

U.S. backs Honduran attacks on Nicaragua



APIA

Honduran troops. At center is Gen. Gustavo Adolfo Alvarez, who works closely with U.S. ambassador to Honduras John Negroponte.

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Urged on by Washington, the Honduran army is now taking a direct hand in armed attacks on Nicaragua. These attacks have been coordinated with an invasion of Nicaragua by some 2,000 U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries. They are another step on Washington's course of escalating aggression in Central America — a course that threatens to end in a new Vietnam.

At least seven separate attacks against

More on Central America inside: editorial, page 14; news of protests, pages 3-4; features, pages 8-9.

Nicaragua were carried out by Honduran military units during the week of March 20-27. The attacks have included the use of mortars and machine guns against Nicaraguan border posts. Most serious of all was a March 24 incident in which a Honduran unit crossed the international frontier and attacked a patrol of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) wounding one soldier.

'New phase' in U.S. attacks

As a protest by the Nicaraguan government noted, such attacks represent "a new phase" in the U.S.-orchestrated campaign against the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua. Washington, the protest explained, wants "to provoke open conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua, which would serve as a pretext for United States military intervention in Central America."

While U.S. officials from Reagan on down have tried to palm off the fighting in Nicaragua as an "internal problem," the result of what they claim is massive domestic opposition to the Sandinista government, this lie has been repeatedly exposed by U.S. journalists.

New York Times reporter Stephen Kinzer, for example, visited a counter-revolutionary camp near Matasano, Honduras, about eight miles north of the Nicaraguan border, on March 27.

"The encampment," according to Kinzer, "consisted of more than a dozen large tents, near an earthen hut packed to the rafters with unopened crates labeled as United States-made armaments. According to English markings on the crates, their contents included fragmentation grenades and mortar shells."

Men who were members of former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard make up the backbone of the counterrevolutionary forces based in Honduras. Honduran soldiers in the area told Kinzer that they helped the Somozaists to obtain food and other necessities, and that they felt "a sense of brotherhood" with them.

Just a few days previously the Honduran government had issued another official statement claiming, "It is absolutely false that anti-Sandinist guerrillas have bases in Honduras or have used our territory to launch attacks against the regime of the neighboring country."

CIA role

CIA involvement in arming, financing, training, and helping to organize the counterrevolutionary army in Honduras is an open secret. Newsweek magazine head-

lined the CIA's involvement in the war against Nicaragua last November, and its account was confirmed by U.S. officials interviewed by the *New York Times*.

Further information on the counter-revolutionary operation, organized under the name of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), was provided in the April 4 issue of *Time* magazine. According to *Time*, there are "three military general staffs who run the current guerrilla campaign" behind the front of the FDN's "political coordinating committee."

The first of the three staffs, says *Time*, is composed of former officers from Somoza's National Guard. "The second staff group is made up of members of the Honduran military, plus [FDN head Col. Enrique] Bermúdez and a military representative from Argentina. . . . According to the F.D.N., a key member of the second staff is a man known as Carlos, who is the CIA station chief in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa.

"The third general staff is, by the F.D.N. accounts, an all-American body. It is composed of CIA experts and representatives of the U.S. Army's Southern Command, based in Panama."

In overall charge, according to virtually all the published reports, is John Negroponte, the U.S. ambassador in Tegucigalpa.

Although the CIA-organized operation in Honduras has been going on for the past three years, things are now reaching a qualitative new point.

- The direct involvement of the Honduran army and its build-up along the Nicaragua border are unprecedented.

- The invasion by the Somozaists, their biggest move yet, already involves more troops than took part in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, which was launched by Washington in 1961 in hopes of overthrowing the new revolutionary government there.

- Along with the attacks from the north, Nicaragua is now facing attacks from Costa

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Farmers and Blacks unite for rally on jobs, justice

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

In a big step forward for the struggle of farmers and Blacks, civil rights and American Agriculture Movement (AAM) leaders met to discuss mobilizing Black farmers for the August 27-28 Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom.

The meeting was announced in a front-page story in the March 22 *American Agriculture News*, which also published a photo of AAM spokesperson Alvin Jenkins talking with Coretta Scott King, a Mobilization leader.

The August actions, which include a massive march and rally in Washington, D.C., on August 27, will commemorate the historic 1963 March on Washington led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The call for the August actions, made by the New Coalition of Conscience for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom, explains that these three issues "are inextricably linked."

The call advocates "socially useful and dignified employment with a just wage"; opposes the U.S. government's military buildup; seeks the reversal of government attempts "to roll back and weaken the enforcement of civil rights laws and policies"; and urges full and equal rights for women.

King and other civil rights leaders, including Harry Belafonte, Jesse Jackson, and Joseph Lowery, met March 5 in Washington with Jenkins to discuss AAM's participation in the march, and reaching out to Black farmers.

American Agriculture News reported that AAM was asked "to put a tractor in the parade, driven by a black farmer with white farmers walking along beside it."

The paper quoted Jenkins as saying, "It was an unbelievable meeting. They are expecting 300,000 people. They want to work in rural America and help black farmers fight. They will set up a rural office now and work with black farmers until the August 27 march."

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Grenada warns of imminent rightist attack

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

NEW YORK — Washington is organizing an "imminent" military attack against the island of Grenada that "could come in a matter of days," Grenada's foreign minister charged here March 28.

"Based on a careful analysis of the evidence, we are convinced that the Reagan administration is planning an aggression — directly or indirectly — against Grenada," Unison Whiteman told a packed news conference at the United Nations. "The situation is grave and we are extremely concerned."

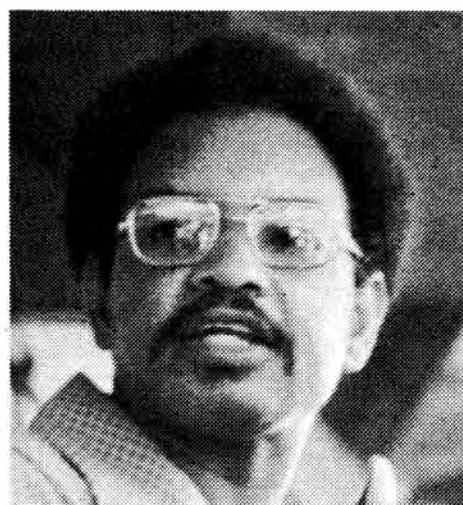
Grenada, a small Caribbean island with an English-speaking Black population of 110,000, has been on Washington's enemies list since 1979. That year a popular revolution in Grenada overthrew U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy. Since the revolution, the island's economy has expanded, unemployment has plunged, and the government has made big improvements in health, education, roads, and other public services.

"But today we face the danger of foreign military invasion," Whiteman said, "and all that we have struggled to build is in danger of destruction."

He cited as evidence "an upsurge in the activities of mercenaries and counter-revolutionaries" being trained in Miami for

an attack against Grenada. Right-wing Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles are assisting in their training. In addition, meetings to discuss a plan of operations against Grenada are currently being held "in a certain country close to Grenada."

However, the most "ominous signs" come from the Reagan administration itself, according to Whiteman. In speeches March 10 and March 23, Reagan accused



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt
Grenadian Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman.

Grenada, along with Cuba and Nicaragua, of posing a threat to U.S. national security.

Those speeches, Whiteman said, signaled a "heightening of preparations" for an attack. White House officials have "been using all kinds of fabrications, distortions, lies, and deceptions about Grenada" to prepare the ground politically for an attack.

"They are hoping in such a way to create a climate of hysteria such that public opinion would accept an aggression against Grenada. The present propaganda campaign against Grenada is classic in that it uses methods that were used by the CIA before military aggressions in Guatemala in 1954 and Chile in 1973," he explained.

Nicaragua parallel

In Reagan's March 10 speech, Whiteman noted, the president "attacked Nicaragua in the same vein, and it is significant that within days a full-scale invasion of Nicaragua was in progress." The imperialist theme, Whiteman said, is that "Grenada is a threat to the United States. Imagine that. If our tiny country is a threat to the United States it's not difficult to imagine what the United States plans to do to remove the threat."

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY MALIK MIAH

The escalating invasion of Nicaragua by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries, new threats against the revolutionary peoples of Grenada and Cuba, and Reagan's March 23 speech calling for a massive increase in U.S. nuclear and conventional weaponry are all of great concern to working people.

A *Militant* reader at the Eagle Electric plant in New York told us there was considerable discussion in his shop after the Reagan speech: "My coworkers are very concerned about a possible nuclear war and war in general. Many went through it before — in Korea or Vietnam. They don't want it again."

That kind of discussion is going on in plants all across the country. One of the best ways to participate — and to help get out the facts about what's happening in Nicaragua, in El Salvador, in Grenada — is by circulating the *Militant* and our Spanish-language, sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, at plant gates. The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are organizing a campaign to do just that. You can become involved, too.

At the heart of this campaign, which takes on special urgency with the events in Central America and the Caribbean, is the goal of organizing every supporter of the *Militant* and *PM* to sell our press

each week at a plant gate. We want to return regularly to the same location week after week, to meet and talk with workers who are interested in the ideas and information contained in our press.

On right track

Socialists on the Iron Range in northern Minnesota report some important progress in this campaign that shows we're on the right track. Iron ore mining is the major industry there. The workers are organized by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

Until recently, unemployment among iron ore miners in the area was over 80 percent — 12,000 out of 14,000 were laid-off. The figure has dropped somewhat lately as a few mines have opened up. But 8,000 miners are still out of work. And total unemployment on the Iron Range is 28 percent.

One of those laid off is Elizabeth Kilanowski, a member of the Steelworkers and a socialist. She reports that despite the fact that most socialist workers have been laid off from the mines, they have organized *Militant* sales to those miners still working, as well as sales at union meetings of the Steelworkers, and at unemployment lines.

It often gets way below zero degrees on the Iron Range. Organizing regular plant-gate sales is not easy: "People don't always want to open their windows," Kilanowski explained, "but we do get

workers to stop and buy papers."

"At first," she noted, "we thought we needed a sign to explain to people what we were selling. We found it was helpful. In fact, at the Minntac mine, one worker drove by and then stopped his car, backed up, read the sign, and made a beeline to the person selling the *Militant* and bought one."

Now, she adds, "it's not so necessary to have a sign because people are getting used to seeing us out there at the same mine, the same time each week, week after week. So, workers begin expecting us. This has helped a lot because now people have their money ready as they drive by."

Laid-off Steelworkers

The *Militant* gets out to laid-off Steelworkers as well. Socialist Steelworkers have been selling at their union meetings, such as the meeting of 200 recently that heard Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara.

They also meet other laid-off Steelworkers on the job, often in garment shops or public works programs.

One laid-off Steelworker who used to read the *Militant* when he worked at Minntac met a co-worker, a socialist, on a \$3.50-an-hour public works job. They started talking politics and the Steelworker ended up joining the YSA.



Militant/Lou Howort

Socialists are helping get out truth on Central America through participation in emergency protests and circulation of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

In Toledo, meanwhile, socialists have made strides forward in bringing our press to the Jeep plant, the largest plant organized by the United Auto Workers in the city. For the first six weeks they were there they sold usually one or two papers. Now it's up to 5 to 10 a week.

By getting out to the same plant

each week, exchanging experiences with other workers who are feeling the blows of the capitalist crisis, we're meeting more and more workers who are looking for a socialist alternative. Some have already joined the socialist movement, and more will. This is what our circulation campaign at the plant gates is all about.

Grenada warns of imminent rightist attack

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From "day one," Whiteman charged, "the Reagan administration has been trying to overthrow the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada."

Economic destabilization

The White House tried economic destabilization by putting pressure on the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Economic Community, and the Caribbean Development Bank to deny loans to Grenada. Those efforts failed, Whiteman said, and Grenada's economy is growing.

"They have also tried political destabilization; they have tried to isolate us within the [Caribbean] community. That too has failed."

In August 1981 Washington rehearsed a plan of military intervention in Grenada through naval maneuvers that they code-named "Amber." But Reagan was forced to back down, Whiteman explained, because "the world screamed in support of poor little Grenada and our militia in Gre-

nada began to prepare to defend our country." Right now, large-scale U.S.-British-Dutch naval maneuvers are again under way in the Caribbean.

On February 27, 1983, the *Washington Post* exposed a "comprehensive" CIA plot to destabilize and overthrow the government of Grenada.

U.S. rejects dialogue

Throughout this entire period, Whiteman reported, the Reagan administration refused numerous requests from Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop to open a dialogue, exchange ambassadors, and move toward normalizing relations between the two countries.

Rather, "we see signs that the U.S. continues to threaten and attack us even from the highest levels, even from President Reagan himself."

Whiteman condemned Reagan for using the "trick" of displaying spy satellite photographs in his March 23 television address to create the impression that the airport under construction in Grenada is a secret military facility. Such U.S. spy

technology was hardly necessary, Whiteman pointed out, because "thousands of people visit the airport every week and hundreds visit every day because it is an open place."

The airport is not a threat to anybody, Whiteman stated. "It's for the advancement of tourism and the building of our economy. And the United States knows that. That is the irony."

"They know this because on June 15, 1982, there were hearings before the U.S. congressional subcommittee on inter-American affairs and a distinguished member of the House Armed Services Committee who personally toured the airport site testified that both the Atlantic Fleet commander and the air defense commander of the United States assured him that Grenada's airport posed no threat to the United States."

Cuban aid to airport

The foreign minister also explained that Grenada makes no secret of Cuban aid in constructing the airport. It is also well known, he said, that the U.S. government

refused to help. At the same time, however, U.S. companies have been involved in the project.

"For example, Layne Dredging of Florida was involved in the excavation work and dredging. There are British and Finnish firms involved in the project; many countries are helping."

And in Grenada, "our people are selling bonds worldwide and buying bonds to realize a project that has been a dream of ours for decades."

"One might ask: Why does a government that controls hundreds of airports in its own country and around the world try to deny a small country [the right] to build its first and only international airport? Is it that they wish to keep us in backwardness and dependence?" Whiteman asked.

There could be only one reason the White House is making such provocative, untrue claims:

"I would like to remind you of the Gulf of Tonkin incident which was provoked to justify the bombing of North Vietnam in the 1960s. It seems that the United States is building up hysteria to justify some kind of mercenary invasion of our country."

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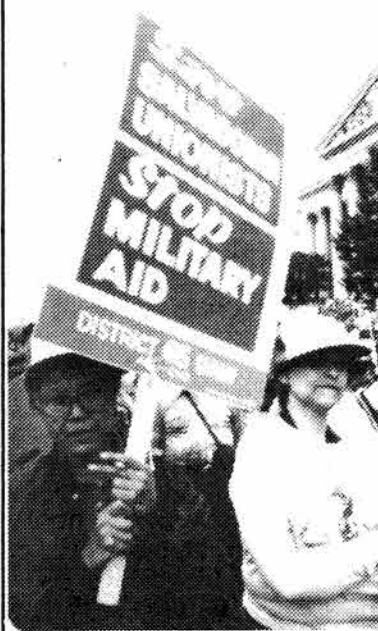
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Militant/Lou Howort
Emergency N.Y. protest demands U.S. stop aggression against Nicaragua.

Protests hit Washington's war on Nicaragua, Salvador

Picket-line protests were held March 25 and 26 in several cities against the U.S.-backed attacks on revolutionary Nicaragua by counterrevolutionary military forces based in Honduras.

Condemnations of Washington's war against Nicaragua were also a prominent part of actions to commemorate the March 1980 assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, who was killed by rightist and government forces in El Salvador because of his outspoken opposition to the U.S.-supported regime there.

BY JUAN MARTÍNEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — Three hundred people marched at the Federal Building here March 25 to protest the U.S.-backed military attacks against Nicaragua.

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz and Bill Wahtepah of the American Indian Movement denounced the lies of the big-business media about the Nicaraguan government's treatment of Miskitos and other Indians in that country.

Alvaro Solórzano of the Nicaragua Information Center, one of the rally's spon-

sors, said the great danger is the threat of a war provoked by Honduras.

In St. Louis, 110 people picketed March 26 at the post office.

They protested the invasion of Nicaragua and U.S. military aid and "advisers" in El Salvador.

Among the picketers was John Hiedle, mayor of St. John, Missouri, who is an ironworker and Vietnam veteran.

Two clergy from Nicaragua spoke at a March 24 memorial meeting for Archbishop Romero, joining Father Paul Rienart, chancellor of St. Louis University, who has been to El Salvador on a fact-finding trip.

Three hundred marched in Boston March 26, and 150 in New York March 25.

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH
AND SYLVIA ZAPATA

LOS ANGELES — More than 300 people attended a tribunal March 25 on Archbishop Romero's assassination. The next

day, well over 600 people attended a mass followed by a march to commemorate him.

Blase Bonpane, a former Maryknoll missionary in Central America, moderated at the tribunal, which he opened by condemning the U.S. role in financing and organizing the counterrevolutionaries who are attacking Nicaragua.

Drew Katzman, an actor and screenwriter, was at the Nicaragua-Honduras border during the joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers.

He displayed fragments of U.S.-made mortar and rocket rounds from the border area.

Also speaking were a number of Salvadoran refugees, who told movingly of the repression and oppression in their country.

Julie Ann Kline told of the murder of her brother Michael by the Salvadoran army, and the attempts by both the authorities there and the U.S. embassy to hide the truth.

Others speaking at the tribunal included Samuel Paz, executive director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; Jaime Bismark, from Casa Nicaragua; Father Louis Oliveras of La Placita Church; and Linda Wong, of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The next day, at St. Joseph's Church, a mass was held for Romero and other martyrs of the Salvadoran struggle for justice, including four U.S. churchwomen murdered in 1980.

The highest-ranking Latino in the Los Angeles archdiocese, Bishop Juan Arzube, officiated. He was joined by other church leaders.

A number of prominent labor figures sponsored the mass and rally, including Jimmy Rodríguez, president of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement; Al Hernández of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor; Pete Beltran, president of United Auto Workers Local 645; and Miguel Machuco, regional director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Rodríguez told the crowd of the decision by the AFL-CIO Executive Council to oppose further military aid to El Salvador.

The protests were an important step toward unity by the different forces organizing against U.S. intervention in Central America.

The tribunal was sponsored by the January 22 Coalition, which grew out of the Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Tijuana in October. The border conference was an effort to expand the work of the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, an international body coordinating anti-intervention activities throughout the world.

The January 22 Coalition serves as an umbrella organization for united actions by many diverse groups here, including Casa El Salvador, Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Committee in Solidarity With Central America (COSCA), Casa Nicaragua, the Socialist Workers Party, Federation for Progress, and others.

The Romero mass was sponsored by the Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero Relief Fund, which has close ties with the Catholic church and other religious organizations. COSCA sponsored the post-mass march and rally.

All groups endorsed and publicized each other's actions, an important step toward broadening and strengthening the anti-intervention forces.

In San Diego, more than 200 people attended a Romero commemoration March 24 at the University of San Diego.

It was organized by the Peace and Justice Commission of the San Diego Diocese. Other events were held by the San Diego Committee in Support of the Mexico-U.S. Border Conference.

Romero memorial activities were also held in Phoenix and other cities.

Pa. unionists hear Nicaragua consul

BY BILL KALMAN

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — The Nicaraguan consul for the eastern United States, Leonor Arquello de Hüper, recently spent a day here talking to trade unionists, students, and women's rights activists about the U.S. war in Central America. De Hüper was invited to Pittsburgh by a number of groups to speak as part of a celebration of International Women's Day on March 11.

