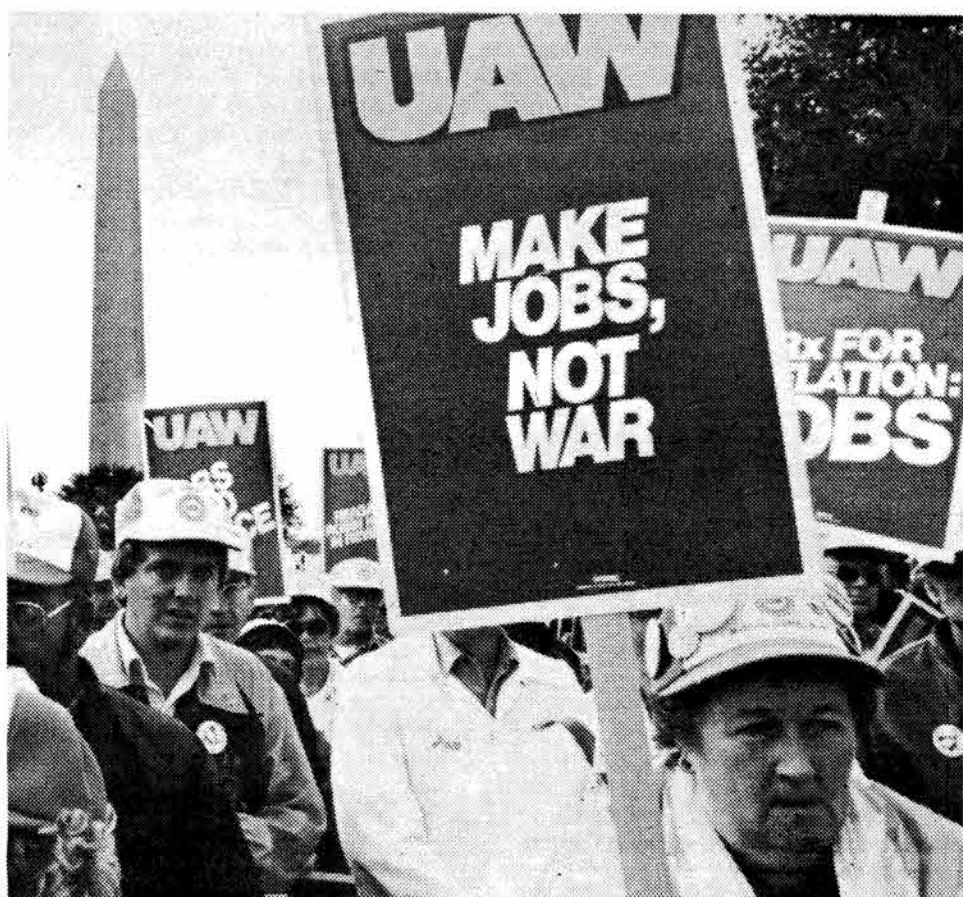


Auto union convention says 'Stop aid to El Salvador'



Militant/Lou Howort

Opposes U.S. war on Nicaragua

BY ELIZABETH ZIERS

DALLAS, May 18 — The 27th constitutional convention of the United Auto Workers union has voted here to oppose all U.S. aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship and to demand an end to the U.S.-backed war against Nicaragua.

The convention approved an International Affairs resolution which includes a section on Central America. It reads, "We strongly urge the cutoff of U.S. military and economic assistance to the oppressive regime of El Salvador and support dialogue and negotiation toward a political settlement of the civil war."

The resolution continues, "We strongly oppose covert or overt U.S. aid to overthrow the government of Nicaragua and urge a withdrawal of CIA and military involvement in Honduras aimed at harassment of Nicaragua."

Alejandro Molina Lara, a leader of the FENASTRAS union federation in El Salvador, is visiting the convention. Many delegates met him and have shown interest in discussing the workers' struggle in El Salvador.

In the keynote address by outgoing UAW President Douglas Fraser, he noted

the joint attack by General Motors and Toyota on the union at the Fremont, California, plant. Closed for more than a year, the plant is now scheduled to reopen with no job guarantees for the 6,800 UAW members who once worked there.

"Not one car will roll off that line unless the former GM workers are on that line," Fraser said. In regard to the absence of a union contract to protect workers at that plant — as well as at the Nissan plant in Smyrna, Tennessee, and the Honda plant in Marysville, Ohio — Fraser said, "Our top priority is getting jobs for workers, period. Then we'll work on organizing those plants."

This assurance was not sufficient for the delegates here from the Fremont UAW Local 1364. Their resolution demanding full union recognition and seniority recall at the plant when production resumes was not brought to the floor by the resolutions committee.

Yesterday they organized a floor demonstration against GM's union-busting, and received enthusiastic support from the other delegates and rank-and-file members who have come to observe the convention.

The Local 1364 delegation has a literature table here from which they are distributing their resolution. Behind the table hangs a mural depicting the exploitation of Fremont-area working people, from General Motors' genocide against the Indians there a century ago to General Motors' attacks today. The delegates also brought a support statement from the Japanese community in Fremont.

The 1984 presidential elections came up in the speech by AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, who said, "We can't afford to wait to see what candidates the parties come up with that we have little or no control in choosing." He explained that the AFL-CIO's General Board, representing all affiliated unions, will be a testing ground for what candidate the federation

Continued on Page 13

Court overturns Cuba travel ban

BY HARRY RING

In a major victory for constitutional rights, a federal appeals court upheld the right of U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba.

The ban on such travel had been reimposed by the Reagan administration last year as part of its accelerating war drive in Central America and the Caribbean.

Under challenge by people who wanted to travel to Cuba, the ban had been upheld by a federal judge in Boston.

But on May 15, a year to the day after the ban was imposed, a three-judge panel of the First Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the judge and enjoined enforcement of the ban.

In their initial response, Reagan officials declined to say if they would appeal the decision. A Treasury Department official

reiterated their opposition to Cuba travel, asserting it would provide U.S. dollars to a country whose "foreign policy is contrary to the interests of the United States."

In addition to a possible appeal to the Supreme Court, the government has the option of asking one of the high court justices to issue a stay of the order lifting the ban while the court decides if it will consider an appeal.

The 1982 ban, a flat violation of the constitutional right of travel, was imposed under the Trading With the Enemy Act, prohibiting citizens from spending U.S. dollars in Cuba.

However, in reversing this, the appeals court found the Treasury Department had acted under a proviso of the law which had been repealed. The statute currently requires congressional approval of a travel ban except in times of "national emergency" or a state of war.

The group that filed the suit includes Ruth Wald, a professor of biology at Harvard. It was represented by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Prominent constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin presented the oral arguments in federal court.

A ban on Cuba travel was originally imposed in January of 1961 and was followed three months later by a U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba.

While legal challenges to the ban in the 1960s succeeded in surmounting some of the restrictions on travel, it remained extremely difficult to visit Cuba until 1977, when the ban was lifted.

The present ban came in the midst of an increasingly strident hate-Cuba campaign pressed by both major parties and the media. Government plans for direct military aggression against Cuba have been disclosed.

Outlawing travel to Cuba was designed to prevent people from going there and

learning for themselves how much the Cuban people have gained from their revolution. Travelers have found the Cuban reality to be in dramatic contrast to the welter of propaganda lies conjured up here.

A cause for concern among the rulers of this country is that growing numbers of people were going to Cuba to see for themselves. At the time the travel ban was decreed last year, the Treasury Department estimated that some 40,000 people a year were visiting the island.

Such travel is a powerful antidote to the poisonous prowar, anti-Cuba propaganda.

Supreme Court sets date to discuss Marroquin case

BY NANCY COLE

The U.S. Supreme Court has put the deportation case of Héctor Marroquín on its conference agenda for June 16.

In response, the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for Marroquín, announced a campaign to use the short time before then to flood the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) with telegrams and letters.

Marroquín, now a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, was forced to flee Mexican repression nine years ago. His request for political asylum, along with the government's arguments in favor of deportation, comprise a far-reaching case with implications for thousands seeking political refuge here, in particular those from U.S.-backed dictatorships in Central America and the Caribbean.

"The Supreme Court will not necessarily decide on June 16 whether or not it will review Marroquín's appeal," says John Studer, PRDF executive director. "But it could decide. So we are stepping up efforts

to win new support for the case.

"What we do now to focus public attention on this case and intensify pressure on the INS can make the difference in whether the government gets away with forcing Marroquín to leave the country," Studer added.

At issue in the case, which is being handled by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, is whether Marroquín can be denied asylum because of his political ideas. The government claims the right to exclude an "avowed Marxist" like Marroquín.

The government could use a similar argument against other foreign-born workers if, for instance, they became active union organizers or participants in the struggle against U.S. war in Central America.

Because of the high stakes involved, Marroquín's case has attracted broad support. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, meeting in Chicago May 13-15, unanimously renewed its support for Marroquín's fight.

Continued on Page 6

'Militant' announces tour to Cuba

In light of the recent ruling by the First Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston, the *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* Tours office has announced a Summer Workers Study Tour to Cuba from June 24 to July 8. Participants have the option of going for the first week for \$700 from Miami, or for two weeks for \$1,100 from Miami. The one-week tour will stay in Havana with day trips to other areas. The two-week tour will visit Santiago and tour the entire island.

Tour space is limited and can be ensured only by sending a deposit of \$150. Final payment is due June 10. Checks should be made payable to *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* Tours and sent to 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

BY BRUCE LESNICK

Over the months, readers of this column have sent us their ideas and experiences so that others could benefit from them. Already this sharing of information is beginning to bear fruit.

Denver sales coordinator Joe Walters reports, "We were reading the *Militant* plant gate column regularly, looking for ideas." Then they came across a report that got them thinking. It was a column that described how *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters in Chicago spread the word about the campaign for mayor of socialist garment worker Ed Warren by redoubling their sales at industrial sites.

The Denver socialists decided to pick up on the Chicago theme and launch a special effort in their city to bring the campaign of Harold Sudmeyer for mayor to industrial workers. Sudmeyer is a railroad worker and member of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Lodge 1351.

Following the Chicago example, Walters explained, "we launched a 10-day push to make it known that a socialist was running for mayor of Denver." Central to their plan was the projection that each member of the Socialist

Workers Party in Denver participate in two sales of the *Militant* and *PM* at plant gates over 10-day period. This would amount to a total of 22 sales at industrial sites. Special arrangements and careful planning have also been brought to bear so that socialist mayoral candidate Sudmeyer can be present at all 22 of the plant-gate sales.

The Denver campaign push, which began on Saturday, May 7, spanned two weekends and part of two weeks. The emphasis on the weekends is sales at shopping centers in working-class communities. But even these sales are far from routine. On May 6, one day before the launching of the special sales drive, Denver area meatcutters began a strike against the major grocery store chains in the city. Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW), the meatcutters are demanding raises in wages and benefits to bring them up to par with clerks and other grocery store employees.

Sales team captain Sarah Lobman described the "great response" the *Militant* received on the picket lines. "The strikers anxiously explained to us the issues in their strike. Many took Sudmeyer For Mayor campaign brochures.

One person offered to post a leaflet for an upcoming socialist election campaign rally on the union bulletin board." The team visited three picket lines, selling four *Militants* and one *PM*.

Socialist garment workers in Denver are aiming to sell twice as many papers as usual to their co-workers during the special 10 days. Overall, Denver socialists set the goal of selling 150 *Militants* and 15 *PMs* in the 10-day period.

Meanwhile, Toledo sales coordinator Elizabeth Lariscy informed us of the successful May culmination of an eight-day petitioning drive seeking to collect 3,000 signatures to place socialist candidates on the ballot. Janet Post, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, is the SWP candidate for mayor of Toledo. Alan Epstein, a member of the UFCW, is the SWP candidate for city council.

"It was the most favorable response I've ever experienced petitioning to get a socialist on the ballot," Lariscy said.

Why so favorable a response? The biggest factor, Lariscy explained, is that in Toledo, a city comprised largely of industrial



Alan Epstein, Socialist Workers candidate for Toledo city council, and Janet Post, SWP candidate for mayor. Campaign supporters see *Militant* sales at plant gates as way to discuss SWP platform with workers.

workers, many are deeply angered at the economic uncertainty and threat of war they see coming from the government. These workers are looking for alternatives and are interested in listening to socialist ideas.

But another important factor in the success of petitioning in Toledo was the use of the "Philadelphia method." As was explained

in a previous column, socialist campaigners in Philadelphia successfully combined election petitioning with sales of the *Militant* at plant gates.

In the course of the Toledo petitioning campaign, 65 *Militants*, one *PM*, and 7 copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold. Five teams were fielded to plant gates, collecting a total of 28 signatures and selling eight papers.

May Day protests in Poland draw thousands

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Chanting "This is our holiday!" tens of thousands took to the streets of Warsaw and a score of other Polish cities May 1 to celebrate the international working-class holiday and to express their backing for the outlawed Solidarity union movement.

The demonstrations were the largest since August 1982, and took place despite government threats and displays of force. They showed that Solidarity still commands massive support among working people and that opposition to the government's bureaucratic methods of rule and mismanagement of the economy remains widespread.

A declaration calling for the May Day protests was issued by the Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK), Solidarity's underground leadership. It affirmed, "Solidarity lives and is well rooted in the factories. The union functions and has not given up its defense of the rights of working people in Poland. We are fighting for the right to free activity, for freedom for political prisoners, and for an end to the persecution of activists of the independent union movement."

According to initial estimates, some 100,000 people responded to this call around the country. The government-run television acknowledged that there were actions in at least 20 cities. The largest reported demonstrations took place in Warsaw, Gdansk, and Nowa Huta, a steel center near Krakow.

In Warsaw, a crowd of between 5,000 and 10,000 gathered outside St. John's Cathedral in the capital's Old Town, filling the narrow streets and spilling out onto the nearby Castle Square.

White-and-red Solidarity flags and banners were waved by the demonstrators and hung from some surrounding buildings. Protesters chanted the names of Lech Walesa and other Solidarity leaders, as well as "Release the prisoners!" "We want the truth!" and "Here is Poland!"

Units of the ZOMO riot police sealed off the streets in the area, and after nearly an hour called on the crowd to disperse. The protesters answered with whistles and chants of "This is our holiday! Freedom for all!"

The police opened up with high-pressure water cannon and then charged the crowd with riot sticks. But the demonstration reformed in an open area near the Vistula River, doubling in size as it was joined by newcomers. The protesters dispersed again when a convoy of armored vehicles moved in from one side and units of mounted police came from the other.

In Gdansk, a large white-and-red Polish flag, with a Solidarity logo emblazoned across it, was hoisted atop one of the towers at the main train station.

Meanwhile, a crowd estimated at between 15,000 and 40,000 assembled. Some came from a mass at St. Brygida's Church and others were reported to have joined after splitting away from the govern-

ment's official May Day ceremonies. The demonstrators rallied at the monument to workers slain during the 1970 strikes, located just outside the main gate of the Lenin Shipyard, where Solidarity was born.

As in Warsaw, the police attacked, swinging truncheons. Some of the demonstrators fled through the narrow streets of the Old Town, amid barrages of tear gas. Others reformed and attempted to march to the working-class suburb where Walesa lives.

A separate demonstration of up to 2,000 gathered outside Walesa's apartment building and cheered when he appeared at the balcony.

The official television news also showed film of clashes between protesters and police in Nowa Huta, and reported that police broke up a march of several thousand in Wroclaw.

Other cities where demonstrations were known to have taken place included Krakow, Szczecin, Poznan, Gdynia, Bydgoszcz, and Lodz.

Commenting on the scale of the demonstrations, Walesa said afterward, "I am very happy. Physically, we did not have much chance [against the police], but it is a great gain."

In contrast to the enthusiasm and spontaneity of the pro-Solidarity May Day demonstrations, the bureaucracy's official ceremonies were muted affairs. Although they were larger than the antigovernment actions — thanks to a concerted campaign of pressure in factories and schools to ensure a big turnout — the official marches were virtually silent, and attracted few spectators.

Nevertheless, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the prime minister, claimed that those who oppose the government's policies "constitute today only a pitiful margin without any chance of success."

But those who back Solidarity and its demands are no "pitiful margin." They comprise the bulk of Poland's workers, nearly 10 million of whom belonged to the union before Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law in December 1981.

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DeAnn Rathbun,
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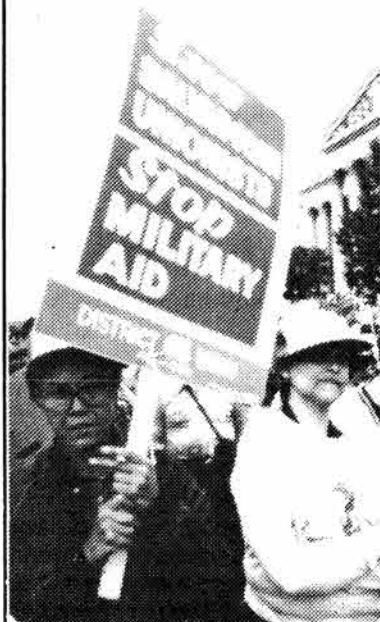
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Biggest protest in Chile since 1973 coup

The biggest single antigovernment protest in nearly a decade rocked Chile May 11. Tens of thousands of workers, students, and other Chileans participated in union-called actions to condemn the repressive and anti-working-class policies of the military dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

Protesters joined marches and demonstrations in the working-class neighborhoods of Santiago, the capital. Students stayed out of school, people banged pots and pans, drivers sounded their horns, and commercial activity was curtailed.

The day of protest was initiated by the Copper Workers Confederation (CTC). Other labor organizations backed the action. Eduardo Ríos, president of the Democratic Workers Union, said the turnout went "beyond what was expected." Absenteeism was at least 70 percent in some Santiago schools.

In the past the militant copper miners of the CTC have launched strikes and protests over specific points in the dictatorship's labor legislation. This time, however, the union blasted Pinochet's overall policies.

"It's a question of a complete economic, social, cultural, and political system," an April CTC statement declared, "which is surrounding and crushing us, which goes against our nature as Chileans and workers, which has tried to trap us ever more deeply with the weapons of fear and repression."

The May 11 action marked the first coordinated mass protest since the overthrow of Chilean President Salvador Allende in 1973. In the aftermath of the bloody U.S.-backed coup, thousands of workers and political activists were murdered and "disappeared." The military regime jailed some 150,000 opponents of the dictatorship and outlawed union activity.

