

## Washington drives deeper into Central America war

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Washington is moving inexorably toward the use of U.S. combat troops in Central America. Events during the last part of May should dispel any doubts whatsoever on that score.

New revelations about the scope of existing U.S. military operations in Central America — including strong indications that U.S. personnel are already flying combat missions — were mixed with the announcement of further steps to escalate the war there and with threats and propaganda statements designed to set the stage for still greater escalations.

Talk about the deployment of U.S. combat forces has now begun to crop up regularly in statements by top government officials.

- Addressing a rally of right-wing Cubans in Miami May 20, President Reagan appealed for support to his war policies. His audience included veterans of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and members of Cuban terrorist groups that have carried out numerous violent attacks in the United States.

"What happens in Latin America and the Caribbean will not only affect our nation but will also shape America's image throughout the world," Reagan declared. "If we cannot act decisively so close to home, who will believe us anywhere?"

The president's appeal for action "close to home," and his attacks on "those trying to throw roadblocks in our path" were not lost on the experienced terrorists in his audience.

### 'Commitment without limit'

- On May 22 the *Washington Post* published a front-page interview with Gen. Wallace Nutting, the outgoing head of the Pentagon's Southern Command, headquartered in Panama.

Calling for a "commitment without limit," Nutting said, "I can't say at this moment that 150, 200, 500, or 1,000 trainers in El Salvador is sufficient. I'm pretty sure after a couple of years of experience that 55 is not."

Central America is at war, Nutting said.



U.S. adviser with Salvadoran troops. Washington is moving steadily toward use of U.S. combat forces in Central America.

The United States, like it or not, "is engaged in that war."

Pointing to the regional stakes, Nutting added "If El Salvador is sorted out, I think it still might be possible that Nicaragua can be salvaged without an invasion."

According to the *Post*, "He said the Sandinista example 'probably' will have to be removed if Marxist revolution in other Central American countries is to be definitively stamped out."

- Also on May 22, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) told a nationwide television audience: "If I were the President . . . I would say, if it becomes necessary to save Central America, we will use our troops, our aircraft, our forces. It's that important."

Goldwater, head of the Senate Intelligence Committee, suggested, "We could start with a quarantine; for example, a ship quarantine to make it possible to completely stop (Soviet) supplies flowing into Nicaragua and El Salvador. We could use aircraft if that became necessary."

Refusing to rule out an invasion of Cuba, Goldwater added: "I think if the

president made it abundantly clear that the Caribbean is our problem now, starting with Cuba, and we would use what force is necessary to maintain Central America, I have a strong feeling we would not have any further trouble."

- On the following day, May 23, the *New York Times* revealed that CIA Director William Casey and other top administration officials had predicted to members of Congress that U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries might be in a position to launch a direct attack on the Nicaraguan capital of Managua by the end of this year. The claim was calculated to aid the administration's campaign for more aid to the counterrevolutionary forces that have killed more than 500 Nicaraguans this year.

### U.S. pilots in combat?

- New revelations about the war being waged by Washington came out May 24, when the *New York Times* unveiled some of the activities being carried out from Howard Air Base in Panama, which was

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## Big potential for Aug. 27 rally in D.C.

Support for the August 27 March on Washington for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom is growing quickly. More than 500 organizations and individuals have endorsed it, including all major civil rights groups and the AFL-CIO.

The recently concluded convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists adopted a strong endorsement of the march. And the North American Farm Alliance, a coalition of farmers' groups, re-

ported by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In the face of Washington's new moves to escalate the war in Central America, this call for a massive protest to demand jobs, peace, and freedom is especially important.

The call for the demonstration was initiated by civil rights leaders to commemorate the August 1963 march on Washington

led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In the face of Washington's new moves to escalate the war in Central America, this call for a massive protest to demand jobs, peace, and freedom is especially important.

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Militant/Mark Berry

## EDITORIAL

cently announced plans to build massive support for the action among farmers.

Prominent figures in the civil rights and women's movements will open a national tour June 2 in New Orleans to build the march. They include Coretta Scott King; Rev. Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rep. Walter Fauntroy; and Judy Goldsmith, president of the National Organization for Women.

Across the country, political gatherings of civil rights activists, women's liberation

## Farmers seek ties with labor and Blacks

BY JOHN GAIGE

DES MOINES, Iowa — More than 60 farmers and farmer-movement activists met here May 20-22 at a delegated meeting of the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA). They discussed a farm program and strategy to pull family farmers out of the economic crisis they face.

NAFA is a new coalition of more than 50 farm organizations, including some labor and community organizations, from the United States and Canada. It was founded April 9 in Des Moines with 126 delegates from 23 states and Canada attending.

The discussions and decisions at the May meeting were serious and lively. Central to them was the need for farmers to ally themselves with the concerns and struggles of Blacks, labor, and women.

### August 27 march

Thus the May meeting enthusiastically backed the August 27 March on Washington for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom. NAFA plans to have a contingent in the march, which has also been endorsed by the American Agriculture Movement (AAM).

NAFA also called an international conference on agriculture, in cooperation with the Canadian Farmers Survival Association, to focus on the problems of farmers in the industrialized countries. The conference is planned for July 8-10 in Ottawa; a second conference, on farmers in the "developing nations," is planned later in 1983 in Latin America.

The May meeting also scored Wilson Foods, a large packinghouse corporation, for its union-busting bankruptcy ploy.

A NAFA statement in solidarity with the United Food and Commercial Workers Union at Wilson read, in part, "We stand ready to assist you in your fight for justice" against Wilson, which has unilaterally cut wages drastically and eliminated shift differentials and holiday pay.

Most of the conference participants see NAFA as part of a broad coalition of the "have-not, producing classes" — as one delegate put it — who want to reverse the policies of the "haves" represented by Reagan. Delegates spoke about the need for a new political power in this country.

NAFA wants to reach out to antiwar groups, veterans, environmentalists, youth, and senior citizens. Developing a working relationship with the Black Political Caucus and the National Organization for Women was also taken up in discussions.

### Black farmers

Favorable note was made of Jesse Jackson's recent speech in Iowa, where he talked of fair prices for farmers. NAFA wants to involve and defend Black farmers. As one person said: "If we don't do something, there'll be no Black farmers soon."

Conference leaders explained that NAFA should have nothing to do with anti-Semitic or anti-Black groups, like the *Spotlight* newspaper, that try to appeal to farmers. Darrel Ringer of the Kansas AAM reported to the meeting that he told *Time* magazine that Kansas AAM did not support the right-wing Posse Comitatus' anti-Black views.

The meeting was marked by strong desires for solidarity between farmers and farm organizations, and between farmers and workers. Farmers of all ages attended, but young farmers led a number of the dis-

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# —SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

[We recently received the following report from Jim White, a laid-off coal miner and member of the Price, Utah, Socialist Workers Party]

BY JIM WHITE

PRICE, Utah — This is a small city in the center of the Utah coal fields. The population is about 10,000 and there are maybe 35,000 people altogether in Carbon and Emery counties. In early 1982, at the height of employment, there were about 5000 coal miners in Utah, all working in underground mines. Of these, about 4000 were members of District 22 of the United Mine Workers (UMW). The Price area is the stronghold of organized coal mining in the West.

There has been a branch of the Socialist Workers Party here since the summer of 1981.

Since April 1982 the area has been heavily hit by layoffs. The unemployment rate in Carbon County is now 18 percent, and would be higher except that people leave the area to look for jobs. Several of the mines have been shut down indefinitely. Other industries in the area — rail, power,

mine equipment — are based on coal.

Coal operators have used the downturn in Utah, like the rest of the country, to attack the 1981 UMW contract. Work rules have been tightened and the layoffs have been accompanied by a wave of firings, especially over absenteeism.

This spring supporters of the SWP and the Price chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance have begun doing mine-portal sales for the first time. We now have all SWP members selling regularly and we have learned something about tackling the problems of selling at portals.

The best example of what we've done is at the Hiawatha mine. The portal is in a small company town and the closest public property is out on the road leading up to the town. Our sales team decided to try to sell at the junction of the main highway and the road leading up to the mine. Although this junction is nine miles from the mine, the only traffic is miners going to Hiawatha and a smaller number going to the non-union Plateau mine. They have to slow down to turn so we used a sign

there to flag people down. It took a few weeks to get a good number of people stopping, but it gradually got established.

Then the company shut the mine down, blaming a poor market for coal. They called a meeting of all the miners and bosses at the local college. The company president said they were going to reopen with a reduced work force. He said the mine would shut down indefinitely in two months, unless productivity increased 70 percent and there was a sharp drop in accidents and absenteeism.

The day miners went back to work, our team was out there. Five miners bought the *Militant*, and four others, who don't take money to work, picked up back issues.

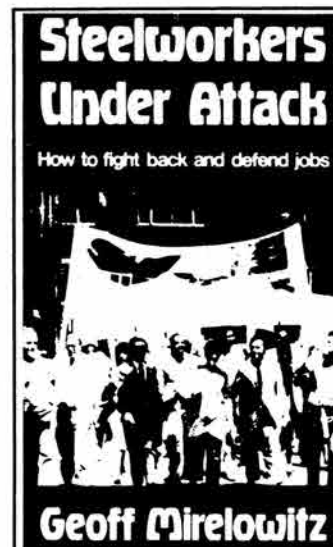
Little more than a week later, the mine was shut again. All coal shipments west have been embargoed by the railroads because of a massive mudslide that blocked the Spanish Fork Canyon between Price and Salt Lake City. When the mine reopens we'll be back with the *Militant*.