That morning she addressed a labor breakfast sponsored by Russell Gibbons, editor of *Steeltabor*, newspaper of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA); Lou Pappalardo, president of American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 2067; Rosemary Trump, president of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 585; Henry Dropkin, vice-president of the Pittsburgh Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); and Mark McColloch, chair of the Labor-Community Task Force of the Pittsburgh Central America Mobilization Coalition.

The breakfast drew 30 labor officials and activists including officers from the USWA international office, USWA District 15, and USWA Local 1397; United Auto Workers Local 65, International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), Branch 85 of the National Association of Letter Carriers, as well as ACTWU, SEIU, AFT, and Mon-Valley Unemployed Committee.

De Hüper began her talk by noting "the big debt of gratitude the people of Nicaragua owe the Steelworkers for collecting eyeglasses for us." Several years ago, the USWA and the Brothers Brother Foundation initiated a campaign to collect thousands of eyeglasses for Nicaragua, whose new revolutionary government was carrying out a literacy drive.

The Nicaraguan consul spoke vividly of

the history of colonial exploitation of her country, the role of the United States in propping up the brutal Somoza dictatorship, and the ongoing revolutionary process that began in 1979 with the overthrow of Somoza. She explained, "We are people who fought a revolution because we had to. Revolution is not a commodity you can export. Revolutions are fought for social justice."

De Hüper also told the unionists of the nature of the border invasions by counterrevolutionaries based in Honduras, and the drain on the Nicaraguan economy imposed by the military defense of the revolution.

Taking up the U.S. government charge that Nicaragua is a dictatorship because it hasn't held national elections, she explained, "You had a revolution in 1776. Don't forget, it took you 10 years to have your first elections. The U.S. government

pesters us about elections, but they don't pester [Chile's] Mr. Pinochet."

When she was asked by a labor official what the labor movement here can do to help, she said, "First, come down and visit Nicaragua and talk to the people there. Come down to our May 1st celebration. Secondly, it's your government; tell them to stop their intervention in Central America!"

Later that night, the consul was the featured speaker on a panel entitled "International Women: Celebrate the struggle of women taking control of their lives." Other panelists included Carol Edelson from the New Jewish Agenda; Rahab Effawi from the General Union of Palestinian Students; Molly Rush, director of the Thomas Merton Center and one of the Plowshares Eight defendants; and Cheryl Craig from Women for Racial and Economic Equality.

U.S. backs Honduran military attacks

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Rica in the south. Several camps of armed counterrevolutionaries have been uncovered along the Costa Rican border in recent months. And Edén Pastora, a former Sandinista leader who deserted to the side of the counterrevolution, announced that his organization would begin an armed campaign in Nicaragua by mid-April.

• Taking the stepped up fighting as a signal, the capitalists and their supporters inside Nicaragua have initiated a wave of economic sabotage. Shortages of cooking oil, laundry soap, eggs, and milk — all of which had been readily available at government-controlled prices — have now begun to appear as a result of hoarding and speculation. Lengthy gas lines have also begun to appear.

Referring to these artificially caused shortages, Commander Tomás Borge reminded an assembly of Sandinista police March 26 that "it would not be any surprise" if the CIA were involved in this operation.

"They did it in Chile," Borge said. "They did it in Cuba, and it would be nothing out of the ordinary if they were doing it now in Nicaragua."

The counterrevolutionary forces hope to spread panic and demoralization in Nicaragua by their economic sabotage and by their inflated claims of military success, while at the same time making propaganda for their reactionary cause internationally.

"We should remember that when the Bay of Pigs invasion occurred in Cuba," Commander Daniel Ortega pointed out at a March 26 news conference in Managua, "the thousands of wire stories that went out

claimed the Cuban revolution had been defeated."

Empty boasts by the Somozaists, who claimed to have taken towns and even whole provinces in the fighting along the border, were punctured when reporters actually turned up at the scene of some of these imaginary triumphs. The fact is that the counterrevolutionaries failed to take a single town.

Furthermore, the Sandinista government has vowed to continue with the tasks of production while repelling the armed attacks on Nicaragua.

While the counterrevolutionary bands and their supporters in the CIA and the Honduran army can count on the enthusiastic cooperation of those capitalists remaining in Nicaragua, the attitude of the workers and farmers is another matter. "Rebel bands appear to have attracted little public support," Alan Riding admitted in the March 26 *New York Times*.

Referring to the program of the FDN, Larry Boyd reported in the March 22 *Christian Science Monitor* that "it calls for a rollback of the agrarian reform in Nicaragua including the return of properties confiscated from Somoza . . . and release of National Guardsmen jailed by the Sandinistas. It also condemns the literacy campaign as a Marxist-Leninist plot."

"Since agrarian reform, the jailing of former guardsmen, and the literacy campaign are the most popular Sandinista programs, the FDN may have a hard time gaining a wide following."

But these are the forces that have been hailed by Jeane Kirkpatrick — Reagan's ambassador to the United Nations — as "freedom fighters."

Grenada rally set in Brooklyn

A mass rally to defend the Grenadian revolution has been called in Brooklyn for 5 p.m. Sunday, April 3, at Colonial Mansion, 2431 Church Ave. (between Bedford and Rogers).

Grenada's foreign minister, Unison Whiteman, is to address the rally. There is also to be a video address by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop about Grenada's international tourist airport.

The rally was announced at a March 29 meeting of 150 people called to discuss solidarity in the face of U.S. aggression against the revolutionary government of Grenada.

Salvador union leader exposes election call

BY SCOTT BREEN

CINCINNATI — Alejandro Molina Lara, the Salvadoran union leader, told a rally here of 100 that President Reagan's call for elections in his country is "a masquerade of democracy." Molina Lara is on a national speaking tour to win support for imprisoned trade unionists in El Salvador. He also spoke recently in Dayton, Ohio; Indianapolis; and Newport News, Virginia.

Appearing here as a guest of the Central American Task Force, Molina Lara explained that the rebels of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) "will not lay down arms for the Reagan administration."

"We are not against elections; we wanted to participate in the March 1982 elections. But how could we when we didn't have the right to strike? When our union headquarters were blown up? When our leaders were marked for death?"

Before the liberation forces would agree to elections, the regime would "have to legalize unions and end the military occupation of workplaces. We have to have the right to think and talk without repression. They have to reopen the National University. They have to dump the state of siege that only permits the oligar-



Molina Lara (right) talks with shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia.

chy to freely speak and organize. They have to take the CIA out of the country and throw out the U.S. military advisers."

In the military field, Molina Lara explained, "the brothers and sisters of the FMLN are showing they can defeat the army. We are winning the war militarily." Nonetheless, "We call for a political dialogue to end the bloodshed, to find a political settlement."

The rally, which was chaired by Jackie Rubio, coordinator of the Cincinnati Central American Task Force, also heard from Jim Wolfe,

education director of the International Molders' and Allied Workers' Union, and Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Shuttlesworth explained, "As I said 25 years ago in Alabama during the civil rights movement, you can't stop the movement of a people determined to be free."

Shuttlesworth told the crowd that "this country has committed more crimes and injustice than any other on the face of the earth. I am tired of giving for bombs, guns, and arms. We want peace, we

want bread, we want justice!"

While in Cincinnati, Molina Lara also addressed a union meeting of International Association of Machinists Lodge 912, which represents 1,000 machinists at the General Electric plant that produces jet engines for the military. Unionists there contributed \$57 to aid jailed Salvadoran unionists. Molina Lara was the featured speaker at a Coalition of Labor Union Women-sponsored meeting of 30 on International Women's Day.

In nearby Dayton, Molina Lara met with officials of the United Electrical Workers (UE). He attended a dinner organized by Betty Jean Carroll, vice-president of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) local that organizes workers at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. Also attending were other AFGE officers; UE members; and Wes Wells, executive director of the Dayton Central Labor Council.

400 in New York hail revolution in Grenada

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

NEW YORK — Over 400 enthusiastic supporters, overwhelmingly Grenadian and Caribbean residents of the New York area, met here in Brooklyn March 13 to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the revolution in Grenada.

It was on March 13, 1979, that

Eric Gairy, the U.S.-backed dictator, was overthrown and replaced by Grenada's revolutionary government led by the New Jewel Movement.

The New York meeting, chaired by Jude Cameron, featured a videotaped message from Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and an address by Joseph Burke, Grenada's consul general to the United States, as well as cultural presentations.

The theme of both the videotape and the consul general's address was the significant economic progress registered in Grenada.

The part of Burke's address that drew one of the biggest ovations was when he told the crowd not to be concerned only about Grenada, but also with brothers and sisters in South Africa, in Haiti, and here in the United States. The chairperson announced that representatives were present from Cuba, Libya, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Barbados, Laos, Suriname, and Vietnam. Messages of support were sent to the meeting from the Grenada Revolutionary League, Grenada Women's Organization, Committee in Solidarity With Free Grenada, Antonio Maceo Brigade, U.S. Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Progressive Youth Organization of Jamaica, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party, Friends of Jamaica, U.S. Peace Council, and the New York Committee for Marxist Education, among others.

U.S. isolated in UN Security Council debate

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Faced with a sharp escalation of attacks by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary forces, the Nicaraguan government convened a special session of the United Nations Security Council to expose Washington's latest aggression. Nicaragua is currently a member of the Security Council.

During the course of the debates, which began on March 23, Nicaragua's deputy foreign minister, Víctor Tinoco Fonseca, detailed Washington's support for the Honduran-based terrorist bands.

"Nicaragua," Tinoco declared, "is facing a new aggressive escalation of acts by the American administration, in the form now of massive infiltration of military units and task forces of Somoza counterrevolutionaries from the territory of Honduras."

Tinoco provided a detailed account of the preparations for stepped-up aggression against Nicaragua. From July to October 1982, he said, large numbers of counterrevolutionaries trained in camps in Florida were transferred to Honduras. In November 1982, infiltrations across the border increased.

Following the failure of these initial attacks, larger incursions from Honduras started early this year. Then, at the beginning of February, "the process of massive infiltration of our national territory began," Tinoco said, with the entry of some 2,000 counterrevolutionaries.

"The United States government, which nurtured and nursed this dictatorship and which benefitted from the way in which it sold its country down the river for the sake of its own economic enrichment, is today behind the new acts of aggression and behind the suffering that the Nicaraguan people are once more undergoing. These Somoza groups only exist in that they are financed and directed by United States institutions, which turn them into a tool for their own policy in the region."

The Nicaraguan militia and army was dealing with these counterrevolutionary bands, Tinoco said.

"In the opinion of the Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction, the danger does not reside in these counterrevolutionary forces themselves, as by and large they have remained in the mountain areas of Nicaragua, very close to the Hon-

duran border; on the contrary, the danger, which is very serious, resides in the fact that these actions of the Somozaist forces in the center and the north of the country may represent secondary or diversionary actions designed to facilitate the delivery of a more strategic blow to the Nicaraguan revolution in other more sensitive areas — economically, politically, and militarily speaking — such as the Pacific area of Nicaragua near the Honduran border."

Pointing to the massing of Honduran troops in the border areas where the Somozaist forces are most active, Tinoco stressed the danger of a direct conflict with Honduran forces.

Tinoco concluded his initial presentation by calling on Washington "to cease its aggressive stance toward our country, to cease its attempts to defeat the revolutionary government and destroy the Sandinista people's revolution, to cease its threatening military maneuvers, to cease the 'secret' but widely recognized war the Reagan administration is waging against our country, and to cease to create pain and suffering for our people."

The representatives of a number of other countries that face U.S. aggression came to Nicaragua's defense during the Security Council debates.

Raúl Roa Kouri of Cuba noted the similarities between the current attacks on Nicaragua and the preliminaries to the U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. "The organizer, financier, supplier, and abetter was, then as now, the imperialist government of the United States, its Pentagon and its Central Intelligence Agency," Roa Kouri said.

Caldwell Taylor of Grenada condemned the U.S. attacks against Nicaragua and pointed to the similar U.S. threats against his country, where a revolution also took place in 1979.

The Soviet and Vietnamese delegates likewise denounced Washington's support for the counterrevolutionaries and placed the current attacks against Nicaragua in the context of U.S. imperialism's long history of aggression around the world.

Despite repeated and direct questioning from other participants in the debate, U.S. representative Jeane Kirkpatrick pointedly refused to deny that the counterrevolutionaries had received training in the United States and that the CIA was supplying their forces based in Honduras.

Instead, she launched an arrogant and hypocritical litany of accusations against Nicaragua. Kirkpatrick falsely accused the Sandinistas of establishing "a harsh new military dictatorship" and of violating all sorts of democratic rights within Nicaragua.

Claiming the counterrevolutionary attacks within Nicaragua were merely a result of domestic opposition to the Sandinistas, Kirkpatrick openly identified with the rightist terror bands, calling them "democrats" who are "thirsty for freedom."

In a sharp rebuttal of Kirkpatrick's charges, Ali Treiki of Libya drew attention to Washington's long history of aggression, assassination, and destabilization against other countries. "The American administration should be the last to speak of human rights," he said, "for it violates them everywhere, including in the United States itself."

Only a few representatives stood by Washington during the discussions of Nicaragua's charges, including the British, West German, Honduran, and Salvadoran governments.

The Chinese, Mexican, Panamanian, Colombian, Pakistani, and Indian representatives took issue with Washington's efforts to destabilize the Nicaraguan government.

Several imperialist governments took their distance from the Reagan administration. The representative from Spain said that the attacks in Nicaragua "are clearly aimed at destabilizing the government of that country" and that they "constitute a dangerous factor of instability" in the region. The French representative reiterated his government's support for a Mexican and Venezuelan diplomatic initiative launched last year for negotiations between Nicaragua and Honduras.

Kirkpatrick was clearly stunned by the support Nicaragua received during the debates. The response of numerous delegates was "discouraging," she said, specifically criticizing those from Mexico, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, China, Panama, and Pakistan.

In calling the special Security Council session, Nicaragua submitted no formal resolution for a vote. Instead, it sought to use the council as a forum to alert the world about the new attacks against it and to try to rally political opposition to Washington's aggression. It succeeded in doing both.

Borge invited to speak in U.S.

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In the midst of the sharp escalation of the U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua, Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge has been invited to speak by Harvard and John Hopkins universities in mid-April. Borge has accepted both these invitations, as well as one from the Council of Foreign Relations in New York.

Solidarity with the embattled Nicaraguan people is being expressed throughout the world.

Following the meeting of the Nonaligned Movement in New Delhi, India, in mid-March — a meeting which condemned U.S. aggression against Nicaragua — Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega visited more than half-a-dozen countries to discuss the U.S. war.

In the Soviet Union, Ortega met with the Soviet Premier Yuri Andropov, who stressed the Soviet government's confidence that "Nicaragua will be capable of defending its freedom."

Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Cuba, and Mongolia all pledged renewed support. North Korea, itself the victim of tightening U.S. military pressure, announced it would send an additional \$30 million in aid.

The president of the socialist Second International sent a message of support to Nicaragua, as did the parliamentary delegation recently elected on the "Green" environmental slate in West Germany.

Among the trade union federations that have issued statements of support are the Bolivian Workers Federation, the United Workers Federation of Venezuela, and the Communist, Socialist, and Christian Democratic federations in Italy.

Libyan President Muammar el-Qaddafi offered to send troops, if necessary, "for the defense of your freedom and territory against imperialist aggression."

The five main revolutionary organizations inside Honduras came together for the first time in their history to denounce "the abuse of our national territory" for "aggression against Nicaragua."

Blacks fight Alabama frame-up

BY ANDY ROSE

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Frame-up charges against 7 of 11 members of the Taylor family were dismissed here by Judge Craig Miller after preliminary hearings. Willie James Taylor, Sr., Worrie Taylor, Elbert Taylor, and Larry Hill still face charges of attempted murder.

However, on March 28, the Montgomery district attorney began presenting "evidence" against all 11 Blacks to a grand jury, thus threatening new indictments against those just cleared.

The eleven members of the Taylor family were charged with kidnapping, robbery, and attempted murder of two white Montgomery police. Their real crime was to defend themselves when the cops — in plain clothes and without identifying themselves — burst into their house with guns drawn in the middle of the night. Family members had gathered from Michigan and Ohio for the funeral of a relative.

While in jail many of the Taylors were beaten severely.

There was a thunderous standing ovation when several Taylor family members were introduced at a March 21 mass meeting here.

Willie James Taylor, Sr. — an auto worker in Pontiac, Michigan, and a member of the United Auto Workers Local 594 — read a brief statement from the family. He thanked all those who have come to their defense in "the worst nightmare of our lives."

The Taylors have been victimized, he said, for doing "what any man would do if his family's safety was threatened by unknown intruders."

Petitions are circulating demanding the resignation or firing of Police Chief Charles Swindall, who went on TV to call the Taylors "wild animals." Now Swindall has further outraged Blacks by giving a promotion to one of the cops who attacked the Taylors.

Free speech for Black media workers has emerged as a focus of the struggle here. Ralph Featherstone, a popular radio announcer and talk-show host, was fired by WXVI for allowing people on his call-in show to speak about the Taylor case. Rev. Thomas Jordan, also active in the Taylor defense, was fired as well.

Daily pickets are up at the station, which runs Black-oriented programming but is white-owned. Nearly all other disc jockeys at WXVI have walked out in solidarity with Featherstone and Jordan.

Pickets are also up at two other local businesses that have carried out discriminatory firings of Blacks.

Speaking at a March 27 Political Rights Defense Fund rally in Birmingham, Taylor family defense coordinator Freddie Fox pledged that the fight will continue until all the Taylors are exonerated.

"We plan to bring the power of the community full swing, politically and every

other way, from a nonviolent perspective, to put an end to the police state in Montgomery," Fox said.

Meanwhile, protests against cop violence have also erupted in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Christopher Williams, a young Black man, was beaten and robbed by two whites in the restroom at a pizza parlor. When he stumbled out, bleeding, the manager shoved him out of the store and called the cops. The cops handcuffed and clubbed Williams, rupturing his eardrum.

Naturally, it is the victim, Williams, who has been charged with trespass, resisting arrest, and assaulting an officer.



Militant/Keena Bradford
Ralph Featherstone was fired for using his radio show to defend Taylors.

Boeing tries to gag Dallas SWP candidate

BY KATHY RETTIG
AND FRED STANTON

DALLAS — Can a candidate for public office be prohibited from campaigning on his job? The management at Boeing Electronics in Irving, Texas, thinks so.

They recently told Greg Preston, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Dallas, that he will face disciplinary action if he even talks to his fellow workers about issues important to them in the city elections. When Preston first announced his campaign, the company passed out a memo to all Boeing employees which stated that no campaign literature can be distributed on company property at any time. This includes at work breaks and lunch.

At a recent union meeting, officials of Machinists Local 1015, which organizes workers at Boeing, said they would fight this attempt by the company to gag Preston and his campaign supporters. They have contacted a union lawyer and are filing a grievance.

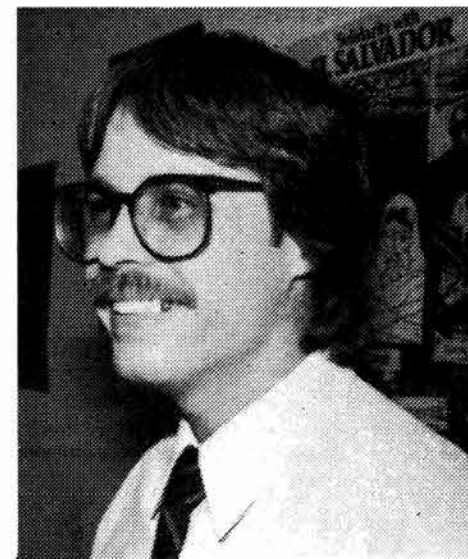
At the start of his campaign, Preston visited a local truck stop to express solidarity with the independent truckers who were on strike against tax hikes. Since then he's marched with the Black and Latino residents of Washington Place, a low-income housing project that city and federal housing authorities plan to sell despite an acute housing shortage here.