Pinochet's repressive apparatus retaliated against the May 11 actions with characteristic brutality.

On May 11 itself, two young men were shot to death by police and 350 persons were arrested. Following this, in an operation recalling the repression that followed the 1973 coup, police and army units staged mass arrests in the predawn hours of May 14.

Heavily armed combat units surrounded the working-class neighborhoods of San Miguel and La Granja in Santiago between midnight and 5:00 a.m. Loudspeakers ordered all men over the age of 14 out of their houses. Police then marched an estimated 2,000 to a soccer stadium for questioning and identity checks.

Several hundred of those detained were then arrested and taken away in buses to police barracks.

The Chilean working class is being pushed into action by the country's grave economic crisis. Battered by plunging copper prices on the world market, Chile suffered a 13 percent negative growth rate in 1982. Inflation is running at 30 percent a year, with nearly one-third of Chile's workers unemployed.

The country's faltering economy, together with Pinochet's antilabor policies, have driven real wages down by 16 percent.

Santiago's sidewalks have become crowded with unemployed workers selling soap and other items to survive. Groups of

unemployed have banded together to form communal soup kitchens.

While the most spectacular actions so far, the May 11 protests follow a series of other demonstrations around the country in recent months.

The Pinochet regime has responded to the increasing dissent by stepping up its repression. The Chilean Human Rights Commission documented 1,789 political arrests in 1982 — triple the figure for 1981. Reports of torture have doubled.

May 11 was originally called as a general strike by the CTC. But after the army sent tanks and troops to three large copper mines, the CTC switched to the call for demonstrations. Workers who go on strike, Pinochet recently warned, "will have to accept the consequences of such acts."

The massive participation in the May 11 protests are a convincing sign that the Chilean workers are willing to go into action despite the dictatorship's threats. The CTC statement summed up the combative mood of the Chilean working class: "The time has come to stand up and say enough."

From Intercontinental Press



Cops arrest demonstrator in Chile's capital city of Santiago

Boston antiwar march draws 3,000

BY JANE ROLAND

BOSTON — Chanting "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador" and "CIA, USA out of Nicaragua" some 3,000 people marched through downtown streets here May 14 to protest U.S. involvement in Central America. The youthful crowd turned out in response to an emergency call for action to meet growing escalation of the U.S.-backed war.

Among the speakers at the rally was Domenic Bozzotto, president of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union Local 26. He urged the crowd to keep marching and emphasized the importance of involving the labor movement. Then, bringing his son to the microphone, he pledged that his son would never be forced to fight against working people in another country.

Lois Martin of the Central America Solidarity Association (CASA), one of the initiators of the march, urged the participants to remain active in the movement. She pointed out that despite opposition to Reagan's policies on the part of some Democratic Party politicians, they do not support the basic right of self-determination for the peoples of Central America. The solidarity movement, she said, "has a short history and a long future. If three years ago we were a couple of hundred, today we are thousands and soon we will be tens of thousands."

Other speakers included Arnaldo Ramos of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front, Leonora Argüello de Hüper of the Nicaraguan consulate; and Ann Hargreaves, head of nursing services at Boston City Hospital who had recently returned from participating in a medical delegation to El Salvador. Popular Puerto Rican singer Roy Brown provided entertainment along with several local groups.

Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis sent greetings to the rally. "Although I can

not personally be with you today," his statement read, "I support and commend your efforts. . . . I am most concerned with the obvious parallel to the unfortunate and most costly involvement in Southeast Asia."

In addition to CASA, initiators of the demonstration included Mobilization for Survival, Oxfam, the American Friends Service Committee, and CP-PAX. A number of religious groups lent endorsement and sponsorship, including the Maryknoll Center; the Peace and Justice Commission of the Sisters of Notre Dame, who marched in a contingent behind their

banner; and the Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee.

Demonstrators came to Boston from Maine; Providence, Rhode Island; and Nashua, New Hampshire. Several Latino contingents led the marchers in spirited chanting.

Among the dozens of organizations and individuals endorsing the action were several candidates for public office, including Felix Aroyo, candidate for School Committee; mayoral candidate Mel King; and Eloise Linger, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor.

Another step in U.S. war: Nicaragua's sugar quota cut

BY JANE HARRIS

Striking another blow at the people of Nicaragua, the Reagan administration announced May 9 it would cut U.S. sugar purchases from that country by 90 percent.

The chief beneficiary of this decision will be Honduras, Nicaragua's northern neighbor, which serves as a base of U.S. operations against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions. Honduras will receive 52 percent of Nicaragua's former share; Costa Rica, 30 percent; and El Salvador, 18 percent.

"This [cut in the sugar quota] is a weapon just like the weapons they use to train and direct the counterrevolutionary forces," pointed out Sergio Ramírez, a member of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction.

Reagan's cut in the sugar quota is the latest step in the U.S. war against Nicaragua. Washington is not only financing, arming, and training counterrevolutionary forces fighting against the Sandinista government, it is also trying to strangle Nicaragua economically.

A similar step was taken last October, when Standard Fruit, working with the

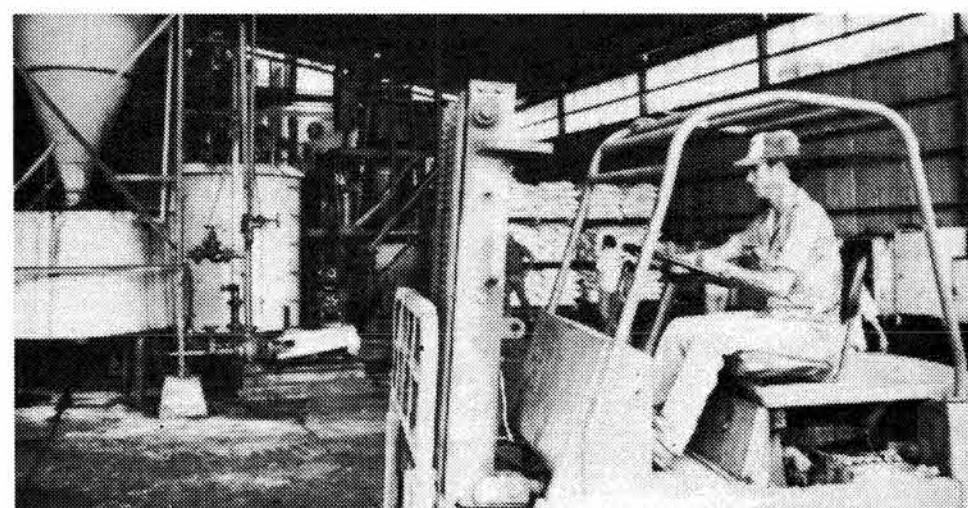
U.S. State Department, broke its agreement to market Nicaraguan bananas.

Nicaragua was able to find other buyers for its bananas. But the sugar embargo, which could mean a loss of \$12 million a year in hard currency — 3 percent of Nicaragua's total exports — presents a much more difficult challenge.

In order to protect domestic sugar producers, the U.S. government sets import quotas and a price for sugar that is currently three times the free market price.

Nicaragua's Ministry of Foreign Commerce said it wasn't "surprised by the illegal and arbitrary decision of the U.S. government." Ministry officials said that for some time they had been seeking alternative markets in case of such a move.

At present, nearly a quarter of Nicaragua's foreign trade is with the United States. As Washington has escalated use of its economic leverage to try to undermine the revolution, the Sandinistas have expanded their trade with Western Europe (now 22.9 percent) and with Cuba, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union (now 7.3 percent).



Militant/Michael Baumann Benjamin Zeledon sugar mill. Sugar embargo is one more move to strangle Nicaragua's economy.

Dellums: 'halt Turkish executions'

BY MARK WEDDLETON

Congressmen Ronald Dellums and Michael Barnes, and Seaside, California, City Councilman Mel Mason are among those elected U.S. officials who have spoken out against the plans of the Turkish dictatorship to execute seven political prisoners.

The seven are accused of belonging to the Turkish leftist organization Dev-Sol. They were sentenced to death on April 7 by the Military High Court on charges of assassinating two government officials. Their execution is imminent.

An eighth prisoner charged with belonging to Dev-Sol, Sener Yigit, has been executed. Yigit had no connection with any political group and had been convicted of unrelated killings. The dictatorship often lumps nonpolitical prisoners in with political prisoners accused of terrorism.

Both Dellums and Mason sent protest

messages to the Turkish government as part of a worldwide Amnesty International emergency campaign to halt the executions. Dellums called the death sentences an "insane action which is clearly in violation of human rights."

The military government of Gen. Kenan Evren came to power through a coup in September 1980. The coup received the blessing of the U.S. government. Reagan is calling for almost a doubling of U.S. military aid to that country, from \$465 million in 1983 to \$755 million in 1984.

The seven are faced with death for their opposition to the U.S.-backed government. If they are executed, it will help pave the way for further attacks on democratic rights.

Protest telegrams and messages should be sent to: President Kenan Evren, President's Office, Ankara, Turkey. Send copies to the *Militant*.

Adolfo Gilly's attack on the FMLN

Aftermath of deaths of two revolutionary leaders

The following article is from the May 30 issue of the socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

BY LARRY SEIGLE

Following the deaths in April of two central leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), enemies of the Salvadoran revolution intensified their efforts to discredit and divide the FMLN.

The disruption operation has taken the form of whisper campaigns and public articles in the capitalist newspapers, claiming to present the "inside story."

The themes of the campaign can be itemized as follows:

First, the FMLN is in crisis, racked by internal divisions that make the perspective of unification remote.

Second, the truth about the deaths is being covered up to conceal this crisis.

Third, thrown in for good measure: the rebels are a bloodthirsty lot, given to killing among themselves. The purpose of this is to picture the revolutionists as not superior from a moral point of view to the tyranny they seek to overthrow.

These themes, in endless variation, have been played by bourgeois journalists around the world.

Now, unfortunately, in at least one instance these tales have produced the desired effect: an echo amongst forces who present themselves as supporters of the Salvadoran revolution.

In an article that can only discredit him, Adolfo Gilly, a radical Argentine journalist, has attacked the FMLN for issuing "half-truths" and "pious lies" about the deaths of its two leaders. Gilly's article appeared April 22 in the Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno* to which he is a regular contributor. The text has just been received in New York. (See May 30 *Intercontinental Press* for the Gilly article.)

Demands 'public conference'

Gilly demands that the Salvadoran revolutionists hold a "public conference" to answer the "political questions" about the deaths. He claims that the "solidarity of friends . . . has been put to an extremely hard test by this tragedy."

Gilly's political attack centers on the charge that the public accounts offered by the FMLN and by the Nicaraguan government of the suicide of Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Commander Marcial) are partly, if not completely, false. This is signalled by the article's title: "Before the Grave of Comrade Marcial — Only the Truth is Revolutionary."

Rejecting the accounts published by the Salvadoran leadership, Gilly insists, "I say: compañeros, it is necessary to explain more. Nobody can ask the people to continue to believe on the basis of words. Those times are long past."

Despite the rhetoric, however, Gilly fails to point to a single fact that would contradict or even raise a question about the explanation of the tragic events that has been presented to the world workers movement by the FMLN and by the Nicaraguan government.

Carpio's suicide in Managua was made public April 20 by the Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior, which provided the essential details surrounding the affair. (See May 6 *Militant* for complete details.)

Carpio took his own life after learning that the murder of Mérida Anaya Montes (Commander Ana María) had been masterminded by one of his own closest and most trusted comrades. Carpio and Ana María were central leaders of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), one of the revolutionary groups in the FMLN.

Details provided by Nicaragua

As the official statement from the Nicaraguan government recounted, "Depressed and overwhelmed by the irrefutable proof of enemy activities carried out through a member in his confidence that culminated in the assassination of Compañera Ana María, Compañero Carpio made the tragic decision to take his own life Tuesday, April 12, at 9:30 p.m."

In a separate statement, the People's

Liberation Forces confirmed the facts released by the Nicaraguans.

The FPL said that the mastermind of the assassination, known as Marcelo, "lent himself to diversionary maneuvers instigated by the CIA."

"To carry out such a shameful and odious crime through maneuvers and trickery," the FPL said, "this individual used various ex-compañeros. . . . With this treacherous and disgraceful action, Marcelo tried to resolve a resentment and alleged ideological and political divergence with Compañera Ana María."

This account — while certainly not making public every detail of the plot nor submitting to public scrutiny internal affairs that are the business of the members of the FPL to resolve — was a straightforward explanation.

Equally important was the political stance adopted by the entire FMLN. At this juncture, more than ever before, the process of unifying the component groups of the FMLN is a critical task, being pressed by the masses and led forward by the most conscious proletarian forces in all of the organizations belonging to the FMLN. A response to the loss of the two leaders that would minimize disruption of this unification process was essential. This has been, to a large degree, successfully achieved.

Accusations and innuendo

The facts presented to the world by the FMLN and the Nicaraguans, to be sure, did not prevent the imperialists' hired pens from doing what they get paid for.

The *New York Times*, for example, headlined its story on Carpio's suicide: "Top Rebel Chief Dies in Mystery." The "mystery" was entirely created by the *Times* reporter, who collected accusations and innuendos that Carpio had been done in by the Cubans, the Nicaraguans, the Salvadoran Communist Party, members of the



Guazapa



Barricada

Salvadoran revolutionary commanders Ana María (left) and Marcial.

FPL, or any and all of the above.

Endeavoring to keep the pot boiling, the *Times* featured a second story on May 8, headlined "Deaths of Two Chiefs Expose Rifts Among Salvador Rebels." In this version, Marlise Simons reported from Managua that U.S. diplomats "suggested to reporters" that Carpio's suicide was in reality "another murder in a gang war or a Cuban or Nicaraguan ploy."

Seeking "independent" confirmation of the rumors the U.S. officials were spreading, Simons found "leftist supporters of the guerrillas" who expressed their doubts that "a man of Mr. Carpio's character, familiar with imprisonment, torture and the violent

death of friends, would suddenly take his life."

One thing is clear. Despite the large-scale resources devoted to the task of discrediting the FMLN, no one has produced a single fact to cast doubt upon what it has publicly explained.

But that did not deter Gilly from a provocative leap into the breach.

The Salvadoran revolution, he writes, "now finds itself at a crossroads: the leadership of one of its most powerful organizations, the FPL, has killed among itself." In this situation, says Gilly, a public rendering of accounts must be made.

Continued on Page 5

New York tribute to Ana Maria

BY JANE HARRIS

NEW YORK CITY — Commander Ana María's death "will in no way serve to dissolve the Salvadoran movement. On the contrary it will consolidate the revolutionary unity in El Salvador," Yadira Chacón of the Association of Salvadoran Women (AMES) told some 200 people gathered here May 15 at a tribute to this central leader of the revolutionary Salvadoran movement.

Commander Ana María became active in politics in the mid-1960s, leading massive teachers' strikes and helping found the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES). At the time of her death she was second in command of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), one of the five groups of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. On April 6, at age 54, she was assassinated in Managua, Nicaragua.

The week following her death, Commander Marcial, first in command of the FPL, took his life after learning that Ana María's assassination had been organized by an individual who was part of the FPL central command.

Safia Bendele of the National Black United Front (NBUF) told the meeting that the "*New York Times* is on a vicious propaganda campaign" to spread disinformation concerning the facts of Marcial's death.

"We must put them on notice that there is a counter war — a war for truth," she declared.

The *Times*, seeking to cast doubt on the facts as reported by the Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior, has run several articles suggesting that Salvadoran revolutionaries, Cubans, or Nicaraguans were responsible for Marcial's death. The *Times* offers no facts for these slanders, clearly designed to disrupt the unity of revolutionary forces in Central America.

In addition to denouncing the *Times*, Bendele said that NBUF saluted the role of Ana María because "in our history there

was a sister named Harriet Tubman who said 'I'm going to take my people out of slavery'" just as Ana María had.

Yadira Chacón and Margarita Ramírez from AMES gave talks tracing the contributions made by Ana María and Marcial to the revolutionary movement.

Messages of solidarity were read from Casa Nicaragua, the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, People's Antiwar Mobilization, and Socialist Party of Chile.

These messages matched the sentiment expressed by Patricia Burke of the Grenadian Women's Organization who said, "They can kill our leaders. They can kill innocent men, women, and children but they can never kill the revolutionary idea and spirit of a people who are determined to fight for freedom, justice, and equality."

"Let us not become weakened by the death of our dear comrade Ana María. Instead let us show them, as we say in Grenada, that no backward reaction can stop the revolution."

A sister from the Committee for a Democratic Palestine reminded the audience that "the peoples of Palestine and El Salvador are waging a war against a common enemy. In our case, it's Israel."

"Israel is also supplying the Salvadoran army against the Salvadoran people." Therefore, she said, "We see our struggles as one."

Arnoldo Ramos of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR), the tribute's featured speaker, began by saying, "This indeed is a time of deep reflection."

"We are sharing a deep amount of sorrow and losses but today we are going to talk about action."

"In answer to those that thought that the blow of losing Ana María and Marcial meant there were deeper contradictions among our organizations," he said, "we need action, not speculation."

"We need to bring together a truly gigantic effective people's solidarity movement

that can act with a broader anti-intervention movement.

"We don't want the people who are in Congress to determine what happens," he said, referring to the Democrats and Republicans appropriating millions of dollars to the Salvadoran dictatorship.

"The only congressman who stood up and who we take our guerrilla hats off to is Congressman [George] Crockett. He is the only congressman strong enough to say that 'I am voting for no military aid to the government of El Salvador.' That has to be the demand of the solidarity movement in this country."

Speaking about U.S. military intervention right now in El Salvador, Ramos said the United States has 50-70 advisers there at any one time. But, he said, "As far as we're concerned they have thousands of troops minutes away in Panama, Puerto Rico, and Florida."

Ramos said that today, despite the loss of Ana María and Marcial, "unity is a far greater reality for the FMLN and FDR than before."

He said that immediately following the deaths of these two outstanding commanders, some felt lost. But he said, "everyone realizes that they must guarantee the liberation process."

Ramos reported on the important success of the FMLN military offensive named in honor of Commanders Ana María and Marcial, which has scored important successes. In 25 days, there were 300 casualties on the government side, he said. In addition the FMLN had captured some 200 weapons.

On the diplomatic front he said the FMLN-FDR was winning. He pointed to the support gained at meetings of the Nonaligned Nations, recently held in New Delhi, and to last month's meeting of the Socialist International in Portugal.