One of our most successful ongoing sales is to miners on their

way to work at the Valley Camp mine. Miners take a company bus that stops in Price and in Helper, six miles north. We sell to miners waiting in their cars for the bus. Although there might be only a dozen people at each stop we always sell one to three papers.

We've found that it's important to have leaflets for *Militant* Forums, copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Young Socialist*, and back copies of the *Militant*, on

every sale. We have a leaflet that introduces the *Militant* for the first few times we try any location. Our May 7 forum on the Spanish Fork Canyon mudslide got a lot of interest. The leaflet explained what the forum was about: the difference between the U.S. government's response to this — aid primarily for companies and contractors — and the Nicaraguan government's response to the massive floods there last year.



## Steelworkers Under Attack: How to fight back and defend jobs

by Geoff Mirelowitz, \$ .95, 40 pp.

The bosses and their government are pushing the line that only big concessions from steelworkers can "save" the ailing steel industry — and workers' jobs. In this pamphlet, Mirelowitz, a laid-off steelworker, answers the employers' attempts to blame workers for the economic crisis. He outlines a fight-back course for the steelworkers' union and the entire labor movement.

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

## Court whitewash of FBI role in Liuzzo murder

In a cynical whitewash of the FBI, a federal district judge absolved the agency of responsibility in the 1965 murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo. If upheld, the decision will be a green light for government-employed provocateurs to murder with little fear of official reprisal.

In his May 27 decision, Judge Charles Joiner rejected a \$2 million negligence suit by the children of the slain rights worker.

Gary Rowe, a government hireling who operated in the Ku Klux Klan under the direction of the FBI, had participated in the Liuzzo murder. He had informed the FBI in advance that the attack was going to occur and the federal cops did nothing to prevent it.

Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights activist from Detroit, had gone to Alabama to participate in the massive Selma-to-Montgomery voting rights march led by Dr. Martin Luther King.

On the night of March 25, 1965, she was driving on an Alabama highway accompanied by a Black rights marcher.

Four Klansmen, including Rowe, pursued them, pulled alongside, and shot Liuzzo to death.

Judge Joiner upheld the phony government argument that Rowe's assignment was to collect information and that he had "pretended" to participate in the shooting to avoid blowing his cover.

The judge even asserted that Rowe's prompt report of the murder to his FBI superiors resulted in the quick arrest and conviction of his Klan partners.

In fact, none were tried for murder. Two did six years for violating Liuzzo's civil rights by killing her.

In the trial before Judge Joiner, the two testified that Rowe had urged pursuit of the Liuzzo car and that he had fired the fatal shot. A polygraph expert testified that in his opinion they were telling the truth.

While the government denied Rowe had actually pulled the trigger, it could not

deny his testimony that he had notified his FBI handler immediately on drawing the KKK assignment to join the attack squad.

Moreover, the Liuzzo family argued, the government was well aware of Rowe's record of violence against rights activists.

Four years earlier, the media featured photos of Rowe participating in the savage beating of pacifist James Peck and other bus desegregation freedom riders in Bir-

mingham.

Peck has also sued the government for damages and is awaiting a court decision. In his trial, the judge rejected the government's argument that even with advance notice of pending violence it had no obligation to protect those threatened.

Meanwhile, attorneys for the Liuzzo family indicated they will appeal Judge Joiner's reactionary decision.

## Milwaukeans protest attack on SWP office

BY PETE SEIDMAN

MILWAUKEE — Community leaders here have sent a message to Mayor Henry Maier and Police Chief Harold Breier protesting recent death threats and a shooting attack on the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Four high-caliber shots were fired into the windows of the Militant Bookstore sometime over the Memorial Day weekend. No one was in the offices at the time.

The day after the shots were discovered, on May 31, an anonymous caller said the attack was carried out "for all the dead guys you killed in Vietnam" and because of "all the communist shit you have." The caller then threatened, "Next time we open up it will be during the day when someone's there, and we'll aim a little lower."

"This is not only an obvious attempt to intimidate the SWP and YSA," the community leaders' message says, "but also to

intimidate all those in this city who exercise their constitutionally protected right to protest the policies of the U.S. government."

The protest calls upon authorities to "investigate, arrest, and prosecute those responsible for this undemocratic attack on the right of everyone to free speech."

Signers include (organizations listed for identification only): Charlie Dee, executive board, American Federation of Teachers Local 212; Cindy Van Vreede, coordinator, Milwaukee chapter, National Organization for Women (NOW); Bob LaVenture, president, United Steelworkers of America Local 3740; Richard Oulahan, Esperanza Unida; and Akili Jabari, Milwaukee chapter, National Black Independent Political Party;

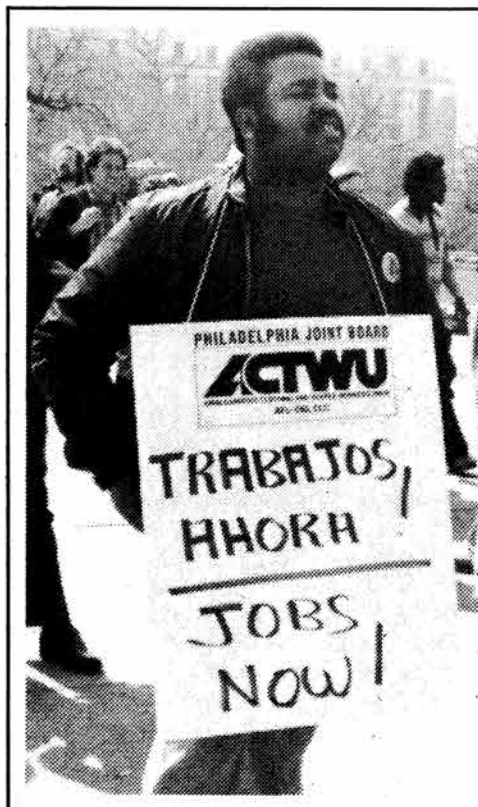
SCHENECTADY, N.Y. — Following a pattern of anti-communist harassment calls to the headquarters of the Socialist Work-

ers Party and Young Socialist Alliance here, police evacuated the headquarters on May 26, contending they had received a bomb threat against the socialists.

The calls have been received by the socialists for several months, approximately once a week. On May 26, several consecutive calls were received. Then cops and the fire department arrived on the scene.

They told everyone in the offices to leave because the bomb was to go off in 20 minutes. The socialists complied, but SWP Organizer Mary Selvas asked to stay to observe their search. The cops claimed she was obstructing their work and ordered her to leave. Selvas then left. About 10 minutes later, the cops and firefighter emerged having found no bomb.

The socialists have been told that without a subpoena they cannot have copies of the report on the phone call or the report on the search.



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## The Militant

Closing news date: June 1, 1983

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, George Johnson, Frank Lovell, Malik Miah, Geoff Mirelowitz, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Mary-Alice Waters.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

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# Solidarity activists to meet in Tijuana

Conference set for July 2-4 to oppose U.S. intervention in El Salvador

BY VICTOR WALTERS

LOS ANGELES — The second U.S.-Mexico Border Conference in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador will be held in Tijuana, Mexico, July 2-4. The meeting comes at an important time, as the U.S. government is deepening its military intervention in El Salvador and elsewhere in the region.

An invitation to the conference sent out by Casa El Salvador in Los Angeles explains that the gathering will hear an up-to-date report from an official representative of the FDR-FMLN (Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) of El Salvador. Representatives of the Nicaraguan government as well as other Central American liberation organizations will also be present in Tijuana.

The conference is an opportunity to bring together these representatives with unionists and other solidarity activists from the United States and Mexico.

Alejandro Molina Lara, organization secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS), has just completed a successful month-long tour of California where he has spoken widely to unionists, as well as to others, about the situation of the Salvadoran working class and the need for solidarity from U.S. workers.

On the heels of this tour the Tijuana border conference will be a valuable opportunity for workers and others from California and throughout the Southwest to deepen the discussion about the connections between the struggle in El Salvador and the fight against the attacks on the working class in the United States. In addition to discussing plans for future activity, the conference will be an educational experience for all those who attend.

A letter urging participation in the conference has been sent out by Guadalupe González, one of the official representatives of the FDR in the United States, and coordinator of the FDR solidarity information office in New York.

The FDR and the FMLN "totally back the efforts that the organizers of the conference are making in order to improve the solidarity of the North American and Mexican people living in the border areas with the people of El Salvador," González says.

"Also," she adds, "we consider that this initiative surely will strengthen the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, which is the major organism that exists for the coordination of international initiatives in terms of the solidarity work and also the work against United States intervention in El Salvador."

The World Front was established in March 1982 at an international conference held in Mexico City.

The first Border Conference was held in Tijuana on the weekend of October 30-31, 1982. It attracted 300 participants from unions and solidarity committees on both sides of the border. Among the U.S. participants were garment workers,

machinists, teamsters, and rail workers, as well as representatives of Chicano student groups and other campus organizations.

One of the important decisions of the first conference was a call for demonstrations against U.S. intervention in Central America on January 22.

The major political resolution adopted by the conference explained that the United States government aimed to crush the Salvadoran and Guatemalan revolutions and to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. It pointed to U.S. threats against Cuba as part of this same process.

