington

Pulley wasn't there

In the article headlined "Pulley urges labor party in Ky," which appeared in your May 2 issue, an error cropped up during the editing. [SWP presidential candidate Andrew] Pulley did not make a campaign stop at a United Auto Workers-sponsored rally against foreign imports on April 19.

However, a socialist supporter did attend the rally to distribute a campaign statement from Pulley exposing the anti-import hysteria. This supporter met with a good response in the brief time he was there.

As the article states, "One construction worker there bought a copy of the Militant and decided to come to the Socialist Workers campaign rally held later that evening." Chris Rayson Louisville, Kentucky

Milw. school struggle

The caption under a picture in the article I wrote about Matilde Zimmermann's tour in Milwaukee [April 25 Militant] could be taken to imply that James Scott, a leader of the Coalition to Save North Division, had decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

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Louisiana needs labor party

Militant readers may know that the 1979 Louisiana gubernatorial race was the most expensive one of its kind in the history of the United States. Literally millions of dollars were provided by the rulers of this oil-rich state to ensure ownership of the next governor.

A central issue was the socalled "right to work" law. This law was passed by the Louisiana legislature and put into effect in fall 1977. Only one candidate in the race, Greg Nelson of the Socialist Workers Party, unequivocally called for repeal of this crippling antilabor legislation.

Organized labor threw its support behind Louis Lambert, one of the Democratic Party contenders. Lambert supported "right to work," stating only that he would not veto a repeal of the law by the state legislature. He called for a two-year study of the effects of "right to work" before taking a firm stand one way or the other.

At a recent meeting of the New Orleans Central Labor Council, it was announced that the national AFL-CIO was assuming the state organization's outstanding debt for the Lambert campaign.

According to trade unionists attending the meeting, [AFL-CIO President] Lane Kirkland has agreed to absorb the one million dollar debt.

One million dollars spent by the AFL-CIO to elect a candidate opposed to its right to exist! This does not take into account the amount already spent by the Louisiana AFL-CIO, which is unknown.

Nothing could more graphically point out the need for a labor party. And this incident illustrates that "right to work" is an issue for all working people, not just southern workers. As long as it exists here, the whole labor movement is weakened.

Karen Newton

Karen Newton New Orleans, Louisiana This is not true.

The CSND recently scored an important victory when the Milwaukee School Board, under pressure brought to bear by the CSND, reversed its previous position and decided to retain North Division as a school that will draw students from the immediate area. Lynn Rashkind Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Socialism & intelligence

In a letter to the April 4 Militant, Roger Bailey criticized the Militant's rejection of human selective breeding and calls for improving the human condition under socialism by applying techniques of selective breeding to eliminate genetic diseases, "encouraging the breeding of obvious genuises," and "sterilizing retardates."

Bailey ignores the fact that "intelligence" is a subjective and ill-defined category, especially given the wide variety of talents present in the human race. Since no objective means exists for quantitatively measuring intelligence, just how will it be determined who these "obvious geniuses" are? Self-proclaimed?

Democratically elected? Many genetic diseases can be easily treated. Others can be avoided through genetic counseling and methods such as amniocentesis and ultrasound fetal monitoring. We can expect that a socialist society will devote extensive resources to improving prevention and treatment of genetic diseases through these and other techniques that will have better results-as well as being more in line with socialist humanism-than discouraging diabetics from having children or "sterilizing retardates" (with their "consent," of course!).

Finally, such schemes simply won't work. The mode of inheritance of intelligence is unknown and is certainly not a single-gene factor like eye color. It takes years of experimentation just to produce stock animals that yield more meat. The "improvement" of something as complex as the human brain through selective breeding is virtually impossible.

Under socialism we can expect to see an unprecedented flowering of human creativity. Free, universal, high-quality medical care and education. elimination of environmental pollutants that can cause genetic damage, wiping out malnutrition, racism, sexism, and all forms of oppression and exploitation-it is measures such as these, and not quack selective breeding programs, that will contribute to improving the physical, mental, and emotional abilities of free humanity in a free society.

Caryl Sholin Seattle, Washington

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.

Learning About Socialism

Different classes, different answers

Tens of thousands of workers are being thrown out of their jobs, joining millions of other unemployed. The Carter administration says they just have to take it.

For those who still have jobs, inflation chips steadily away at real wages. "No catch-up wage increases," insists the government. "That would be bad for the economy."

What they mean is bad for capitalism, and for the big corporations and banks that make billions off the system. They are all agreed. The lives of millions have to be disrupted, their living standards depressed, so that big business profits can rise.