But he also emphasized, "We need the people of the United States to collectively guarantee the revolutionary process."

These words met with applause, indicating the crowd's readiness to do so.



Salvadoran liberation fighters. Democrats and Republicans on Senate committee voted to quadruple military aid to dictatorship rebels are battling.

Smokescreen in Congress covers escalation of El Salvador war

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In the past three weeks, the Democrats and Republicans have joined hands in several congressional committees to approve millions of dollars to further escalate U.S. involvement in the war in Central America.

These bipartisan moves were carried out behind the smokescreen of attaching "strings" and "conditions," designed to make it appear that Congress had actually thrown a monkey-wrench into Reagan's war plans.

A careful examination of the votes, bills, amendments, and statements reveals, however, that what Congress *did* for the last three weeks and what it tried to make it *seem* like it was doing were two very different things.

On May 3, the Democrats on the House Select Committee on Intelligence voted to approve \$80 million in military aid for "any friendly country in Central America" trying "to prevent the use of its territory or the use of international territory" for the transfer of military equipment from or through Cuba or Nicaragua.

The measure also provided for cutting off funds for the CIA's covert war against Nicaragua.

The result of the committee vote was to approve an *increase* in funding for the war against Nicaragua, cloaked in the phony claim that the goal is to stop the alleged

arms flow to El Salvador — the excuse behind which every U.S. move against Cuba and Nicaragua has been made.

The *Miami Herald*, like many other big-business papers, reported this as a "severe blow to Reagan's embattled Central American policies."

Rep. Edward Boland (D-Mass), principal author of the bill, claimed, "Our committee has done what the majority of the members of the committee believed had to be done, and that was to cut off covert operations in Nicaragua."

But, he added, "the bottom line was that covert action ought to be cut off, and we ought to turn that action into an overt action, and that's exactly what we did."

On May 6, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence voted 13-2 to continue financing the CIA's war against Nicaragua to the tune of \$19 million through Sept. 30, 1983. The funding would be extended beyond that as long as Reagan explains to the satisfaction of Congress what he wants to do in Nicaragua.

This was enough for the *New York Times*. Their headline read: "Senate Unit Votes Power to Cut Off Covert Aid Money."

Committee chairman Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) made clear that he had gotten Reagan's nod before going ahead with the vote.

On May 10, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in a 17-0 vote, allocated an additional \$20 million to bring Salvadoran soldiers to the United States to teach them more effective ways to wage war against that country's workers and peasants.

Democratic Party liberals like Sen. Christopher Dodd and Sen. Alan Cranston joined with conservative Republicans like Sen. Jesse Helms to increase the war funds.

This bill would give the Salvadoran regime \$76.3 million in military aid this year alone — four times the amount appropriated in 1982.

The next day, the House Foreign Relations Committee voted 36-1 to give the Salvadoran government \$65 million in military aid for 1984 and the same amount for 1985. A vague rider was attached, saying that the Salvadoran government should begin negotiations with rebel forces.

The sole dissenting vote was cast by Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich), who stated, "I'm voting against all military appropriations."

While this bill was the most widely touted as being for peace, William Schneider, undersecretary of state for security assistance, approved the bill, saying the administration had no problem with the "conditions" placed on it. He boasted that Reagan's policies are "getting more support" than ever from Congress.

Commenting on this vote, the *Washington Post* pointed out, "The committee decision repeated the pattern of recent weeks in which the administration, while getting less for El Salvador than it first sought, has nevertheless gotten more than critics first threatened to give it."

The *New York Times* made a similar point: "An emerging Congressional consensus on military aid to El Salvador, considered unlikely last winter, may provide more funds than the Reagan Administration could reasonably have expected."

'Strings'

What was emphasized by the capitalist politicians and the media around each vote for more military aid was the strings or conditions that were attached.

In a *New York Times* article titled, "More Salvador Aid, and More Strings," author Martin Tolchin claimed, "Although the curbs remain ill-defined, they have the potential for real bite."

The article then totally undercuts this assertion by pointing out, "The committees' amendments fell into a pattern in which conditions have been imposed and it is up to the President to determine whether they are fulfilled."

These "strings" are more accurately called window-dressing to give Congress the aura of peacemakers while they vote to escalate the war and U.S. involvement in it.

Dodd's example

Senator Dodd's performance in the last month highlights what the debate that is going on within ruling circles over El Salvador is really all about.

Dodd delivered the Democratic Party's response to Reagan's April 27 prowar speech on Central America. Dodd's remarks were seen by many as a sharp rejection of Reagan's policy.

Dodd began by explaining what all sides in the debate agree on: "We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America."

Then Dodd explained the heart of the disagreements — *how* to prevent such states from being established.

The problem with what Reagan's doing, Dodd explained, is that "the means he has chosen" to carry out this agreed-upon goal aren't working.

He called Reagan's policy a "formula for failure," and "a proven prescription for picking a loser."

Dodd then pointed out that since Reagan became president, Congress has approved \$700 million in aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship.

Dodd affirmed, "Yes, we are fully pre-

Continued on Page 12

Adolfo Gilly's attack on the FMLN

Continued from Page 4

"This means to explain to the end:

"1. The political differences that existed as the basis of the crisis, so that people can know and decide for themselves;

"2. The reasons for the persistence of these methods: why and how is it possible that cadre in the leadership of an organization could have believed or accepted the belief that murder can resolve a political conflict;

"3. What must be done to uproot such methods."

The comrades of the FPL, and of the FMLN as a whole, are drawing the lessons from the treachery of Marcelo, who evidently was able to persuade others that a political difference could be settled by violence within the movement. They are to be forgiven if they decline Gilly's invitation to conduct their internal discussions in a public theater in Mexico City.

Threats and warnings

But Gilly doesn't stop there. In what can only be taken as a warning that if the explanations he demands are not forthcoming, solidarity with the Salvadoran struggle will be diminished, he writes:

"To the last woman who gave a peso for the purchase of weapons, to the last man who went to a demonstration, to the last child who carried a banner, they need and deserve an explanation . . .

"What these people don't understand . . . is reticence, half-truths, pious lies, being treated like children by those in whom they have placed their confidence, receiving consolations or triumphalist explanations 'so that they do not lose heart.'"

Parallel from Cuba

Gilly's insistent demand for "an explanation" are strongly reminiscent of his conduct at the time of another "mystery" cooked up by enemies of the revolution in Latin America.

In 1965, Che Guevara left Cuba. His destination and the nature of his activity were not made public. In a letter to Fidel Castro, which Fidel read publicly, Che said only that "other nations require my services and I must leave you. . . . I will take the spirit you inculcated in new fields of battle . . . in the fight against imperialism."

Outside Cuba, rumors began at once that Che had been silenced or even assassinated by Fidel. These were printed in the bourgeois press, and even repeated by sectarians who believed that the Castro leadership was "betraying" the Cuban revolution.

An article typical of this kind appeared

in the U.S. radical magazine *Monthly Review*.

"Fidel Castro can say what he wants. But *what happened to Guevara?*" the author demanded in italics. "Fidel Castro is obliged to give a political explanation. . . . It is not imperialism, it is the revolutionaries of Latin America who are interested in knowing what they did with Guevara . . ."

Does the argument sound familiar? It should. The author is none other than Adolfo Gilly.

As today, Gilly didn't stop with the demand for "explanations." He claimed that the Cuban leadership was in a "crisis." And, in an odious slander that will never be forgotten, he claimed that the evidence showed that the Cuban leaders "have either assassinated Guevara or that they are restraining him by some means or other from expressing himself politically."

Gilly's own "political explanation" was that Fidel was moving to the right, adopting Moscow's foreign policy, and "cut[ting] his links with the Latin American revolution."

When Guevara gave his life to the cause of the revolution, in Bolivia, the world learned soon enough the truth about Che's departure from Cuba. Yet to this day Gilly has never withdrawn his slander.

Gilly and Guatemala guerrillas

Repudiating Gilly's scandalous attack on the FMLN is of special importance for our publication, since Adolfo Gilly's name is linked in the minds of many in Latin America with Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

It is well-known that in the mid-1960s Gilly was involved in an infamous operation conducted in Guatemala by an ultraleft and sectarian outfit claiming to be Trotskyist. This episode had the effect of misrepresenting Trotskyism and the Fourth International and discrediting them in the minds of many Latin American revolutionaries.

In the 1960s, Gilly was a member of an international current led by one Juan Posadas. This grouping split from the Fourth International in the early 1960s because of its deep hostility to the Fourth International's support to the Cuban revolution and its leadership.

After the split, however, the Posadaists continued to claim the name "Fourth International." They went so far in this masquerade as to reproduce official publications of the Fourth International, faking them down to the very typeface. As a result of this swindle, the Posadaist "Fourth In-

ternational" was taken by large numbers in Latin America to represent Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

Members of the Posadas group became part of a Guatemalan guerrilla organization known as MR-13, headed by Marco Antonio Yon Sosa. Gilly, who became well-known for his magazine articles on the MR-13, spent a considerable amount of time in Guatemala.

In addition to the ultraleft political line they promoted within the MR-13, the Posadas followers secretly siphoned off funds collected by MR-13 for shipment to Buenos Aires, where the Posadas "Fourth International" was based. When this swindle was found out, in 1966, they were tried and expelled from the organization, and condemned before the international workers movement. The Fourth International joined in this condemnation.

In reply to the charges, the Posadaists didn't deny the accusations. In fact, they defended their action on the grounds that a "revolutionary" organization should always seek to raise funds from the mass movement!

Following his involvement in the Guatemala scandal, Gilly was arrested by the Mexican police, who subjected him to brutal torture. Despite an international campaign to win his release, he spent six years in Mexican prisons.

By the early 1970s, Posadas' counterfeit group had largely passed out of existence. Gilly began to gravitate around the Fourth International. At the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International — held just six months after the triumph of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua — Gilly was present.

Although he was not a delegate, he aligned himself with those at the congress who were most determined to block the Fourth International from adopting a resolution recognizing that a workers and farmers government had come to power in Nicaragua, headed by a revolutionary proletarian leadership, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). (The resolutions and reports debated at the 1979 World Congress are available for \$4.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.)

Unfortunately, Gilly's articles are often taken even today as representing the views of the Fourth International. In the case of his malicious attack on the FMLN this is not the case.

Whatever his intentions may have been, the result of his attack will be only to further discredit Gilly, not the FMLN, which has acted in the most responsible and politically conscious manner throughout.

Irish activists tell meeting of INS attack

BY MIKE FINLEY

PHILADELPHIA — "The oppression of Irish people is not limited to England or Ireland — it extends to the United States today," Tom O'Leary told activists from the Irish solidarity, Black liberation, and socialist movements at the Militant Labor Forum here on April 16.

O'Leary is a leader of Philadelphia's Irish Northern Aid committee and an official of a Teamster local. He pointed to the case of Michael O'Rourke, an Irish freedom activist who has been held in prison for more than three years by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, without bail or trial.

O'Rourke, who was arrested in October 1979, is charged with a misdemeanor — falsifying a visa application. He is the longest held prisoner in the history of the INS.

At the time of his arrest, O'Rourke was a resident of Philadelphia, where his wife still lives. But he is being held in a jail in New York pending trial.

Margie O'Rourke, Michael's wife, told the forum that federal officials justify refusal of bail for her husband by repeating British lies against him and concocting other lies of their own.

U.S. Attorney General William French Smith claimed that O'Rourke had killed a guard during his escape from an Irish jail in 1976. O'Rourke did escape from prison in Ireland, where he was serving a sentence on a weapons charge linked to his activity against British rule in Northern Ireland. But no one was harmed in the escape. Smith had to acknowledge this and retracted the charge two days later.

The government also claimed that O'Rourke was suspected of participating in the assassination in Ireland of Lord Mountbatten, the former British colonial ruler of India.

This charge was also proven false when O'Rourke produced evidence that he was living in Philadelphia when Mountbatten died.

In addition to leveling false accusations that prejudice O'Rourke's case for bail, federal agencies harassed the judge hearing O'Rourke's bail appeal in the immigration courts.

Margie O'Rourke explained that Judge Hoepp had been followed and hounded by unknown people, and removed himself from deciding on the appeal.

A subsequent FBI investigation revealed that the harassment of the judge was carried out by INS agents.

The forum also heard from George Harrison, one of five Irish-American activists acquitted by a federal jury in New York in November 1982 on charges of shipping weapons to the Irish Republican Army.

Harrison pointed out that the government's aim in his case, and those of O'Rourke and others now facing trial, was "to demoralize activists in the Irish solidarity movement, to spread fear in people, and to isolate us from our own communities."

The trials, Harrison pointed out, are part

of a larger pattern of government moves against the entire solidarity movement. He recalled the FBI harassment of Philadelphia Irish Northern Aid committee leader Brian McCusker, which ruined his health and drove him to an early grave; the U.S. government's ongoing attempt to force Irish Northern Aid to register as an "agent of a foreign power"; the imprisonment without bail or trial of Michael O'Rourke; and other cases now being tried in federal courts.

The U.S. government, Harrison charged, is engaged in a new offensive against the activities of people in this country who provide support for the besieged nationalist population of British-occupied Northern Ireland.

Harrison added that "the attacks by Reagan on the Irish movement here are only an extension of his attacks on other movements in solidarity with the oppressed and movements for social change."

"The Irish cause is part of the worldwide anti-imperialist movement," Harrison added.



Militant/John Naubert

New Yorkers picket British Consulate on May 7. Action commemorated death of hunger striker Bobby Sands.

Miami Haitians aid deportation fight

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI — "Brother Marroquín is a spokesperson for the working people. That is why the American government wants to deport him," said a speaker for the Haitian organization, Konbit Libète, at a May 5 meeting here.

He continued, "We say, political asylum for Héctor Marroquín! Stop the deportations! Stop the U.S. war in Central America!"

Konbit Libète, one of the main organizers of the campaign here in support of Haitian refugees, endorsed and helped publicize the meeting for Marroquín in the Black community of Liberty City.

About 50 people, including 15 Haitian activists and transit and garment workers attended the rally.

Among the speakers was Marty Good-

man, representing the Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association. A news conference called by LACASA had been broken up by armed rightwing Cuban and Nicaraguan terrorists only days before the May 5 meeting for Marroquín. No one was injured.

Marroquín told the meeting that the deeper U.S. war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean means the government here will increasingly try to repress dissent. This repression includes rightist terror and greater use of deportations to intimidate working people.

The Farmworkers Rights Organization sent a message of support for Marroquín to the rally.

Rally organizers made special efforts to reach out to the thousands of workers from

the Caribbean who now live in south Florida.

Three thousand bilingual English-Creole leaflets and 1,000 English-Spanish leaflets were distributed.

A team from Miami traveled 100 miles to the farming center of Immokalee, where thousands of Haitian, Jamaican, Puerto Rican, and Mexican farm workers live. They leafletted and spoke with workers at housing centers, laundromats, and shops. The interest was so great that they wound up holding an impromptu street corner meeting against deportation with a group of 30 Haitian workers.

Marroquin support won at convention on Puerto Rican rights

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

NEWARK — The second convention of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights was held here April 22-24. The theme of the convention was "Strategies for United Action." It was attended by 500 people from across the United States.

The congress statement of purpose adopted in 1981 includes support for the right of labor to organize, for bilingual-bicultural education, for an end to discrimination against women, and for reproductive rights including an end to sterilization abuse.

It opposes forced military service, U.S. military aggression abroad, and raids by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. The congress does not have a position on Puerto Rican independence.

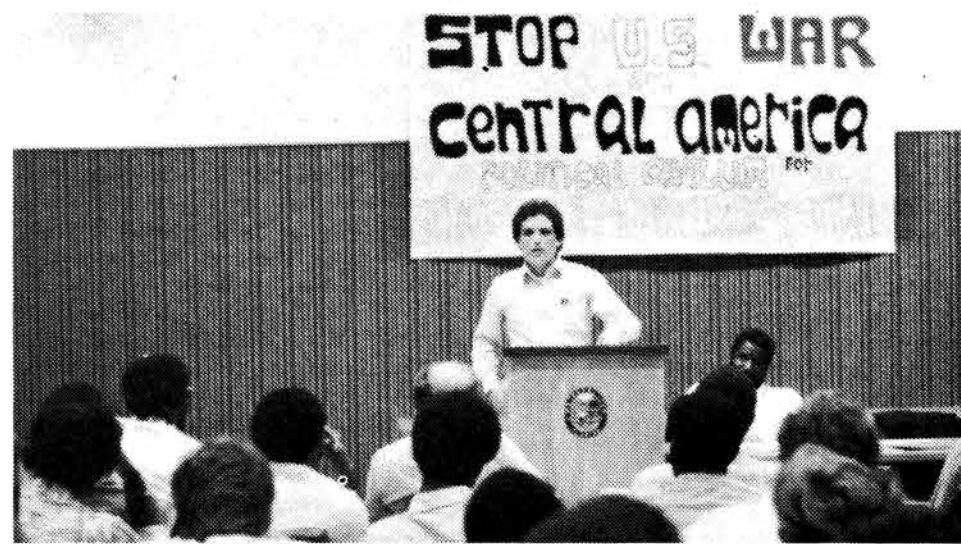
The convention this year took a stand against U.S. intervention in Central America and in support of the August 27-28 Mobilization for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom in Washington, D.C., sponsored by civil rights and labor organizations.

There was a lively discussion on the role of the Spanish-speaking communities in the election of Harold Washington as Chicago's first Black mayor.

Supporters of Héctor Marroquín's fight for political asylum received a warm response. More than 30 people signed letters demanding that the INS drop its deportation order against Marroquín.

Among them were Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for decades; New York State Assemblyman José Rivera; Dr. Samuel Betances, professor at Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago; and Newark Deputy Mayor Juan Rivera.

Also signing were Thomas Acosta, United Auto Workers District 65 and the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LACAA); Roland E. Roebuck, Washington, D.C., Office of the Mayor on Latino Affairs; Sigfredo Carrion, Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Ida Castro, American Association of University Professors; and Salvador Tió, International Information Office for the Independence of Puerto Rico.



Militant/Margie Husk

May 5 Miami meeting for Héctor Marroquín

Supreme Court to discuss Marroquin case

Continued from front page

Participants in the conference who signed individual support statements included Ernestine Mitchell, head of United Steelworkers Local 1010 Civil Rights Committee; Eugene "Gus" Newport, mayor of Berkeley, California; and Judge Roy L. Roulhac, Michigan NAACP.