To defeat this effort the conference appealed to the main force with the potential power to stop Washington's military moves: the working class and oppressed nationalities.

"We call on the workers," reads the conference resolution, "We call on the Mexican people — mainly Mexico's workers and peasants — and on the American people — on the workers, minorities and oppressed nationalities of the United States like the Chicanos, Blacks, Native Americans, and Asian Americans — to protest against imperialist intervention in El Salvador."

In his keynote address to the October meeting, Gilberto Lopez y Rivas, a leader of the Mexican Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador amplified this theme.

"We feel a deep respect for the North American working people and for the oppressed nationalities and minorities in the United States. We feel an obligation to have fraternal relations and to work together with these people because we understand the historic role they will play in the liberation of our America."

"We must fight," he explained, "to prevent the youth, the sons of the North American working people, from dying in the interests of a handful of capitalists."

Another important step taken by the first conference was its recognition of the plight of Salvadoran refugees. The Plan of Action on Refugees adopted in October explained:

"Those refugees who manage to enter the U.S. join the ever-increasing number of undocumented workers who are exploited as cheap labor. . . . They are continually threatened with being reported to the immigration police if they complain. In this way the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service] forms part of the machinery which, along with big business, exploits these undocumented workers."

A point on a joint plan for refugee work is on the agenda of the July 2-4 meeting.

In his speech to the first gathering, Gilberto Lopez y Rivas explained that the conference "will teach us to know each other better, to work together, to coordinate our work better." This theme of unity and solidarity is expected to mark the second conference as well.

Those interested in more information on the conference can contact: Casa El Salvador, P.O. Box 15213, Los Angeles, Calif. 90015.



First border conference in solidarity with people of El Salvador last October 30-31 in Tijuana.

## Chicago cop shoots Black youth

CHICAGO — Anger is building in the Black community here over last week's cop shooting of a young Black man.

Twenty-one-year-old James Randle, who lives on Chicago's South Side, was shot in the back of the neck by a cop, while he was laying face down on the ground.

Witnesses said that Randle was jogging when he was stopped by the cops at 8:15 a.m. on Monday, May 23. The police say they were chasing Randle because they had a report that someone in the area had been robbed of \$10. The cops decided Randle was the guilty one, chased and grabbed him, and ordered him to lay face down on the ground. The cops claim that while they were frisking him, their gun "accidentally discharged" into Randle.

A hospital spokesman said that Randle is in serious condition but is expected to recover.

The *Chicago Defender*, the daily paper in the Black community here, quoted witnesses to the shooting. One said, "If the community doesn't do anything about this shooting, it will be like giving the police the authority to shoot down any Black man they see jogging through the area where a crime has been committed."

"He had his hands behind his head when he was shot," testified another witness. "The Black community must demand a thorough investigation of the shooting or it will not be safe for anyone to walk the streets of Chicago."

Ed Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 21st Congressional District — Randle's district — denounced this racist attack.

"The cop who committed this crime should be tried and thrown in jail. Chicago cops are infamous for terrorizing the Black community. I urge all my opponents in this race to join with me to demand justice for James Randle and all the other victims of cop brutality in this city," said Warren.

## Prime Minister of Grenada to speak in N.Y.

Maurice Bishop, Prime Minister of the Caribbean island of Grenada, arrived in Washington, D.C., on May 31. He announced that he was in the United States to seek a "dialogue" with the Reagan administration and "personally clear up the misconceptions that exist" about Grenada.

"Clearly there are differences so let's sit down and talk," said Bishop.

On Sunday, June 5, Bishop will speak to Grenadian nationals and other interested individuals at a public meeting at Hunter College in New York City. The meeting will begin at 5:00 p.m. at the school auditorium on 69th Street between Lexington and Park avenues. For more information call (212) 279-0707 or 692-9078.

## July antiwar demonstrations planned

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

Two activities are planned for July to protest U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and Central America. The first is a July 2 demonstration in Washington, D.C. The other is a walk by Salvadoran refugees that will leave New York City on July 5 and arrive in Washington, D.C., on July 22.

The July 2 march and rally, initiated by the People's Antiwar Mobilization, will demand "Stop the U.S. war against Central America and the Caribbean. No more Vietnam Wars. Money for jobs, equality and human needs."

The action is sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee for July 2 Emergency Mobilization and was announced in an advertisement in the May 1 issue of the *New York Times*. The ad was signed by a number of antiwar figures and Black leaders, as well as some activists in the labor movement.

For more information contact the Ad Hoc Committee at 19 W. 21 St., New

York, N.Y. 10010 (212) 741-0633.

The walk from New York to the capital is aimed at demonstrating opposition to the Reagan administration's certification to Congress that "human rights progress" is being made in El Salvador. Congressional acceptance of this certification is necessary to continue the flow of U.S. dollars to prop up the Salvadoran dictatorship.

Salvadoran Refugees Against Certification (SRAC), the group sponsoring the protest, explains that the walk is "to protest congressional acceptance of Reagan's lies and its approval of more millions in military aid," and to call attention to persecution of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees in the United States, who are being denied political asylum. Many have been deported back to their homeland, where they face imprisonment or death.

For more information contact SRAC at P.O. Box 1769 Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10159 (212) 473-4103.

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# Puerto Rico — staging base for U.S. military

The following article is reprinted from the May 1983 *New York Committee in Support of Vieques Newsletter*. The committee is active in opposing U.S. naval occupation of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. The newsletter can be obtained by writing to the committee at P.O. Box 1017, New York, N.Y. 10009.

Last March the U.S. Navy carried out maneuvers with the participation of warships from Great Britain and Holland, not far from the coast of Puerto Rico. Named READEX 1-83, these maneuvers made use of the most modern and sophisticated military equipment. More than 70 U.S. warships and 400 airplanes took part in the maneuvers, as well as eight British ships — including the aircraft carrier *Invincible*, which was used in the Malvinas war last year — and one Dutch ship. Some 27,300 U.S. troops were involved in the exercises.

These maneuvers are a warning that the United States is preparing to intervene militarily in Central America and the Caribbean. The Reagan government has already acknowledged openly that it is arming and financing the counterrevolutionary bands that are presently attacking Nicaragua from Honduras, sowing terror and creating even more tensions in the region. The danger of direct intervention by the U.S. Army in El Salvador increases day by day; the Salvadoran government manages to remain in power only thanks to the military and economic aid provided by Washington. Another that is being threatened by the Reagan administration is the small Caribbean island of Grenada, where a popular movement overthrew the dictator Eric Gairy in 1979.

The threat of a military adventure by the United States in the region is a serious danger for Vieques and Puerto Rico. Not only would Puerto Rican soldiers be in the front lines in a war against our sisters and brothers in Central America and the Caribbean, but a war would also greatly increase the militarization of Puerto Rico, as is already happening.

There is already talk of reactivating the old air base at Ramey Field in Aguadilla, also known as Campamento Borinquen. This used to be the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command in the Caribbean. It was shut down some ten years ago. At one time more than thirty B-52 bombers equipped with nuclear weapons were based there.

The Air Force has said that for now it would only use the base for training exercises, but, according to the April 27 *San Juan Star*, "other sources have said that ultimately the base will be used on a permanent basis by the Air Force for reconnaissance planes and even possibly for fighters." The *Star* adds that at the time the article was written, 35 Air Force officials were at the base studying the changes that the airport would need to bring it up to date with the Air Force's requirements.

There are also plans to move the notorious School of the Americas, currently based in Panama to Puerto Rico. According to the Panama Canal treaties, signed by Carter with the government of that country, the school must abandon Panamanian territory by 1984. The School of the Americas was founded in 1946 and has served the purpose of training Latin American military officers in counterinsurgency tactics, interrogation techniques (torture), etc. Among its most infamous graduates we find Nicaragua's ex- (and now dead) dictator Anastasio Somoza, along with several hundred officers from his feared National Guard.

The government of the United States has not yet decided where to move the school, but Fort Allen in Puerto Rico is one of the main candidates.

The Pentagon tries to argue that military installations are beneficial because they "create employment opportunities" and aid commerce. But in Vieques, under military occupation for almost half a century, the Navy's facilities — occupying more than 75% of the island — and its war maneuvers have destroyed the island's agriculture, and seriously threaten to destroy its fishing

industry, besides having a negative effect on the health and living conditions of its inhabitants.

Ramey Air Base, like the naval base in Vieques and the whole military apparatus of the U.S. in Puerto Rico, is necessary to the U.S. government for intervening in the internal affairs of the people of Central America and the Caribbean. This was the case in Guatemala in 1954, and in the Dominican Republic in 1965. The further militarization of Puerto Rico will mean that more land will be stolen, as the Navy did in Vieques; the natural resources of the island will suffer more destruction; and there will be an escalation of repressive measures against the Puerto Rican people — in order to protect this militarization.

So the struggle to get the Navy out of Vieques and Puerto Rico goes hand in hand with the struggle against intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Vieques yes, Navy no!

Stop U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean!



U.S. maneuvers on Puerto Rican island of Vieques, 1981. Island is used for mock invasions as part of stepped-up U.S. military action, threats against revolution in Caribbean, Central America.

## Nicaragua's struggle against U.S. war is seen by North American visitors

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Twenty-three Americans, mostly industrial workers, visited Nicaragua in early May on a tour sponsored by the *Militant* and its sister Spanish-language publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The impact of the accelerating U.S. war was evident everywhere we went.