Carter's Republican and Democratic opponents in the presidential race are all agreed on that, whatever differences they might have with the details of his economic program. Every one of them looks at unemployment and inflation from the standpoint of upholding the profit system.

But there is another standpoint—one that starts from the interests of the great majority, the working people.

That is the standpoint of the Transitional Program, written by Leon Trotsky as the main resolution for the founding congress of the Fourth International in 1938.

The program argues that working people should not sacrifice any of their gains and rights for the profits of the employers. If the capitalist economy can't provide a decent life for the people who do the work, then let it be replaced by a better one.

The demands posed in the program to defend living standards—for a sliding scale of wages and a shorter work week—remain the heart of an immediate solution to the problems of unemployment and inflation.

The idea of a shorter work week with no reduction in take home pay has long been a goal of the union movement although workers in this country have been losing ground in this area in recent years.

The idea of a sliding scale of wages—an escalator clause or COLA, as it's usually called today—had not yet won wide support in the American union movement at the time the program was adopted.

But after the Second World War, more and more unions began to fight to have such clauses in contracts. It is still the only protection workers have against inflation under the capitalist system (although most escalator clauses still fall short of full protection against rising prices).

This kind of protection is also vital for people on unemployment compensation, pensioners, and those receiving public assistance.

Against all schemes for tinkering with the capitalist system, the demands in the Transitional Program are based on uncompromising defense of the interests of working people, regardless of the effect on profits.

Through the experience of such struggles, more and more workers will draw the conclusion that revolutionary change is needed and that they have the power to create a better system, socialism.

The following excerpt on the fight against inflation and unemployment is reprinted from *The Transitional Program* for Socialist Revolution, which includes the entire program and a number of discussions with Trotsky about it. The book is available from the offices listed below or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Under the conditions of disintegrating capitalism, the masses continue to live the impoverished life of the oppressed, threatened now more than at any other time with the danger of being cast into the pit of pauperism. They must defend their mouthful of bread, if they cannot increase or better it. There is neither the need nor the opportunity to enumerate here those separate, partial demands which time and again arise on the basis of concrete circumstances—national, local, trade union. But two basic economic afflictions, in which is summarized the increasing absurdity of the capitalist system—that is, unemployment and high prices—demand generalized slogans and methods of struggle.

The Fourth International declares uncompromising war on the politics of the capitalists, which to a considerable degree, like the politics of their agents, the reformists, aims to place the whole burden of militarism, the crises, the disorganization of the monetary system, and all other scourges stemming from capitalism's death agony upon the backs of the toilers. The Fourth International demands employment and decent living conditions for all.

Neither monetary inflation nor stabilization can serve as slogans for the proletariat, because these are but two ends of the same stick. Against a bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increase in price of consumer goods.

Under the menace of its own disintegration, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of the workers into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a disintegrating society. The right to employment is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, "structural" as well as "conjunctural," the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a sliding scale of working hours.

Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, with a strictly guaranteed *minimum*, would follow the movement of prices. It is impossible to accept any other program for the present catastrophic period.

Property owners and their lawyers will prove the "unrealizability" of these demands. Smaller, especially ruined capitalists in addition will refer to their account ledgers. The workers categorically denounce such conclusions and references. The question is not one of a "normal" collision between opposing material interests. The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind.

If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish.

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THE MILITANT

Marchers protest threats to Cuba

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Four hundred opponents of Carter's show-of-force military maneuvers in the Caribbean demonstrated in midtown Manhattan May 10.

They condemned "Operation Solid Shield 80" as a threat against Cuba and the liberation fighters throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

Central America and the Caribbean.

"Solid Shield" was planned as the largest U.S. military "exercise" ever conducted in the Caribbean. The May 8-20 maneuvers were to involve more than 20,000 troops, 42 ships, and 350 warplanes. They originally included a mock landing at the U.S. occupied Guantánamo Naval Base in Cuba, but the Pentagon has since backed off from that provocative move.

The New York demonstrators picketed for an hour in Times Square and then marched through the Saturday shopping crowds for a rally in Herald Square, across from Macy's.

Protesters held aloft banners, carried placards, and chanted slogans in English and Spanish.

Their slogans reflected recognition that the ominous military "exercise" comes as the U.S.-backed dictatorship in El Salvador is losing ground to rebel forces, as the Nicaraguan workers and peasants are consolidating their power, and as Washington is whipping up a new campaign of slander against Cuba for its solidarity with these revolutionary struggles.

Among the protesters demands were: "U.S. hands off Cuba." "U.S. out of Guantánamo." "Cuba yes, blockade no." "U.S. hands off Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador." "Stop spy flights over Cuba."