At the United Auto Workers convention, which opened in Dallas on May 15, new support for Marroquín came from Leon Lynch, international vice-president of the United Steelworkers; U.S. Rep. Esteban Torres from California; and Joaquín Zapata, secretary-general of the General Motors Union in Mexico.

On a national tour that began in mid-April, Marroquín has won new backing in Minnesota (Twin Cities and the Iron Range), Wisconsin (Milwaukee and Racine), Miami, and Philadelphia.

He was joined on the platform at public meetings in those cities by freedom fighters from El Salvador, Haiti, Palestine, Ireland, and Puerto Rico. Representatives from the American Indian Movement, the National Black Independent Political Party, and

Central American solidarity groups spoke out in his defense.

His fight for political asylum was endorsed by the editors of the official labor publications in Duluth, Minnesota, and in Racine, Wisconsin. United Auto Workers Sub-region 10 director Bob Killeen in Minneapolis added his support to Marroquín's fight.

Marroquín spoke before a political action committee of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Minneapolis, at two masses in a Catholic church in Milwaukee, and at several campus and Central American solidarity activities.

The Twin Cities chapter of the National Organization for Women sent a protest message to the INS, as did Michael Travers, president of the Anoka Hennepin Education Association in Minnesota.

And it isn't only where Marroquín has been on tour that his supporters have gotten out the word on his case. Nine individuals in Atlanta sent a telegram to the INS on May 6, which said in part, "All those living in the United States have the right to be

politically active in their workplaces, their unions, and their communities without fear of government discrimination, reprisals and deportations."

Among those signing it were Gene Guerrero, executive director of Atlanta American Civil Liberties Union; Dr. Jorge Lara-Braud, director of the Council on Theology and Culture, Presbyterian Church of the United States; and Rober Mills, chair of the legislative committee, American Federation of Government Employees Local 3887.

To aid in organizing support, PRDF has published a new brochure in English and Spanish on Marroquín's fight. Requests for copies or other information and contributions should be sent to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made payable to PRDF and earmarked for the Marroquín defense.

Protest messages demanding the deportation order be dropped should be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536, with copies to PRDF.



British soldiers line up "IRA suspects" in Northern Ireland. U.S. government is aiding British tyranny by prosecuting Irish freedom supporters here.

Federal jury convicts Irish activists for support to IRA

BY HARRY RING

BROOKLYN — Four activists in the Irish solidarity movement were convicted here May 13 on charges of conspiring to buy weapons for the Irish Republican Army's fight against British rule in Northern Ireland. The four were victims of government entrapment.

The conviction by a federal jury marks a setback for the Irish support movement in this country. Last fall, five Irish activists tried on similar charges were found not guilty.

The government campaign to jail supporters of Irish freedom has escalated in response to the growing sympathy for Irish freedom fighters in this country.

The scope of this support was dramatically voiced when Michael Flannery, one of the acquitted defendants in the last trial and a founder of the Irish Northern Aid committee (Noraid), was elected grand marshal of the New York St. Patrick's Day parade this year.

Andrew Duggan, one of those convicted in the present trial, was an aide to Flannery in the parade. Duggan was elected after his trial was under way.

Convicted with Duggan were Gabriel Megahey and Eamon and Colm Meehan, brothers. All face 10-year terms except Colm Meehan, who was acquitted on two counts and faces a maximum of five years.

Nine others have been indicted on similar charges and the trial of two — Vincent Toner and Colm Murphy — are already under way in federal court here.

In addition to its own determination to thwart the further development of the Irish solidarity movement here, the U.S. government is responding to the desire of the British government for vigorous prosecution of Irish activists.

At the trial, FBI agents refused to answer questions concerning the involvement of British agencies in the undercover FBI operation that led to the indictments.

Presiding Judge Charles Sifton, after reading secret documents, declared they irrefutably established frequent British communication with the FBI on the issue. He ruled that the government either respond to questions on this or he would advise the jury that the British government "has an intense interest in the outcome of this case."

The government refused to comply and he so instructed the jury.

The case against the four rested on the testimony of a government informer, plus three videotapes made by the FBI of meetings where the informer discussed with them the purchase of weapons.

The defendants insisted that the informer, one Michael Hanratty, had entrapped them. They testified he clearly suggested he was a CIA operative.

At the trial, the CIA denied Hanratty was their man. And the FBI insisted they had not set him on the trail of the four but rather he had come to them after being asked to help buy weapons.

The FBI refused to open Hanratty's file to the defense. Hanratty is an electronics expert sufficiently qualified to lecture on the subject, yet he could not explain where he acquired his knowledge. Asked if the government had trained him, he responded, "Not officially."

Defense attorneys further noted that from the outset Hanratty had taken the posture of a supermilitant. He would vehemently insist: "You're not going to get the Brits out by pickets and demonstrations. You have to blow them out!"

The summation by coprosecutor Carol Amon was crudely loaded.

In one breath she assured the jury, "It's not your job to determine who's right and who's wrong" in the Irish struggle. In the next breath she added, "Of course they [the British] have an interest in this case." The weapons, she declared, were being sent to "annihilate" British soldiers.

The defendants, she argued, had no reason to be involved in the Irish struggle. They weren't being tortured, their homes weren't being burned down, "They're in America!"

In fact, two of the defendants, Eamon and Colm Meehan had suffered beatings and torture in a British prison.

It took the jury five days to come in with a guilty verdict. The verdict will be appealed. Meanwhile, the defendants remain free on bail.

The day after the trial ended, at least one of them, Eamon Meehan, was participating in a demonstration on behalf of Nicky Kelly, a frameup victim now on a hunger strike in a prison in formally independent southern Ireland.

Belfast story of British terror: Murderers get official 'reprimand'

BY HARRY RING

BROOKLYN — As the trial of four Irish activists charged with illegal purchase of munitions for the Irish liberation movement was drawing to a close in federal court here, the *Militant* interviewed the brother of two of the defendants.

On trial, after being entrapped by a government agent, were Andy Duggan; Gabriel Megahey; and two brothers, Colm and Eamon Meehan.

In the courtroom was the Meehan's older brother, James, who came from Belfast to attend the trial. He also testified on their behalf, describing the toll taken on them by the several years both had spent in a British prison in Northern Ireland — the notorious H-Block of Long Kesh jail, where many Irish political prisoners are held. On their release from Long Kesh, both emigrated here.

James Meehan told the *Militant* what his family suffered at the hands of the British occupation army. He told the story, he explained, because he feels it's important that people here have "a concrete idea" of what British occupation of Northern Ireland means.

Now 43, James Meehan grew up in Belfast.

Eleven years ago, his wife Maura, then 30, was shot to death by British occupation

troops. Her young sister Dorothy, 19, was killed with her.

Meehan was left to raise four children. The oldest was then 11 and the youngest, 3.

After the killings, Meehan was roughed up by British soldiers a half dozen times and savagely beaten twice.

His oldest son was also the victim of violence.

Meehan said he had never been involved in the Irish political movement. "Before my wife's death, I had no strong feelings either way." Today, he added, his sympathies are strongly with the struggle of the Irish people, "who are so brutally oppressed."

His wife also had not been directly involved in politics but was active in the Women's Action Committee, which helped people who were burned out of their homes by pro-British gangs.

"I was proud of what she was doing. People were in the streets, crying. They had no clothing. Not a stick of furniture. No income, nothing."

The committee would sometimes succeed in getting schools or public halls opened to house the homeless. And, "sometimes they would find unoccupied houses. Perhaps someone who had fled in fear."

The British, of course, took a dim view of the Women's Action Committee. "They didn't like any form of organization we had," Meehan observed.

The killings came the night of Oct. 23, 1971.

Meehan had gone to bed early and was reading the paper. His wife called to him that she and her sister were going out, but would be back soon. A neighbor with a car was taking them to an area where the British soldiers were giving people a hard time.

"The practice," Meehan explained, "was for as many people as were available to make their way to the streets being attacked by the army and make as much noise as possible. Hopefully, that would get the troops to leave."

To get there, the three had to pass British army vehicles parked to obstruct traffic.

At one point, a soldier ordered them to stop. "In the confusion," Meehan said, "our neighbor drove past him."

"The soldier immediately opened fire, killing my wife instantly, and her sister Dorothy as well."

"I had fallen asleep by then and woke up to hear my neighbor telling me hysterically that Maura and Dorothy were dead — shot dead by the British army."

Meehan and a local priest, Father Reid, succeeded in getting a cab and rushed to the scene.

"I was kneeling by Maura's body, still in the car," Meehan said. "I heard a shot whistle over my head. A soldier ran up behind me and was about to bring his gun butt down on my head when Father Reid grabbed him."

"An ambulance arrived and the bodies of

Maura and Dorothy were taken to the city mortuary."

It didn't end there.

At the wake, Meehan said, a grenade exploded in back of his home. "We all rushed back," he said, "and there we found a foot patrol of British, laughing. There was no one else around. It had to be them that did it."

Then, during the funeral, military helicopters hovered over the gravesite. "You couldn't hear the priests saying the prayers," Meehan recalled grimly.

A British major appeared on TV and radio, claiming the women died because they had fired shots at the soldiers.

That was proven false in court, Meehan said. The driver of the car in which the sisters were killed was tried for dangerous driving. During these proceedings it was established none of the three were armed.

The killings brought wide media coverage in Belfast and several European cities.

Until his wife's death, Meehan had been a well-known entertainer, a singer and comedian. After her death, he was also well known to the British soldiers.

Twice he was picked up in the street and beaten by British soldiers.

The first time, "after beating me, they took me to jail and threw me in a cell overnight, with no blankets, no water, no toilet or washing facilities. I shouted all night for a doctor."

Meehan was charged with assaulting the soldiers.

"I had eight independent witnesses testify on my part," Meehan said. "The judge refused to believe them. He fined me 15 pounds for assaulting six fully armed, trained British soldiers."

After the second beating, they warned that if he tried to do anything about it, "they would make it tough for me."

Meehan commented, "Most of the boys in Long Kesh go through that every day."

Four years after the killing, his oldest son, then 15, was grabbed by a "massive" British soldier. "He grabbed him and head butted him," Meehan said, "breaking his nose. He dropped him on the ground, got in his vehicle, and drove off laughing."

They went to court and the son was awarded 100 pounds damages.

Meehan tried persistently to press the issue of his wife and sister-in-law's death in court.

Just recently, 11 years after the event, they had their day in court.

"The charge against these soldiers," Meehan said with barely suppressed anger, "was not murder, not manslaughter, nor even assault."

"The punishment for these murders was a reprimand by the judge for 'overreacting.'"

Meehan shook his head in disbelief. "Overreacting."

Meehan was awarded 1,400 pounds "for my wife's death."

His youngest son, now 13, was awarded 100 pounds to be paid to him when he's 18.

"By the time he's 18," Meehan commented ironically, "a hundred pounds will buy him a pair of pants."

Tributes to Bobby Sands

BY MARC LICHTMAN

NEW YORK CITY — Two demonstrations took place here to commemorate the 1981 death of Irish freedom fighter and hunger striker Bobby Sands.

On May 7 about 2,000 people from all over the East Coast took part in a demonstration sponsored by the Irish Northern Aid Committee.

They picketed the British Consulate and marched to the United Nations for a rally where they heard, among others, Margie O'Rourke, whose husband Michael, an Irish republican, has been imprisoned in New York for three and a half years for overstaying his visa.

On May 5 about 150 took part in another commemoration for Sands and to protest the continued imprisonment of Nicky Kelly in the south of Ireland.

Kelly, who was framed up on charges of robbing a mail train, began a hunger strike May 1 to try to gain his release.

The May 5 action was sponsored by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee.

Sales of the new Pathfinder Press pamphlet by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, *On the Irish Freedom Struggle*, were brisk; more than 100 copies were sold at the two actions.

What difference could a revolution make?

History of Nicaragua's land reform

What Difference Could a Revolution Make? By Joseph Collins, Frances Moore Lappé, and Nick Allen; Institute for Food and Development Policy, San Francisco, California; 1982. 184 pages, \$4.95.

BY JANE HARRIS

What Difference Could a Revolution Make? by Joseph Collins certainly makes good on its snappy title.

This new book focuses on Nicaragua's agrarian reform and is written in a popular style. Collins, who has been to Nicaragua

BOOK REVIEW

10 times in the last 3 years, and his collaborators, Frances Moore Lappé and Nick Allen, begin by encouraging their readers to imagine they were Nicaraguan *campesinos* (peasants) at the time of the revolution. Painting a thorough picture of the disease, hunger, landlessness, homelessness, and illiteracy that plagued Nicaragua under U.S. imperialist domination, they make it easier to see what drove the workers and peasants to topple Anastasio Somoza's dictatorship in 1979.

What is somewhat harder to imagine is what you would have done if you had been part of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) after the fall of the dictatorship. The workers and peasants had just assumed governmental power. Now it was up to you to get production rolling and keep the country fed. A key part of the FSLN's program was that "no peasant would go landless."

You now faced:

- A war-torn country.
- A country with inadequate roads, railroads, and storage facilities.
- Virtually no statistical records.
- A foreign debt of \$1.6 billion and a near total dependency on imported oil.
- Agricultural workers demanding higher wages.
- Capitalists removing their holdings

from the country and sabotaging production.

You had little experience in agrarian reform, but if you didn't move quickly the peasants would seize the land themselves en masse, resulting in chaos in the export crops that make up the country's principal source of foreign exchange.

Collins describes all these difficulties and explains how the FSLN has responded. He notes the degree of success or failure in each case.

The book offers a valuable glimpse of the unfolding Nicaraguan revolution through one of its central aspects — the land question. The class forces in play in agriculture, the mainstay of the country's economy, are looked at through their historical roles and organizations.

Particular attention is given to the Rural Workers Association (ATC), the farm workers union, which was formed before the insurrection and played an important role in the struggle for power. Tested in battle against the Somoza dictatorship, the ATC is today one of the most combative and class conscious unions in Nicaragua.

Collins describes the ATC's instrumental role in speeding up the pace at which the government turned idle land over to the peasants.

This included an ATC-organized demonstration in February 1980 of 30,000 peasants and farm workers to protest a late-1979 governmental ruling that land seized spontaneously before the revolution should be returned to its owners if it could not be proven that the owners had close ties with Somoza.

The ATC also demanded measures against landowners who refused to resume production, pay minimum wages, or comply with decrees calling for improvements in working conditions and benefits.

While the marchers were converging on Managua, the Sandinista Air Force picked up peasants in remote areas and brought them to the protest, making it clear that the FSLN stood solidly behind them.

Commander Jaime Wheelock, minister

of agrarian reform, told the demonstrators assembled in the Plaza of the Revolution, "We know that your demands are just, and this march gives us the confidence to advance and make further transformations."

Two weeks later, the government decreed that all lands taken over up to that time would remain in the public domain. Former owners who could not be proven to be Somozaists would be compensated. Farms belonging to small producers were exempted from the decree.

Government subsidies

Readers of Collins' book will be struck by the financial, organizational, technical, and training assistance offered by the government to all layers of farmers, especially those who were the worst off. Most small producers — the 200,000 farmers who produce about 60 percent of Nicaragua's corn and beans, the principal source of food in the country — had never received government credit before the revolution. They were victims of private merchants, landlords, and moneylenders who doled out credit at usurious rates. This was immediately and qualitatively changed by the Sandinista government, which launched a massive small-farm credit program to provide low-interest loans.

The government also immediately imposed a ceiling on rents.

Another striking program is the government's distribution system, which encourages farmers to produce. It benefits the farmer through financial incentives and guaranteed prices and the consumer through price subsidies.

Here's an example of how it works. The Nicaraguan Enterprise for Basic Foodstuffs (ENABAS) buys beans from the farmers at 3.50 córdobas (US\$0.35) a pound and then turns around and retails them for 2.85 córdobas (US\$0.29) a pound. This means an enormous subsidy; ENABAS simply absorbs all costs of transportation, drying, storing, packaging, and administration.

In 1982 such subsidies on beans and other basic items of consumption were esti-



Carazo, Nicaragua, turns out to celebrate peasants. "FSLN fulfills its historic pledge"

mated at \$100 million. As the facts and figures Collins provides make clear, the emphasis in Nicaragua is on feeding people instead of on farming for profit.

Incentives for all producers

The political and financial incentives to produce stand in stark contrast to governmental policy in the United States. This policy makes farmer participation in price-support programs conditional on taking land out of production. In Nicaragua, however, the big growers are penalized for not growing. Owners who let their land lie idle are even subject to expropriation.

Some readers may be surprised to learn that in revolutionary Nicaragua the big capitalist farmers were offered an incentive package that would have allowed them to keep their property and make more money than ever before — as long as they maintained or increased production. This offer applied to a big majority of the country's cotton production and about half its cattle, sugar, and coffee production.

This program was proposed in the framework of the controls on foreign trade initiated by the Sandinista government. Nicaragua needed the capitalist farmers to stay and help get production going. In fact, after the ATC demonstration in 1980, the government sought to assure private landowners that further takeovers would be discouraged.

Because of the limited cultural, technical, financial, and administrative resources available to the revolution, it would have been — and still is — extremely difficult for the government to take on full responsibility for organizing the country's agricultural production.

But the government's concessions to the capitalists met with mixed success. Many growers decapitalized despite the incentives. This sabotage took the form of cutting back on cultivated acres, laying off needed workers and technicians, selling off machinery and livestock, and illegally siphoning dollars out of the country. As Collins explains, the capitalists were unable to live with the fact that political power was no longer theirs, but rather was in the hands of the workers and peasants, who made the revolution.

Agrarian reform as a process

In chronicling the first three years of Nicaragua's agrarian reform, Collins begins with the first step — the confiscation of all properties belonging to Somoza, his family, his lawyers, and other cronies. This step was decreed the day after the victorious insurrection. The Sandinistas thought the new government would thereby gain control of 60 percent of the country's arable land. Because of the scandalous lack of land tenure statistics, however, they later found they had been mistaken, winding up with only 20 percent. Fortunately this included much of the best land and machinery.

Over the next 21 months, agricultural workers and landless peasants put increasing pressure on the government to give them land from the state farms as well as from the large private farms.

The first reaction of many state-farm administrators was to reject these demands.

Women farm workers discuss their problems

BY JANE HARRIS

GRANADA, Nicaragua — Seventy-two women farm workers gathered here April 10 to discuss problems they face in the fields and how to resolve them.