There were two large-scale invasions by counterrevolutionary exiles while we were in Nicaragua. Headlines and news bulletins told of the daily fighting in both the north and the south.

What we saw were the effects of this brutal war. The shortages. The funerals of soldiers and civilians killed by the counterrevolutionaries. The mobilizations protesting the U.S.-organized attacks. The determination of the mass organizations to defend the gains the revolution had made possible.

Each of the mass organizations we met with placed the war at the center of the educational and organizational campaigns they are seeking to carry out.

Ivón Siú, a national leader of the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE), spoke with pride of the increasing involvement of women in defense, including in the front lines in the militias and reserve battalions.

Siú described the discussions taking place around the changing role of women as something "like another insurrection."

"The problems of women are social problems," she said. They have to be discussed not just in AMNLAE but "in all the mass organizations and in the Council of State," the country's parliament.

Siú referred in particular to two new laws, the law on child custody, which has

taken effect, and the law on nurture, which has been approved by the Council of State but is awaiting action by the Government of National Reconstruction.

The latter law stipulates parental (including divorced, separated, and unmarried fathers) responsibility toward children, as well as children's responsibility toward their parents. Nurture, a social concept in the draft law, includes not just food but also education, shelter, and clothing.

Discussions around both laws, Siú said, "have touched sensitive spots and uncovered a lot of ideological baggage ingrained in men."

The speech last fall by Commander Tomás Borge, one of the founders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, was extremely important in this regard, she said. It "dealt with the backward position of some men, and with the tasks of the revolution in liberating women."

"He answered the false argument raised by some that you can't deal with ideological problems without first establishing the economic basis" for a new society.

In meetings with leaders of the Sandinista Youth—July 19 (JS-19) in Matagalpa in the north and in Bluefields on the Atlantic Coast, we learned of the key role young people are playing both in building the army and militia and in continuing another battle — against illiteracy.

"The literacy campaign has increased our political consciousness," one of the JS-19 leaders in Matagalpa told us. "It deepened our desire to defend the country. For months we shared the daily suffering of the peasants, and in the process we became more dedicated revolutionaries. We take more responsibility now."

Tour members brought messages of support from several local solidarity commit-

tees and a collection of tools donated by New York City subway workers, members of Transport Workers Union Local 100.

José López, a national leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), accepted the tools on behalf of the revolutionary union federation.

"While Reagan gives arms to the counterrevolutionaries who are trying to kill us," he said, "it is significant to see that within the same nation the working class gives tools of peace and reconstruction to their class brothers."

"This gift of tools, of resources, not arms — the arms, we have — symbolizes the proletarian internationalism that links the workers of our two countries."

The tour also included visits to a working-class housing project, a state dairy farm, and a textile factory. But the highlight was something that hadn't been scheduled — a meeting with Commander Tomás Borge.

Borge, prevented from speaking to workers in the United States by Washington's refusal to grant him a visa, took several hours to answer our questions about the war and the unfolding revolutionary process. At the close of the meeting he asked that we take a message back to our union brothers and sisters.

Tell the American workers, he said, that our fight is against their government, not them.

"Tell them that here, in the most anti-imperialist country in Central America, they are welcome."

"The best answer to U.S. propaganda is to have the broadest possible visits of North Americans to Nicaragua. Our reality, the profound support for the revolution, is the best answer to Reagan's propaganda."

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Salvadoran rebels on captured bridge. Greater coordination of struggle is leading to advances for FMLN.

# Progress on unity in El Salvador solidarity movement

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The loss of two heroic leaders of the Salvadoran revolution has been the catalyst for some important rethinking of long-held positions by a number of U.S. defenders of that struggle. This reevaluation is opening the door to achieving more unity in mobilizing opposition to the deepening U.S. military intervention in Central America.

The kind of discussion going on is indicated by a front-page article by Robert Armstrong, appearing in the May 18 issue of the *Guardian*, a radical weekly.

The article is entitled, "Why Marcial and Ana María died."

Marcial (Salvador Cayetano Carpio) and Ana María (Mélida Anaya Montes) were leaders of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL). The FPL is one of the five organizations making up the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador. The other groups are the Communist Party of El Salvador, People's Liberation Army, Armed Forces of National Resistance, and Central American Revolutionary Workers Party.

Armstrong reports on a "serious reassessment" that has gone on within the FPL centering on relations within the FMLN. Citing a "Guardian source within the FPL," Armstrong states that the FPL has made a "profound self-criticism" regarding its past resistance to real unity within the FMLN, and is now pursuing a different course.

Armstrong writes:

"Although an integral member of the FMLN, for almost two years the FPL has functioned as a kind of 'permanent opposition.' One FMLN representative told the *Guardian* that the FPL's attitude toward many questions of joint strategy and action was 'sí, pero no' ('yes, but no'). It often voted — many say rigidly — in opposition within the Unified Revolutionary Directorate, the FMLN's central command.

"In January [1983], the FPL command and the entire organization reviewed its history and concluded that its attitude toward unity required serious rectification and that it must work within the FMLN in a less aloof way."

By all accounts, including the *Guardian's*, Ana María and Marcial played a central role in fighting for this new course. As two of the most respected and experienced leaders in the FMLN, their role in this was essential.

They saw, correctly, that nothing less than the fate of the revolution in El Salvador, and all of Central America, was at stake. Without the advance of the process of unification, the revolution in El Salvador cannot win. This was one of the lessons of Nicaragua, where overcoming the divisions within the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was an essential condition for the triumph over the Somoza dictatorship.

## 'Mystique' of FPL

Armstrong's article is significant because it represents the thinking of a layer of activists in the United States who have viewed the FPL as the most important of the groups within the FMLN, and the one with which they have found the greatest political affinity.

As Armstrong puts it, "Over the years the FPL had developed a considerable mystique about the maturity of its practice."

No one who accepted the framework of the "mystique" spoke against the unity of the FMLN, or counterposed the FPL to it. But their premise was that while each of

the five groups in the FMLN was equal, the FPL was more equal than the others. Therefore, they believed, it was correct for the FPL to have veto power, and to largely go its own way within the FMLN. Thus, "sí, pero no." Unity in words, but often not in action.

With this approach, solidarity activity carried out in this country in the name of support to the FMLN was often oriented primarily toward the FPL. What was worse, this approach was a barrier to building united solidarity actions in the United States.

Recent events, however, including the new course of the FPL itself, have brought an end to the mystique. As Armstrong puts it, "The murder and suicide of the most respected commanders [of the FPL] was a profound shock."

## Why they died

Why did Ana María and Marcial die? The question is posed, and answered, in Armstrong's article.

As Armstrong reports, both leaders had become strongly committed to reversing the old approach of the FPL. The murder of Ana María was engineered by Rogelio Bazzaglia, who had been part of the FPL central leadership and who vehemently opposed the organization's new stance toward unity within the FMLN.

Whether or not Bazzaglia was acting as an agent of imperialism's police is not known. Given the vast resources Washington has mobilized to halt the advance of the revolution in Central America, there can be no doubt that the CIA was involved in one way or another. That is understood by all.

But CIA involvement in such activities is not the key to the political lessons to be drawn from the treachery. The heart of the matter — and this is what shocked many — is that a layer of the cadres were so deeply committed to the "sí, pero no" tradition in which they had been trained that they were ready to kill a leader who was working to implement the turn the organization had decided on. This was the extreme to which the factionalism had gone.

When questioned by FPL leaders after his capture, Bazzaglia insisted that the action was totally justified as a political move.

Ana María was killed because she was the central person on the scene (Marcial was abroad) who was fighting for the new line, a political battle she was waging in close collaboration with leaders of the FMLN from other political origins. When faced with the realization of what was involved in Ana María's assassination, Marcial took his own life.

## Closing ranks of FMLN

Ending the mystique of the FPL has been an essential part of moving forward for the leaders and ranks coming from the FPL tradition. It has opened the door to replacing all mystiques with the kind of political objectivity demonstrated by Marcial and Ana María — objectivity about what must be done and the capacity of every group and current to be part of doing it.

The kind of leadership that is being built is one that will combat mystiques and factionalism of all kinds — one in which the Bazzaglias will be unable to exert influence.

The FMLN, including the FPL leaders who have taken the place of the fallen comrades, has responded to the tragic events by

closing ranks. It has stepped up the level of struggle, including on the military front. According to all reports, it is achieving greater coordination than ever before.

As Armstrong puts it, "Almost unanimously observers believe that despite these deaths, the FMLN will show increasing military capability and closer internal cooperation."

This united response of the Salvadoran revolutionists registers the progress that has been made there in the critical task of moving toward forging a single, disciplined vanguard. Such an organization is necessary to lead the workers and peasants to defeat the tyranny and take political power. For that reason, the unification of forces within the FMLN is an essential part of the process by which the working class and the most exploited layers of the peasantry are asserting their leadership in the revolution.

Armstrong points out that "there always have been political disagreements [within the FMLN], as is inevitable when five separate left organizations try to unite. Discussions about the nature of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie and its relationship to U.S. imperialism, the appropriate kinds of class alliances, the most effective military strategy and the possibilities of a negotiated solution to the war have been regular topics of debate."

These questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics are the very kind of questions that were worked through by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, by the July 26 Movement in Cuba — and by the Bolsheviks in Russia. In El Salvador, too, they will be resolved — not before, or apart from, the unification process — but through the experiences of the revolutionary struggle, including the experience of forging the necessary unity.

## Deepening solidarity in U.S.

The FMLN has paid a heavy price in blood to achieve the unity that is now being consolidated. It is time for those working to deepen solidarity actions in the United States to catch up with the FMLN on this question. Competition, lack of coordination, and divisions deriving from the "sí, pero no" way of functioning should be put behind us.

Within the framework of recognizing the FMLN as the leadership of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador, it is natural that different groups who support the efforts of the people of El Salvador to throw off the tyranny there will vary in their views on many of the questions being discussed within the FMLN. But what is decisive is that united opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America not be held hostage to mystiques of any kind or to differing estimates of particular currents within the FMLN.

The worst mystique of all would be the idea that different assessments of groupings within the FMLN should determine strategy or tactics in the solidarity movement in the United States. Our starting point must be the situation in this country, and the possibilities for educating, organizing, and mobilizing the American people to oppose imperialism's course in Central America.

The stakes in Central America are immense for imperialism. Direct military intervention — the use of American soldiers in combat — is inevitable. The victory of that intervention, however, is not.

What is coming is an escalation both of Washington's war in Central America and the battles over that war policy inside the United States. Those battles here will be part and parcel of a deepening of the class struggle in this country, in which the fight against imperialism's war will be central.

Within the framework of united efforts by all those dedicated to defending the Salvadoran revolution, therefore, we are convinced that one thing will become clearer and clearer as the struggle intensifies: opponents of U.S. intervention need to base our course on a strategic orientation to the working class and the oppressed nationalities. This means consistently working to involve them and their organizations in the fight against U.S. intervention, and consistently explaining that their interests coincide with the interests of the workers and peasants of El Salvador and all of Central America.

As the class struggle continues to deepen, a policy based on that orientation will help bring forward the forces that can frustrate the rulers' aims in Central America and at home.

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**The one week tour:** \$700 from Miami. **The two week tour:** \$1,100 from Miami.

Tour costs cover hotel, all meals, visa fees, and transportation in Cuba. A \$150 deposit will reserve a space. **Make checks payable to Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours and send to 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, (212) 929-3486.**



# Washington drives deeper into war

Continued from front page

described as "swarming" with aircraft hauling weapons and ammunition to Honduras and El Salvador.

An American pilot who was recently stationed at Howard described four huge C-130 cargo planes that are stationed there, planes that have been equipped with electronic surveillance equipment and 40-millimeter cannon. The pilot, the *Times* reported, "said the four planes took off almost every night, often loaded with ammunition, and did not return until shortly before dawn. He said the Air Force crews that flew the planes did not wear any unit insignias or other forms of identification while they were aboard the planes."

"In addition, the pilot said, when the planes return to the base the ammunition is gone. He said a mechanic who worked on the planes had asserted that the guns on the planes needed new barrels almost every day, a sign that they were being heavily used."

A senior Pentagon official confirmed these facts, but said that the planes were involved only in "training exercises."

- The day after the *Times*' report on Howard Air Base appeared, the first U.S. serviceman to die in the war in Central America was shot in San Salvador. Washington treated the death of an American soldier in El Salvador as a routine matter. Reagan used the occasion to assert that the killing of Navy Comdr. Albert Schaufelberger May 25 "is not going to change our attitude about the necessity to continue both the economic and the military aid which we are giving."

- Without missing a beat, the Pentagon announced May 26 that it would open a new base in Honduras, to be run by more

than 100 additional U.S. military personnel. Some 2,400 Salvadoran troops are to be trained at the base over the next six months.

In addition to the new base at Puerto Castilla, on Honduras' Caribbean coast, U.S. officials are negotiating for others. They also announced that the training of Honduran troops would be stepped up as part of the deal.

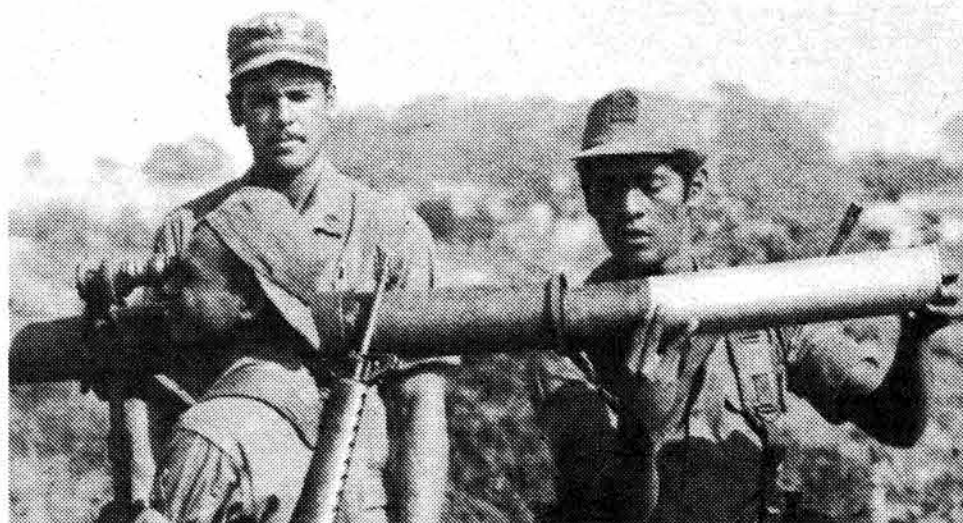
## Trial balloons on troops

- At the summit meeting of seven imperialist heads of state May 27, Reagan responded to questions from reporters by refusing to rule out the use of U.S. combat troops in Central America. That same day the State and Defense departments issued a "background" document on Central America accusing Cuba of "renewed and expanded political-military activism" in the region.

- Also on May 27, Secretary of State George Shultz announced that Thomas Enders would be replaced as the top State Department official on Latin America. Enders, White House officials explained, had not been hard enough for Reagan. "He was attacked by the White House as long ago as last October," the *New York Times* reported, "for approving a toughly worded speech in which Deane R. Hinton, the United States Ambassador to El Salvador," attacked the actions of the government-shielded ultrarightist death squads there.

- On May 28, the administration announced that Hinton was also being reassigned.

- Another trial balloon on the use of U.S. troops appeared May 29. "United States military officers with experience in



U.S. Special Forces adviser with Salvadoran government troops.

El Salvador say they believe the task of training that country's army cannot be done with the 55 American advisers now available for the job," Drew Middleton reported in the *New York Times*.

According to Middleton, "Some officers say they think a thorough training job will require as many as 500 advisers."

- Meanwhile, on May 30, it was announced that Costa Rican civil guard forces have begun training at the U.S. Army School of the Americas in Panama. Over the past few months counterrevolutionary forces based in Costa Rica have begun striking into Nicaragua. The announcement that the Pentagon is now training Costa Rican forces is an important step in expanding the threat to Nicaragua from the south.

## Congressional 'doves' silent

Despite this ominous record of escalating military and political moves, a series of actions crammed into just 11 days, the "doves" in Congress have remained virtually silent.

"This is not the time to bring up any issues in a political way," said House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill (D-Mass.), reacting to the death of the first U.S. "adviser" in El Salvador.

Earlier, on May 16, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Ellen Hume, commenting on the relations between Reagan and congressional critics of his Central America policy, noted that "Confrontational tensions have eased. And new, bipartisan compromises are being forged."

Speaking of the "compromises," Rep. Robert Lagomarsino (R-Cal.) explained: "The President is getting what he wants."

"I certainly do not want to be accused of losing El Salvador by voting against more aid," Rep. Clement Zablocki (D-Wis.) said.

"I have never proposed a total cutoff of military aid for El Salvador," emphasized Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.).

"Some members are confused. They want more time to think about it," commented Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.).

## Extension of socialist revolution

Although working people in the United States are overwhelmingly opposed to Washington's war in Central America, the

escalation is proceeding apace. The bipartisan character of the war moves in Central America and the determination by the ruling class to press ahead with its deepening intervention despite the antiwar sentiment of the American people both flow from the same source: the enormous stakes for U.S. imperialism in the battle now unfolding.

It took 20 years following the victory of the Cuban revolution for the workers and farmers to win political power elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere. In 1979 that took place in both Nicaragua and the small Caribbean island of Grenada.

Now, barely four years after these victories, capitalist rule is under siege again, in El Salvador.

What is at stake is the extension of the socialist revolution in Central America. That is good news for working people fighting against capitalist exploitation and oppression, but it is a deadly threat to the rulers of this country. They are moving to deepen military intervention against the workers and peasants of Central America, regardless of the sentiments of working people here at home.

But escalating the war in Central America will lead not only to big battles there — battles which, as the Vietnam War showed, the imperialists cannot be sure of winning. It will also result in a qualitatively higher level of class struggle here in the United States.

## Detroit rally set against U.S. war

BY TIM CRAINE

DETROIT — A coalition of peace, solidarity, labor, and community organizations is planning a statewide demonstration in Detroit against U.S. intervention in Central America on Saturday, June 18.

The two demands of this demonstration will be "Stop the U.S. war in Central America" and "Money for jobs and human needs, not war." Participants will gather at Grand Circus Park at noon, then march to Kennedy Square for a 1 p.m. rally. Among the speakers at the rally will be a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

The demonstration has been endorsed by a wide range of groups and individuals including Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO; Detroit City Council; Michigan Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1640; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Local 365; and Detroit and Oakland County branches of the NAACP.