He participated in a march against the Ku Klux Klan in Austin, Texas, on February 19. And he has spoken at numerous public hearings on a proposed mass transit

system for Dallas, opposing the sales-tax hike that dumps the cost of the transit project on those who can least afford to pay.

Through radio interviews, candidates forums, and discussions at factory gates he has spoken out against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and pointed to the examples of Cuba and Nicaragua, where the governments act in the interests of workers and farmers.

During Preston's campaign, he's been able to talk to a number of women's, gay, and civil rights groups as they go through a



Militant
Dallas SWP mayoral candidate Greg Preston

screening process to decide which candidate to endorse.

Continuing to support the Democrats or Republicans, Preston explains, is a dead-end strategy.

"What choice do you have between the big-business candidates?" he asked the Dallas Area Women's Political Caucus when he addressed their meeting.

"What can they offer you — just the same thing you've gotten from their type in the past — promises before the election and a stab in the back later. Make your vote count in this election by voicing a protest and voting for the working-class alternative in this election.

"We need to free ourselves from the stranglehold of the twin parties of the rich," Preston said. "Now is the time to join with the union movement and start building a new party, a labor party, based on the power of the working people and representing our interests alone."

L.A. socialist condemns cops in Black child's murder

BY ELIZABETH STONE

LOS ANGELES — On March 3, Patrick Mason, a five-year-old Black, was shot to death in his home by a cop. Policeman Anthony Sperl was sent to the boy's house in Orange County after a caller told police they had been unable to contact the occupants — the boy and his mother, Patricia Ridge.

Sperl claims he entered the apartment with a pass key from the apartment manager and shot Patrick after mistaking a toy gun held by the child for a real weapon.

Patrick's mother was at work at the time and had left him alone because she was unable to afford a baby sitter.

There has been a public outcry against this latest act of brutality. The killing has also focused attention on the woefully inadequate child care available to working parents in this city.

Virginia Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, has condemned the killing and called for prosecution of Sperl to the fullest extent of the law.

Garza has also attacked the outrageous announcement by the deputy district attorney that the grand jury is being asked to consider bringing charges against Patrick's mother for putting her son in a life-endangering situation.

"If there was ever a case of the victim being turned into the criminal, this is it," Garza says. "Here is a woman who cannot afford child care, and she is blamed for the death of her own son."

Garza, who has been active in struggles to win government-funded child care, points out that there are literally hundreds of thousands of parents who are in the same situation as Patricia Ridge, working and forced to leave children alone.

"Are these parents all criminals?" Garza asks. "No. The real criminals are those responsible for a situation where no child care is available."

"The real criminals are those who take money that should be used for child care and send it to finance terrorists invading Nicaragua and U.S. 'advisers' in El Salvador."

"The real criminals are the police in this area, who shoot first and ask questions later, especially when they are in a Black or Chicano neighborhood."

Harlem rally to protest racist attacks

BY ANDY TOWBIN

NEW YORK — "It is only to the extent that we are able to organize a massive response to the increasing trend of racially motivated violence that we will be able to prevent these atrocities from occurring in our community."

With these words, Judy Richardson of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice opened the first meeting here of the Committee for Justice for Willie Turks. Last summer Turks, a Black unionist, was murdered by racist thugs in Brooklyn. He was a member of Transit Workers Union Local 100.

The committee is organizing a rally in Harlem April 23 in support of the Turks family and Dennis Dixon, a second transit worker also attacked in the Brooklyn assault.

William Henning, vice-president of Communications Workers of America Local 1180, announced his union executive board had voted to endorse the work of the Committee for Justice.

One of the racist thugs, Gino Bova, has already been tried in the case. He was found guilty only of manslaughter. In protest, the Committee for Justice had scheduled a March 30 rally at the Brooklyn Supreme Court, the day before Bova's sentencing. Among the rally endorsers were Rev. Ben Chavis; Jim Bell, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Brooklyn NAACP; and David Dyson, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

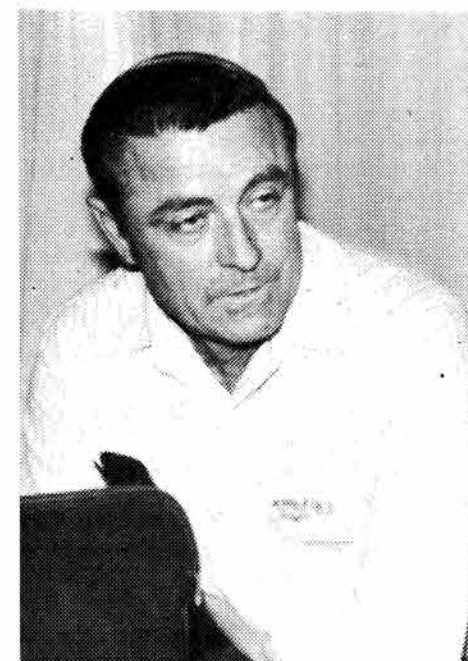
Farmers and Blacks unite

Continued from front page

He said, "I think this is a golden opportunity. If we miss out on this we've missed an opportunity to reach the black farmers and the black people."

Jenkins reported further on the meeting in a column in the same issue of the paper. "I feel," he wrote, "there is an opportunity for us to become the leader in agriculture in the entire rural black community and to become known by the entire black population. I think it would be most beneficial to us and also to them."

He later said that rural Mobilization offices would probably be set up in Alabama or Georgia, and that AAM's cooperation was being sought for this.



Militant/Fred White
AAM leader Alvin Jenkins

The outreach to farmers is part of Mobilization's efforts to build local and regional support around the country for the August actions. News conferences are scheduled for most cities April 4 to announce local backing for the August 27 march. Major national news conferences are set for Atlanta and Memphis, where Dr. King was assassinated.

Donna Brazile, national Mobilization director, said her organization is setting up regional and local mobilization committees the week of April 4-9. "We want to urge people at the grass roots to get in contact with us," she said.

The following week, according to Brady Tyson, a Mobilization spokesperson, teach-ins are being organized, many of them at churches and campuses, to build for the August activities.

A large number of important organizations have endorsed or are sponsors of the Washington action. Among them are the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and several unions, including the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers.

Other sponsors include the American Indian Movement; Commission for Racial Justice; Congressional Black Caucus; NAACP; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.; National Council of Churches; National Education Association; National Organization for Women; National Urban League; and Operation PUSH.

The New Coalition of Conscience for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom is chaired by King and Lowery.

For leaflets and information on the action, contact Twentieth Anniversary Mobilization at their new offices at 1201 16th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20001; telephone (202) 462-2110.

Veteran rights fighter backs socialists in court battle

A rally was held in Los Angeles March 19 by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) to protest unconstitutional court interference in the Socialist Workers Party.

A suit had been filed against the SWP four years previously by Alan Gelfand. A lawyer for the Los Angeles county government, Gelfand had joined the party earlier and then had been expelled for attempting to disrupt the SWP's campaign to expose decades of FBI and other political police operations.

Gelfand responded to his expulsion by filing suit in federal court, making the slanderous charge that the SWP was controlled by government agents. He asked the court to remove the party's elected leadership and order him reinstated into membership. The Fischer and Moest law firm represented Gelfand in court.

After a one-week trial, Federal District Judge Mariana Pfaelzer declared Gelfand had not produced one shred of evidence for his charges and she ruled in favor of the party.

The Los Angeles rally was one of a national series called to protest the use of the courts for a costly four-year disruption and the dangerous precedent involved in the judge's permitting the case to proceed.

Among the array of speakers at the rally in Los Angeles was Frank Wilkinson of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL). (See accompanying story.)

The following is an abridged version of Wilkinson's speech to the rally.

I wanted to be here for the obvious reasons, but in addition to that, I've been under considerable pressure from the lawyers on the other side [the Fischer and Moest firm] who tried to influence me not to be here tonight. And that's one reason particularly why I wanted to be here.

They didn't come right out and say "don't come," but they wanted to know, "Do you really understand the issues?" They spent \$15 or \$20 to send me a pile of legal briefs from their offices on the 28th floor of a Century City building — not a place I'm used to dealing with lawyers — and then called me repeatedly to ask if I read them.

I argued with this lawyer [for Gelfand] this afternoon for an hour. I said, "You know, the very idea of using the government to try to step into a political organization, I just don't like it."

Anyway, you apparently have won [the case]. I hope you get tons of money from their lawyers for legal harassment, and teach a lesson to people who want to use the government to divide political organizations.

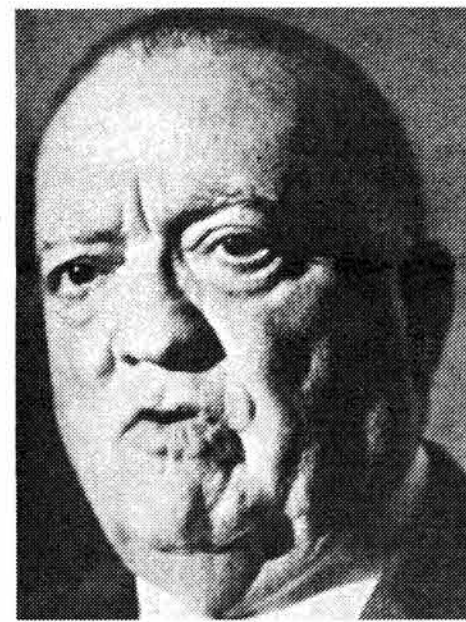
Real political experience

I am here out of real political experience. I feel real solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party and the legal battles you've been fighting.

I think that the lead you took originally [in the SWP suit against disruption by the FBI and other government agencies] was so basically important, when so many other people were not making a political fight against the FBI.

Let me explain how I think the SWP taught me something. When the SWP was under attack, I really thought that the government would not be after a person like me. When they were after Fred Hampton, the Black Panther Party leader in Chicago, I thought they were not after me. Or when they were after Martin Luther King, Jr., or actress Jean Seberg.

We had a lot of harassment when we were working to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). I had always argued that it was HUAC that was giving us the trouble. We had burglary after burglary at our office right here in Los Angeles and in Chicago, but I didn't tie that in with similar burglaries the SWP had, even though [the burglaries against



J. Edgar Hoover

us] were political. They never took a typewriter or a postage stamp, but they did take my correspondence files. The next year somebody who had written me a letter would get a subpoena to appear before HUAC.

Nixon plumbers

One of my lawyers called me and said, "Frank, you're all wrong. It was not the Un-American Activities Committee [doing the burglaries], it was the Nixon plumbers." He noted that the last time we had a burglary at our office here, Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist was burglarized the same week in Beverly Hills.

So I was instructed by my board to write a letter to Prof. Archibald Cox, the chief Watergate prosecutor, to find out if the Nixon plumbers had been breaking into my office. I wrote this letter and I got a very formal reply from Cox that they'd check into it. They did check, and they wrote back that there was no evidence that the plumbers had done it. Cox also asked me, had I contacted the FBI?

I was then told by my board to write a letter to the FBI asking if they had burglarized my office. Where else in the great free world do you write to your secret police asking if they burglarized your office and get an answer?

So I screwed up my courage and I wrote this little letter to the FBI asking, did you burglarize my office? The FBI replied: "What date?"

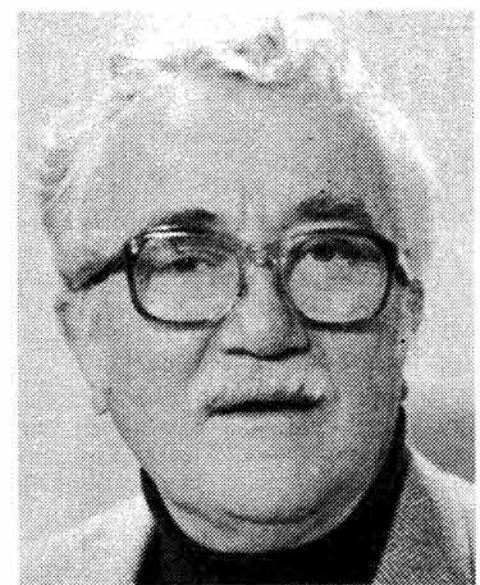
So I give them the date and they say no, "not on that date but . . ."

Then they began sending me documents. Here [Wilkinson refers to a picture of copies of documents he got from the FBI] is the first 4,000 pages of documented surveillance from 1960 to 1964, when I was working to get Republicans to join Democrats to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee.

Nazi-FBI connection

In this pile we find that 46 of my meetings were ordered disrupted by J. Edgar Hoover. I was once beaten up by Lincoln Rockwell's Nazis in Washington, D.C. At the time, I just said, well these are crazy Nazis. We found out [from the FBI files] that the day this happened the Nazi party had been in touch with the FBI three times, telling them they were going to come to that meeting and were going to break it up.

And on top of it all — getting back to the fundamental First Amendment question —



Militant/Della Rossa

Frank Wilkinson

in here six different times J. Edgar Hoover called upon all FBI agents that had been following me to turn in all they had on me in order to get me prosecuted under the Voorhis Act, the Internal Security Act, or the Smith Act.

And six separate times, six separate attorneys general write back to J. Edgar Hoover saying there's no evidence of any wrong-doing on my part. And each time Hoover orders more disruption.

Assassination attempt

You may have read in the *Los Angeles Times* recently about one document they sent me. It refers to a time in 1964.

To paraphrase it: Blank [deleted] was contacted by an undisclosed source to assist in an assassination attempt on Frank Wilkinson . . . while Wilkinson addressed a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union. . . .

And the FBI agent replies: "We will stake out the residence [where the meeting was] and report developments."

The next day they send a letter to Hoover saying that I was not killed, and they'll report further developments! This was criminal behavior on the part of the FBI. It is a crime to have knowledge of a crime and not do anything about it.

Finally, I'd like to deal with the new FBI guidelines.

Under Gerald Ford, Attorney General Levi created certain guidelines, and we fought them because there were loopholes so big you could drive a truck through them in terms of allowing Cointelpro and so on to continue.

Now Reagan, under William French Smith, has issued new guidelines which allow the FBI to continue to do exactly what they have been doing these last 40 years to the Socialist Workers Party, to Jean Seberg, to Martin Luther King, to Fred Hampton, and, I find, to myself.

Everything that was prohibited by the Levi guidelines — which were wide open — is now permitted.

Right to advocate revolution

You have the right to advocate that people oppose the draft. You have the right to advocate that everything the government's doing in Central America is wrong. And above all, getting back to our roots, you have the right to advocate revolution in this country.

Now that is advocacy, that's what America's about. But under this new Reagan guideline, any of us who makes a speech will not only be put under investigation. They can start infiltrating, they can tap your phone, they can start collecting dossiers on you, and they can begin Cointelpro against you.

So I'm grateful that you assembled here to allow me to join with you, because we will never, never, never clean up this FBI until we build the kind of political unity of which I'm speaking here tonight.

I'm very proud of the fact that the ACLU is representing me in my case [against the government]. And I can tell your lawyers that are here tonight that Paul Hoffman of Loeb and Loeb, now at Southwestern University, has told me he has received expert help from the Socialist Workers Party lawyers in terms of our lawsuit.

All of these things tie together. If we tie together, we're going to have the First Amendment rights that we must have to struggle for basic social change in our country.

FBI's long campaign to silence Wilkinson

BY HARRY RING

Frank Wilkinson's speech to the Los Angeles rally of the Political Rights Defense Fund was based on three decades of experience.

A stubborn fighter for civil liberties, Wilkinson has been a longtime target of the nation's witch-hunters and secret political police. In fact, his involvement in the civil liberties field began with his own victimization.

Wilkinson had served for 14 years as a member of the Los Angeles Housing Authority when his career came to an abrupt end in 1952.

As assistant to the director, he had selected Chavez Ravine, a Chicano community, as the site for a low-income housing project. But powerful real estate interests, and their political cohorts, had a different idea. They were already buying up the area and planning to sell it to the Dodgers for a ballpark.

Taken to court by a real estate operator in a dispute over land values, Wilkinson was astounded to find himself being questioned on the witness stand not about Chavez Ravine, but about his political affiliations. Since the questions were patently irrelevant, he refused to answer.

The Housing Authority promptly fired him.

Wilkinson plunged into the activities of a local civil liberties group that later helped to establish the National Committee to

Abolish HUAC, with Wilkinson as field director.

HUAC — the House Un-American Activities Committee — was a principal promoter of McCarthyism. Its main function was to hold public hearings around the country designed to victimize militant unionists, liberals, and radicals by smearing them as "subversives."

In 1958, HUAC slated hearings in Atlanta in a move to discredit the developing southern civil rights movement.

Wilkinson went to the South to help mobilize opposition to this.

He found a ready ally in the late Carl Braden, a resolute southern white civil rights fighter.

Braden and Wilkinson were subpoenaed to appear before HUAC in Atlanta.

At the session, they defied the committee by refusing, on First Amendment grounds, to answer its witch-hunting questions.

The House of Representatives then voted 365-1 to hold them in contempt of Congress.

They were sentenced to a year in prison. After fruitless appeals all the way to the Supreme Court, they served their terms.

Braden died soon after, while Wilkinson resumed the fight with undiminished vigor. When HUAC finally faded in the early 1970s, the committee to abolish it evolved into the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL), with Wilkinson as its energetic director.

The extent of the Cointelpro disruption campaign against him and NCARL was partially confirmed by FBI documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act.

In addition to FBI knowledge of an assassination plot against him, which Wilkinson discussed in his speech, the files reveal that the FBI collaborated with HUAC to disrupt NCARL and that J. Edgar Hoover had been directly involved.

Wilkinson's contempt-of-Congress conviction was upheld by the Supreme Court Feb. 27, 1961. An FBI document of March 21 of that year includes a note from Hoover requesting that Wilkinson's jailing be "expedited." He and Braden were in jail by May Day.

An Oct. 9, 1962, Hoover memo directed local FBI offices to "give careful consideration to possible counterintelligence plans to disrupt the [speaking] schedule of Wilkinson."

The FBI disruption operation included planting provocateurs and hecklers at meetings, circulating FBI "information" about Wilkinson to friendly journalists and politicians, forging poison pen letters in the name of NCARL with the aim of promoting movement hostility against the organization, plus planting spies at NCARL meetings, public and private.

NCARL and Wilkinson now have a \$16 million damage suit pending against the government.

GM worker wins benefits after unjust firing

BY RUSS DAVIS

BOSTON — A victory for union rights was won here when the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security ruled that Michael Fliss is entitled to unemployment benefits because he was unjustly discharged by General Motors.

Fliss was fired last September from GM's Framingham assembly plant, where he worked as an assembler, after he campaigned at the plant gate for a socialist candidate who also worked at the plant.

Fliss had been manhandled by a company guard, for which he filed a grievance with his union, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 422. A week later he was fired for alleged inaccuracies on his job application.

The firing occurred shortly before the plant was shut down by GM, and many workers were sus-

picious that GM had singled out their local for punishment for voting against the national contract last spring.

Company harassment stepped up noticeably during the final weeks before shutdown.

Fliss and other socialist workers were strongly supported by their coworkers. The union local and UAW Sub-district Director Frank Ciccarone actively pursued the grievance, which has now gone to arbitration.