Sponsored by the Louisa Amanda Espinoza — Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) and the Rural Workers Association (ATC), the meeting discussed political, organizational, labor, and social problems women farm workers confront.

While many of the concerns that were expressed affect the entire work force, delegates explained how, as women, they had special difficulties being union activists because of nighttime family responsibilities. In addition, their husbands often did not understand why they should participate in union activity.

Delegates pointed out that it was hard for them to take a role in union leadership when many of them had difficulty reading and writing. (Adult education courses, held at night, are not easy for them to attend if they have children.)

During the dead season, women said they were the first to be let go despite the fact that many are heads of families.

Where child-care doesn't exist, women explained that they were forced to bring their children to the fields. When women missed work because of their children's illness, many were fired.

Two state farms were singled out as not giving women equal pay for equal work —

which is against Nicaraguan law. Discrimination in hiring and training was reported. In some cases, women were even denied the right to join the union. During the coffee harvest, some women miscarried because of the difficult terrain they were assigned to work in.

The delegates, all actively defending the revolution through neighborhood vigilance teams or the militia, had many constructive suggestions concerning these problems.

They told the plenary session that a major problem was the lack of knowledge about laws already on the books. They proposed an educational campaign to overcome this.

Some problems, they felt, had easier solutions than others. For example, women could be guaranteed technical training courses. Prepared meals could free them up from work at home, making adult education and union work more realistic.

At the end of the day, delegates received a surprise visitor, Commander Jaime Wheelock, minister of agrarian reform and a member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front's (FSLN) National Directorate.

Wheelock said he was sure that each one of the problems raised by the delegates was reflective of problems faced by all women farm workers; that in order for the FSLN to help lead the way forward it was essential for the directorate to be familiar with these problems.

He said, "We are going to gather all these ideas together and make them into

laws of the republic and labor code.

"We know we have a lot to do. We are a poor country. We received an inheritance of underdevelopment, backwardness. We are a country that is still struggling to be independent economically. We are fighting for our national sovereignty — a very difficult road," he said.

Meetings like this "help us as a leadership" to see the full scope of the problems, Wheelock said.

"What women can bring to production is really half of what we can produce," he pointed out, as women are half the agricultural work force. Agreeing, the women chanted back, "Without the participation of women, there is no revolution!"

Less than 12 hours later, U.S.-financed counterrevolutionaries destroyed the child-care center on the state farm "La Colonia" in the northern province of Jinotega. That act was just one more example of how the U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua is directed toward pushing back the gains that working people have won in this revolution, including women workers. The meeting of farm workers, for example, could never have taken place when the ex-dictator and friend of Washington, Anastasio Somoza, was in power.

Today, despite the difficult conditions of war and economic backwardness, Nicaragua is taking stock of the social problems women still face and stepping up its defense and extension of women's rights.



Militant/Michael Baumann

istribution of confiscated land to landless — land to the peasants!" reads sign.



Militant/Michael Baumann

They were concerned about the loss of labor for the harvesting of export crops and the loss of land that might eventually be needed to expand production.

As pressure built, the Agrarian Reform Institute tended to make concessions, allowing landless peasants to "borrow" unused acreage on state farms on a season-to-season basis.

These workers pledged to work the land cooperatively during the "dead season," when little labor was required on the big state export farms, and promised to work on those farms as wage-laborers when needed.

This land-lending policy enabled the government to make a stronger case against the big growers. So long as the state farms themselves had not been using all their land, it was difficult to criticize private owners for keeping land idle.

The ATC, which initially included both landless agricultural laborers and small and medium farmers, divided into two separate organizations in April 1981. The ATC remained the union of farm workers, and a new organization, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) was formed to defend the interests of peasants and small livestock raisers.

Pressure from the newly organized UNAG helped to bring about a decree stating that lands traditionally rented out, as well as idle lands, must be rented to the landless, and at reduced rates.

Many landlords refused to obey the new law, charging much higher rents than allowed in the regions where there was a great demand for land. Some planted pasture or cattle feed rather than rent the land.

This open defiance led to the government announcement on May Day 1981 that idle land would be expropriated and turned over to the peasant cooperatives. Some financial compensation was promised to owners unless they were guilty of decapitalization. This proposal was incorporated into the Agrarian Reform Law presented in July 1981 at the second anniversary celebrations. It was officially approved by the Council of State several weeks later.

Available from Pathfinder

What Difference Could a Revolution Make?

Food and Farming in The New Nicaragua

By Joseph Collins, Frances Moore Lappé, and Nick Allen. 186 pages, \$4.95.

Now We Can Speak

A Journey Through the New Nicaragua

By Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, this is a companion to *What Difference Could a Revolution Make*. 128 pages, \$4.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Land distributed under the new law could not be sold by its new owners, but could be passed on intact to a single heir.

Preference was given to peasants who had worked together in cooperatives during the first two and a half years of the revolution and had produced good yields. Preference was also given to families of heroes and martyrs of the revolutionary war and to impoverished small farmers who needed more or better land just to meet their basic needs.

Those willing to organize themselves into cooperatives have also received preference. Next in line to receive land are landless farm workers. Collins reports that they are given lower preference because the government is concerned that once they have their own land they'll be reluctant to work in the export crop harvests so critical to Nicaragua's income and economic development.

Instead, the government concentrates on improving their housing, their access to medical, educational, and child-care facilities, and their employers' adherence to labor contracts.

It is interesting to note that the state farms receive fifth preference for land distribution. The emphasis right now is on getting already established state farms to produce more efficiently.

State farms

In fact, state farms that can't do so have part or all of their land turned over to landless peasants. Already more than 300 state farms have been turned over to cooperatives or to individual family farmers.

As it turned out, many state farms did have more land than they could effectively use.

The original thinking of the Agrarian Reform Institute, Collins reports, was that state farms would provide more jobs than would small parcels worked by family labor.

The financial and production crisis caused by the war also made state farms seem like the choice that would revive production fastest. Agrarian officials thought that organizing cooperatives would take too much time.

In fact, however, shortage of funds for long-term investment, a lack of trained technical personnel, and the run-down condition many of the farms were in when taken over have seriously affected the productivity of these units. There is growing improvement, but it is clearly going to be a lengthy process.

Collins reports that there has been considerable debate in the Agrarian Reform Institute over the "profitability" of the state farms.

Some say these shouldn't be compared with private farms because one of the Institute's policies is to provide more year-round work, which may in the short term work against profitability.

Others argue that the volume of production is more important than profits because cotton, sugar, and coffee will earn dollars for Nicaragua, which the country critically needs to buy imported goods.

Until these problems are resolved, there are no plans to expand the state agricultural sector. Instead the emphasis is on dedicating scarce resources to some 500 of the existing 2,000 cooperatives that have demonstrated in practice an ability to produce high yields.

In spite of Washington's economic blockade and aid to military attacks and a sky-high foreign debt, Nicaragua is making advances in agriculture.

Rice production has doubled compared to 1977-78, a representative Somoza year. Corn, bean, poultry, and egg production was also above pre-1979 records. Export crop production was up in 1982 — coffee by 10 percent and sugar by 20 percent, compared to 1977-78.

Readers will note that Nicaragua's agrarian reform is unique. As Commander Jaime Wheelock told Collins, "We were not choosing a model. The model was chosen for us by the realities." Nonetheless, the Nicaraguan experience offers an inspiring opportunity for farmers in other countries, including the United States, to learn what is possible when the workers and farmers take governmental power.

Int'l song fest rallies for Nicaragua

BY ALICIA MUÑOZ

SAN FRANCISCO — "Reagan invades us with Somozaist National Guardsmen but many other countries invade us with song," pointed out Nicaraguan Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal, opening the Second Festival of the New Latin American Song.

Within the framework of this world solidarity, Nicaragua served as the site of a marathon-length Concert for Peace and Nonintervention in Central America, culminating the Second Festival of the New Latin American Song.

The second festival took place in several Nicaraguan cities April 18-24. It represented a blow to the imperialist threat to the Central American region as the new Latin American song is intimately linked to the struggle for liberation. "The presence of famous artists from all over the continent in Nicaragua, participating in the Second Festival of the New Song, is a heavy blow to imperialism coming from the culture of our peoples," said Silvio Rodríguez, Cuban singer and one of the founders of the Movement of the New Cuban Ballad.

"The important thing is that this festival, which brought together artists from all over the continent, was celebrated in a country that has been pointed to by imperialism as the cause of the crisis Central America is living through," added Silvio, "and this [the festival] represents an unmasking of that phony charge."

Some 200 singers and composers from 16 countries came to Nicaragua to participate in the festival, including U.S. singer Pete Seeger and the Chilean group in exile, Grupo Raíz, from Berkeley, California.

The festival came about with the support of the governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Mexico; the United Nations Organization for Education, Science, and Culture (UNESCO); and the European secretariat of the Committees in Solidarity with Nicaragua.

The eight-hour concert that closed the

festival was attended by more than 100,000 people in Managua's Plaza of the Revolution.

Every night more than 2,000 people came to the Tiscapa Amphitheater in downtown Managua to listen to singers from Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Chile, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. They sang about love, life, and revolution.

"The new song is young because it sings of love, revolution, struggle, and work, of daily sorrows, poetry, and imagination," explained René Villanueva, a member of the Mexican group Los Folkloristas. "Latin American peoples will not free themselves with songs alone," but in all the stages through which the liberation struggle must pass, "the voice of the new song can be heard."

The music that stirred the Nicaraguan public is the product of an artistic struggle against repressive governments that smother and kill national creativity. "Our cultural struggle is aimed at opening the channels that will make possible access and domination by the great majority of the knowledge and technology created by the people," explained Hugo Riveros of the Grupo Raíz.

Tito Medina, a member of the Guatemalan group Kin-Lalat, described the difficulties the new song suffers in repressive countries. "In my country to do this would be crazy. The festivals we have tried to hold end up being limited and clandestine, because there the new song is persecuted."

And other new song creators confront immense political and cultural obstacles obliging them to live in exile or preventing their songs from being heard. "In my country," said a member of the Sexteto Puertorriqueño, "the new song is blockaded, gagged by the bourgeois mass media."

The New Song Festival was held for the first time in Mexico in 1982. It was agreed that the second festival would be celebrated



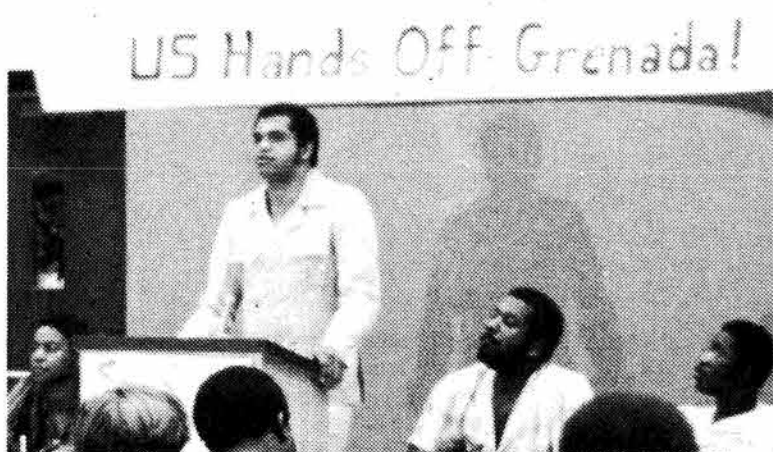
Barricada/Oscar Cantarero

in Venezuela to coincide with the Simon Bolívar Bicentennial. The Venezuelans, however, gave the honor to Nicaragua. The importance of this act did not pass by unnoticed. "In Nicaragua, poetry and beauty are not suspended when the counterrevolution tries to kill life," as Tomás Borge, the Sandinista leader explains.

The final concert of the festival was organized by three independent producers from the Netherlands and Nicaragua. By the end of May a long-playing album is scheduled to be released, reflecting the work of the groups and soloists of 12 of the countries that participated in the concert. Its jacket will bear a work by a Latin American painter and will include a text written by Gabriel García Márquez about culture and politics in Latin America.

— From *Perspectiva Mundial*

Grenadian official speaks at rally in Liberty City



Ian Jacobs, representing Grenada, said in Miami that U.S.-backed right-wing terrorists, trained in Florida, seek to overthrow revolutionary government.

BY IRENE KILANOWSKI

MIAMI — On April 14, 100 people turned out in Liberty City at a Grenada support meeting to hear Ian Jacobs, a representative of the Grenadian government.

Grenada has been on the U.S. government's enemies list since the popular revolution overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy in 1979. Since that revolution, the island's economy has expanded, unemployment has been drastically reduced, and big improvements have been made in health and education.

Today, Grenada faces real danger of U.S.-sponsored military attack. There are counter-revolutionary mercenaries being trained here in Miami for this attack. Jacobs reported that groups of these terrorists are already

gathering on an island near Grenada.

Jacobs' tour was built on only three days' notice. Some 2,500 leaflets were distributed, 2,000 in English and Creole. Jacobs was interviewed by six radio stations, the *Miami Herald*, and *Miami Times*. He also held a well-attended press conference. One radio station, WNWS, ran a three-hour live debate between Jacobs and a right-wing Grenadian exile, Elsee Carbury. Carbury attempted to portray the Grenadian revolution as worse than under the Gairy dictatorship. Jacobs effectively countered him by citing the advances the Grenadian people have made and their involvement in making decisions and running the country. A local Haitian radio program also broadcast news of Grenada and Jacobs' tour in Creole.

Of the 100 people who came to the meeting, nearly half were Black and Caribbean. There were Haitian and Jamaican garment workers, transit workers, and several people from Grenada in the audience.

One of the speakers was Mrs. Cruz, the mother of one of several young Black men killed by Miami cops recently. Mrs. Cruz spoke of the need for Black people in Miami to come together and fight for justice. She announced that the trial of the cop who killed her son was coming up in a few days, and asked if people at the meeting would like to show their support of the Black community in Miami by appearing at the court the morning of the trial. She asked Jacobs for suggestions, based on the experiences of the Grenadian revolution, on how to organize against racist cops.

Other speakers included a member from Konbit Libete, a Haitian organization in Miami; Leo Harris, a member of Malcolm X Liberation Organization; and Jackie Floyd, a member of the Socialist Workers Party who was recently fired from her job with the city of Miami for going to Grenada for one week.

'Bread, not bullets!' say Alabama Blacks

BY DARRYL TURNER

EUFAULA, Ala. — Singing and chanting for 12 miles under the blazing Alabama sun, nearly 1,000 angry young Blacks marched here April 30 to protest the police murder of two Black men.

They carried signs such as "Killing is killing," "We don't need killer cops," and "Bread, not bullets!"

The march began at the site where Hamp Russaw, 33, and his brother Anthony, 19, were shot by Eufaula police after a car chase on April 2.

Officers Ted Dotson and Wayne Cutchens were suspended with pay pending an investigation. A grand jury has refused to indict them, so they are now back at work.

A boycott of area merchants has been organized by the Concerned Citizens of Barbour County, Barbour County Ministers Coalition, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). They are demanding that the cops be suspended without pay.

"This is the first time Blacks have shown unity in Eufaula," Rev. G. E. Martin, president of the Ministers Coalition, told the crowd. "Just stay out and we'll shut Eufaula down," Martin said, urging a continued mass boycott.

Rev. John Nettles, state chairman of SCLC, added: "We wash their clothes, cook their food, raise their children. We built this nation. But 20 years later [after the civil rights marches], Blacks are still living in an atmosphere of slavery."

Ron Morris of the Concerned Citizens pointed to the lack of job opportunities for Blacks in Eufaula and said, "That is a main issue too."

Eufaula is a town of 12,400 in the southeastern part of Alabama's fertile "Black Belt." Some 40 percent of the population is Black, but there are no elected Black officials and no Blacks hold civil service jobs.

Delegations joined the march

from Birmingham and from Montgomery, where large protests against police brutality have also erupted this spring. On the day before the march, national SCLC President Joseph Lowery held a news conference in Montgomery, calling on Gov. George Wallace to curb the use of deadly force by police.

Lowery noted Wallace was elected to a fourth term last fall with a big majority of the Black vote and the endorsement of most Black leaders in the state. In fact, however, Wallace is now pushing "anti-crime" legislation to strengthen police powers.

Abortion rights picket blasts Henry Hyde

BY MINDY BRUDNO

MILWAUKEE — Chanting, "Keep abortion safe and legal" and "A woman's life is a human life," 60 women and men gathered for a spirited picket line on April 15 at Marquette University here to protest the presence of Rep. Henry Hyde, who was in Milwaukee to deliver an antiabortion speech. The picket line was called by the National Organization for Women.

Hyde is the author of the infamous "Hyde Amendment," which cut off federal Medicaid funding for abortion for poor women. In addition to being a leading opponent of abortion rights in Congress, Hyde is well known for advocating U.S. support to the bloody regime in El Salvador.

About 25 of Hyde's supporters gathered for their own demonstration only a few feet from the pro-abortion-rights action.

Harlem rally protests racist assaults on Blacks

BY ANDY TOWBIN

NEW YORK CITY — Hundreds of people gathered outside the Harlem State Office Building on May 7 to protest escalating racial assaults.

The Committee for Justice, which organized the rally, was formed to protest the murder of Black transit worker Willie Turks by a racist mob last June 22. The Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ made the original call for the rally, and was joined by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the American Federation of Government Employees, Harlem Fightback, and other organizations.

One of the speakers at the rally was Dennis Dixon, a survivor of the attack that killed Turks.

"We don't know it, but we're in trouble," Dixon said. "Reagan and Koch

are giving the word that racist murderers will go unpunished. A clear example is Gino Bova, who was convicted of manslaughter in the killing of Willie Turks. Bova should have been convicted for murder."

Muntu Matsimela, Northeast regional representative of the National Black Independent Political Party, condemned the attack on Black hospital workers by racists in Brooklyn recently. The problem, he said, was not one of individual racists.

"Over two dozen Blacks have been executed by New York City police since 1978," he said. "There's a history of violence against us, and not only here. What's the difference between the right-wing death squads in El Salvador that have killed thousands of peasants, and the right-wing Klan that has killed us for more than a century?"

Communication Workers of America Local 1180 was the first union to pass a resolution protesting the racist murder of Willie Turks. William Henning, vice-president of the local, spoke at the rally.

"The assault on the health workers is a concern of the Black community," he said. "But it is a labor issue, too. If workers cannot work in any neighborhood they choose, we all suffer."