"Stop war preparations in the Caribbean." "Stop 'Solid Shield'—Cuba will not yield." "U.S. Navy out of Vieques." "Solidarity with El Salvador." "U.S. hands off Grenada."

Participating organizations included Casa de las Americas, Center for Cuban Studies, Casa Nicaragua, El Salvador Solidarity Committee, Socialist



Militant/Lou Howort

New York demonstrators hit Carter's 'Operation Solid Shield'— practice maneuvers for invasion of Cuba or U.S. military intervention against Latin American revolution.

Workers Party, Communist Party, Workers World Party, Venceremos Brigade, Committee for Vieques, El Comité, and others.

At the rally a statement was read on behalf of the sponsoring groups, which had also been distributed as a bilingual leaflet along the line of march.

It branded Carter's "Operation Solid Shield" as a "reassertion and intensification of a policy of hostility and aggression toward Cuba."

It charged that it also was "aimed at the peoples of the Caribbean area and Central America who have overthrown U.S.-backed dictatorships (as in Grenada and Nicaragua), or who are fighting against repressive regimes supported by Washington (El Salvador being the best example today)."

It demanded: "A halt to the military provocation against Cuba and the Caribbean and Central American peoples; that the U.S. get out of Guantánamo and end the blockade; and that the U.S. stop its spy flights over Cuba."

Consuelo Soto of the Vieques committee described how Washington uses the Puerto Rican island as a target range despite strong protests against the terrible disruption it has brought to the people there.

The fight to end U.S. violation of the rights of the people of Vieques, she declared, is part of the fight for self-determination for all the people of Central America and the Caribbean.

A representative of Casa de las Americas, composed mainly of New York Cubans, declared that six U.S. administrations "have tried to defeat the Cuban revolution, but with only one result—total failure."

He was greeted with cheers, applause, and chants as he concluded:

"We here are in the front ranks of the movement in solidarity with Cuba. We must be firm defenders of the revolution in words and in deeds!"

Haitians bring asylum demand to capital

By Roberto Flores

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A crowd of 150 Haitian refugees and their supporters marched here May 4 to begin a week of activity demanding political asylum for 13,000 Haitians who have fled to this country to escape the dictatorial regime of Jean Claude Duvalier.

The Haitians, many of whom survived the perilous 800-mile journey in flimsy boats, are engaged in a court battle for the right to stay in the United States.

The U.S. government, which claims that the Haitians came here only for economic reasons, is trying to deport them.

A Haitian refugee, one of the sixty who came here from Miami for the demonstration, bitterly denounced the double standard used by the U.S. government:

"The Cubans who emigrate to improve their standard of living are considered political refugees, while we Haitians, who flee to save our lives, are considered economic refugees."

Isabel Letelier, widow of the assassinated Chilean leader Orlando Letelier, told the crowd that, "One cannot speak of human rights violations in Haiti, because there are no human rights in Haiti.

"The refugees should be considered political refugees," she insisted.

Representative Walter Fauntroy, on behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus, said that all Blacks have a stake in the fight of the Haitians.

"It's past due," he said, "that the State Department recognize that racism must be eliminated from our human rights and refugee policy."

On May 7 the Congressional Black Caucus issued a public appeal urging asylum for the Haitians and charging the Carter administration with racism and "deliberate deceit" in its dealings with the Haitians.

The Haitian appeal has also won widespread support in the labor movement. Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, held a May 7 news conference where he rejected the argument that the Haitians or Cubans would take jobs away from other workers.

"The worst thing that could happen to trade unionism is for groups of workers to be set against each other in a competition for scarce jobs."

He urged political refugee status for the Haitians.

Evidence has been presented before the U.S. district court in Miami, the attorney general, and the Human Rights Commission of the Organization of American States demonstrating that Haitians excluded from the U.S. are routinely and arbitrarily subjected to imprisonment, torture, and even death.

The Haitians are demanding that

Carter grant them asylum before May 15, when the Refugee Act of 1980 withdraws the president's authority to grant asylum on a group basis.

If Carter does not grant asylum, the appeal could drag out in the courts, which would worsen the already desperate situation that the Haitian refugees face.

Since 1972 the refugees have been systematically denied the right to work in this country or to receive basic survival assistance. Officials in Florida, where most of the refugees are, have even stated that starvation is a problem.

During the week of activities in Washington the Haitians and their supporters held a daily vigil in front of the White House. Seven went on a hunger strike.

On May 10, busloads of Haitians and others from New York came here

Continued on page 20