Fliss was represented at the hearings on his unemployment benefits by Matthew Feinberg, an attorney from the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union, and he also got help from the Unemployment Law Project of the National Lawyers Guild.

Fliss told the *Militant* that he's looking forward to collecting the \$1,500 in back benefits that GM tried to keep him from getting.

"This is a victory for everybody in Local 422," he said, "and will strengthen the continuing fight-back against GM's attacks on the union."

Indianapolis forum hears facts on 2 frame-ups

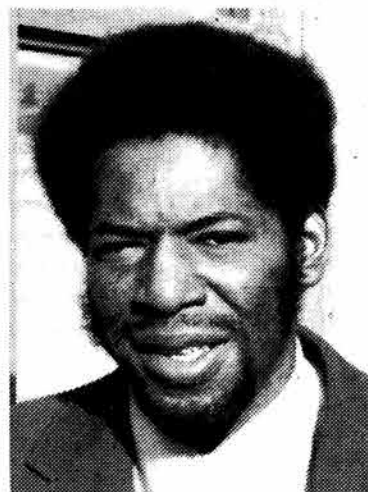
BY KEVIN DWIRE

INDIANAPOLIS — The facts about two frame-ups of Black workers were related here recently at a Militant Forum.

Speaking were one of the victims, Al Horsley, from Louisville, and Leroy Harper, representing the Harper-Dean Defense Committee.

Horsley, a union and civil rights activist and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, has been falsely accused of robbery and kidnapping. He is currently free on \$20,000 bond.

Cornelius Harper and Keith Dean are two young Blacks in the Indiana State Prison for crimes they did not commit. They were convicted on rape charges. Witnesses have since come forward with testimony that clears Dean



Al Horsley

Militant

and Harper, but the judge in the case has refused to order a new trial.

Both Horsley and Harper thanked their audience for supporting them.

"The way the government and the justice system are run," Harper said, "if you aren't rich, you're just an outcast."

Shopping mall petitioning upheld in court

A Massachusetts court has ruled that privately owned shopping malls in that state cannot prohibit solicitation of signatures or distribution of materials for political campaign purposes.

The ruling, which came in a suit against the largest shopping mall in the state, North Shore Shopping Center in Peabody, was made on the basis of a U.S. Supreme Court ruling that a state may "adopt in its own constitution individual liberties more expansive than those conferred by the federal Constitution."

Courts in California and Washington have also ruled against restrictions on political solicitation at shopping malls. A New Jersey court made a similar ruling applying to privately owned universities.

Compiled by George Johnson

Messages denounce federal court disruption of SWP

The following are excerpts from statements received by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) protesting the violation of constitutional rights in the trial of the Socialist Workers Party.

Bill Walsh

vice-president of the MX Information Center, Salt Lake, Utah

I am a member of a number of organizations: MX Information Coalition, Utah Wilderness Association, Amnesty International, etc. While not a member of the Socialist Workers Party, I have participated in their forums, as speaker and participant, along with others of our community, and I can attest to their sincerity and energy.

In Salt Lake City I believe the SWP is a healthy entity in the consciousness of our community. Their views fall within legitimate community dialogue, and their organization is freely elected and responsible. The government seems to have overstepped its bounds in this case, and I would look to the courts to rectify this issue.

The *Gelfand v. Smith* suit should be dismissed in order to assure the constitutional rights and civil liberties of all similar groups and organizations.

Harry Levitan

Philadelphia civil liberties attorney

Judge Mariana Pfaelzer has ruled that the case of *Gelfand v. Smith* may go to trial. In so deciding, she clearly appears to be invading and denying the well established First Amendment right of an American political association to establish and adhere to its own rules of membership and leadership.

I respectfully suggest that the court has erred in deciding that it may interfere with these fundamental aspects of the First Amendment rights to free and voluntary association; a right which has repeatedly been stated by our courts as an absolute component of the First Amendment right of freedom of speech.

Boston Mobilization for Survival

The Boston Mobilization for Survival believes the fact that this law suit ever was allowed to be brought to the U.S. District Court is a serious threat to the most fundamental rights of the American people: the right to organize themselves in voluntary organizations like labor unions and political organizations, to set their own policies, elect their own leaders, and determine their own membership.

As an organization committed to education and political activism around the issues of U.S. nuclear policy, U.S. intervention, and spending priorities, we strongly oppose this attempt by a federal judge to intervene in the internal affairs of the Socialist Workers Party. It's not only a

threat to this party and its important political work, but to all organizations involved in any kind of political activity.

The *Gelfand v. Smith* case should have been dismissed. Defense of the Socialist Workers Party's constitutional rights will protect the civil liberties of us all.

Felix Orroyo

Latino activist, Boston

I protest the use of the courts as a form of legal harassment. Organizations are guaranteed the right of political association under the First Amendment of the Constitution. Judge Pfaelzer's actions in this case serves to undermine this basic right.

This legal precedent threatens not only the Socialist Workers Party, but any and all groups that organize politically. Our best protection is to vigorously and publicly oppose any attempt to undermine our civil liberties and I join with your efforts.

Michael Meeropol

son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

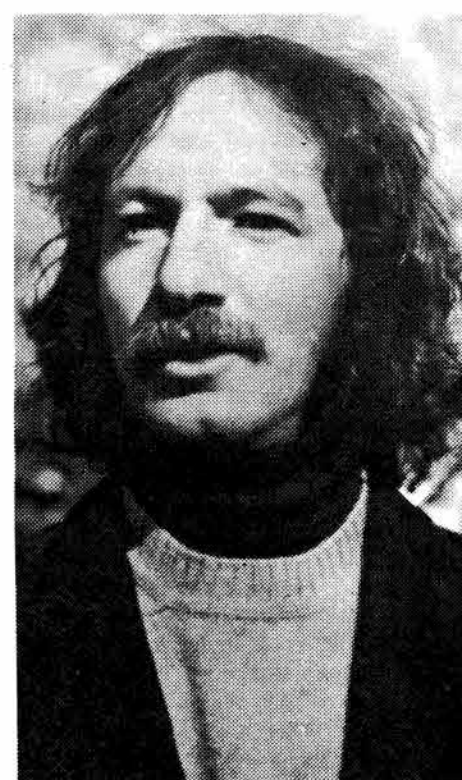
In the case of my parents, Judge Irving

Kaufman threw his "judicial objectivity" to the winds and joined with the prosecution in an effort to deny due process and force the executions before the trial could be exposed for the fraud it was.

Today, in a blatant act of political partisanship, Judge Pfaelzer is allowing the legal atrocities in California to go forward. We must all raise our voices against the legitimacy of these proceedings. Whatever happens at the district court level, the appeals court should be made aware of how many concerned citizens are looking over their shoulders. As Mr. Dooley said, "The Supreme Court listens to the election returns."

Central American Solidarity Association, Boston

CASA recognizes that any attack by the U.S. court system on any organization in opposition to the injustices in Central America is an attack on the entire solidarity movement. For this reason, CASA is opposed to any and all the attacks on the legal rights of the SWP and the rights of any progressive organization to function freely in this society.



Michael Meeropol

Barry Rosenthal

Collecting pledges is now key for PRDF fund

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The Political Rights Defense Fund reports a wonderful response to its \$75,000 Emergency Fund. But now committee supporters face the challenge of collecting the amounts pledged by the May 1 deadline.

As of the end of March, pledges and contributions to the fund totaled about \$95,000, meeting the committee's aim of oversubscribing the \$75,000 fund by a significant margin.

But, reports Holbrook Mahn, PRDF national coordinator, of the \$95,000, only \$37,000 has actually been collected at the halfway mark. And that includes more than \$10,000 raised by the committee's national staff here through mail and ad appeals.

This means a systematic, organized effort must now be made by committee supporters if the drive is to be successfully concluded by May Day.

The emergency fund was launched to meet the most immediate expenses of the *Gelfand* harassment suit against the Socialist Workers Party, which ended with a favorable ruling for the party.

The committee, however, faces ongoing legal expenses in seeking court costs from *Gelfand* and his attorneys, plus accumulated financial obligations.

In addition, PRDF is fighting the deportation order against socialist Héctor Marroquín, with an appeal to the Supreme Court

now being readied.

The committee is also pressing a damage suit against the Lockheed-Georgia Corp. for the illegal firing of 14 workers on the basis of association with the SWP.

And the committee is working to prevent the deportation of Young Socialist Alliance member Hamid Sodeifi, an Iranian student.

The bulk of the money pledged to the emergency fund came at the nationwide series of rallies protesting the use of the courts to curb the constitutional rights of the SWP.

These rallies were significant in the

scope of the support they registered for this fight. Particularly impressive were the number of unionists, Blacks, and Latinos who shared the speakers platforms.

The very substantial amounts pledged at these rallies reflected the response to this increasingly broad support for the case.

Now the remaining test is the capacity of committee supporters to close the collection gap and complete the fund on schedule.

And, meanwhile, if you missed out on contributing at a rally or through the mail, simply clip the coupon on this page and mail it in to PRDF today.

PRDF \$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send contributions to PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

U.S. workers visit new Nicaragua

Nicaraguans explain, 'We want peace but we'll fight to defend our country'

In mid-February, the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Young Socialist* sponsored a two-week tour of Nicaragua. Thirty-seven people participated, including members — laid-off and working — of twelve U.S. industrial unions. Most on the trip were members of the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance.

BY NANCY COLE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Everywhere we went during our 15 days in revolutionary Nicaragua we were told: "Tell the American people that we want peace, but that we are prepared to fight to the last man, woman, and child to defend our revolution and our country."

People would always add: "We understand our quarrel is with the U.S. government, not the U.S. people. We know that North American workers and farmers want peace."

Our visit gave us a new awareness of the current U.S.-organized war against these people, the historical role that U.S. intervention has played here, and the courage and determination with which Nicaragua is today confronting the serious threat to its newly gained sovereignty.

The revolutionary process involves every facet of life in Nicaragua, from the central survival campaigns of production and defense to the efforts to rebuild a national culture.

Nicaragua is a poor country, its economy shaped by more than a century of foreign domination during which the needs of Nicaraguan workers and farmers were ignored.

Since 1855 when the North American William Walker marched in, set himself up as the country's president, and reinstituted slavery, the history of Nicaragua is the history of U.S. intervention. And the struggle of the Nicaraguan people, since national hero Augusto César Sandino's army fought the U.S. Marines from 1927-1933, is the struggle for national sovereignty.

Sandino's fight was a "nationalist struggle and a class struggle, and it had its seal of internationalism," Carlos Ríos, secretary of the regional July 19 Sandinista Youth centered in Granada, told us. "To this day we are deepening Sandino's thought," he said. "It's nothing more than anti-imperialist revolutionary consciousness."

Internationalism

If in Nicaragua you see the human toll of U.S. imperialism, you also see revolutionary internationalism.

Their internationalism and determination to reach U.S. working people with the truth was shown by the fact that busy leaders and organizers took time to meet with us and answer our many questions. These included representatives from the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Nicaraguan Women's Association, the Sandinista Defense Committees, the Nicaraguan Institute of Agrarian Reform, and the Ministry of Culture.

When members of our tour were interviewed by Radio Sandino, the questions reflected interest in U.S. working people as an ally in the fight against U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

What do coal miners think about Reagan's military aid to El Salvador? What are they doing about it? What do garment workers say when Reagan cuts money for schools and Social Security but increases military spending?

When asked what U.S. workers thought about Reagan's statements claiming that Nicaragua threatened U.S. "national security," New Jersey oil refinery worker Karen Newton answered, "The majority opinion in the United States is that the Reagan administration's policy against Nicaragua and against U.S. workers is the greatest threat to the American people."

A special feature of our tour was the invitation from the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) to attend the closing session

of its first constitutional assembly (see story on this page).

For our part, we wanted to learn what it's like to work in a country where the government is run by and for workers and farmers, instead of the capitalists as it is in the United States.

"The word production has a different meaning in Nicaragua," noted West Virginia coal miner Zella Horseman at the end of our two weeks. "In the United States, campaigns for 'production' mean speed-up, less safety, more profits for the companies. Here it means raising the standard of living of every worker in the country. It means people volunteering to pick cotton. It's all part of changing the human being."

San Antonio sugar mill

The San Antonio sugar mill in Chichigalpa, which we visited, is a place where workers are learning every aspect of production, in order to learn to run the plant themselves. This was at the heart of our discussions with Luis Osorio, the union's secretary of production.

The mill is privately owned and produces more than half of all Nicaragua's sugar. Some 5,400 people work in the factory and as seasonal field workers.

Before the revolution, the mill's company union worked hand in glove with the bosses. Dissident workers were fired or "disappeared."

Since the triumph, 92 percent of the workers have joined the CST. Some 80 workers are part of an "independent" union set up by the company, and the rest are unaffiliated.

In addition to representing the specific interests of the mill workers — such as winning 20 times greater pension benefits — the union keeps an eye on company doings. It watches for sabotage of production and makes sure that government subsidies for spare parts are in fact spent for that.

"One thing has to be made clear," Osorio told us. "The workers make this factory work. The revolution has given

workers the chance to learn technology. This was a right denied us during the dictatorship. Workers were condemned to live in semi-darkness in order to facilitate our exploitation."

The meeting with Osorio was held in the air-conditioned union library, whose walls were lined with volumes of Lenin, Marx, Engels, Carlos Fonseca (one of the founders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front — FSLN), Sandino, Castro, and others. The CST organizes classes to study Marxism.

Despite the difficult economic situation, workers here have won many gains, including in health care, the right to organize, and the right to present demands to the company, Osorio told us.

Production and defense

A few days earlier we had toured another factory — the Texnica textile factory, which was owned by Somoza and thus is now nationalized. Texnica is what is called a model industry, a factory with equipment from the 1920s nearly destroyed by Somoza's bombing, and brought back to life by the workers, who rebuilt it themselves. It is an acclaimed example of innovation, a special aspect of the production campaign here where workers' creative initiatives overcome the difficulty in acquiring spare parts.

The day we visited Texnica, there had been a funeral for one of its workers killed three days before while fighting counter-revolutionaries at the Honduran border. It was the third Texnica worker killed at the border in three months, two of them union leaders.

The two central campaigns of defense and production are inseparable, it was explained to us many times.

Atlantic Coast

On the Atlantic Coast lives the Black English-speaking population brought as

slaves by the British, as well as the nation's indigenous peoples. They are geographically isolated — we had to take a bus to Rama, where the highway ends, and then a five-hour boat ride to Bluefields.

This area played little role in the initial stage of the revolution that toppled Somoza. Since then, the Sandinista leadership has taken steps to deepen the Atlantic Coast's confidence in the revolution.

In 1894 U.S. troops aided the Atlantic Coast's incorporation into Nicaragua in order to begin the systematic exploitation by foreign companies of its rich natural resources. Little came back to the people by way of housing, schools, hospitals, or roads. It became the poorest region in a poor country.

The revolution is now attempting to compensate for this by spending more per capita on development on the Atlantic Coast than on the Pacific Coast.

Bluefields hospital

At the Bluefields hospital, Dr. Alejandro Paguaga explained the difficulties confronting the revolution in the area of health. The entire water system of Bluefields is contaminated because there is no sewage system. To construct one would cost \$600 million, an astronomical figure for an economy like Nicaragua's.

The new hospital under construction in Bluefields is financed with a World Bank loan. Because of the requirements imposed by that U.S.-dominated agency, construction has been delayed by more than a year so far and has cost three times what it should have.

Despite obstacles, impressive progress is being made. Every area of the vast region is now served by the health-care system, including health centers in each of the region's six areas, and health outposts in subdivisions of these areas. A doctor regularly visits every village.

Progress like this, along with the con-

Nicaraguan farm workers ask for solidarity

BY ALAN EPSTEIN

TOLEDO, Ohio — Two representatives of the Nicaraguan Rural Workers Association (ATC) visited here March 3-5, on a tour sponsored by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), which organizes farm workers in northwest Ohio.

Olga María Espinoza Baquidano is a member of the Nicaraguan Council of State, representing the ATC. She is also secretary for international relations of the ATC.

Jorge Alberto Mora Jiménez is general secretary of the ATC in the western province of Chinandega.

At a press conference here, Espinoza read a statement that began:

"We are in the United States asking for the solidarity and support of the American people for the farm workers of our country."

The central problem facing Nicaragua, she said, was the possibility of an invasion from Honduras by former National Guardsmen of the ousted Somoza regime, backed by the U.S. government. She pointed to the constant armed aggression along the Honduran border, which has killed many Nicaraguan workers and peasants, as the "principal problem impeding our development."

Espinoza went on to describe why it is that farm workers have a big stake in defending the Nicaraguan revolution. She singled out freedom of association as an important gain of the revolution.

"There are now 600 labor unions, compared to the 6 under Somoza. There had also never been a collectively bargained contract. Now there are 80 contracts which give benefits to more than 12,000 working families. In addition, the farm workers



Left to right: Nicaraguan Rural Workers Association leaders Jorge Alberto Mora Jiménez and Olga María Espinoza Baquidano; Farm Labor Organizing Committee president Baldemar Velásquez from U.S.

have four representatives in the Council of State, where they have participated in decision-making on agrarian reform, education, health, housing, etc."

In the past period, Nicaraguan farm worker representatives have introduced three pieces of legislation that are now law. Espinoza described other important gains such as the 368 health care centers (none existed under Somoza).

She also mentioned that several problems still remain. For example, while protective equipment has been provided to allow workers to use pesticides safely, workers don't always utilize the equipment because they are not aware of the dangers. "We have to give talks and workshops, but we don't have the economic resources." There also remains some unemployment in rural areas.

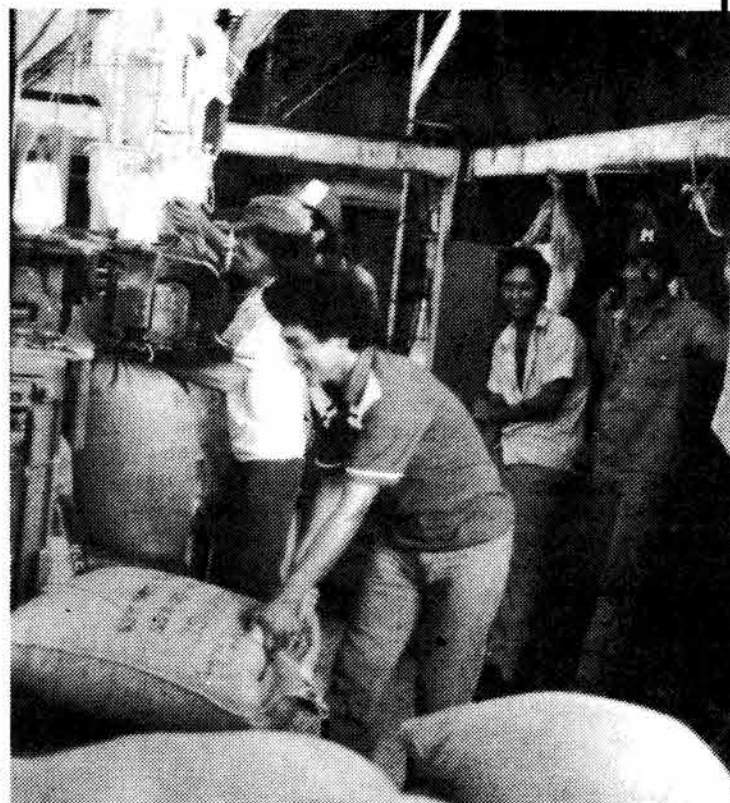
Both ATC members expressed their solidarity with the struggles of U.S. workers

and farmers. They contrasted the problems farmers face here with the advances made under the Nicaraguan workers and farmers government. In Nicaragua, thousands of landless laborers have been given land. Prices for produce are guaranteed by the government. Credit is cheap and loans are available, also from the government.