"There's a climate that leads to racial violence that is fostered in Washington. When the administration calls counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua freedom fighters, and refers to the freedom fighters in Africa as terrorists, then we know where the problem lies."

"The unions must be in the forefront of the defense against racist violence. We have the possibility of mobilizing people as no other organization in the city does. We have to meet that responsibility head on."

Elombe Brath, chair of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, spoke of the need for defense of Black activists harassed and jailed after the Brinks robbery.

Also speaking at the rally were Rev. Earl Butts, of the Abyssinian Baptist Church,

who gave the invocation; James Whitehead, Brooklyn NAACP; Shelley Wong, National Council of Churches; State Rep. Al Green; a representative of the support committee for the Tchula 7; and a leader of the American Muslim Mission. In the audience were a number of transit workers, some of whom had leafleted every day that week after work to publicize the rally.

Rev. Ben Chavis, of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice and a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, was the final speaker.

"The police don't protect the Black community, they occupy it," Chavis said. "The next time a racist mob or cop attacks a Black person, the whole Black community has to respond."

"Our common oppression unites us. On August 27 of this year, hundreds of thousands of Black people are going to march on Washington, D.C. If Malcolm X and Martin Luther King were alive today they would be working together for such a protest."

At its height the rally drew 300 people, but several hundred others attended during various parts of the program.

More attacks on Blacks in NYC

BY WELLS TODD

NEW YORK CITY — Two more racist assaults on Blacks occurred here last week. One was by white racist youths on three Black workers, just a little over a mile from where Black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a white mob in Brooklyn in June.

The other assault was by two cops, who beat a Baptist minister and his companion in Harlem.

The Brooklyn attack took place when three Black hospital workers stopped to buy cigarettes on their way home from the Veterans Administration Medical Center. They were set upon by seven whites, who threw bricks and bottles at them.

Marion Manigault, one of the Black workers, suffered a possible concussion, a fractured rib, facial injuries, and possible injuries to his left eye, police said.

An off-duty cop arrested Joseph Wiggins, 19, for the assault. Two other whites, Ronny Sutter and Eric Musial, were arrested when they went to the police station to ask about Wiggins.

The police admitted that the Black work-

ers had done nothing to provoke the assault.

The cop assault in Harlem came April 30, four days before the attack in Brooklyn. Two cops pulled over Rev. Lee Johnson and his companion.

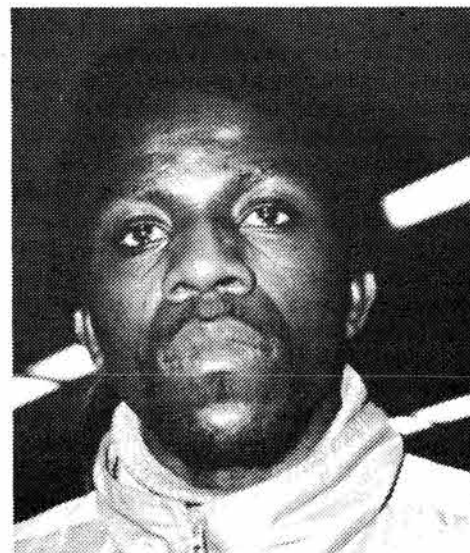
The cops demanded Johnson's license and registration. He asked to get out of the car to look for them in his pockets.

One of the cops locked Johnson in the car, cursed him and called him a "nigger," and made abusive remarks about his religion. The cops then opened the car doors on both sides and began to beat Johnson and his companion with nightsticks and flashlights.

A crowd gathered, and expressed their outrage at the cops.

At gunpoint, and with reinforcements, the cops took Johnson and Roderick Mitchell to a precinct station, beating them on the way and at the station.

The two cops, both white, are Joseph Teller and Gary Messina. They later claimed they had pulled Johnson's car over because it had no front license plate. Both cops remain on active duty.



Militant/Roberto Kopec



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Dennis Dixon (left), survivor of racist attack that left fellow transit worker Willie Turks dead, and Muntu Matsimela of National Black Independent Political Party.

Palestinian workers in occupied territory fight for rights despite Israeli repression

BY DEBORAH LIATOS
AND GEORGES SAYAD

BETHLEHEM — "Our workers' conditions in Israel closely resemble the situation of Black workers in South Africa," Palestinian labor leader George Hazboun said in an interview with the *Militant* in this town on the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

Just as Blacks in South Africa have been driven off their lands, deprived of political rights, and forced to work for the white settlers as superexploited wage laborers, the Palestinian population in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip is being transformed from a mainly agricultural population into an underpaid labor force for Israeli industry.

The Israeli occupation has also turned the territories into protected dumping grounds for Israeli goods and has made them increasingly dependent on Israeli industry. A quarter of all Israeli exports are now sent to the West Bank, and these Israeli exports account for almost 90 percent of all West Bank imports.

As a result of this social transformation, a Palestinian working class has emerged that is beginning to assert itself.

Extent of transformation

The extent of this transformation since Israel's 1967 occupation was highlighted by a report prepared in 1982 by Meron Benvenisti, an Israeli scholar.

"Approximately 49 percent of the total active labor force of the West Bank is employed in Israel [1980]," it explained. Of those, "51.2 percent of West Bank laborers in Israel are employed in construction." Other sources indicate that 18.5 percent are employed in industry and 13.3 percent in agriculture. In 1982, 5.2 percent of the work force in Israel was from the West Bank. The real figure is higher because many workers are not officially registered.

The wages earned by these workers amount to almost a quarter of the West Bank's gross national product, the report stated. This process has reached an even greater degree of dependence in the Gaza Strip, which has become a virtual labor camp.

The Benvenisti report explained that this process was spurred forward because "Israeli policies on land, water, credits, and marketing impede faster growth of West Bank agriculture, and contribute to proletarianization of West Bank farmers, urbanization, and abandonment of marginal agricultural lands."

Israeli policies also have the effect of underdeveloping local industries due to a lack of government assistance, credit, protection from Israeli imports, restrictions on import of equipment and raw materials, and little investment in infrastructure, according to Benvenisti.

Hazboun, who is secretary general of the Bethlehem Union and a member of the Executive Committee of the General Fed-

eration of Trade Unions of the West Bank, explained, "Unfortunately it must be said that Arab capital, Palestinian capital, has moved to Jordan and many of the factories are now shut."

"Many moved to Jordan because they cannot compete with industry that gets large subsidies from the Israeli government. Also, Israeli technique is at a higher level. Thirdly, Arab markets are wider and they do not wish to be deprived of them, so they have moved to Amman."

"The result of this situation has been that large branches of the middle class were pushed into the ranks of the working class. Also, because of the weakening of Arab agriculture, especially by the kibbutzim, many farmers have left the land and joined the working class. Therefore, a central and important portion of the inhabitants of the occupied territories are workers. In the last census it was shown to be 65.7 percent of the inhabitants."

Superexploitation

Israeli capitalists benefit immensely from the fact that the working class in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is under military occupation, with no rights whatsoever.

The Benvenisti report explained the extent of this exploitation: "Surveys conducted by the 'Histadrut' labor union show (Aug. 17, 1982, *Ha'aretz*) that the hourly wages of West Bank laborers employed in construction work are 50 to 60 percent of the hourly wages of the Jewish 'permanent' workers of the same labor specifications."

"The Histadrut does not enroll West Bank laborers as members of the unions and therefore they are not members of the Histadrut pension funds. Theoretically, pension plans are available through the Ministry of Labor and Welfare, and fringe-benefit sums are collected from the employers."

"However, the enormous sums accumulated since 1968 are kept in the treasury and are not paid out to West Bank laborers to whom they technically belong. Since 1968, only 152 West Bank laborers were pensioned off."

George Hazboun told us, "Our workers are rented for labor in Israeli production. In the last census it was shown that 85,000 West Bank workers were employed in Israeli production. Of these, 30,000 work in Israel without permits."

"These workers are taxed exactly as any Israeli worker, including the tax for 'Peace for Galilee.'¹ But whereas Israeli workers have social security, health insurance, pensions, etc., Palestinian workers have none of these."

Hazboun continued, "This is one impor-

1. "Peace for Galilee" was the Israeli regime's designation for its invasion of Lebanon. The tax was to help finance it.



Palestinians in West Bank line up for trip to work in Israel. Agricultural population is being transformed into underpaid labor force for Israeli industry.

tant aspect of the question. The second aspect is that Arab workers from the occupied territories are not permitted to reside in Israel. That means a worker can work 14 hours a day including his travel time. Since they cannot reside in Israel, they sleep across the border at night and return the next day."

Support for PLO

The Palestinian workers of the West Bank today are organizing to fight for their rights. They are doing so as part of the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

The history of the workers organizations, however, is a relatively short one. Before the 1967 occupation by Israel, the union movement in the West Bank was part of the Federation of Jordanian Unions and the struggles of the West Bank workers occurred within the context of Jordanian politics.

Hazboun explained the process that unfolded: "In 1970 we did not have a conception for the unions of the occupied territories, because we did not conceive that we would separate from the Jordanian unions. We supposed the occupation would be temporary and that the Israelis would leave soon. So we asked our workers not to carry out activities in Israel and to concentrate on the occupation."

"In September 1970, with the dissolution of workers unions by the Jordanian authorities, we took the decision to separate from the Jordanians. We advocated an independent Palestinian state and formed an independent Palestinian trade union."²

The trade unions were the first popular organizations in the West Bank to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, a decision that was taken in 1973.

Hazboun continued, "These unions, united or not,³ are for national independence, for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, for the right to self-determination and the return of the [Palestinian] refugees. They reject the Camp David accords, the Reagan plan, and the Jordanian confederation plan.⁴ We reject the latter not because we are against Arab unity, but because this union can only occur after independence."

"What is strange is that the sentiments of the Jordanian government for this unity only look towards the West. We are hopeful that they will have such aspirations for unity with the East and North as well, with

Iraq, Syria, etc. . . . Thus we see in the confederation plan an Arabic translation of the Reagan plan."

An important aspect of the union's political program has been participation with other Palestinian nationalist forces in municipal elections, the only electoral arena open.

"The unions in 1976 participated in municipal elections," explained Hazboun, "and three leading members, among them Adel Ghanem, the president, presented their candidacy. Ghanem succeeded in Nablus, I succeeded in Bethlehem, and the other union candidate was elected in Jenin."

The victory of the nationalist forces in the West Bank municipal elections proved to be an important political setback for the Israeli occupiers, dispelling the myth that the PLO had no support in the occupied territories.

Role of Histadrut

Since close to one half of the West Bank workers work within the pre-1967 boundaries of Israel for Israeli enterprises, the question of organizing these workers is of crucial importance to the Palestinian unions.

Sensing the potential danger of this, the Histadrut has decided to intervene. Although it is the largest employer in Israel, the Histadrut tries to pass itself off as a trade union.

The traditional position of the Histadrut has been to exclude West Bank and Gaza workers from membership and thus also exclude them from social and health benefits, as the Benvenisti report explained. Now an Arab Bureau of the Histadrut is being set up to undercut the Palestinian unions.

Commenting on this, Hazboun explained, "They try to organize the Arab workers [from the West Bank] inside Israel within the line of this Arab Bureau. This signifies following the Israeli Labor Party politically." The Labor Party, a capitalist formation, is one of the main Zionist parties in Israel.

"We are opposed to our workers joining the Histadrut," says Hazboun. "We believe it is the use of an economic means to achieve political ends. We oppose this policy and have issued proclamations to this effect and for workers to join Arab unions."

The efforts by the Histadrut have not been very successful. Only a few hundred workers have joined.

Israeli military crackdown

The Israeli occupiers have extracted enormous profits from the superexploitation of the Palestinian workers of the West Bank. Any Palestinian union organization, just as any other Palestinian institution, presents a grave danger to the status quo imposed by the military occupation. The military authorities have used all means at their disposal to frustrate and crush Arab workers organizations.

Continued on Page 12

Readings On The Middle East

ISRAEL: A Colonial-Settler State?

by Maxime Rodinson. 128 pp., \$3.95.

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by Abram Leon. 270 pp., \$5.95.

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism

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SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE MIDEAST: A debate from the pages of the *Militant* and *Daily World*

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by Peter Seidman. 32 pp., 60 cents

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by Nathan Weinstock and Jon Rothschild. 16 pp., 35 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please add \$.50 for postage, \$.75 if order for more than one book.

2. In September 1970, the Jordanian regime carried out a massacre of thousands of Palestinian refugees in Jordan. This was followed by a sharp crackdown on the unions and all other progressive organizations.

3. There was a split in the West Bank union movement following the election of the Executive Committee on July 8, 1982, involving 7 of the 29 unions in the federation. Efforts are being made to overcome this split.

4. The Village Leagues are organizations of collaborators. They are funded and supported by the Israeli military authorities.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Ain't that a sin? — According to a poll published in a Catholic magazine, only four percent of the French people now accept the no-



Harry Ring

tion of sin. Although the country is predominantly Catholic, at least nominally, 69 percent said they never went to confession, while another 13 percent said they did,

but less than once a year.

With prosperity for all — In Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, subsidiaries of AT&T shut off 74,000 more residential phones than they installed in 1982. Most of the cutoffs, they advise, were customers unable to pay their bills.

What if they shut off the phone? — The New Mexico prison system — one of the most overcrowded and worst in the nation — is experimenting with a form of house arrest. The victim has an electronic ankle bracelet which signals if he or she strays

more than 200 feet from the phone.

They care — The Los Angeles Dept. of Water and Power is soliciting contributions from customers to help those who can't pay their electric or water bills. They assure, "There will be no increase in electric or water bills to pay for this program."

Science dep't — Testifying in favor of a Texas sodomy law, one Paul Cameron, who said he taught at the university level for 14 years, said homosexuals are a public health threat when they work in

restaurants and medical facilities. He said AIDS, the disease to which homosexuals and others are subject, could be the "demise of Western civilization." He chairs the Institute for Scientific Investigation of Sexuality of Nebraska.

Program them to picket — A Japanese manufacturer is paying the union dues for each robot replacing a worker.

Astonishing — TV audiences are restless, distracted, and impulsive in their viewing habits, researchers found. They suspect that commercials and quality of pro-

gramming may be a factor.

Including the FBI? — Monroe Township, N.J. has approved an ordinance providing a \$500 fine for people who rip off other people's garbage. The city reclaims a lot of the refuse and sells it to recyclers. But some people have been beating them to the collection.

Fun City — New Yorkers are overcharged on nearly one out of four food items sold by weight, according to the city's Department of Consumers Affairs, which does little about it.

—CALENDAR—

ARIZONA

Phoenix

USA vs Grenada: Black Revolution Under Attack. Speaker: Chris Driscoll, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 21, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Struggle to Organize Unions in South Africa. Videotape and presentation. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 4, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. (1½ blocks from Vermont). Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Diego

The News Media and El Salvador. Speakers: Alex Drehsler, film maker, photographer, and former reporter for the *San Diego Union*; Sergio Pedroza, KPBS radio station; others. Translation to Spanish. Thur., June 2, 7 p.m. Grassroots Cultural Center, 30th and Grape Sts. Ausp: Benefit for the Second Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, July 2-3 in Tijuana, Mexico. For more information call (619) 232-5009.

San Francisco

Lessons of the Harold Washington Election Campaign: A Discussion of the Fight for Black Political Power. Speakers: Pat Wright, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Francisco; Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pat Wright for Mayor Committee. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

FLORIDA

Miami

Florida Farm Workers Speak Out. Speaker: Fernando Loy Rangel, Farm Workers Rights Organization; film. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Fri., May 27, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St., N. Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Fight To Save Little Earth. Speaker: Ron Leith, American Indian Movement. Sun., May 22, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

South Africa: The Struggle Against Apartheid. Speakers: Representatives of National Black United Front, Kansas City chapter; others. Sun., May 22, 8 p.m. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Political Asylum for Héctor Marroquín. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Wilma Reverón, International Office of Information for the Independence of Puerto Rico; Irwin Nack, president of American Federation of Teachers at William Patterson College. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 21; rally, 7:30 p.m., reception to follow. Metropolitan Ecumenical Ministry, 969 McCarter Highway (entrance through Rector St. parking lot). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (201) 451-5952.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Radioactive Waste in New Mexico. How Can We Stop WIPP? Speakers: Janet Greenwald, member, Citizens for Alternatives to Radioactive Dumping; Jeff Jones, chairperson of Young Socialist Alliance; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 21, 8 p.m. 1417 Central NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

An Eyewitness Report on Repression in El Salvador and the Role of U.S. Involvement. Speaker: Alejandro Molina Lara, organizational secretary of National Federation of Salvadoran Workers Unions. Translation to English and Spanish. Wed., June 8, 7 p.m. Carpenter's Hall, 1021 Cardenas Dr. NE (near San Pedro and Lomas). Ausp: Coalition for Human Rights in Latin America. For more information call (505) 256-3171.

Video Showing: 'El Salvador — Another Vietnam.' Sat., June 11, 7:30 p.m. 1417 Central NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Struggle for Decent Housing in Greensboro. Speakers: Irving Brisson, president of Resident Council of Morningside Homes; others. Sat., May 21, 7 p.m. 1400 Glenwood Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Mili-

tant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Nicaragua: Women in the Revolution Today. Slideshow. Speakers: Kathleen Denny, Young Socialist Alliance; Nancy Boyasko, YSA. Sat., May 21, 8 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

OREGON

Portland

Stop the Frame-up of AIM Activists! Speaker: Bob Robideau, member of American Indian Movement and consultant for book on Leonard Peltier, *Spirit of Crazy Horse*. Sun., May 22, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

Why Reagan Fears Grenada. Slideshow and

Congress covers for war escalation

Continued from Page 5

pared to be involved in Central America. But the question is the nature and quality of our involvement. We must offer an alternative policy that can work."

No such alternative was forthcoming from Dodd. And two weeks later, he voted for the \$76.3 million more in military aid, saying only that he was "not totally" satisfied with the move.

The debate among the Democrats and Republicans over *how* to prosecute the war in Central America is only one of the debates on this topic taking place.

The other one is among working people and the oppressed over *whether* the U.S. government should be involved at all. Already, a majority of people in this country oppose a new Vietnam in Central America.

The ruling class is very mindful of this debate and discussion. They seek to divert it into their framework, to shift it from the axis of opposition to *any* U.S. involvement to discussing how much to be involved and how fast to escalate.