A dozen peace and solidarity groups are endorsing this demonstration including the Detroit chapters of Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador and All Peoples Congress. Political groups endorsing the demonstration include the Democratic Socialists of America and Young Socialist Alliance.

About 50 people attended an emergency picket line at the McNamara Federal Building on April 27, just prior to President Reagan's speech on Central America to the joint session of Congress. At that time plans for the June 18 demonstration were announced. Detroit AFL-CIO President Tom Turner spoke to reporters expressing his opposition to sending more U.S. military aid to El Salvador.

Persons interested in helping to organize for the action may contact the June 18 coalition at (313) 831-4451 (Detroit), (517) 485-2813 (Lansing), (313) 761-2813 (Ann Arbor), or (313) 742-1230 (Flint).

## Backers of Iran revolution urge release of Zahraie

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Supporters of the Iranian revolution in this country are asking the Iranian government to release anti-imperialist fighter Babak Zahraie from prison.

Professor Edward Said of Columbia University, a member of the Palestine National Council; Abdeen Jabara, a prominent civil liberties attorney and pro-Palestinian rights activist; and Professor Ervand Abrahamian of Baruch College, a writer on the Middle East; have all sent messages to the Iranian government calling for freedom for Zahraie.

A central leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran, Zahraie has been confined in Tehran's Evin Prison since January 17 of this year. No charges against him have been made public, and he has been denied the right to receive visitors.

Zahraie has a long history as an active opponent of the tyrannical rule of the shah of Iran. Exiled in the United States because of the repression in his native land, Zahraie was active in the anti-shah student movement and in the movement against the Vietnam War.

Zahraie also helped found and lead the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

CAIFI helped win the release of religious figures, writers, and other political prisoners in the shah's jails, including Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri and Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani. CAIFI also exposed the U.S. role in training SAVAK (secret police) torturers and proping up the repressive regime of the shah.

CAIFI denounced attempts to restrict the political activities of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini when he was living in exile in France.

In early 1979, Zahraie returned to Iran and participated in the insurrection that toppled the monarchy. Since that time, he has been active in helping advance the revolution and in defending the Islamic Republic from imperialist attack.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are

urged to send messages calling for Zahraie's release. Such messages should request:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of U.S. imperialist attacks against that revolution, I urge you to free anti-imperialist fighter Babak Zahraie, currently held in Evin Prison.

"His continued imprisonment — based on no crime against the revolution — can only harm the just struggle of the Iranian people."

Messages should be sent to the committee established by Ayatollah Khomeini to investigate violations of constitutional rights:

Seta'd Peygiri, Karimkhan Ave., Iran-shahr, Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the *Militant*.

## 5 cops found guilty in Black's death

BY PETE SEIDMAN

MILWAUKEE — On May 19, the Fire and Police Commission here found five policemen guilty of violating departmental regulations in the arrest that led to the death of Ernest Lacy on July 9, 1981.

Lacy, a 22-year-old Black, was beaten and left unattended while dying after he was arrested on suspicion of a rape it was later learned he had nothing to do with.

After nine weeks of testimony Thomas Eliopul was found guilty of using excessive force in the arrest. Eliopul, along with two other cops (who were found not guilty), wrestled Lacy to the ground. Holding him face down, Eliopul applied his knee to Lacy's back while lifting the youth's arms straight up into the air.

Eliopul and four other cops were also found guilty of failing to provide first aid to the dying Lacy.

These guilty verdicts were made in the wake of nearly two years of community protest demanding "Justice for Ernest Lacy."

The Fire and Police Commission ruling — which is administrative and does not in-

volve criminal charges — could result in suspension without pay, dismissal, or demotion for the five guilty officers.

Meanwhile, Ernest Lacy's family has filed a \$30 million wrongful-death lawsuit in federal court. This suit — as well as the testimony before the Fire and Police Commission — is being handled by Stanley Woodard, a local Black attorney, along with lawyers from the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York.

Elder Harry Hendricks is the Lacy family's minister, and a leader of the Coalition for Justice for Ernest Lacy. Like most coalition members, he expressed a cautious, determined reaction to the ruling.

"I'm very happy the officers were found guilty," Hendricks told the *Militant*. "That was a victory we've pursued for so long a time. We're pleased with what we have now. But the coalition's position all along has been that the officers should be fired."

The coalition is urging supporters to turn out in large numbers when the Fire and Police Commission meets June 8 to consider what disciplinary action it will take.



# AAM leader on farmers' fight, alliances with Blacks and labor

## Alvin Jenkins answers media lies

The following interview with Alvin Jenkins, a national leader of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), was obtained for the *Militant* by Bernie Senter in early March. Senter is a member of the United Auto Workers in Denver, Colorado.

**Question:** What are the problems that farmers face today and what are the causes of these problems?

**Answer:** Well, the farmer's problem today is threefold worse than it was just a few years back. To begin with, there's inflation and crops are being priced below the cost of production. The farmer just kept borrowing and borrowing and borrowing on his equity.

Now the land prices are falling a little bit and all at once what he has borrowed is not enough capital. So the lending agencies are calling in his loans. He can't meet the interest payments.

In one way it might not make a difference except for this: whose fault is it that he can't make the loan? If he has produced a crop every year, that's about all he could ever do if his livelihood is agriculture.

If he couldn't get anything out of his crop due to embargoes, price freezes, and a few other things, then to me this man ought to have the chance to say so in court. That doesn't mean he's going to win, but I think he's entitled to a trial. It's guaranteed by the Constitution. It says nobody can be deprived of property over \$20 in value without a trial. It would be an awfully small farm if it didn't have anything of \$20 value.

You can't get a trial. That's an impossibility right now. You can't get a trial. We're fighting that.

### Chrysler vs. farmers

**Q:** What about people who say the problems some farmers are facing are real but they stem from bad management on their part?

**A:** For the life of me, I really can't figure why. Now you take a big corporation like Chrysler, if they get into financial trouble, immediately what they say is it was because of bad sales and we must do something to try and help them out.

But if a farmer gets into a bad financial situation, immediately that's supposed to be because of bad management. To me that's just another word they use like branding us as "militant" and "radical" because we protest farm sales.

**Q:** Are farmers getting militant and radical?

**A:** No, farmers are not getting militant and radical. Farmers are getting frustrated, and farmers over the last five years, at the thousands of meetings we've held across this country, have become educated about their problem. They're not like they used to be. They don't just go out behind the barn and only come to town once every six

months. They have learned who's causing part of this problem. They are tired of being walked on.

**Q:** What are farmers going to do about it?

**A:** There is a terrible difference between today and six years ago. Agriculture had a \$60 billion plus debt. And here we are six years later, and we have a \$223 billion debt. At the 15 percent interest we have to pay, we owe over \$31 billion a year in interest alone. When you only gross \$19 billion like farmers did this year you can barely meet half your interest payment.

It doesn't make a lot of difference whether all farmers have realized it yet. If you can't even make half enough to pay your interest, your day is coming. It's not the old boy down the road who's going to get sold out, it's just a matter of time until they're going to move up the road to your house. Something has got to be turned around. Farmers are learning this fast. It's not going to take 50 years for that to soak in. As fast as they learn it, they're saying something must be done.

**Q:** How does the AAM see that these problems will be solved? What kind of strategy must the farmers movement develop to solve these problems?

**A:** Maybe there are different fronts to solve all problems, I hope there are. We're working on the political front in Washington, D.C. I have very little faith in that, but I'm not against it.

I realize we must go to the place where all the bills are passed. But I also look back at the last 200 years and realize the reason we're in the position we're in now is because of the bills that were passed there already. So I don't look for too much of a correction to come there.

I think, and I also know this, that no political force ever acts; they always react. And they're not going to react to something until they have something to react to. With us walking up and down the marble floors and hallways of Washington, D.C., and patting people on the back and saying, God you know we need your vote, they don't react too well. To me if they look out there on that old television screen and see a few hundred farmers or a few thousand and they're taking a stand, they're saying this must stop — seems like that soaks in a little quicker. I'm not saying that's the only way, I'm just saying it seems like that soaks in a little quicker.

### 'Rural America's got to stand up'

Sometime, and I don't know when, rural America's got to stand up and say, "Look if we have to get your attention, we can." I hope that doesn't call for violence. But I'm saying, for me, they can call me militant, and they can call me radical, and they can call me violent, and that's fine, according to how you define that.

But I think it's pretty violent myself, when a family, who homesteaded in 1906

in Baca County [southeastern Colorado] and has lived on that same piece of land, and worked themselves literally to death for three generations, is all at once kicked off that land and set out in the middle of the street. To me that is violent too.

If you're not going to classify that as violent, I really don't understand how you can classify someone as violent because the person all at once stands up on his two feet and says, "Hold it, I'm not going any place, not without a struggle." I don't consider him violent, I consider him determined. He wants an answer to his problem.

**Q:** How do you think the farmers movement is going to win the workers and minorities like Blacks and Chicanos as its allies?

**A:** I'm on my way to Washington, D.C., right now. I feel very honored. I will be there to sit on a planning committee of the Black movement. It includes Jesse Jackson, Coretta Scott King, and Congressman Walter Fauntroy of Washington, D.C. I got a letter from all of them. I'm to be at a meeting with them Saturday, [the meeting was held March 5] a planning meeting of the huge rally August 27 to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the civil rights demonstration in Washington.