Unlike in the United States, farmers in Nicaragua are not forced off their land.

They also spoke about the new rent law, which will gradually abolish the landlord system and rents, converting all current tenants into homeowners.

A public rally at St. Louis Church in east Toledo drew more than 60 people. In addition to the two ATC leaders, Baldemar Velásquez, FLOC's president, spoke about his recent trip to Nicaragua and Costa Rica. He made the point that while farm workers are represented in Nicaragua's Council of State, here "there are no farm workers in this government."



Militant photos by Ilona Gersh
Above is nationalized Texnicsa textile factory, which was destroyed by Somoza and recently rebuilt by workers. At right is inside of San Antonio sugar mill, where workers are learning all aspects of production.

stant imperialist-inspired military attacks here, is winning more support for the revolution and its Sandinista leadership on the Atlantic coast. Rather than impose the experiences of the Pacific Coast, the Sandinistas are developing a new process here, one that addresses the specific problems and challenges of the Atlantic Coast.

"Take this message of the Nicaraguan people back to the United States," Dr. Paguaga told us. "We will not take one step backward. We want peace, but if we have to take rifles in hand, we will!"

Having seen a performance of the Nix-tayolero theater group in Matagalpa, former acting student Beverly Andadora — now a laid-off worker in Dallas, Texas — commented, "I get angry when I think of how much of our lives is being denied us, taken away from us, and how much more was denied Nicaraguans," she said. "And now for the first time in their lives, they can say 'This is my country.' What gives the U.S. government the right to destroy this?"

The Nicaraguan people are prepared to challenge that alleged "right." And they are

grateful for the aid and solidarity they have received from all corners of the globe.

What the U.S. government really fears about Nicaragua is not its supposed military threat to U.S. national security, but that this small Central American nation, so long exploited by U.S. corporations, is now an example — not only for the people of Central America — but for U.S. workers and farmers as well. It's an example of what can be done in a society run by the workers and farmers, where the workers and farmers are steadily gaining more and more control over their own lives.

On the boat to Rama, one Black woman from Berlinwood on the Atlantic Coast told us: "Nicaragua is a small country, but we are setting a very big example."

We left Nicaragua, mindful of what we were told by Thomas Kelly, representative to the Council of State from the Atlantic Coast, at the end of our meeting with him: "We want as many North American working people as possible to visit Nicaragua. Anyone who lives this revolution — even if only for a few days — will defend this revolution, because this is a revolution of the working class."

Sandinista union tackles problems facing revolution

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) had its national convention here recently.

"A product of the revolution," the CST was founded July 26, 1979, only seven days after the victory of the insurrection that threw out the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship.

Today the CST organizes 85,000 workers in 500 union locals, more than four-fifths of the country's organized industrial workers.

In the three and a half years it's been in existence it never had the time to step back, think about its aims and goals, and actually organize an election of its leadership.

These responsibilities were taken up during a two-day national Constituent Assembly, held February 26-27.

Delegates to the assembly were elected following several months' discussion in the locals of a statement of principles, a statement of tasks, and organizational rules.

Tasks the assembly set as priorities for the CST included the following:

- Defend workers' living standards, both in terms of wages and continued subsidies of basic food items, water and electric bills, transportation, and housing.

- Help the government attain the resources necessary for this by increasing productivity and production.

- Increase participation by workers in economic decision-making, through new laws and through massive participation of the work force in adult literacy programs.

- Participate more in defense of the revolution through enlistment in the militias.

Shortcomings of the CST were openly aired. In fact, the main tasks deal with problems the membership felt needed specific attention.

In addition, the leadership pointed out that the emergency employment project the CST organized last year could be said to have barely gotten off the ground.

Although some 5,000 workers were laid off last fall when their factories closed for lack of hard currency to import raw materials, only 1,100 signed up for the public-works job program. Most of the rest used their unemployment settlement to set up small businesses.

The pay offered (\$112 a month, the minimum wage) was too low, the delegates decided. But they also felt the CST leader-

ship had failed to explain sufficiently the tight economic situation and the overall advantage to society of the planned road building, reforestation, and construction projects.

Also discussed was the fact that the CST had grown much more rapidly in numbers than in leadership and organization, and too many things still seemed to be decided at the top.

Commander Víctor Tirado, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) director of labor affairs, gave the key-note address opening the convention.

Tirado traced the leading role the Nicaraguan working class had historically played in Nicaragua's struggle against imperialism and the key role of the working class today in leading the transition toward socialism.

He pointed out that Augusto César Sandino (1893-1934), who led the army that drove the U.S. Marines out of Nicaragua in 1933, "raised the anti-imperialist consciousness of the working masses and strengthened the class and popular character of the struggle. Proof of this is that the father of the democratic, people's anti-imperialist revolution put forward the need to establish a government of workers and farmers, such as the one that now exists in Nicaragua."

Tirado stressed that "in our judgment there are two basic tasks before the working class and its union organizations at the present time: raising production and productivity; and military defense of the country."

In discussing the need for raising production, Tirado said, "We are convinced that improvement in the situation of workers must be the task of the workers themselves in the new Nicaragua, where a government at the service of workers and farmers has been formed.

"This means that the economic, political, and social demands that you formulate are demands made to your government, or really to yourselves. Therefore, the standard of living is now going to depend on your own disciplined work, on the degree to which you improve production and productivity."

"There is no other way to resolve the problems of backwardness and poverty that we still have not overcome, that are going to take several years to overcome, and for

which enormous sacrifices will be required on your part." But "these sacrifices will be greater if the invasion the Yankee government threatens us with becomes a reality and if the financial blockade in the international, multilateral organizations and private credit institutions continues as it has up till now."

Tirado began the last part of his speech by saying he wanted to direct his remarks to a subject that "has been present in workers' discussions and on the minds of many comrades. This is the question of socialism."

He pointed to the importance of the fact that "the Nicaraguan working class has come to look to socialism in its search for radical and concrete solutions."

"At the right moment, we'll start on the road to socialism," Tirado said. "But first we have to be sure we understand the 'titanic efforts' that will be necessary."

"We have to take into account that socialism here is going to be constructed in

a backward country, without large-scale industry, in a country whose economy basically revolves around agriculture and the processing of agricultural products.

"In a country that has few trained cadres to organize, administer, and direct industrial, agricultural, and service enterprises.

"That has a cultural backwardness that has been overcome, but not completely, and that is struggling to provide all workers at least a fourth-grade education.

"A country that has a very small accumulation of capital, and for that reason only a distant perspective for the creation of large-scale industry."

This was not to "create discouragement," Tirado said, "but rather to show the complexity, the magnitude of the task we will be embarking on."

Nicaragua will push on toward socialism, he concluded, "but without creating illusions, and with a very clear idea of what we want and what we can really achieve."

See Nicaragua yourself — join summer tour

BY SANDI SHERMAN

Interest in the tours to Nicaragua sponsored by the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* has increased tremendously over the past few months, with the deepening of the U.S. government's efforts to crush the Nicaraguan revolution.

Thirty-seven people participated in our two-week study tour from February 13-27. And their unanimous conclusion was that everyone who is opposed to the U.S. war against the Nicaraguan revolution should visit the country and see for themselves what it is that the Reagan administration fears so much.

Before participants in the February tour had even returned and had a chance to share their experiences with others, our May Day Economy Tour, scheduled for April 29-May 6, was completely filled. Many of the people who made reservations for this tour expressed interest in staying in Nicaragua an extra week to visit the Atlantic Coast. So we added that option to the May Day Tour.

Because of the overwhelming interest we have added a new tour to our schedule. A Summer Economy Study Tour is plan-

ned for June 5-12 with an option to stay a second week to visit the Atlantic Coast. This tour is limited to 20 participants. A deposit of \$150 is needed to reserve a place on this tour, with full payment due by May 16. The one-week tour price is \$700 from Miami. The two-week price is \$1,000. Checks should be made out to Militant/PM/YS Tours and mailed to 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The *Militant* sponsors these tours to Nicaragua because we think there is no better way to learn about a revolution than to view it firsthand. The tour programs include visits to factories, agricultural communities, and hospitals. Participants meet with activists from the unions and women's and youth organizations, and they are able to talk with people involved in economic planning, health care, education, and culture.

Participants in past tours tell us that after having seen the concrete gains of the revolution they are better equipped to explain it to workers in the United States. Many of them have put together slide shows and talks that they use to help organize solidarity with the revolution and opposition to the U.S. government's war against it.

Iranian workers struggle to rebuild economy, defend democratic rights

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The Iraqi war against Iran, now in its third year, has inflicted serious losses on the Iranian economy. Many of the cities and villages in the western provinces have been devastated by the Iraqi attacks. Two million people have been left homeless. The vital oil industry has been disrupted, and sections of it destroyed. By early 1982, economic losses caused by the war were already in excess of \$100 billion.

These losses have come at a time when Iran has been subjected to an imperialist economic blockade, led by Washington. Since much of Iran's trade had previously been tied to the imperialist countries, and much of its industry had been dependent on spare parts and technological assistance from the United States and Western Europe, this blockade has had a serious im-

harvesters to farmers, and more than 1.5 million tons of chemical fertilizers.

- Built 230 rural medical clinics, sent 28,185 medical teams to villages, and brought 154,450 villagers to hospitals.

- Distributed free medicine and powdered milk to nearly 22 million people.

- Set up 135,640 educational classes.

As a whole, the Iranian economy has also taken some important steps toward recovery.

According to government figures, the decline in Iran's gross national product was checked during 1981 and the GNP grew 4.5 percent in 1982.

By January 1983, oil production had increased to 3.2 million barrels a day (compared to some 500,000 barrels in late 1981), of which 2.7 million were being exported.

An important factor in Iran's improved

Alongside its overtures to the wealthier sectors of society, the government and the employers have also been trying to weaken and shackle the workers' shoras (factory committees). Originally formed during and after the insurrection against the shah, the shoras function primarily on the factory level. The workers have used them to fight around such issues as wages, health and safety conditions, housing, arbitrary firings, production priorities, and broader social issues.

To try to counter the influence of the shoras, supporters of the regime have set up Islamic anjomans, or societies, in the factories. They usually involve only a minority of the workers and often collaborate with the management. Coming under the pressure of the workers, however, the anjomans have at times also criticized specific policies of the government and employers.

According to Workers House, a coordinating center for shoras and anjomans in the Tehran area, some 800 members of these bodies have been fired from their jobs during 1982.

In Shahr-ray, an industrial center in south Tehran, the local office of the Ministry of Labor has been dissolving every shora whose term of office has expired, rather than allowing the workers to elect new ones.

The government, however, is still far from bringing the workers movement — or the mass organizations in general — under its firm control.

Under the impact of imperialist attacks, it is forced to countenance — and even encourage — mass mobilizations to beat off those attacks. And coming under the pressures of the mass organizations of the workers and toilers, it is often compelled to make major concessions to them.

The government and employer attempts to whittle away the gains of the revolution and the efforts of working people to defend and extend them have led to an ongoing tug-of-war.

Discussions in factories

Within the factories, struggles and discussions are taking place over a wide range of issues. These include fights against moves to weaken the shoras; for unemployment, health, and disability insurance; against economic sabotage by the capitalists and management; and for the scrapping of Article 33 of the labor code (dating from the time of the shah), which allows employers to fire workers at will.

Many discussions were held in late 1982 and early 1983 over a draft of a new labor law drawn up by the Ministry of Labor.

At one pharmaceutical plant in Tehran, a workers' meeting passed a resolution calling for the bill to be sent back and for a new one to be written with the participation of the shoras themselves. Points the workers thought should be contained in the new labor law included the provision of child care for working women, health and unemploy-

ment insurance, and wage protection.

At a series of meetings at a textile factory, workers proposed including a number of broader social issues in the bill, such as a literacy campaign, a jobs program, unemployment insurance, and military defense of the country.

The government has said little about the labor bill in recent weeks, and appears to have quietly shelved it for the time being.

At the nationalized Dupar pharmaceutical plant, workers are fighting moves by the government to return it to private ownership. To publicize their struggle, the workers have been publishing a factory newspaper (which has also included some articles on the Nicaraguan revolution).

Workers at the Ray-O-Vac battery plant in Tehran (which employs some 500 workers) discovered that the bosses were hoarding goods and had closed down another plant in Qazvin. When they began to fight against this, the bosses prepared to fire five of the workers. In addition, the managers launched a hunger strike to protest their "mistreatment" by the workers!

The workers took over the factory in response and began running it themselves.

According to a report in the February 12 *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, the newspaper of the ruling Islamic Republican Party (IRP), a worker attending a meeting of the Coordinating Center for Islamic Shoras of East Tehran Factories got up and "criticized the weakening of the shoras." He also noted that with earlier improvements in work-related problems, "the managers became fearful and began to create problems for the shoras."

Economic sabotage

On February 17, *Jomhuri-e Eslami* carried a report on another meeting of the same coordinating center. At it, a worker from the Iran-Gach factory, which produces 1,200 tons of plaster a day, reported that the management was planning to close down the plant.

"The reconstruction of the war-stricken areas absolutely demands this kind of production," he pointed out. "But the factory is facing a shutdown, although the raw material is plentiful and is supplied domestically. Two hundred workers are losing their jobs. It is not clear who is behind this conspiracy. But it is clear that it is the management that has ordered the closure."

The widespread sentiment against such economic sabotage and against illegal profiteering and hoarding by merchants and capitalists has prompted officials to speak out against such practices from time to time.

In a November 30 letter to Ayatollah Mossavi Ardebili, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, 60 Majlis representatives urged the court's "vigilance of capitalists intending to transfer property and funds out of the country," according to a report in the next day's *Tehran Times*.

Iranian revolution today Part II



pact on the Iranian economy's functioning and performance.

On top of these conjunctural difficulties, the Iranian people are still burdened by the legacy of decades of imperialist domination, which distorted and held back Iran's economic development and left the vast bulk of the Iranian population impoverished, illiterate, and without adequate shelter or medical care.

But despite all this, the Iranian workers and peasants have seen important gains in their standard of living since the beginning of the revolution in 1979.

"The bulk of the people in this country are better off today than they used to be before the revolution," an unnamed "senior Western diplomat" admitted in a report in the November 9 *Wall Street Journal*.

The *New York Times*' R.W. Apple concurred. "Many at the bottom of the economic scale are much better off," he wrote from Tehran in the November 19 issue. "And it is obvious that many ordinary Iranians revel in the discomfort of the rich 'taxis' — heretics — who lived in unimaginable luxury in the mansions near the Shah's palace."

Four days earlier, Apple had reported, "There is ample food for everyone."

More milk and eggs are now available in the working-class neighborhoods of Tehran than before the revolution. And although there are shortages of some staple foods — such as cooking oil and meat — the introduction of rationing has helped limit illegal profiteering and hoarding and ensured that most people can get at least modest amounts of the scarce items. The rate of inflation, moreover, has slowed somewhat.

Countryside

The most striking gains have been in the rural areas, which were largely neglected under the shah's regime. Most of these advances have been thanks to the efforts of the Reconstruction Crusade (*Jihad-e Sazandegi*), whose volunteers now function in thousands of villages. Its construction projects rely largely on the mobilization of local peasant communities.

According to figures issued by the Crusade in January, in the three-year period from June 1979 to June 1982, it has done the following:

- Built 2,607 schools and repaired or completed 6,703 others.

- Provided 1,960 villages with electricity, and repaired the electricity systems in 533 others.

- Established 37 agricultural repair shops and helped repair 14,803 farm machines of one kind or another.

- Given 8,126 tractors and combine

economic performance has been its efforts to get around the imperialist economic blockade. Since the revolution, it has greatly diversified its trade and economic relations with other countries. Over the past year alone, more than 80 high-level foreign economic delegations have visited Iran. Important economic agreements have been concluded with Yugoslavia, North Korea, Turkey, China, Italy, Nicaragua, Pakistan, and other countries. Trade with countries in the semicolonial world now accounts for 25 percent of Iran's total trade (compared to 9 percent before the revolution).

Overtures to capitalists

While the Iranian masses have seen some improvement in their living standards since the revolution began, the government's overall view of how the Iranian economy should develop diverges from the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants. As a capitalist government, the regime headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini has been seeking to defend the interests of the Iranian capitalists and landlords and halt the revolutionary process in Iran.

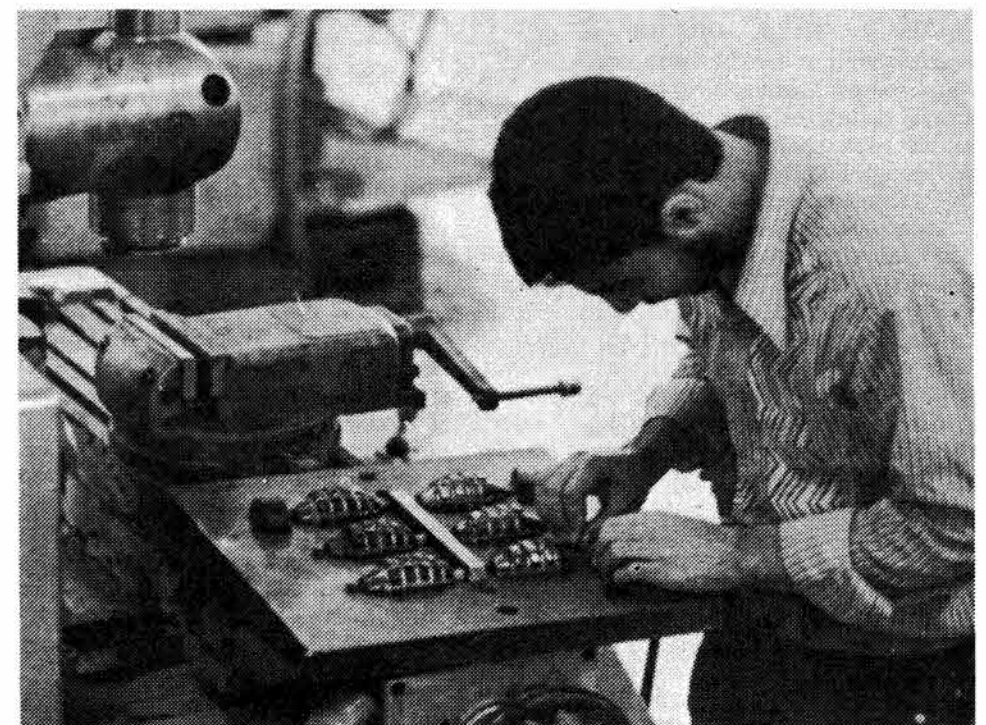
In recent months, the government has been making increasingly explicit overtures to the capitalists, seeking to assure them that their property is safe. (Fearing otherwise, many have fled the country since the overthrow of the shah.)

In mid-December, the Council of Guardians, which has veto powers over any legislation passed by the Majlis (parliament), rejected a bill that called for the nationalization of foreign trade. Explaining the rejection, council member Ayatollah Mohammad Reza Mahdavi-Kani said, "If the government was to take control of foreign trade, that would mean no private ownership would be respected."