The Salvadoran regime is becoming increasingly isolated, in El Salvador and internationally. The rebel forces are advancing militarily and winning new support for their struggle.

And nobody claims that the band of counterrevolutionaries that have invaded Nicaragua will be able to topple the Sandinista government and overthrow the revolution.

So the Democrats and Republicans are faced with the need to escalate U.S. military involvement. But they know there is a high political price to pay in doing so. The opposition at home, the reaction in Latin America to U.S. intervention, and the fighting capacities of those they are trying to crush make their job a difficult one.

How opponents of Washington's war respond at each juncture is a critical factor in what happens. This underlines the importance of deepening the discussion and debate among working people on the need to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America.

Palestinian workers fight for their rights

Continued from Page 11

Arrests of unionists, deportations, dissolution of locals, banning of meetings, house arrests, confiscation of union literature, firings — all have been used.

"The Israeli occupier continues to tighten his grip and harass the unions," Hazboun explained. "In the last two months they dissolved at least seven unions, in particular the Ramallah union, which was shut down for two months for the second time in six months. Its secretary-treasurer, Bassim Barghouti, is still in the Nablus jail.

"The first general secretary [of the federation], Zakariya Amdan, was deported in 1976. The deportations have continued — for example, Hassam al-Barghouti of the hotel workers of Jerusalem."

Other methods of exclusion are also

used, for example, "the change in Labor Law No. 83, which does not allow membership in any union administrative bodies if the individual has served in any Israeli prison." This is designed to exclude hundreds of union leaders, since many have been jailed at one time or another.

The banning of meetings is another favorite method of the Israeli military. Before any meeting can take place it must be approved by the authorities.

The only reason for such measures, Hazboun explained, is "for the weakening of the union movement, because now the unions represent more than 40,000 workers.

"We see in the actual circumstances the possibilities of overcoming all these problems," explained Hazboun. "We are confident that we can continue the struggle.

Even if the occupation forces and the Arab reactionaries believe that after the invasion of Lebanon they have the possibility to impose upon our people a capitulationist line.

"On our part we believe that we will never retreat from our road."

Pointing to the example of the General Confederation of Labor in France, which was the first union movement to express solidarity with the Palestinian workers and unions of the West Bank, Hazboun called on the international workers movement to extend its support.

"We are concerned with, and in fact demand, the strengthening of relations with the international union movement, especially the Arab movements. We are in need of financial and various other aid."

Hazboun continued, "We are hopeful that through your newspaper we can call on all union movements in the world with the

slogan of 'Workers of the world unite,' to guarantee that this slogan becomes translated into fact. We call for their solidarity with our union movement, with our workers in the occupied territories."

Hazboun also addressed the workers of the United States in particular:

"As for America, which calls for democracy, it does not permit democracy. A simple example is the strike of the air traffic controllers, which was forcibly broken.

"We are a united people, with independent workers. However, our workers' rights were lost. So were their social, political, and human rights.

"The movement of solidarity takes place in the context of imperialism, so we send our message through your paper to the international workers movement, especially the American one. The American working class must take its place in this fight."

NBIPP leaders on Chicago mayoral election

The following statement on the recent Chicago mayoral election was issued by Ron Daniels and Elsa Brown, national cochairpersons of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

National Black Independent Political Party statement on the election of Harold Washington.

The National Black Independent Political Party would like to extend its congratulations to our Brothers and Sisters of the Chicago Black community for their success on Tuesday, April 12, 1983. A victory won in large measure in spite of the local Democratic machine, not because of it.

It is clear to us that the Washington campaign symbolized a pervasive revolt by Black voters against years of gross neglect, inequities, injustice and abuse by the traditional Democratic machine and successive Democratic administrations. It is of major significance to note that in this election, despite the overwhelming loyalty of Black Chicago voters to the Democratic Party machine, and despite the fact that Washington had won the Democratic primary, vast sectors of the Democratic Party electorate refused to support Harold Washington's candidacy. Even the parade into Chicago of national Democratic Party presidential candidates in ceremonial support of Washington's campaign failed to stem the tide of defections by long-time white Democratic regulars who either because of racism or the desire on the part of some to preserve their little fiefdoms of patronage privilege and power were openly opposed to the duly elected nominee of their party.

The massive Black voter turnout, including large numbers of first-time voters, reflected a deep-seated aspiration for a change in this condition of neglect, misuse and abuse of power and privilege by the Democratic Party and the fervent hope and demand for a better life for Black people in Chicago.

The Washington campaign was the vehicle for the expression of deeply held frustrations and aspirations. The successful climax of this Black revolt on April 12 speaks to the fact that Black people can and will organize around and utilize electoral politics when there is the perception that there are meaningful alternatives and where there is the belief that the exercise of the ballot will provide at least some measure of real relief from the oppressive conditions the masses of Black people face each day of their lives in this nation.

In this context the National Black Independent Political Party expresses its sincere hope that the Washington Administration will be characterized by a sincere and sustained commitment to translate the promise of the campaign into an energetic and consistent effort to achieve the minimum degree of democratic rights and the most just and equitable allocation of goods and services possible under the

existing economic-political arrangements in America.

The lessons to be learned from the election of Black mayors in other major urban centers clearly indicated that the structured contradictions and constraints of the American system render even the most sincere and well-intended efforts at reform inadequate as it relates to the urgent need to provide the good life for the masses of Black people, minorities, poor and working people in this nation.

Chicago socialists launch ballot campaign

Continued from Page 16

some firm opinions about the race. Some people already had made their choice.

For instance, radio personality, journalist, and community leader Lu Palmer seems to be the front-runner in the Democratic Party primary scheduled for July 26. Other people indicated support for Washington's former campaign manager Al Raby, or United Food and Commercial Workers Vice-president Charles Hayes. And some workers said they'll go with "whoever Washington picks."

Many people are signing Ed Warren's petition to run in the special election even though they back one of the Democrats in the primary.

Unlike last July's petitioning for the mayoral election, recognition of Warren and what the Socialist Workers Party stands for is very high. One woman said, "Oh, is Eddie Warren running again? Let me sign that."

Asked if she saw Warren on TV, which is the case with many people in the area, she said, "No, I saw him at the community center debate at the Inner City Center."

Some people will not sign because they think the socialists were wrong to run against Washington in the mayoral race. But many sign because they think Warren was the only one whose proposals made any sense.

Sentiments against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Central America and unemployment head the list of people's concerns. One campaign supporter, who was laid off from the Danly Corporation, met a laid-off coworker and Steelworkers unionist. He signed the petition and said he was on his second extension of unemployment benefits.

Saturday, May 21, is a target mobilization for the Socialist Workers Party. Warren's supporters expect to mobilize to collect thousands of signatures and talk socialism with thousands of people.

On May 16 the Ed Warren campaign committee released a letter to the press that Warren sent to Democratic candidate Charles Hayes in response to a red-baiting item that appeared in the May 11 *Chicago Tribune*.

We encourage our Brothers and Sisters as they celebrate this hard-won and significant victory to remember that just as this campaign was won by the combined energies, resources, and talent of the people, so real power for change also rests in the hands of an organized people. We sincerely hope that in the days, months and years ahead the Black community in Chicago will be at the forefront of truly independent movement to reconstruct the American political-economy, to dem-

onstrate the instruments, institutions and mechanisms of racist oppression, and capitalist economic exploitation, to shape a new society where genuine economic and political democracy can be realized.

In the final analysis only in that kind of new society can the liberation of the Black masses be fulfilled. So as we commend our Brothers and Sisters in Chicago we say the battle has just begun. A luta continua, the struggle continues.

The article, aimed at discrediting Hayes, charged that he took the Fifth Amendment in 1959 before the anticommunist, anti-labor House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) after it asked him if he was a communist or if he attended Communist Party training schools.

Warren sent a copy of his letter to other First District candidates urging them to condemn this red-baiting attack against Hayes. In his letter to Hayes, Warren said:

"This is to express my complete solidar-

United Auto Workers convention

Continued from front page

will support.

"We have to pick a candidate who will be good for us and good for the Democratic Party," Kirkland said.

The UAW membership is roughly 30 percent Black and 10 percent Latino. Many Chicano and Black delegates attended a reception here for Democratic Congressman Esteban Torres from California, sponsored by the Latin American Committee for Labor Action (LACLA). Torres is a former UAW steward and staffperson.

In his speech, Kirkland concluded that "We will vote with our feet" in massive Solidarity Day III and IV marches and rallies on Labor Day. Noticeably absent from his speech was any mention of the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom endorsed by civil rights, farmer, and labor organizations.

A delegate from Local 136 in St. Louis and Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of UAW District 65, however, hailed the UAW's official support for the August 27 action in comments from the floor.

A resolution on equal rights and opportunities reaffirmed the UAW's support for the August 27 march.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who is fighting against deporta-

tion from the United States, met and spoke with delegates for two days at the convention. Congressman Torres endorsed his case, as did Joaquin Zapata, a secretary general of the General Motors Union in Mexico.

Delegates from the UAW in Canada, who belong to the labor party there called the New Democratic Party, signed Marroquín's petition demanding political asylum. One commented, "The U.S. wants to deport him because he's a socialist? I'm surprised they let us in — we're socialists."

Tour to Nicaragua

BY SANDI SHERMAN

As a result of the tremendous interest our readers have expressed in visiting revolutionary Nicaragua, the *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* Tours office is organizing a Fourth Anniversary Celebration Tour to Nicaragua from July 17 to July 29. This tour will participate in the anniversary celebration, which is to take place in León. Visits to other cities, meetings with representatives of the mass organizations, and tours of factories and farms will be features of this tour.

Participants can choose a one-week tour from Miami for \$700 or a 13-day tour from Miami for \$900. Space is limited and can be ensured only by sending a deposit of \$150. Final payment must be made by June 27. Checks should be made payable to *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* Tours and sent to 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Why MX gains in Congress

The Reagan administration is making headway in plans to deploy the MX nuclear missile. A Senate committee voted 17-11 May 12 to release \$625 million to start the project. The House Appropriations Committee followed suit May 17 by a 30-26 vote.

The \$625 million is just for openers. The project is estimated to cost \$17 billion, but is likely to end up costing much more.

Legislators who now support Reagan on the MX are telling some tall tales to explain their turnabout. "One trip to the Oval Office Made Skeptical Senator an MX Backer," read one *Washington Post* headline.

According to the *Post*, "Senator Warren B. Rudman (R-NH) went to the White House on Wednesday afternoon skeptical not only of the MX missile but of President Reagan's general commitment to arms control. He sat beside the president for 30 minutes of earnest conversation and came out of the Oval Office a believer."

The growing support for the MX in Congress is an example of the bipartisan nature of U.S. imperialism's drive toward war. Because they serve a small minority that needs war to preserve and expand profits, the politicians of both parties have to join together in carrying out their militarist policies.

In the case of the MX — as in the case of Washington's war in Central America — they face an obstacle: massive opposition from working people.

When the Democratic Carter administration initially proposed deploying the MX on tracks — which meant tearing up tens of thousands of acres of Western land — a massive outcry went up from farmers, unionists, environmentalists, and many others. Even the conservative Mormon church denounced the plan, and condemned nuclear weapons as a threat to humanity.

Carter had to back down. Plans to deploy the MX in this way were scrapped.

When Reagan came to office he moved to revive the MX program. But many in Congress still hesitated to go along.

The massive military buildup that Reagan was presiding over spurred discontent among working people who were paying for it in lost jobs and social service cutbacks.

The June 12, 1982, demonstration of one million people against nuclear weapons showed the growing opposition to the U.S. arms buildup. Washington's policies were inspiring wave after wave of antimissile demonstrations in Europe.

And there was massive opposition to the shooting war that U.S. imperialism was carrying out against the

peoples of Central America.

The MX became one of the symbols of Washington's war drive, and a focus of opposition to that drive.

Reagan moved to placate his congressional critics with statements favoring "arms control" and promises of a more "flexible" negotiating stance in disarmament talks with the Soviet Union.

He appointed the Commission on Strategic Forces to review the MX issue. Headed by retired Air Force General Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser under President Gerald Ford, the commission included four former secretaries of defense and two former secretaries of state. The commission reaffirmed that the massive arms buildup was not simply Reagan's policy, but a bipartisan policy favored by the ruling capitalist class as a whole.

It urged approval of the deployment of 100 MX missiles, containing ten nuclear warheads each, in existing missile silos.

In an interview in the April 25 *US News and World Report*, Scowcroft pointed to the possible impact of a negative vote on the MX to the credibility of U.S. military threats. "We think it is very important to demonstrate a U.S. national will and cohesiveness," he said. "Four American presidents have said that the MX missile is important, if not essential to our national security. If we back away from it now, it will underscore our paralysis for both our opponents and for our friends and allies."

If Congress doesn't go along with the MX, he suggested, other governments will be tempted to follow suit: "I think deployment of Pershing 2s and ground-launched missiles in Europe would be in deep trouble."

Reagan's congressional critics began to fall into line behind the MX.

The bipartisan moves in Congress on the MX parallel the congressional stance on the U.S. war against El Salvador and Nicaragua. Congressional "conditions" — not worth the paper they're written on — provide the cover for the actual votes cast in favor of escalating Washington's new Vietnam.

The ruling class needs the arms buildup to roll back the freedom struggle in Central America and the Caribbean, and to block similar popular revolts elsewhere. Washington's nuclear arsenal is its ultimate weapon in trying to crush such revolts.

This military buildup has nothing to do with defending the working people of this country, or any other country.

No to the MX missile! No to the war budget! End all U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean!

Stop U.S. aid to Afghan rightists

Washington has escalated its intervention in Afghanistan, where ultrarightist rebels are trying to overturn the government. A front-page article in the May 4 *New York Times* reported that "the quantity and quality of covert military support" for the rightist bands has been increased.

"Beginning last December," the *Times* said, "the CIA was ordered to provide the Afghan insurgents for the first time with bazookas, mortars, grenade launchers, mines and recoilless rifles. One official said shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles were also being supplied. . . . The total cost of the operation is estimated to have been between \$30 million and \$50 million a year for the last three years, with the United States paying about half."

The Reagan administration tries to justify backing the rightists by pointing to the tens of thousands of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. But U.S. intervention began well before Moscow dispatched troops in December 1979. U.S. intervention dates from April 1978, when a popularly supported revolt toppled a repressive dictator and brought a government to power that promised needed social reforms.

With the collaboration of the military rulers of neighboring Pakistan, Washington funneled money and arms to Afghan counterrevolutionary groups and provided training in camps in Pakistan. Following the Soviet intervention, U.S. assistance increased sharply.

Rightist rebels gained ground because of the government's arbitrary methods of carrying out its policies, which alienated wide sections of the peasantry. As a result many of the reforms it instituted made little headway.

In Afghanistan the reactionary bands were able to operate through large parts of the country and even to launch attacks on the capital, Kabul.

According to Afghan Prime Minister Sultan Ali Kistmand, more than half the country's schools and hospitals and three-quarters of its communications lines have been destroyed by rightist forces since late 1979.

The choice of military targets tells something about the groups Reagan backs, which are portrayed in the U.S. media as "freedom fighters." The ultrarightists violently oppose any moves that undermine the absolute domination of the landlords and capitalists over the workers and peasants — including attempts to expand education, provide medical care, or even limit the sale of women as brides.

In addition to direct assistance from the U.S. government, the rightists finance their activities through the international heroin trade. Their base areas on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistani border are centers of opium production and heroin refining.

Despite U.S. assistance, the rightists have not made much headway in five years of war. A Pakistani official summarized Reagan's reasons for keeping the aid flowing: "Keep the Soviets bogged down in Afghanistan and profit from their loss of credibility in the nonaligned world. . . . 'Bleed them,' as we've heard it said in the White House, so they'll never do it again."

The boasts about aiding Afghan "freedom fighters" are intended to add legitimacy to Washington's escalating drive to topple the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua. And it helps prepare the ground for further moves to reverse the gains of the anti-imperialist revolution in Iran, which borders on Afghanistan.

It isn't just the people of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union who are being bled by Reagan's policy. Every dollar sent to the Afghan landlords and dope pushers is being taken out of the hides of American working people — in the form of cuts in medical care, social security, and other human needs. It's all part of the policy of bleeding us to provide transfusions for the imperialist war machine.

It is part of the ruling-class drive to force working people to fight and die in new Vietnams.

We say: stop all U.S. intervention in Afghanistan.



Cutting the sugar quota: history of U.S. aggression.

BY HARRY RING

On May 10 the Reagan administration decided to reduce the U.S. purchase of Nicaraguan sugar by 90 percent. This is not the first time Washington has used such an economic weapon against revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. In early July of 1960 it abruptly ended purchases of sugar from Cuba.

Ending the sugar trade was no small matter for Cuba. Sugar was its principal cash crop and the United States its main customer.

Imposed by the Eisenhower administration, the sugar embargo was part of a continuing drive to thwart Cuba's

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

new revolutionary government. The Cubans were working to achieve independence from U.S. imperialism and to carry through the measures they had pledged in order to improve the lives of the Cuban people.

A key problem for the revolutionary government, which came to power Jan. 1, 1959, was to make land available to the tens of thousands of landless peasants. One measure necessary to accomplish this was the expropriation of big U.S.-owned ranches.

Such measures brought increasing U.S. restrictions on credit and trade, as well as a drumfire of media propaganda about Cuban "totalitarianism."

Seeing the handwriting on the wall in terms of trade with this country, Cuba negotiated an agreement to buy Soviet oil.

Cuba's oil refineries were owned by Texaco and Esso. The refineries refused to process the oil arriving from the USSR. This despite a 1983 Cuban law requiring them to refine all imported oil, regardless of its origin.

Cuba responded to the provocation by taking over the refineries. Washington countered with the sugar embargo.

Cuba was not cowed.

Fidel declared: "Everyone understands perfectly well that the revolution would have had no problems if it had not injured the interests of the monopolies. But if the revolution had not injured the interests of the monopolies, it would not be a revolution."

The Cuban people agreed. This reporter was in Havana a week after the sugar embargo. In apartment windows, everywhere, there were hand-written placards declaring defiance. The most popular was "Sin quota, sin bota!" ("Without quota, without boot!")

A law was quickly enacted authorizing Fidel, then president of the republic, to nationalize any foreign holdings deemed necessary.

On Sept. 16, 1960, the three major U.S. banks in Cuba — Chase Manhattan and First National of New York and Boston — were taken over. Also nationalized were 19 U.S.-owned tobacco factories.