I feel darn honored, every one of the top Black people in the United States right now that is considered as a leader, they all sat down and wrote a letter and all of them signed it and asked me to come and be on the planning commission and give a speech at this huge rally.

### Black farmers

I'm taking a list of bankrupt Black farmers with me which they asked me to compile. A lot of them are down in Tommy Kersey's backyard in Georgia. [Kersey is a leader of the Georgia AAM.] A farmer down there helped compile these.

They want this list because the Black farmers are proud of their leaders, but they feel like they may have been one of the forgotten people. We're pushing hard in the cities and maybe forgot what's going on in rural America. Some of the Black leaders are thinking this too. They want to get in and start helping the Black farmer.

We had a Black farmer commit suicide just recently. He got served papers over in Kansas. The sheriff came out and handed him his papers. He then wrote a note saying he wouldn't be back and walked out in the yard and into a pond and drowned himself.

Lincoln freed the slaves. And this is the message I'll carry to the people in Washington for Saturday, because it's honest. Abraham Lincoln said I'll free the slaves and you don't have to work on the plantation as sharecroppers any more. We have messed around and not only are the colored people not freed, which they are not, but we, the whites who thought we were always free, are not free either. We're all sharecroppers now. We've just changed landlords.

You can't make enough to pay your interest — you get an FmHA loan from the government so all you do is just sharecrop the land until you get 65 and go onto Social Security. That's what's happening to the colored people too.

### Civil rights movement

**Q:** What can we learn from the civil rights movement?

**A:** You can learn a whole lot from the civil rights movement. One of the many things you can learn is you have to have just a little bit of guts and a little bit of courage.

You have to also realize that if somebody commits a little violence over here and burns down Watts, sections of New York, or Washington, D.C., to get somebody's attention, you don't jump up and say, well I really condone this and think that's super. But you don't slander those people, because they played their part just as greatly as Martin Luther King did.



Militant/Fred White

Alvin Jenkins

If that's what it takes to get attention, friends you have to get attention.

**Q:** There's been a number of articles appearing in daily newspapers alleging that the AAM is right-wing, that it's conducting bomb-making sessions in Colorado and Kansas and other things like that. I was wondering if you could respond to these charges?

**A:** To begin with I know exactly the charges you are talking about on account of a man by the name of William R. Ritz, who is a staff writer for the *Denver Post*. He came down and stayed two days and did two days of interviews with myself. Then he went back to Denver and wrote one of the most slanderous, out of proportion articles that I think has ever been written. I brought a multi-million dollar suit against the *Denver Post* for defamation of character over that.

To begin with, it was taken completely out of proportion and I can explain it to you in a hurry. We held these family seminars out at the Shroder's [leaders of the AAM in Colorado] alcohol plant. We even invited the sheriff and highway patrolmen to come too. There was nothing being hidden. We never made bombs. We made explosives. There's a big difference there. We had a two-hour class on tanning hides conducted by Mr. Shroder. We had a two-hour class on every step of making alcohol. We had a two-hour class on making adobe bricks to build houses out of. Then we had a two-hour class on the making of black powder.

Colorado has the longest black powder hunting season of any state in the union. You can buy black powder at about any place you want to. But Mr. Shroder had discovered that with the right mixture you could make your own black powder. You could make it darn economically. He was showing us how to do that.

We made six different batches of powder that day. I told Mr. Ritz this and told him what we did with it. I told him we took a slant pole digger and dug a hole under a muddy pond and by putting about a pound charge in there you could blow all the mud off of that. The demonstration of this was in case you have springs washed in, like the Shroders have on their ranch, you could then dig down to the rock and put a small charge and open the spring up again.

Then we took a bigger charge and put it under an old tree stump. My god, they blow them out by the millions in every farm there is in the south where they have trees, there's nothing new about that. I told Ritz that it sounds to me like you're trying to make something out of this that wasn't there.

Well, he said, you'll have to admit, if you obtain this knowledge, you could use it for anything you wanted to. I said sure I'd have to admit that. That'd be just like sending hundreds of kids up there to the University of Colorado to learn how to be chemists. If you wanted to think they had a criminal mind, the day they graduated they could take what they learned in chemistry and they could become gangsters. But we don't think they're going to do that. By me learning how to make black powder out at the Shroder farm, I don't have a criminal mind. I wasn't figuring on how to make a bomb to blow up somebody in a town or blow up a car. I was learning how to make something that could be cheap and useful in my occupation.

Well then here comes the *Denver Post* Continued on Page 13



As price of farm equipment goes up and price of crops goes down, banks, government lending agencies foreclose on more farmers.



# The Palestinian struggle after Leb

## Interview with Palestine Liberation Organization representative at the United Nations

The following is an interview with Dr. Hatem Hussein, deputy UN observer for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It was conducted by *Intercontinental Press* at the end of April.

Dr. Hussein was born in Jerusalem. His family was forced to flee in 1948 from the part of the city occupied by Israeli military forces. Hussein grew up in refugee camps in Lebanon and Egypt. He was educated in Egypt and later in the United States.

Before coming to New York, Dr. Hussein served as director of the PLO's Palestine Information Office in Washington.

"My involvement in the Palestinian cause is, of course, deeply personal," Dr. Hussein told *IP*. "I am concerned with my people, my relatives, my nation that has been scattered, amputated, and dispersed. I saw it and I have been living it for nearly 40 years."

"But my commitment to the Palestinian cause is not a nationalist one — it's more from an internationalist position. I believe that human beings should support the struggle of any people who are oppressed or persecuted."

**Question.** Why did Israel invade Lebanon last year?

**Answer.** Well, historians will have to answer that question more accurately, but I can say now that it was an American war. The invasion was inevitable after the Camp David agreement. The American strategy all along has been to isolate Egypt as a military and political power, thereby giving Israel military superiority in the region.

Given the Iran-Iraq War, Syria was left as the only power confronting Israel. In these circumstances Israel felt free to strike at the PLO. The Israeli army served as [Washington's] tool to attack the PLO and the Lebanese progressive nationalist movement and to try to wipe them out.

As you know, in the official American view the PLO is characterized as a terrorist group, a tool of the Soviet Union to stir up trouble for American interests and the so-called moderate Arab states in the region. Therefore the PLO should be crushed.

You could see this reasoning, for example, in [Israeli Prime Minister Menachem] Begin's appeals over the past four years to the U.S. Congress and now the Reagan administration. He argued that Israel was America's best ally, that it is a military force that can move quickly and strike hard, thereby preserving American interests in the region.

I think this war had been planned for perhaps three years, and that the 1978 Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon was a

dress rehearsal. In the Israeli view, by beating the PLO militarily you do away with the political problem of the Palestinian people.

They hoped to be able to push through treaties with Jordan and Lebanon along the lines of Israel's Camp David agreement with Egypt. They hoped for American hegemony, with little puppet states under Israeli military domination.

The PLO and the Lebanese National Movement stood up to the Israeli army, which was fully backed by American military power.

### U.S. 6th Fleet

All reports indicate that parts of the 6th Fleet and other American war ships moved to the Mediterranean before June. There were joint Israeli-American military maneuvers five or six months before the war. The type of Israeli landings from the sea, the pinpoint aerial bombardments, all this means sophisticated technology of American origin.

It is amazing how the PLO and the Lebanese fighters, really with very limited resources, were able to put up a fight for three and a half months.

You may recall that [former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel] Sharon and other officials said it would take Israel two weeks and then they said well, maybe just one month. And then finally they were only able to take over West Beirut through treachery.

The Americans tore up the agreement reached when the PLO fighters left West Beirut. American troops were withdrawn, allowing Israel to go into West Beirut while the city was wide open, resulting in the massacres.

**Q.** Do you see any parallels between the U.S. role in the Middle East and its role in Central America?

A. It's clear that the Reagan administration is on the offensive militarily, using the big stick and declaring without shame that the United States has the right to use military means to change political situations it doesn't like. That is what UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick said recently about Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration is on the offensive in Nicaragua, in El Salvador, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Asia — supposedly to face up to a Soviet threat. That is nonsense because the real issue in the Third World is liberation, freedom, dignity, and social and economic change for billions of people who are going hungry. It is from this perspective that we should understand this war in Lebanon.

**Q.** What is the situation in Lebanon today? What conditions are the Palestinians remaining in Lebanon faced with?

A. What is happening in Lebanon now is an attempt by the American government to increase American military presence, to rearm the Lebanese army, and to have full American military control over Lebanon.

Remember in 1958 President Eisenhower sent the marines to Lebanon, but he withdrew them. The difference now is that the Reagan administration would like to keep the marines there.

It wants to rearm the Lebanese army and really establish a fascist state that would work hand in glove with the Israeli fascist establishment.

On the other hand there is a grave repression and mistreatment of the Palestinian-Lebanese population under Israeli rule, especially in southern Lebanon and near West Beirut. Mass arrests, shootings, killings, detentions, torture that are unreported in the media.

We get reports on a weekly basis of a family shot, an individual killed, someone found dead beside the road.

### Ansar concentration camp

In Ansar concentration camp there are 9,000 Palestinians who have been detained for eight months without trial, without any charges. Many were doctors, nurses, teachers. We don't even have an accounting of their names. When the Israeli military authorities release a few of them, immediately the pro-Israeli armed Lebanese groups take them and execute them.