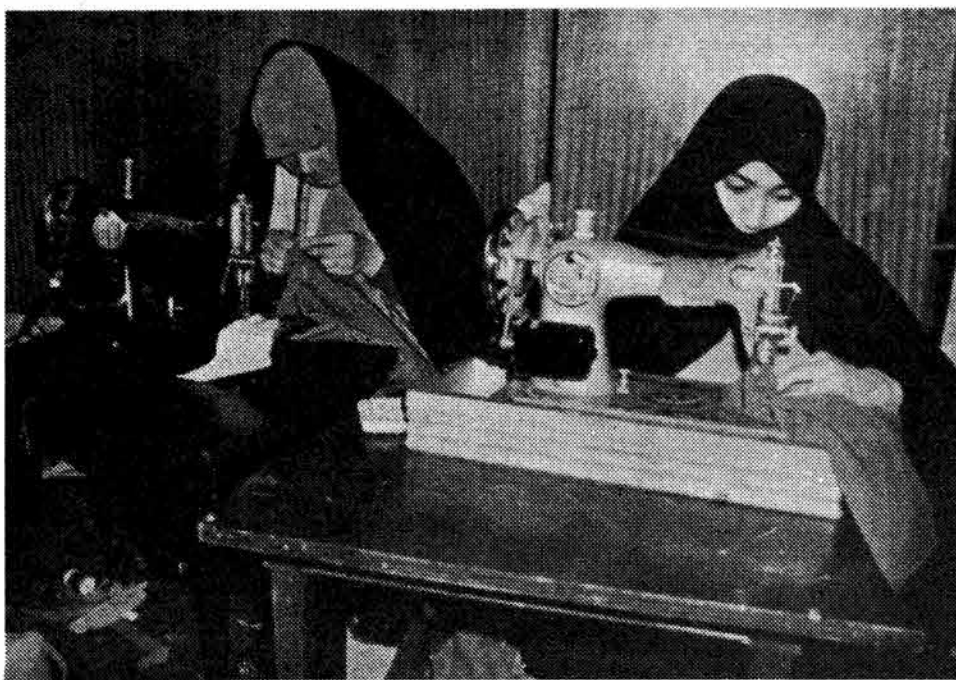
In a speech to provincial governors and officials of the Ministry of the Interior December 22, Khomeini stressed, "It is the duty of the Islamic Republic to confirm people in their confidence that their property, profession, and work are under its protection and the government has no right to violate their rights."

"Nobody," Khomeini went on, "should have any qualms that his assets and capital will be taken away. The people are free to invest their capital and do trade. They should contribute to the country's strength and the government should also support them."

On January 18, the Council of Guardians rejected another bill passed by the Majlis. Adopted a week earlier, it had called for the confiscation of the property of those who have fled Iran.



Worker making hand grenades. Shoras (committees) want new labor bill to include broad social issues such as military defense.



Iranian workers are concerned about legislation to provide for child care for working women, as well as health and unemployment insurance.

On January 30, Khomeini met with merchant representatives from around the country and appealed to them not to engage in hoarding and other illegal practices. This was followed over the next week by meetings with merchants in Tehran conducted by President Ali Khamenei and Prime Minister Mir Hussein Musavi, who presented a similar message.

The government has also responded to some of the specific demands that have been raised in the factories.

On December 18, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare Mehdi Moifar announced that literacy classes for workers under the age of 50 would become compulsory in all government-owned or nationalized enterprises. The classes would be held during working hours, or outside working hours with overtime pay.

A bill to recognize the formation of "Islamic labor shoras" has been passed by the Majlis and is awaiting review by the Council of Guardians. Though it would apparently give some legal sanction to the existence of shoras, supporters of the bill in the Majlis have stressed that its purpose is to limit the shoras' activities. The bill has been attacked from the right, however, by officials who are opposed to any kind of shoras.

Democratic rights

Another issue that has caused concern among working people is the regime's encroachments on the democratic rights of the toilers.

In order to advance their revolution, the workers and peasants need to be able to organize and demonstrate freely in support of their social, economic, and political demands and to have access to all political ideas and the right to discuss them without fear of arrest or persecution.

From the earliest days of the revolution, working people have come into continual conflict with the government around such questions. Sometimes the government has been more successful in intimidating critics or those with independent views, and sometimes a surge in the revolutionary process has opened up a period of relatively greater democratic freedoms (as happened during the U.S. embassy occupation).

Over the past two years or so, the government has been able to effectively ban all street demonstrations not sponsored by the government or the IRP. It has closed down most newspapers not controlled by the government. And it has carried out arbitrary firings and jailings of socialists, worker militants, and revolutionary intellectuals.

During 1981 and 1982 — at the height of the counterrevolutionary terrorist campaign of assassinations and bombings — the government arrested thousands of people and executed many, often without trial. Many of those jailed or executed had taken up arms against the regime, but many had not, and were not even supporters of the People's Mujahedeen Organization, which had claimed credit for many of the attacks. Those arrested included members of leftist groups such as the various factions of the Fedayan, the Maoist Peykar group, and others.

The government sought to justify these actions on the grounds that they were necessary to fight the counterrevolutionary ter-

rorist groups. But the arbitrary jailings and executions also created a climate of intimidation against the working class, making workers reluctant to raise criticisms of the government and its policies. Moreover, the imperialists were able to intensify their propaganda campaign around the question of democratic rights to further galvanize sections of the middle class against the revolution.

Khomeini's 8 point message

In time, opposition to the government's arbitrary actions deepened, and supporters of the revolution spoke out against them more frequently. This put some pressure on the government to ease up. Several hundred prisoners were amnestied in late 1981, though thousands still remained behind bars.

On Dec. 15, 1982, Khomeini issued a major declaration, known as his "8-point message," that took cognizance of the demands for an end to arbitrary arrests.

"No one," he said, "has the right to arrest or summon anybody without the writ of a judge issued according to religious standards, however short the period of detention [may] be. Arrest or summons by force is an offense which entails religious punishment."

"No one has the right to enter anybody's house, shop, or personal office without the permission of the owner."

"No one has the right to listen to another person's telephone or taped messages."

Khomeini urged, "Examining the competence of judges, prosecutors and courts should be done quickly and carefully so that the current of affairs become religious and divine and the people's rights not be violated."

At the same time, Khomeini noted, these guidelines did not apply to "conspiracies and groupings opposing Islam and the Islamic Republic" and who "devise subversive schemes and cause corruption," although even in these cases actions should be carried out "in accordance with the orders of the prosecutors and courts."

A week after Khomeini's declaration, six high officials were ordered to appear in court. Three of them were dismissed from their posts: two prosecutors in Tehran and Qum and an undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor.

Although the government has taken few other concrete steps to ensure that abuses of democratic rights are in fact curbed, workers in some factories have been able to use Khomeini's declaration as a lever to fight against arbitrary firings.

At a pharmaceutical plant in Tehran, seven out of eight workers who had previously been fired were reinstated after workers held a series of meetings to discuss Khomeini's declaration.

At the Pars electric plant, workers complained to the Imam's grievance committee after the bosses fired several workers. The committee came to the plant, investigated the complaint, and ordered some of the workers reinstated.

Khomeini's declaration has also spurred academic circles to speak out more forcefully in defense of democratic rights. Although most universities have now been reopened (after having been closed for nearly two years), the authorities are carefully screening the students, readmitting

only those who are politically acceptable to the authorities.

Encourage capitalists and landlords

Khomeini's message was two-sided, however. Under the guise of upholding the law, he also implicitly condemned peasants' unauthorized seizures of land from the big landlords and calls for the expropriation of capitalist firms.

Point 5 of Khomeini's message said, "No one has the right to interfere with anybody's property, either movable or immovable, or attach and confiscate anybody's property without the order of a religious judge that has been examined and proved religiously valid after issuance."

This was part of the government's campaign to allay the fears of the capitalists and landlords, and to encourage them to invest their money within the country, rather than seeking ways to spirit it out.

Some officials have interpreted this point of Khomeini's message to mean that previously nationalized or expropriated property should also be handed back to private hands.

One official of the Foundation for the Disinherited claimed that 2,000 units of property under its control were eligible to be returned to their owners under the guidelines laid out by Khomeini.

On January 20, Minister of Industry Mostafa Hashemi declared, "It is said that those factories that lose money should be handed over to the private sector. And we are ready, in this regard, for example, to put the Yassouj sugar factory at the disposal of the private sector, on the condition that they do not expect any help from us in initiating its operations."

Hashemi added, "We are not at all against investment by the private sector, and in this regard help the industrialists as much as we can."

Anti-Marxist propaganda

It is in line with such procapitalist statements and policies that the government has continued its efforts to intimidate working people — despite Khomeini's strictures against arbitrary arrests. This comes at a time when workers are increasingly questioning the government's policies.

In the debates and discussions about what road the revolution should take in order to move forward, some workers have naturally become attracted by the example of the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Grenadian revolutions and their ability to stand up to imperialism. Many others are interested in listening to socialist ideas and solutions.

To counter this process, the government and its backers have launched a broad ideological campaign. Explicitly antisocialist and anti-Marxist articles are becoming more common in the official press. These run the gamut from polemics by religious scholars against dialectical materialism and scientific socialism to speeches at Friday prayer meetings that attempt to deny class struggle exists in Iran.

Government leaders frequently argue that the "Islamic revolution" is "neither capitalist nor socialist," as Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani recently told a Friday prayer meeting. While exploitation of the oppressed is condemned, the division in society is said to be Islamic versus non-Islamic, rather than between classes. The economic underpinnings of Iranian society — capitalist property relations — are played down.

Thus religious, idealist concepts are used in an attempt to blunt class consciousness and short circuit the ongoing struggle of the exploited against the employers, landlords, and imperialists.

It is in this context that the slogan "Death to the Soviet Union" is pushed by government leaders. They are acutely aware of the example set by the great gains the masses of the Soviet Union have achieved through their revolution.

In order to confuse the Iranian workers, the regime points to unpopular actions of the bureaucracy that rules the Soviet Union, actions that are neither in the interests of the Iranian masses nor the Soviet

masses — the cozy relations maintained with the shah almost to the end of his reign, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the continued friendly relations with the Iraqi regime.

These actions are used to falsely argue that the Soviet Union, like the United States, is "imperialist," that it is a "superpower."

The government's propaganda efforts are also aimed at red-baiting the most militant working-class fighters in the factories, attempting to isolate them from their fellow workers.

Arrest of Tudeh leaders

In this context, attacks against the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party have also increased. This is despite the fact that the Tudeh Party had previously been an uncritical supporter of the Khomeini regime.

On February 5, units of the Pasdaran arrested Tudeh Party General Secretary Nureddin Kianuri and a number of other party leaders, on the charge that they were "spies linked to the KGB," the Soviet intelligence agency.

Articles in the official press accused the Tudeh Party of everything from laying the groundwork for the 1953 CIA-organized coup to acting "as a fifth column of the Russian imperialists in Iran."

A declaration issued by the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party denied these charges and demanded the release of the party's leaders.

Because of its political line, however, the Tudeh Party has left itself more vulnerable to government attack. While it is formally on record in support of the war effort, since early 1982 it has been calling more and more openly for "peace." Local branches have even opposed the entry of Iranian troops into Iraq (echoing Moscow's position on this question). This has put the party at odds not only with the Iranian government, but with the Iranian workers and peasants as well.

The government is now using the arrests to try to whip up anticommunist sentiment and thus further its ideological campaign and its red-baiting efforts.

At the Iran National automobile factory in Tehran, worker activists have complained, "Whenever we raise our demands, they call us Tudeh Party. No, we are Islamic. We have a right to discuss our problems."

Supporters of the government within the factories and the Islamic anjomans have passed out leaflets attacking the Tudeh Party and "the party of the socialists of Iran," an ambiguous reference that could apply to several socialist groups.

In some factories, anjoman leaders have initiated chants of "Death to the Tudeh!" and have urged workers to trample on U.S. and Soviet flags. Socialists in Iran report that this has not aroused much excitement, except when the issue of Afghanistan is brought up: then workers join in the chanting.

Despite this concerted campaign, some shora and anjoman members oppose the arrests. While they believe the Tudeh Party has a wrong political line, they nevertheless consider it part of the workers movement and see the arrests as an attack on worker militants in the factories.

In our final article, we'll take up the struggles of peasants, oppressed nationalities, and women.

To be continued
From Intercontinental Press

Imperialism vs. the Iranian Revolution: Which side for working people?

By Janice Lynn and David Frankel, 40 pp., 95 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Partial to brass — Reagan's '84 budget includes \$102.1 million for armed forces bands, up from \$99.7 million this year.



Harry Ring

Meanwhile the budget for music supported by the National Endowment for the Arts — symphony, opera, chamber, etc. — was cut to

under \$11 million.

Sober appraisal — James (Bo) Gritz, an ex-Green Beret who recently led an aborted mercenary mission into Laos, told a House committee he was convinced American POWs were being held there. Asked for evidence, he responded: "I have the same evidence that might be presented by a clergyman to prove that god exists."

Longer and harder? — "People live longer and they should work longer." — Texas Democrat J.J. Pickle on why Congress voted

to boost the social security retirement age.

Un-American — Thomas De Bari, a retired Hoboken longshore worker, won \$1.5 million in the New York lottery but has been turned down for American Express and Visa credit cards. Up to now, it seems, he's avoided debts. A banker explained that while having no credit rating doesn't equal a bad rating, the bank "is suspicious of people who have no credit record."

Quietly pious — Although Reagan frequently invokes the lord as a supporter of his warmon-

gering, it seems he doesn't go to church very much. "The president," an aide explained, "doesn't wear his religion on his sleeve."

Heart of gold — Utilities may be victims of a bum rap, image-wise. Like, Public Service Electric & Gas of New Jersey is soliciting customer donations to help those who can't pay their bills. And they'll even match donations dollar for dollar (up to \$300,000, when it drops to one for two). Plus PSE & G assures, the money they give won't be added to your bill.

Great sport too — Westinghouse will sponsor "Help Want-

ed," a new TV show in which unemployed workers will compete for such specialized jobs as being a 200-lb. female model, a male stripper, a bon bon dipper, or a poodle groomer. A company exec says it's a "great human document."

Heavier than water — The head of California's Air Resources Board feels Los Angeles County may need stiffer air pollution standards. The air there, she said, now has more carcinogens than is permitted in the water. She commented, "All we're saying is if this [the air] were water, you wouldn't be allowed to drink it."

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Why the "Buy American" Campaign Won't Save Jobs: How Labor Can Really Fight Unemployment. Speaker: Bob Bruce, member, United Auto Workers Local 1155, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Building a New Nicaragua. Speakers to be announced. Sat., April 2, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

San Francisco

GM-Toyota Deal: What Does it Mean for Workers? Speaker: Jon Britton, laid-off auto worker, former member, United Auto Workers Local 980. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 8, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Women and Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Miesa Patterson, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee, visited Cuba in 1980. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 9, 8 p.m. 4715 A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Emergency Protest Meeting: Stop U.S.-backed Attacks Against Nicaragua. Speakers: Karen Newton, member, Teamsters, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 8, 7:30 p.m. Rutgers University, 302 Robeson Center, Newark. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 653-2518.

NEW YORK

Albany

Eyewitness in Nicaragua: Slideshow. Speaker: Jim McClellan, professor of philosophy at Albany State. Tues., April 5, 8 p.m. SUNY-Albany Draper Hall, 3rd fl. Ausp: Central America Solidarity Alliance. For more information call (518) 434-4037.

Manhattan

Defend Democratic Rights: Stop Grand Jury Abuses. Speakers: representatives, Grand Jury Project and Metropolitan Committee to Stop Grand Jury Repression; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 8, dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal). Donation: Forum, \$2; Dinner \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445 or 852-7922.

Schenectady

The Irish Struggle Today. Speakers: Austin Devine, Capitol District Irish Prisoners of War Committee; others. Fri., April 1, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

Why Reagan Fears Grenada and the Changing Caribbean. Speakers: Stuart Adams, member, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 301, Socialist Workers Party; Héctor Carrón, Young Socialist Alliance; slide show of Grenada. Fri., April 8, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

Cincinnati

The U.S. War Against Nicaragua. Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 10, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

U.S. Out of El Salvador, Hands Off Nicaragua! Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

Toledo

Defend Montgomery Victims of Racist Attack. Speakers: Rev. Solomon Smith, Ad Hoc Montgomery Defense Committee; Rev. Floyd Rose, president, Toledo NAACP. Fri., April 8, 7:30 p.m. Family Baptist Church, 1002 W Bancroft St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON

Portland

The Struggle for Freedom in Ireland. Speaker: Alec Marron, treasurer of Detroit chapter, Irish Northern Aid, native of Belfast. Sun., April 3, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

The Dangers of Dioxin in Oregon. Speaker: Andy Robinson, researcher for Oregon Fair Share. Sun., April 10, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The Jobs Crisis — The Socialist Solution. Speaker: Gail Skidmore, Socialist Workers candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner, laid-off steelworker, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd fl., (East Liberty). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

What Strategy to Fight the Klan? A Panel

Discussion. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

San Antonio

The Socialist Alternative. Speakers: Stephanie Brooks, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 1; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 337 W Josephine St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

UTAH

Price

Stop Reagan's War on Nicaragua. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 9, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Salt Lake City

The Story Behind Nuclear Fallout and Nuclear Waste in Utah. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 8, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E, 2nd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Nicaragua: Revolution Under Attack. Speakers: Dean Peoples, member, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 46, Socialist Workers Party; Ben Linder, visited Nicaragua. Sat., April 2, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Latin American Night. Speaker: Enrique Torres, Guatemalan labor lawyer and representative of Guatemalan Patriotic Unity Committee; music, dancing. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. Egan Hall, 123 79th St. (1 block west of Greenwood). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Guatemalan Solidarity Committee. For more information call (206) 522-1683 or 522-5740.

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

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

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

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954. **FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams. Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. **Twin Cities:** SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63116. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

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

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

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1026, Greensboro. Zip: 27402. Tel: (919) 375-6180.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. **Cleveland:** SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. **Harrisburg:** SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. **Philadelphia:** SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. **State College:** YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823.

Tel: (814) 238-3296.

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

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

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. **Baltimore-Washington District:** 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Eight-hour day for Utah coal miners under attack

BY DAVE HURST

PRICE, Utah — The bosses' attempts to turn back the clock on workers' rights is gathering steam. A bill recently adopted by the Utah state legislature will allow mine operators to work the miners for more than eight hours per day. This is a direct attack on the safety of under-

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ground miners and an attempt to revive working conditions that were outlawed 80 years ago.

The eight-hour law was adopted in Colorado in 1904 after a bitter 21-month strike by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Western Federation of Miners. Many brave union men and women were arrested, deported to other states, blacklisted, or murdered in this fight. Soon after, coal and hard-rock miners throughout the West were working 8 hours a day instead of 10 or 12.