Earlier the telephone and utility companies, both U.S. subsidiaries, were put under Cuban control.

Meanwhile, Washington was not idle.

On September 30, the State Department warned all U.S. citizens to leave Cuba unless they had "compelling" reasons to remain.

On October 4, Cuba captured 27 mercenary invaders who had sailed from Miami and 102 who had been operating in the Escambray mountains. Their arms had been parachuted in by U.S.-based planes.

Two U.S. citizens were captured with each of the counterrevolutionary groups.

Their arsenal included machine guns, automatic rifles, antiaircraft weapons, and nearly 40,000 cartridges.

On October 19, Eisenhower declared a total embargo on trade with Cuba.

Then, on Jan. 3, 1961, he broke relations with Cuba. A ban on travel to the island was included.

The late Raúl Roa Sr., then Cuba's foreign minister, addressed the United Nations the next day and declared the break in relations was part of a plan "to crush the revolution that emancipated the Cuban people from the political domination and economic exploitation of the United States of America. . . ."

Roa warned: "At this moment Cuba is imminently threatened with invasion by the United States. . . . The government and the people of Cuba are waiting from one moment to the next the arrival of the invader."

The U.S. envoy to the UN, James Wadsworth, responded that: "the charges brought today by the foreign minister of Cuba are empty, groundless, false, fraudulent, and I suppose that in the lexicon of diplomacy one might find perhaps 40 or 50 other words to indicate that they are without basis in fact."

On April 17, 103 days later, the recently installed Kennedy administration unleashed a full-scale mercenary invasion of Cuba.

The Cuban people, fortunately, had not been lulled by the shameless denials. Within 72 hours the invasion was smashed.

Forced overtime in auto vs. shorter workweek

BY DIANE SHUR

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — On April 20, General Motors announced its first quarter earnings for 1983. The company showed a profit of \$653.1 million — a fivefold increase from one year ago. It was the most profitable quar-

UNION TALK

ter in nearly four years for the giant automaker, which employs some 7,000 people in this area.

This good news for GM has not meant much good news for auto workers. Unemployment remains high despite the fact that GM increased production by 29 percent in the first three months of the year. Although a few shifts have been called back to work at plants in Shreveport, Louisiana, and Flint, Michigan, for instance, much of the increase in production is being squeezed out of those of us who are already on the job through overtime and speed up of the assembly line.

Here in Kansas City, for example, 2,000 United Auto Workers (UAW) members are still laid off while 7,000 of us are working overtime. While the company is obligated to pay extra wages for overtime, that is not the case when they increase the number of cars we produce each hour by speeding up the line. We work harder, GM makes more money, and thousands remain jobless.

Under any circumstances, overtime and speedup are unsafe and harmful to workers, but in the face of massive unemployment it is even more irrational. Here in Kansas City it has sparked Saturday demonstrations by unemployed UAW members who used to work the second shift at the Leeds area GM plant. The actions take place on the Saturdays that the remaining first shift is forced to work overtime.

The first reaction of many auto workers who are still on the job is to offer to share the work with our laid-off brothers and sisters. Some workers say they would even be willing to take a pay cut to make this possible.

Spreading the available work around is a sound beginning to dealing with the problem of unemployment. It benefits both those being overworked and those who are



Militant/Jeff Powers

United Auto Workers members picket GM plant in Kansas City to protest overtime while some are laid off

laid off. But do we need to give up a portion of our paychecks to achieve this? I don't think so.

Ever since the 1930s the idea of a shorter workweek with no cut in pay has been raised in the labor movement as a way of protecting workers from unemployment and reduced wages as a result of reduced hours. This idea has helped lead to important contractual gains such as Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) and short workweek pay. Personal paid holidays (PPH) were also intended as a step towards spreading the work around and providing a more humane work schedule.

However, the current situation shows that more is necessary. PPHs were lost in the last round of concession bargaining. SUB payments run out for many workers. Some workers are laid off before they ever accumulate any SUB credits. The "job security" provisions that have been negotiated don't apply to many younger workers. What we need is a program that will effectively protect all of us from unemployment and overwork. A 30-hour workweek with no cut in current take-home pay would be a good beginning. This is an idea that has been approved

on paper by many conventions of the UAW.

Now would be a good time to begin to really fight for this proposal. Over the past four years, top union leaders have tried the route of concession bargaining. By now almost all auto workers can see that this has not saved jobs or improved working conditions. It has been a one-way street that has only helped the auto companies, not those of us who build the cars. But it is our labor that has created the big new profits that GM is enjoying, and it is time for us to renew our fight to improve our standard of living, put an end to the grim fatigue that comes from nine hours of work a day on an assembly line that's moving too fast, and get our laid-off members back to work.

Of course, GM will not readily accept this proposal. Their aim all along has been to increase their profits and they won't happily give them up. But when did we ever get anything from the company without a fight? There are plenty of signs that auto workers are ready and willing to begin such a fight to protect ourselves from the bosses' profit drive.

Diane Shur is a member of UAW Local 31.

Newsletter provides new information on Kampuchea

Kampuchea Thmay [The New Kampuchea]. Published by Anna Bradley, Cindy Homzy, and Chan Bun Han. Subscriptions, \$6 for 12 issues, available from Kampuchea Thmay, R.C.S.U., P.O. Box 486, New York, NY 10185.

BY DIANE WANG

Kampuchea Thmay is a unique resource documenting the efforts of the Kampuchean people to rebuild a country on the massive graveyard left behind by the infamous Pol

tary attacks against Kampuchea, report statistics on the country's economic recovery, examine Kampuchea's treatment of its Islamic minority, and analyze the diplomatic maneuvers by Washington and its puppet Pol Pot.

The newsletter reports that 3,000 raids and bombardments from Thailand were recorded in 1982, as well as 463 Thai air force incursions. All this bears a "Made in USA" label, since Washington gave Thailand \$82 million in military aid in 1982.

Despite these daily attacks, Kampuchea has made significant progress. The newsletter reports there are now a million and a half students in elementary and secondary schools, as well as 220,000 in adult literacy classes. The number of doctors has grown from 54 in 1979 to 109 today.

Agricultural and economic progress has been hurt by droughts and floods, as well as by the lack of fertilizer and equipment. Yet, the fish catch, source of the country's protein, more than tripled since 1979.

In the course of rebuilding the country, special atten-

tion has been paid to the Cham people, the Islamic minority. Pol Pot tried to "purify" Kampuchea by destroying all 108 mosques, previously found in the country, and slaughtering pious Muslims.

After Pol Pot was ousted in 1979, however, the new government helped the Chams reestablish contact with Muslims in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Vietnam's Islamic minority sent Korans and prayer books. The Islamic World Development Bank has committed funds to build a school.

The newsletter reports that in January the Chams held a national conference where, among other things, they pledged support to the Palestinians and Lebanese.

The progress being made makes it increasingly difficult for Washington to sustain its lie that the despised Pol Pot and other puppets are any kind of legitimate representatives of Kampuchea who should receive aid and be seated in the United Nations. By getting out the truth about the progress, *Kampuchea Thmay* is a serviceable weapon against the U.S. attacks and maneuvering.

IN REVIEW

Pot regime and U.S. bombing. It provides news releases from the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, along with accounts from other journalists and visitors. *Kampuchea Thmay* is published in English and Khmer.

The first two issues, for example, document the mili-

LETTERS

Klan in Texas

On May 1 the Ku Klux Klan came here to San Antonio for an anticommunist march. Their original plan was for a rally to "defend the Alamo" from Maoists, who in the past raised a red flag there on May Day. Instead, they had to settle for a three-block march down Commerce Street to City Hall.

The city government and Mayor Henry Cisneros had done everything possible to prevent a militant counterdemonstration against the racist group. Cisneros called on San Antonians to "ignore" the Klan, and won the support of most Chicano and Black leaders for that approach.

Just to make sure, though, city officials created a 375-man police task force to protect the KKK, and 10 blocks of downtown were blocked off. Police permitted the robed racists nine minutes for their march (outraged Klansmen denounced the cops as "Gestapo").

Despite all these precautions, some 1,000 anti-Klan citizens crowded police lines. Most of the angry onlookers were young

Chicanos. Black youth from the city's East Side were also represented.

During the march, Klansmen ripped up a Mexican flag, explaining that they wanted to protest immigration by "illegal aliens." Thousands of undocumented workers live in San Antonio. M.C.

San Antonio, Texas

Chicago elections

In your May 13 issue you ran an article criticizing socialists who supported Harold Washington for mayor of Chicago. You said that real Marxists don't cross class lines at the ballot. But this a contradiction.

Since we live under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie — however veiled — elections are merely another opportunity for socialists to propagandize.

If a socialist tells his coworkers that he's voting for Washington, the meaning is clear. Later, as Washington becomes another Uncle Tom Bradley, real socialists will lead demonstrations against

him.

The labor party slogan is a good slogan, but "it's important to call attention to the fact that every other major group that considers itself as socialist endorsed the Democratic Party candidate Washington."

Floyce White
Kensington, Maryland

Democrats and Salvador

"The American people stopped the war in Vietnam and you can stop the war in El Salvador. We are asking for the help of the people of the U.S. because we know you are a people of peace." These were the words spoken by Rene Hurtado, a deserter from the Salvadoran army, to a crowd of about 100 people at a meeting in Duluth, Minnesota, April 30.

Hurtado was speaking with Rep. James Oberstar from Minnesota, who is one of the congressmen supposedly most against present U.S. policy in Central America. Like other Democrats, Oberstar is opposed to Reagan's policies because he thinks they

will only push people in Central America further to the left; not because he favors them gaining freedom from U.S. imperialism.

Hurtado is much clearer about what the people of Central America need. He was in the Salvadoran army for over six years and saw first hand that it is no use trying to "reform" the military or its leaders who run El Salvador. He realized he was on the wrong side in the war and deserted.

Hurtado is now speaking for the people of El Salvador. He explained, "We have been slaves for 300 years. . . . We are no longer a colony of the U.S."

"The people of El Salvador have decided it is better to die fighting than to die of starvation."

He said that Salvadorans are following the examples of José Martí, Simón Bolívar, Augusto Sandino, and the Nicaraguan people in their quest to get U.S. imperialism off their backs. He also pointed out that while the Salvadoran rebels are willing to negotiate, since 40,000 people have died in this war they won't accept only token changes.

The contrast between Hurtado and Oberstar was glaring. Oberstar graphically pointed out the brutality and corruption of the Salvadoran rulers. He pointed out the extreme poverty and even said that if faced with the same conditions here, this iron ore miner's son would take up a gun and head for the hills to fight too. He even showed how elections in El Salvador are a sham.

After saying all these things, his meek proposal was that the U.S. government cut off military aid until significant human rights progress is made by the government! If the people of Nicaragua had waited for capitalist politicians in the U.S. to help them, they would still be in chains.

Jim Rogers
Virginia, Minnesota

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 socialists launch campaign to win ballot status for Ed Warren



Militant/Holbrook Mahn
Socialist candidate Ed Warren

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — The Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters of Ed Warren for Congress opened a new South Side headquarters at 1815 E. 71 St. here and began gathering the 10,000 signatures required to put Warren's name on the ballot in the special election slated for August 23. The election was called to fill the seat Democrat Harold Washington vacated when he took the office of Chicago mayor.

The first few days of petitioning by Warren supporters revealed that the people in the district had a greatly heightened interest in politics and a keen awareness of the events that were transpiring in the City Council and City Hall since Washington took office.

The ongoing battle between Washington and the racist forces in the City Council led by Alderman Ed Vrdolyak remains a major topic of discussion.

The latest developments include a circuit court ruling May 16 in support of the Vrdolyak faction's May 2 reorganization of the City Council committees. That reorganization plan led to the removal of most Blacks from important committee chairmanships.

It is expected that Washington and Vrdolyak will seek to work out a compromise since neither has enough support yet to get

through their own proposals.

At the same time that this factional struggle is taking place in the City Council, a federal court issued an important ruling that reflects the continued decline of the Democratic Party machine here. In early May a federal court ruled that the Chicago Park District had illegally discriminated against the Black community. The patronage-dominated Park District had allocated few resources to parks in the Black community. This included hiring few Blacks to full-time jobs.

Ed Warren hailed this court ruling as a blow against the racist "old guard" and a gain for Black rights.

Warren is campaigning, as he did when he recently ran for mayor of Chicago, on a program to advance the interests of working people.

"I'm running for Congress because working people need their own representatives in Congress.

"The unity of Blacks, Latinos, and unionists in the recent mayoral election shows what is possible if that political power is mobilized. The challenge, however, is to do so to advance our own needs.

"Today that means working people breaking with both the Democratic and Republican parties and forming our own polit-

ical instruments — an independent Black party and a labor party. That's the main message of my campaign."

This message got a good response as Warren supporters petitioned on the South Side. Because of the increased political discussions, many people in the district had

Continued on Page 13

Chicago socialist campaign rally

CHICAGO — On May 21 at the South Shore YMCA, 1833 E. 71 St., there will be a rally officially kicking off the Socialist Workers Party's 1st Congressional District candidacy of Ed Warren. Andrew Pulley, former presidential candidate of the SWP and candidate for Chicago mayor in 1979, will be on the platform to back Warren. Also speaking will be Marie Head, SWP candidate for mayor of Gary, Indiana. The rally begins at 7 p.m.

For more information contact Ed Warren's campaign headquarters, 1815 E. 71 St., Chicago, Illinois, or telephone (312) 559-9046.

PLO denounces U.S.-imposed accord on Lebanon

BY FRED FELDMAN

UNITED NATIONS — "The Palestine Liberation Organization will not accept and has rejected all agreements that do not recognize the full national rights of the Palestinian people, and that do not provide for their security and safety," declared Hatem Hussein, deputy observer of the PLO to the United Nations, to a news conference here.

Hussein was responding to the Israeli-Lebanese treaty engineered by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. "The present Israeli-Lebanese agreement is an American imposed one, through Israeli military power and occupation. It gives Israel security and guarantees and control over South Lebanon, while it totally denies Palestinians and Lebanese their right to full security, freedom, and peace."

Signed May 17, the accord is being portrayed in the U.S. media as assuring withdrawal of Israeli troops that occupied Southern Lebanon in June 1982. Actually, it guarantees Israeli forces the right to participate in military patrols in Southern Lebanon.

According to the May 18 *New York Times*, an unpublished accord with Washington grants Israel the right to reinstate Lebanon at any time to counter "terrorists."

And the Israeli and U.S. governments are demanding withdrawal of Palestinian fighters and Syrian troops as a precondition for even a partial Israeli military pullback.

This would leave the 600,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon at the mercy of the Israeli regime and the Lebanese ultrarightists, who were placed in power through the invasion.

Hussein reported that 10,000 Palestinian men have been seized and imprisoned by Israeli forces in 10 prison camps — six in Lebanon and four in Israel. These include vitally needed teachers and doctors, as well as 160 United Nations relief workers. Hussein described how Israeli occupiers have blocked medical and educational assistance to the refugees.

He showed pictures of Palestinian women and children in Southern Lebanon struggling to survive in camps devastated by Israeli tanks and bombers. Women and children make up the vast majority in sev-

eral camps, he said, because of the massive roundup of men by the Zionist occupiers.

"The PLO does not trust American pledges," he said, "especially after the massacres in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. . . . Even at the humanitarian level, the U.S. shows no concern for protecting the thousands of Palestinian families, including children, who are totally defenseless in South Lebanon."

Hussein rejected the U.S.-Israeli stance of equating the Israeli occupation of Lebanon with the presence of Palestinian fighters and Syrian troops. He noted that the presence of Syrian forces is sanctioned by the Arab League and the activities of Palestinian fighters are governed by agreements with the Lebanese government. Hussein added, "It was not the Palestinians and Syrians who invaded Lebanon in June 1982."

"The PLO is extremely eager to see Lebanon as a sovereign, independent Arab state and to see the Israeli army withdraw immediately from Lebanon, so that Palestinians and Lebanese can have peace and security, especially in South Lebanon," Hussein said.



Palestinian refugees in war-torn southern Lebanon

"The Palestinian people are in Lebanon temporarily as refugees, evicted from their homes and towns by Israeli terrorism and aggression. They also do not want to be resettled in Lebanon, but want to return to their homeland, Palestine, to live there in full freedom and with dignity."

Hussein noted that PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat has called on the Arab states and people to prepare for a long struggle and to fight to protect Arab and Palestinian rights. "The Arab peace proposals will be achieved out of a position of strength and not weakness," Hussein said.

Socialist files for ballot in Phila. election

BY BETSY SOARES

PHILADELPHIA — The results of the May 17 primaries here are that Wilson Goode will be the Democratic candidate for mayor next November, and John Egan will be the Republican contender. Socialist Workers Party candidate Bill Osteen, an auto worker, has filed over 10,000 signatures for ballot status and is awaiting a decision on a ballot spot.

With 98 percent of the primary votes counted, Goode received 312,219 votes compared to 270,115 for former mayor Frank Rizzo, the other main Democratic contender. Some 10,000 Blacks turned out for an election victory rally for Goode, the former city manager and a Black.

Working people will have two choices in the November election: that of the big-business candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties, or the working-class al-

ternative put forward by socialist Osteen. Osteen urges Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and unionists to forge an alliance against the employers and their two parties. He favors the fielding of independent Black, Puerto Rican, and labor candidates.

The discussion here on political action is part of a national debate in which Rev. Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH, has called for running a Black in the Democratic Party presidential primaries.

In last week's *Militant*, the article on the Philadelphia elections erroneously reported that Jackson had told an audience here at Temple University that "the newest thing is simply to vote Black."

The *Militant* took this quote from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. But according to the tape transcripts of the meeting, Jackson actually said, "We're beginning to vote for ourselves."

The capitalist news media deliberately misreported this statement and Frank Rizzo picked up on the false quotation in an attempt to whip up anti-Black sentiment in the city.

Wilson Goode also used the bogus quote to take his distance from Jackson, who had come to Philadelphia to support his campaign for mayor.

Jackson has made it clear that the perspective he advocates for the 1984 presidential elections is that Blacks, Latinos, unionists, farmers, and other working people run their own candidates in the Democratic Party primaries. He has frequently commented that "We must renegotiate our relationship with the Democratic Party. We're not arguing a Black agenda, we're arguing a national agenda from the perspective of Blacks."