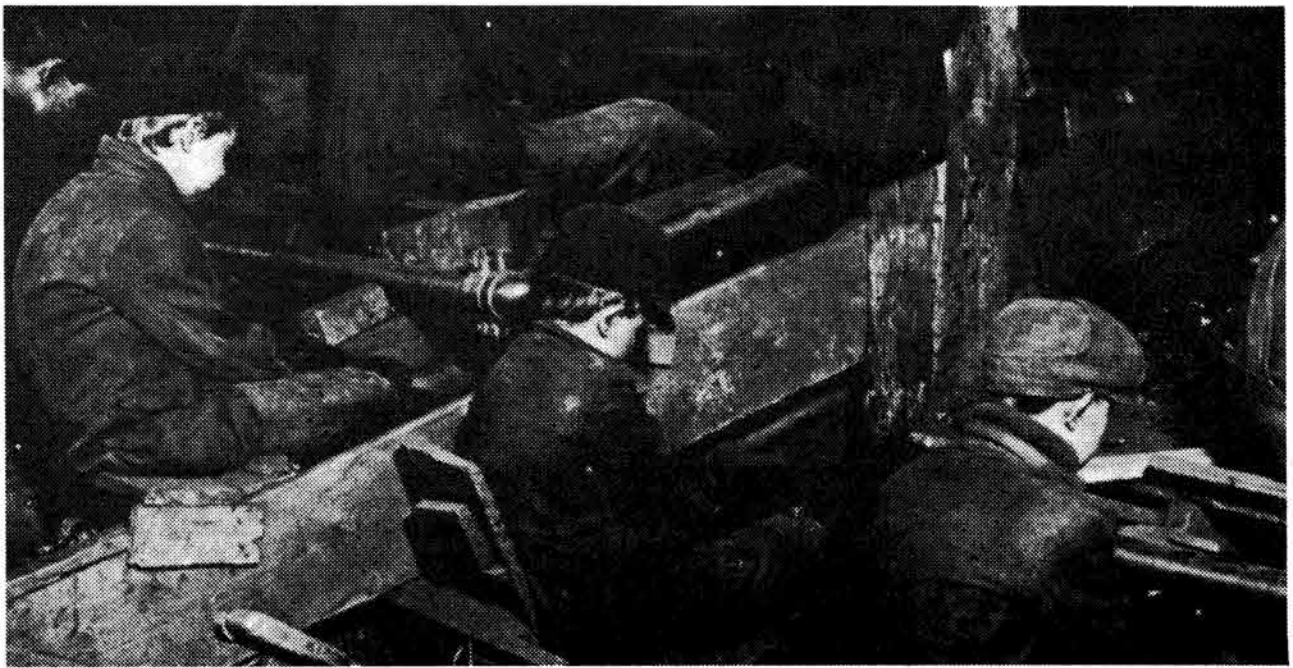
To this day, April 1 is a UMWA contract holiday in honor of winning the eight-hour workday.

The efforts of those earlier union fighters will have been for nothing if Rep. Hardy Redd's bill can be effectively implemented.

Redd, a Republican from San Juan County, introduced his bill at the request of a southern Utah uranium mine. The mine operator wanted to save money by idling the mine for three days a week. The bill quickly attracted the support of the Utah Coal Operator's Association and other organizations of the mining industry.

The bill originally raised the limitation on hours worked per day from 8 to 10. UMWA District 22 and the Utah AFL-CIO at first opposed the bill. Mike Dalpiaz, District 22 president, said "The more hours in there [underground] the more lax and tired you get. Eight hours a day is enough."

Utah is already fourth highest in mine fatalities of 25 coal-producing states. Ten miners were killed here in 1982, compared to three in 1981, while 612 injuries were reported. The current combination of increasing the



Young boys worked over 10 hours a day in mines at turn of century. Strike actions in 1904 won eight-hour day for western miners.

workday while decreasing mine inspectors is signing the death warrant for more miners.

Increasing the workday certainly won't do a whole lot towards getting rid of the high unemployment in Utah's mining industry, either. For example, the mine I used to work at laid off 138 of us, and now they're working seven days a week and doubling back on shifts to try to get the work done. We need a shorter workweek, not a longer one.

Because of labor's objections, Rep. Redd made some cosmetic changes in his bill: the 10-hour limitation was removed, and the industrial commission, itself a tool of the mine operators, must rule on requests to lengthen the workday at a particular mine.

The UMW and AFL-CIO leaderships then decided to support the bill.

This new law is what labor will get as long as we rely on the bosses' parties. As long as the Democrats and Republicans are left in charge of things, we remain tied into the capitalist framework of more attacks on our safety and our rights.

The longer-workday law makes it clearer than ever that working people need our own party, a labor party, that will stand with us instead of against us. Only a part of organized and fighting labor will offer a program to solve the capitalist crisis instead of just waiting around for the next attacks to come down.

A labor party will mobilize the forces of the labor movement in our own interests so we can start flipping the calendar forward for a change.

Dave Hurst is a laid-off UMWA member in Price, Utah.

Beirut: target of methodical war of destruction

BY MARY PIKE

In June 1982 the city of Beirut, Lebanon, became the target of a methodical war of destruction waged by the Israeli government.

The carnage that resulted was so awesome that an international campaign to halt the devastation sprang up almost immediately.

Despite public outcry, too little is known of the horror

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visited upon the inhabitants of Beirut by the Israeli regime. A videotape available from the November 29th Coalition in New York City is a powerful vehicle for getting out the facts. The coalition organizes activity in solidarity with the Palestinian people and against the U.S.-backed Israeli terror.

The videotape, approximately 45 minutes in length, is a composite of raw film taken at various times and places during the course of the Israeli invasion. Without sophisticated editing or narration — indeed the tape has none —

it effectively dispels the myth that the invasion was to secure the safety of the civilian population of Beirut.

On occasion the spontaneously-uttered words of participants — the administrator of an orphans' home, or a doctor, or a woman searching through ripped bodies wrapped in tattered blankets for the missing members of her family — are heard by the viewer. The bulk of the tape, however, consists of a purely visual recording of the fabric of life — and of death — during that period.

These images, one after the other, take one back to the period during the Vietnam War when the horror of human lives being destroyed was seen almost daily on the television screen. Unlike those pieces of film, however, the power of this videotape is its simplicity and straightforwardness. The viewer is left to form her or his own conclusions.

The images remain long after the tape has been viewed: victims of all ages, the living with faces frozen in disbelief over the pain from their seared flesh, missing limbs, and cavernous wounds. The dead lying in twisted postures forced upon them when they were hit. Chaos, moaning, screaming. Civilians, running, always running. Caravans of cars filled with wounded waiting to go

who knows where (physical damage to West Beirut hospitals alone during the siege has been estimated at \$35 million).

The worn administrator of an orphans' home discusses the shortages of food and water. He concludes while looking at the children, who had nothing to eat but one potato and one cucumber a day, that if relief is not somehow obtained death would have been better. A doctor catalogues the dead and dying amidst the racket of rifle fire and the noise from mortars and artillery. "They say it's just terrorists being hit — that's a lot of bullshit!" he mutters. Another doctor, asked about casualties, says distractedly, "It's impossible to give a number."

The invasion of Beirut was geared not at saving people — as the Israeli government insists — but rather at destroying them, the Palestinian people in particular. That is what the images captured in this videotape say. They assault the viewer, and they should be seen so that all may understand what happened and why we must not permit it to happen again.

Groups interested in making arrangements to obtain the videotape for viewing should call the November 29th Coalition at (212) 695-2686.

'Steelworkers Under Attack: How to Fight Back'

Steelworkers Under Attack: How to Fight Back and Defend Jobs. By Geoff Mirelowitz, Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 40 pp. 95 cents.

BY DAVID SALNER

VIRGINIA, Minn. — Here on Minnesota's Iron Range, anger over the March 1 concession contract imposed on the United Steelworkers of America (USWA)

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by the big steelmakers is almost universal. The contract cut pay and vacation time. It's led to a lot of thinking among steelworkers and other workers here about the strategy of concession-bargaining and the union officials' policy of collaborating with the bosses at our expense.

Those of us forced into other industries because of steel layoffs hear the same squeals of "poverty" from our new employers that we used to hear from the steel bosses. Unfortunately, there is often a familiar ring in what our new union officials say, too. Like the Steelworkers' international officers, most other top-level union officials help the companies plead their case and urge us to sacrifice so that "our" company can be competitive.

But what can steelworkers or any other workers do about this sad state of affairs? It's easy to see that the new

steel contract and the strategy that brought it about represent a step in the wrong direction for working people. But where does this strategy come from and how did it come to be the policy of every major union in the country today? How can we strengthen our unions and change them into organizations that fight for our interests? What can we do to begin a serious fight for jobs?

This and other questions are taken up in a new pamphlet, *Steelworkers Under Attack: How to Fight Back and Defend Jobs*, by Geoff Mirelowitz. Mirelowitz is a member of USWA Local 2609 and laid off from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant.

The pamphlet begins by explaining how the drive for profit that is built into capitalism is responsible for unemployment among millions of workers, not only steelworkers. The bureaucracy that sits on top of the USWA and other unions defends this profit drive. These officials are not workers and do not have to work under the dismal contracts that they negotiate.

Mirelowitz points out that a break from this policy can begin with the simple idea that workers should not pay for an economic crisis we did not create. He explains that the USWA could take the lead in the fight for jobs by putting forward a program that includes a massive program of public works; a shorter work week with no cut in pay; and guarantees of affirmative action to compensate for years of discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, and women.

The money to finance these steps should be taken from the billions squandered on the war budget. Workers have no interest in supporting a war budget that is, for example, used to murder unionists in El Salvador.

Reliance on corporate politicians — Democrats or Republicans — has not worked out any better for us than concession bargaining. The fact that not a single major political figure elected with steelworker support has publicly opposed the steel companies' contract robbery proves again the futility of backing these "friends of labor."

A labor party based on our unions would fight for us and against the bosses' attacks on all levels. Its goal would be to form a government of workers and farmers to replace the current anti-working-class government of bankers and big businessmen.

No worker can afford to ignore these ideas. That is why this new pamphlet should be sold at the plant gates of steel mills and other industries. The popular style in which it is written should help in taking it into lunchrooms and on the job to help lead discussions among all workers who are interested in organizing an effective fightback against the employers' offensive.

David Salner is a laid-off member of USWA Local 6860 at Eveleth Mines. He is now a garment worker and a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Local 512.

Washington's new escalation and 'our vital interests'

President Ronald Reagan went on television March 23 to propose another massive escalation of military spending. Central to his justification of this arms buildup was the allegation that Soviet military power is now directly challenging what he termed "our vital interests" in Central America and the Caribbean.

To buttress Reagan's presentation, we in the audience were provided with visual aids. These included a seemingly ominous aerial photograph of the construction site of Grenada's new airport — which any tourist to that Caribbean island can visit, camera in hand. A similar "intelligence" photograph revealed three helicopters at the Managua, Nicaragua, airport. They were donated by the Soviet Union to aid Nicaragua's literacy campaign. One was used to transport the pope during his recent visit.

Were the implications for working people throughout the Americas not so grave, the transparent fraud of the "threat" documented by Reagan would be laughable.

But the U.S. rulers are dead serious.

After months of careful preparation, a new escalation of U.S. military aggression against the workers and farmers of Central America and the Caribbean is now in progress.

Four years ago the people of Nicaragua and Grenada threw out bloody, U.S.-backed dictatorships and established governments that defend the interests of the workers and farmers, not the landlords and capitalists or their Washington allies. Since then, as the *Militant* has repeatedly explained, U.S. imperialism has followed a consistent counterrevolutionary policy, using the full array of weapons in its arsenal — political, economic, and military.

It has tried to prevent the extension of the revolutionary tide to El Salvador and Guatemala. It has sought to undermine and prepare for the eventual overthrow of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian governments. It has attempted to intimidate the people of Cuba into abandoning their uncompromising support for their brothers and sisters throughout the region fighting to determine their own destiny free from Yankee domination.

From the beginning, this has been the bipartisan policy of the entire U.S. ruling class. Reagan has continued and deepened the course initially charted by the Carter administration. If the U.S. government is today relying more heavily on the use of military force, it is only because Washington's political offensive has failed to isolate "the enemy," while its economic weapons have failed to corrupt or intimidate the vanguard forces leading the toiling masses.

Reagan portrays the struggle as one of "U.S. interests" combatting "Soviet expansion" and "Cuban influence." But the attempt to portray the conflict as one between contending "big powers" is false.

The conflict is between classes.

It is the working class and its allies who are moving forward in Central America and the Caribbean today, struggling to take control of their own countries and create a new society meeting the needs of the overwhelming majority, not a tiny handful of the rich.

The socialist revolution is advancing in our hemisphere.

That is why Washington must increasingly resort to military power. It is attempting to halt, and eventually turn back, the march of history.

Although today's sharpening military confrontation is inevitable, its pace and its outcome are not.

Two major obstacles

Since 1979 Washington's freedom of action has been limited by two major obstacles.

One is the uncompromising commitment of the Cuban people to defend Nicaragua and Grenada against imperialist aggression, despite the consequences for Cuba.

The second is the political price the U.S. rulers would have to pay for any direct, large-scale military intervention in the region. Throughout Latin America a move by U.S. forces would be met by an upsurge of anti-imperialist action that would dwarf the outraged response one year ago to Britain's war on Argentina. The survival of Washington's junior partners in a good many countries would be seriously threatened.

In the United States itself, the growing organized opposition to U.S. military intervention in Central America, especially the deep-going opposition within the working class, is a powerful deterrent. The ruling class, too, remembers what happened in the United States during the Vietnam War.

These factors, combined with the determination, courage, and leadership capacities of the revolutionary forces in Central America and the Caribbean, have so far limited the ability of the U.S. government to utilize its full military power for an all-out assault.

The U.S. rulers tirelessly work to throw off these political constraints by campaigning about an alleged "Soviet threat," about Moscow's so-called Cuban proxy, about the "terrorists" trying to shoot their way into power in El

Salvador, about the "new tyrants" in Managua who are no better than Somoza, about the supposedly sinister implications of an airport to encourage tourist trade to the island of Grenada.

The U.S. propaganda offensive began within days of the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution in the summer of 1979. Washington suddenly "discovered" an alleged Soviet combat brigade in Cuba.

This barrage reached a crescendo in fall 1981 when the Reagan administration charged that some 500 to 600 Cuban troops had infiltrated El Salvador — thus explaining the advances by the anti-imperialist forces there.

The U.S. ruling class at that time was seriously weighing the risks and gains of direct military action, including against Cuba. But a full-scale military mobilization in Cuba, combined with a powerful international political offensive to expose U.S. intentions, convinced Washington that the risks were too high.

In spring 1982, military operations against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran liberation forces were again in advanced stages of preparation when Britain declared war on Argentina.

Malvinas War

The Argentine military junta, along with the Honduran regime, had been scheduled to play a central role in training, organizing, and leading the Somozaist National Guard forces invading Nicaragua today. When the Malvinas War broke out, Washington backed the British aggression. An explosion of sentiment against U.S. imperialism rocked Latin America. Cuba and Nicaragua were the most vigorous defenders of Argentina's anticolonial battle.

The net result was that Washington's war plans for Central America had to be revised. Political alliances had to be reorganized, and ideological justifications for aggression against Cuba and Nicaragua had to be reformulated.

The working people of Central America and the Caribbean gained another breathing space. They won more time to build new housing, open medical centers, create new jobs, expand the literacy campaign, build roads, consolidate the trade unions and other mass organizations, and improve their defenses.

But today the danger of a qualitative new escalation of Washington's war in Central America and the Caribbean is once again mounting.

Time is running out for imperialism in Nicaragua. The U.S. rulers are concerned that it may already be too late to overthrow the Sandinista people in arms. As the pope's recent tour graphically demonstrated, the revolution's roots among Nicaragua's toiling people are deep.

As repeated statements by administration figures make clear, there is also increasing alarm in Washington over the advances in El Salvador by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Despite the millions of dollars of U.S. military aid and the frantic attempts to shore up both the army and its civilian facade, the regime is clearly cracking. The U.S. rulers do not believe the FMLN can be defeated without the intervention of non-Salvadoran military forces.

But how can that be engineered? How can it be politically justified both internationally and before a U.S. working class that is deeply suspicious and hostile to the Vietnamization of Central America?

The U.S. rulers need a broader war.

That is exactly the danger Nicaragua's Sandinista leaders point to: the invasion of Nicaragua by thousands of former Somoza National Guardsmen, armed to the teeth by Washington, may be used to provoke a war between Honduras and Nicaragua.

Already, in recent days, Honduran army units have, for the first time, crossed the border into Nicaragua. If a pretext for broadening the war is desired, the possibilities are numerous.

A regionalization of the war in Central America, which would include military actions in the Caribbean as well, would open the door for a qualitative escalation of U.S. military operations. It would pose the danger of a direct clash with Cuba and even the Soviet Union.

The tactical course the U.S. government will pursue is not predetermined. In fact, it is not yet decided. It will be determined, above all, by the political response to its probes and trial balloons.

That is why the timely response by Nicaragua, including the international forum at the United Nations that exposed and isolated the U.S. government was so important.

That is why the decision of the Grenadian government to broadcast its concern over an imminent attack will make it more difficult for the Reagan administration to implement such plans.

And that is why a broad and powerful response by those here in this country who oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean is decisive. Our vital interests lie in solidarity with our brothers and sisters there. We have a central role to play in staying the hand of the U.S. aggressors.

Tomas Borge on religion, science, and education

Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge spoke before the congress of the National Association of Nicaraguan Educators on February 4. In his speech he took up the revolution's struggle for education, large areas of which remain under the control of the reactionary Catholic church hierarchy in Nicaragua. Below we reprint excerpts from the section of his speech where he traces the evolution of education and science in class society and the role of religion. The entire speech is available in the March 14 *Intercontinental Press*. (Order for \$1.25 from IP, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014).

Education is the process through which society reproduces the ideas, values, moral and ethical principles, and behavioral habits of the successive generations. All social organization is a function of the class interests that hold state power.

In primitive society, where social classes didn't exist, there was no objective interest in ideologically ensuring

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

the reproduction of a system where some men exploited others.

But this society had its own dynamic. It began to change with the development of the means of production. This development made necessary the first great division between intellectual and manual labor. This division made possible the appearance of a ruling minority that monopolized man's incipient knowledge and a ruled majority of laborers who, in the course of a long process, were converted into slaves.

Science began to take its first steps and art began to develop — all to assure the dominance of the masters over the slaves.

The slaveowners' philosophy was designed to legally and morally justify slavery. Art and culture were intended to satisfy refinement, man's natural appetite for beauty, but always with the slaveholders' interests in mind.

Of course slaves, peasants, artisans, plebians, helots, and the exploited were exiled from education.

By feudal times there was growing interest on the part of the landowners in ideologically influencing the serfs under their rule. A double coercion, physical and spiritual, was exercised against workers. The use of physical force as a coercive means was accompanied by the use of the church's ideological influence to keep the peasant serfs subjected to feudal society.

Of course, the church was the educational vehicle of the times. It trained the aristocracy in the art of administering its domains. It transmitted scientific knowledge to kings and emperors, and it transmitted to the great masses of serfs the ideology of resignation, dressed up in prayers, solemn rites, and a constant pounding away at docility and promises of a better life after death.

The medieval church promised the poor a paradise after death, while helping to build them an inferno on earth. Of course, it justified the paradise of the rich in this life, while selling them, with endless indulgences, paradise after death as well.

The industrial revolution gave birth to an important leap in the development of productive forces. Machinery became complex. Technology in the service of production became complex. Moreover, the bourgeoisie not only required the exploitation of physical labor, which acquired brutal forms during this period, but also demanded that broad layers of workers acquire skill and knowledge in the technology linked to production.

In the early part of the bourgeois revolution, in order to confront the tremendous backwardness imposed by feudalism, the bourgeoisie fought religion, ignorance, and superstition. In its struggle against the dogmatism of feudal ideology, it raised the banner of science.

But science and critical thinking have a tendency to spread, preventing the bourgeoisie from being able to control their overall scope. This enables workers to accumulate knowledge and experience that facilitate new forms of organization. When the working class acquires class consciousness and initiates its struggles to confront exploitation, the bourgeoisie acquires a reactionary character, not only in content but in form as well.

The bourgeoisie tries to manipulate science in its favor; organizing higher education in such a manner that it remains far out of workers' reach. With time, the bourgeoisie seeks to utilize religion, which had been cast aside during the struggle against feudalism, as an instrument of ideological domination.

At one and the same time it uses physical repression as well as a new level of spiritual repression, creating an ideological apparatus far more refined but hardly less brutal than that of the feudal epoch. Just like the feudal lords, the bourgeoisie uses religion as an instrument to preach conformity, resignation, and the conciliation of classes.

Martin Luther King on Vietnam and imperialism

One of the greatest Black figures in U.S. history, Martin Luther King, Jr., was gunned down by an assassin on April 4, 1968, while supporting a strike by sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee.

Blacks across the country blamed the racist U.S. government for King's murder, and rebelled in city after city to express their anger and frustration. To this day we don't know the exact role the FBI and other government



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Malik Miah

agencies played in his assassination. But we do know the FBI was out to get King, just as they were out to eliminate Malcolm X, murdered in 1965.

King first gained national prominence in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955. He was one of the key leaders of the famous bus boycott there that kicked off the modern civil rights movement. From that day on he dedicated his life to advancing the fight of Blacks to win our total equality and freedom.

King was a leading figure in the massive movement that forced the employers and the U.S. government to dismantle Jim Crow segregation — even though they did it ever so slowly.

But by 1968, equality won on paper hadn't won us equality in reality. We had more elected Black officials; we had the right to vote; but we didn't have much more. Discrimination was still widespread in employment, housing, and education.

Moreover, Blacks were dying in disproportionate numbers in Vietnam, where U.S. imperialism was trying to smash the struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and equality, the same struggle we Blacks were fighting here.

As the truth about the Vietnam War began to become known, an antiwar movement grew up in this country. King was one of the first Black leaders to question U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people. It was exactly one year before his assassination that he gave his famous "Beyond Vietnam" speech. It was delivered at the Riverside Church in New York City at a meeting of Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam. King was a cochairman of the group.

This speech is worth close reading and study today in light of imperialism's war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

In this speech King exposed the lies of U.S. policy in Vietnam. He pointed to Washington as the aggressor and the "greatest purveyor of violence in the world."

One of the main purposes of the speech was to answer objections raised by liberals, including leading figures in the civil rights movement, to linking the struggle against war to the struggle for full equality at home.

At one point King explained, "I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued. . . . So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such."

He continued, "We were taking . . . and sending [Black men] 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem."

King argued that it was the obligation of those who began in Montgomery to be a part of and lead the fight against the U.S. war in Vietnam. "We must," he said, "be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative means of protest possible." He urged that young men be counseled about U.S. policy in Vietnam, and encouraged to become conscientious objectors since "the American course in Vietnam [is] a dishonorable and unjust one."

One of the most far-reaching aspects of King's speech was what he said Vietnam meant about U.S. society in general. "The war in Vietnam," he said, "is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality we will find

ourselves organizing Clergy and Laity Concerned committees for the next generation.

"They will be concerned about Guatemala and Peru. They will be concerned about Thailand and Cambodia. They will be concerned about Mozambique and South Africa. We will be marching for these and a dozen other names and attending rallies without end, unless there is a significant and profound change in American life and policy."

Then King explained why this was so: "This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counterrevolutionary action of American forces" in Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, and around the world.

"I am convinced," he continued, "that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a 'thing-oriented' society to a 'person-oriented' society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered."

King concluded by explaining that "these are revolutionary times" and "we in the West must support these revolutions."

In 1983 imperialism is stepping up its aggression against the peoples of El Salvador and Nicaragua, against the Palestinians, against Black Africans, against the Vietnamese and Kampuchians, against the entire world's oppressed and exploited masses. King's call for all progressive groups, including the civil rights organizations, to lead the fight against "poverty, racism, and militarism" is even more urgent today.

Blacks especially must be in the vanguard of the fight against imperialist domination and for national liberation taking place in El Salvador and all of Central America. The victories there will advance our struggle here to achieve full equality.

That's the significance of King's antiwar speech in 1967 for our struggle today. Let's actively build and join the protests against U.S. intervention in Central America as we continue our battle at home for freedom.

LETTERS

Lenin and Borge

It is a joy and inspiration to read speeches such as the one delivered by Nicaragua's minister of the interior, Tomás Borge, to National Association of Nicaraguan Educators (*Intercontinental Press*, March 14). It is speeches such as this that reaffirm the value of the experiences and methods of Marxist leaderships in power to working people everywhere, especially socialist workers.

The speech on the new education in Nicaragua prompted me to reread a speech by V.I. Lenin delivered to the Young Communist League in 1920. Lenin, in a different time and context, deals with many of the same problems and challenges confronting the new workers state. The two speeches complement each other well.

Lenin says that while the present generation had overthrown the capitalists and landowners, it would be the youth that would be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society. To do this a new educational approach and system was needed, one which produced critically minded, scientific communists. And one which inseparably links the schools, training, teaching, and education with the struggle of all the working people against their exploiters.

I look forward to an article about Tomás Borge's speech on the new education in Nicaragua because I am sure *Militant* readers will want to know about this speech. You might also want to run an article about Lenin's speech in the Learning about Socialism column as a complement to the coverage of the Borge speech.

David Rosenfeld
Westover, West Virginia

Reagan

I thought your U.S. readers might be interested in a sidelight on President Reagan's recent Central American trip. It's from the February issue of *Central American Update*, jointly published by

the Latin American Working Group and the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice, both of Toronto.

It reads:

"Reagan Taking No Chances — U.S. security men were taking no chances during Reagan's recent stopover in the San Pedro Sula airport, where he met Guatemalan President Ríos Montt and Honduran President Roberto Suazo Córdova.

"The U.S. security agents even checked out the guns of the guard of honor to make sure they had loaded only blanks."

R.A.
Montreal

Pol Pot

I would like to reply to the letters by Lee Kamentsky and Don Hanrahan in the March 11 *Militant* on the Kampuchean situation. I regard these two letters as rather thinly veiled apologetics for Pol Pot and his genocidal gang and that more than irks me.

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the Pol Pot gang only murdered 100,000 people; that the 2.9 million "missing" Kampuchians died of disease and starvation, would that free Pol Pot from guilt for their deaths? I would like to remind you of the days when Pol Pot had open supporters in the U.S. (the Mao cults, the *Guardian*, etc.). Remember, how those folks praised the "Genius Leader" who, after only two years in power, had restored Cambodian agriculture and made Kampuchea a rice exporting nation again?

When U.S. imperialism got through with Kampuchea, there was an incredible medical emergency. There were about a million wounded and sick; there were only about 500 doctors to care for them; medicine, hospital space, public health programs all were desperately inadequate. How did Pol Pot meet this situation? All hospitals were closed. All "decadent-imperialist" drugs were con-

fiscated and destroyed. All immunization programs were ended. Of the 500 doctors, 450 were killed and the 50 survivors forbidden to practice medicine. The medical needs of the populace were supposed to be met by a system of "barefoot doctors" armed with folk remedies and Mao Thought.

Let's put it plainly. Four out of every 10 Kampuchians died during Pol Pot's reign of terror. They starved because, for money or prestige, the Khmer Rouge government exported the food that could have fed them. The Kampuchean people died in epidemics, because as a conscious policy they were denied the health care that could have saved them. Yes, Pol Pot is guilty of genocide against his own people.

Roy Inglee
Wilmington, Delaware

Gandhi

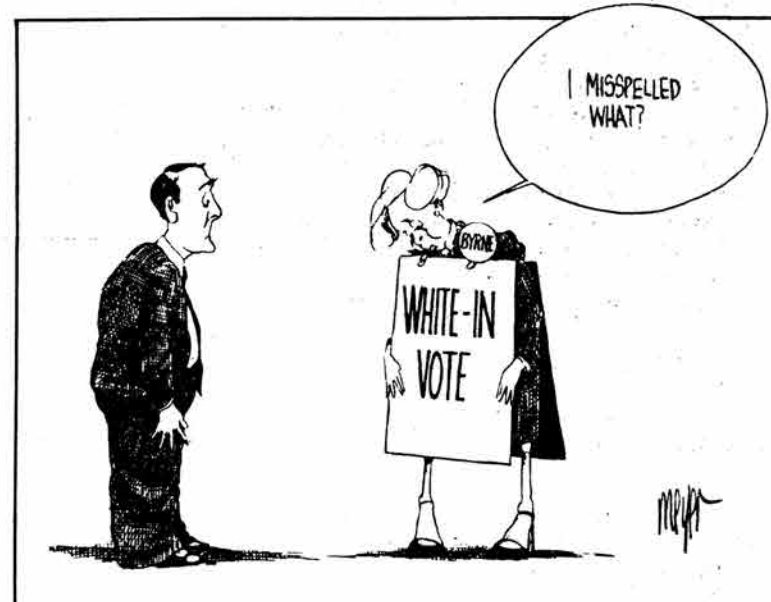
The film *Gandhi* raises some burning questions in my mind. Unfortunately the picture was not produced by a politically knowledgeable person. Instead of pointing out the national parties engaged in the struggle for independence, it appears as if Gandhi was the sole spirit and mover in this struggle. Also, little is indicated of any attempts to extend the national struggle in a socialist direction. Was there no Marxist party in existence in India or were the Socialist and Communist parties tainted with reformism and betrayal?

I think the *Militant* should carry a series of articles that would explain the Gandhi movement as well as the killings now going on among Indians.

Joe Carroll
Newark, New Jersey

War and nukes

Two significant actions recently



occurred in Arizona. On February 26, 200 protesters gathered outside the Davis-Monthan Air Force Base near Tucson to condemn the training of launch crews for the cruise missile at the base.

The other event was a lecture by Joe Gerson, a national leader of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), held at Arizona State University in Tempe on February 25. The topic of the talk was "The Deadly Connection: U.S. Interventionism and Nuclear Weapons."

Gerson criticized the mainstream disarmament movement for failing to actively oppose U.S. interventionism. He said the failure of speakers at the giant disarmament rally last June to condemn the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon represented "intellectual and moral bankruptcy."

There is evidence that some sectors of the peace movement are beginning to see the need to link these issues. Gerson reported that last December the AFSC organized a conference in Boston on the "Deadly Connection." Over 300 activists attended the conference. Participants included Noam Chomsky, Daniel Ellsberg, nuclear freeze activists, Central America solidarity groups, and anti-apartheid activists.

While saying that it is necessary to demand a bilateral nuclear

freeze by the U.S. and Soviet governments, Gerson also stressed the need to "go beyond the freeze." He criticized Democratic Party politicians for supporting the freeze and calling for increased "conventional" war preparations at the same time.

Andy English
Tempe, Arizona

Correction

In the article "2,000 unemployed demonstrate in D.C. for jobs" on page 16 of the April 1 *Militant*, a steelworker who spoke to the *Militant* was incorrectly identified. The sentence should have read:

The cochair of the unemployment committee of USWA Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works told the *Militant* that "lobbying gets you nothing. Those people only listen to protests that shake things up."

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.

Chicago socialist candidate condemns racist attack on Harold Washington

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — On March 27, Palm Sunday, 200 jeering white racists on this city's northwest side drove Democratic mayoral candidate Harold Washington and presidential aspirant Walter Mondale out of their neighborhood. The two had come to attend a church service.

Flinging racist insults and calling Washington a "crook," "tax cheat," and "babykiller," the mob was clearly out to get Washington's life.

Washington was unable to attend the service at St. Pascal's Church and had to be escorted by a line of cops out of the area. Not one person was arrested for this assault.

The mob carried "right-to-life" placards to protest Washington's support for abortion rights. They identified themselves as supporters of Bernard Epton. Epton is the Republican candidate for mayor.

There hasn't been a Republican mayor here since 1927. But there has never been a Black mayor in this city that is 40 percent Black. The election is April 12.

If one didn't know this was 1983, it could have been Chicago 1966, the year Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to march in the same neighborhood. He was also assaulted by a racist mob.

Although the local news media has tried to downplay the obviously racist character of Epton's election campaign, Mike Royko, a prominent *Chicago Sun Times* columnist, wrote after the mob attack, "Many of them [the mob] had palm fronds in their hands — which symbolized their religious devotion — and that was a heck of a good break for Washington. If the re-

ligious observance called for them to be carrying broomsticks or baseball bats, instead of delicate palms, he might of had his skull creased."

Washington immediately blamed Epton for inspiring the attack. "If one comports himself in such a way that in effect you stimulate that kind of activity, then you have to take the ultimate responsibility," Washington said.

Epton denied any responsibility. However, every night on television there are Epton ads that urge everyone to vote for him "before it is too late." Too late for what?

This is never spelled out. But everyone gets the point.

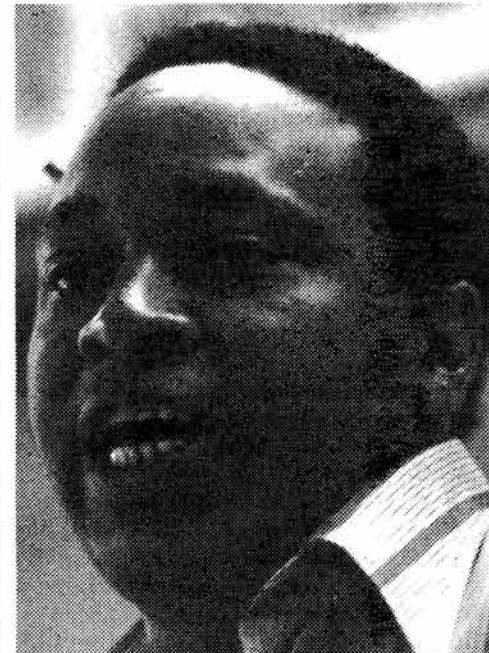
Father Francis Ciezadlo, the priest at the church where the attack occurred, said, "This is a middle-class Polish, Italian, and Irish neighborhood in which some people feel they were uprooted in the past and Blacks moved into their old communities. To them, Harold Washington's presence represents the beginning of Blacks uprooting them again."

Ed Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, quickly condemned the racist assault on Washington and placed the blame on both the Republican and Democratic parties and the big-business interests that those parties represent. "We must condemn this racist mob attack. It wasn't directed at Harold Washington the candidate, but Washington the Black. It was an attack on all Blacks and other workers in this city who are opposed to racism."

"Racism is promoted by the employer class and the two parties that defend its in-



Socialist Ed Warren (right) says Democrats and Republicans promote racism, which employers profit from. This spurs racist violence like attack on Harold Washington (left).



Militant/Lou Howort

terests against working people," Warren explained. "That's why both the Democrats and Republicans in this city, including Washington himself, are trying to say the mob action was the work of only a few extreme racists, not the product of a racist city government and two-party system."

Warren called for the arrest and prosecution "of those who attacked Washington and all those who carry out such attacks on Blacks." But, he added, "I also urge working people in Chicago to reject supporting

either Washington or Epton in the election."

Pointing to a March 27 union rally of 15,000 here to support Washington, Warren said, "if the power of the unions were mobilized instead to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form an independent labor party, we could take a big step forward in the fight against racism. That's what my campaign stands for and why I ask everyone to vote Socialist Workers on April 12."

UAW local vetoes Ford's harsh new work rules

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Workers at the Torrence Avenue Ford assembly plant in Chicago voted 1,740 to 453 to reject a local concessions contract March 18.

The 4-to-1 rejection by members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 551 was a blow to Ford's attempts to impose considerably harsher discipline and work rules in its plants.

The local contract proposal was an extension of the 1982 national auto contracts,

board that would "selectively screen laid-off employees for reinstatement eligibility based on their past work history," in the proposal's words.

• Sharply increased discipline for so-called excessive absenteeism.

These absentee provisions, Landberg said, "were viewed with particular suspicion" by the Ford workers.

Small wonder. Under their terms, workers with under six months' time in the plant could be fired (or not rehired) for missing one day.

A working employee with three years or more time would be fired for missing six days a year.

At the same time, acceptable medical reasons for absence would exclude illnesses or injuries "relatively minor, recurring, patterned, non-life-threatening, (or) subjective in nature."

Similar crackdowns on "excessive" absenteeism have been attempted, with varying success, by General Motors and Chrysler.

These absenteeism provisions, many Local 551 members feared, could be used to weed out whoever the company didn't like. And the use of part-time workers could threaten the jobs of the 20 percent of the plant's 2,600 workers not under the so-called guarantees of job security.

The *Chicago Sun-Times*, which campaigned for acceptance of the agreement in its news columns, wrote that "top Ford and UAW officials watched the vote closely since it was the first rank-and-file test of the pilot program."

The rejected proposal was strongly urged on Local 551's members by national and local UAW leaders, who "remain committed" with the company "to putting the program in place at the local," as UAW

Ford department head Donald Ephlin put it.

A little more than a year ago, Ford workers approved a national concessions contract. A similar agreement was narrowly voted up at GM. Last fall, Chrysler workers rejected further concessions to the company, after accepting them over a three-year period. Chrysler workers in Canada struck, and regained some lost ground.

The rejection of the concessions Ford

was demanding by the members of Local 551 is especially significant because several other Ford locals have accepted giveback contracts, and because Ford has pushed particularly hard the notion that cooperation with the employers is in the interests of workers.

But the concessions Ford demanded of Local 551 proved how false that notion is. And the rejection by the local's members indicates that awareness of this is growing.

Next week's "Militant" will resume Elizabeth Ziers' series on issues confronting the United Auto Workers. Don't miss it.

in that it promised illusory job security in exchange for concessions by the workers.

The Torrence plant was selected to be part of a "pilot program" in the 1982 national Ford contract. Under this agreement, 80 percent of the workers were supposed to have lifetime jobs.

But workers didn't believe the job-guarantee promises, reports *Militant* correspondent Craig Landberg: "Almost every worker we talked with at the plant rejected the promises as a hoax, and said jobs would be eliminated by the agreement."

The concessions in the proposed contract included the following:

- Combinations of job classifications, which would eliminate some jobs.
- Removing limitations on Saturday overtime work, which under the old contract was held to six times a year.
- Allowing Ford to hire part-time workers, who would receive substantially less in benefits.
- Establishment of a company-union

Rail engineers refuse to buckle

BY TOM PONTOLILLO

NEW YORK — Locomotive engineers, for the second time this year, have rejected a tentative contract with New Jersey Transit (NJT).

The engineers, members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), have been locked out of work by management since March 1, when members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) went on strike. That strike continues as NJT refuses to bargain seriously and demands a \$6,000-per-year wage cut, split shifts, and massive work-rule concessions.

The BLE members rejected NJT's contract proposed at an emergency meeting March 26 attended by about 150 engineers — two-thirds of the number currently employed by NJT.

The contract, rejected by a 5-3 ratio, was almost identical to one the engineers turned down earlier this year.

It would have paid them almost \$4 an hour less than Amtrak engineers and would have imposed a 50-hour work week for 40 hour's pay. The cost-of-living clause contained in the previous contract would have been dropped, and four holidays would

have been given up in the first year.

In fact, the biggest change from the first rejected contract would have given engineers parking permits. More than a third of the changes were those sought by management.

NJT refused to negotiate wages and hours and sent the BLE negotiators back to the membership with twin ultimatums: accept the contract in five days or the changes would be withdrawn and there would be no further talks. State Transportation Commissioner John Sheridan threatened to keep the engineers locked out even after a UTU settlement until the BLE members agreed to NJT's demands.

Discussing the contract before they voted, the engineers tore the proposal to shreds.

A number of engineers pointed out that accepting the contract in the middle of the UTU strike would stab the strikers in the back, as the contract would be used to the bosses' advantage to try to isolate the strikers.

Meanwhile, in New York, the UTU strike on the Metro-North line, which began March 7, continues.