So on the one hand there is continued Israeli military repression and also Israeli mop-up-type operations; for example, the bombing of the Palestine Research Center, the bombing of the Palestine Economic Institute, attempts to assassinate some Palestinian leaders who have remained in Lebanon.

Those who suffer in Lebanon are the civilians — the men, women, children who were slaughtered. Even before [the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps of] Sabra and Shatila, people were killed en masse in six refugee camps in southern Lebanon.

In addition to Al Ansar, there is another detention center in southern Lebanon. And then inside Israel there is a large concentration camp near Megiddo and in four other locations. There is also a special detention camp for Palestinian women, and the conditions they face are miserable.

Palestinians in those camps who have cancer, who have pneumonia, who need immediate surgery are being detained. Some have been shot and killed, some are punished by being deprived of food or water for long periods of time.

And the International Red Cross is not publicizing this information because it wants to maintain its neutral relationship with the Israeli regime. Other groups are trying to put out this information. In the media, however, it is totally blacked out.

Sabra and Shatila was the height of what has happened in Lebanon. Sabra and Shatila, you see, is now our holocaust. The massacres had a political aim: terrorize the Palestinian people to make them lose faith and give up politically.

But we have to overcome the pain and agony and this is what the Palestinian people have done. In fact, right after the massacres the people of Sabra and Shatila wrote slogans on the walls like: "Sharon — we will never give up!"

In southern Lebanon, Palestinian women demonstrate against the Israeli army, even against tanks, without fear. So this is a strong people. The struggle for national liberation, the struggle for freedom all over the world requires great sacrifices.

The Vietnamese people went through this, the Black people in Africa. Look what Europe sacrificed to free itself from Nazi occupation, from fascism. The Algerians gave a million and a half martyrs to achieve their freedom. So it is with the Palestinians.

**Q.** How did the war in Lebanon affect the PLO?

A. The PLO came out of the war militarily stronger. It has regrouped its military forces. First of all, the Palestinian fighters have gained a vast experience in this war. You must remember that the PLO fought against one of the most advanced armies in the world, equipped with sophisticated American weapons.

Israel is talking about sharing information gained in the war with the Pentagon. Well, the PLO has learned a lot, too. It has gained military experience and learned about Israeli military strategy and tactics and modern weapons. The PLO is still a military power inside Lebanon.

The PLO is continuing the struggle against the Israeli occupation forces — especially in southern Lebanon. There are almost daily military operations directed against the Israeli army.

Now I must say here that I think the Israeli military establishment does not understand anything but the language of force. I wish people could achieve their freedom without bloodshed. I wish we could have the Gandhi-type or Martin Luther King, Jr.-type of nonviolent struggle.

### Why armed struggle

But history teaches us that the colonizer, the colonial power, the oppressor does not understand anything but the language of force. You have to use armed struggle to strike back and deliver the message to him that he cannot get away with sheer military brute force.

You cannot deny people their freedom, you cannot deal with serious political issues through military might — this is the Reagan-Kirkpatrick logic that our people are answering through their struggle.

Politically, the PLO emerged stronger. The Palestinian people rallied around the PLO as it fought for survival. Chairman [Yassir] Arafat became a symbol to the Palestinian people: besieged, fighting, saying "I will never surrender." A Stalingrad of the Arab world.

The PLO among the Arab people gained more because the Arab people saw their governments totally unable to do anything. Some collaborated with the American government; others were just totally incapable of helping the Palestinian people. The Arab people are angry and they condemn their governments for this. I don't think some of these regimes will last for long.

Also, internationally the PLO gained support among the people of the United States and around the world. Therefore the PLO is continuing at the international level to prevent a Camp David-type agreement from going through.

**Q.** Was this generally positive view reflected at the recent meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algeria?

A. The Algeria meeting gave a vote of confidence to Chairman Arafat and the leadership of the PLO.

Actually, the press before the Algeria

## From Pathfinder

### Israel's War Against the Palestinian People

By David Frankel and Will Reissner. The articles in this pamphlet explain the nature of Israel as a colonial-settler state, the character and history of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, and the Marxist attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. 46 pages, \$1.25.

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



Militant/Will Reissner



Dr. Hatem Hussein (left), deputy UN observer for PLO. Yassir Arafat, PLO chairman, addressing UN General Assembly.



meeting kept saying that the PLO was going to split. I was at the Algeria meeting and perhaps there were 600 journalists from all over the world. The first two days they were thinking the PLO would split and they would come back with sensational news. Well, that didn't happen. The PLO emerged more united and determined to continue the struggle.

There is no such thing as moderates and radicals in the PLO. That is American official wishful thinking. All the Palestinians are radicals in the sense that they are uprooted, stateless, in exile. That is true whether it is a businessman or a laborer or peasant or a doctor or an intellectual. All the Palestinians are denied national identity, denied the right to regroup on their own land.

### U.S. wants to split PLO

But the U.S. government wants to split the PLO. They could not destroy the PLO militarily in Lebanon, so they want to try to destroy it politically. But no one can split the PLO because it is the Palestinian people. It is the struggle of the Palestinian people to survive and achieve their full rights.

Behind the assassination of [Issam] Sartawi [Sartawi was gunned down at a meeting of the Socialist International in Portugal on April 10] is the Israeli Mossad and American intelligence. It came at a time when these forces were trying to convince the world, "Look, there is radical-moderate split in the PLO."

Within the PLO, of course, there are different currents because we are a people, and like all people we have communists and socialists and progressives and nationalists and conservatives. We don't deny that. We are human beings. And there is a debate and a discussion because we are a democratic people. We don't believe in assassinating people because of their political views or banning political parties.

Actually, the PLO is a coalition of people from different political parties and organizations. We are like the Vietnamese people, who were united in a nationalist struggle — maybe around 70 political parties united under the banner of a national liberation struggle — same with the PLO.

But in its main current the PLO is a progressive movement. Our national struggle is progressive struggle because it clashes ultimately with U.S. imperialism and the lackeys of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

That is why the Lebanese people rallied around the PLO — the Lebanese poor, the Lebanese working people, the peasants, the educated classes who wanted social change. It wasn't that the PLO destroyed Lebanon. No. It was that in Lebanon there was a class contradiction and political contradictions. Therefore, the Lebanese democratic and progressive forces rallied around the PLO, while Israel supported the fascist Phalangists.

Q. Do you think the Israeli government will try to annex southern Lebanon in the

same way it is trying to annex the West Bank and Gaza?

A. Israel is trying to use the Lebanese economy — to export to Lebanon Israeli-made goods, industrial and agricultural commodities, make a quick profit, and at the same time weaken the Lebanese economy.

I think this is one reason why the Israeli strategy now is to waste time in negotiations. They want to present the world with a de facto situation in which Israel would remain in southern Lebanon to use the waters of the Litani River.

Q. What does it mean that on the one hand Reagan states that he wants the Israeli army out of Lebanon, but on the other he keeps increasing military aid to Israel?

A. It is clearly hypocritical. If he really wants the Israelis out of Lebanon he could implement it. He has the power. But in fact, his emissaries, [Morris] Draper and [Philip] Habib, are not doing that. There is a coordinated American-Israeli strategy to get concessions out of Lebanon — actually to force Lebanon to sign a Camp David-style treaty with Israel.

In fact, the U.S. government is using the Israeli military in Lebanon to get politically what it wants.

### Situation in West Bank

Q. One of the Israeli objectives in invading Lebanon was to try to break support for the PLO on the West Bank and defeat resistance on the West Bank to new Israeli settlements. What is the situation in West Bank and Gaza today?

A. First of all, I can tell you that no power on earth can destroy the PLO, because the PLO is the Palestinian people.

Of the 4 million Palestinians, nearly 1.5 million live in the West Bank and Gaza. For 16 years now they have lived under the most brutal Israeli military occupation. And it's amazing that for 16 years these people, totally unarmed, have put up a fight. The children, women, everyone putting up resistance.

Politically, the PLO is working to address the situation in the West Bank because the Israeli government is trying to evict the Palestinian people. The poisoning of Palestinian school children is part of that — trying to terrorize the Palestinians and have them leave their land. This goes hand in hand with the Israeli government's decision to build more settlements and turn many of the current settlements into exclusively Jewish towns.

Therefore the PLO is continuing to struggle to protect the Palestinian people on the West Bank and in Gaza, to struggle against the Israeli attempt to swallow up the occupied territories.

Q. Isn't one of the lessons of the war in Lebanon the fact that the heroic resistance of the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters helped spur a tremendous outpouring of antiwar sentiment inside Israel?

A. This is very true and that is why Chairman Arafat himself sent strong messages of support to the movement in Israel opposing the war in Lebanon. He even met with some of their leaders during the siege of Beirut.

If you remember he met with Uri Avneri and later on with other distinguished Israelis from the peace movement. And there has been continuing dialogue and even common work between Palestinians in the occupied territories and progressives from the Israeli peace movement — whether around opposing the war in Lebanon or opposing the building of more Israeli settlements.

### Israeli peace movement

We look with great admiration and great hope to the Israeli peace movement and other progressive forces in Israel. We hope they can unify their forces, because



Said Elatab photo

Palestinian children in front of Israeli-bombed house in southern Lebanon. "Those who suffer in Lebanon are civilians — the men, women, children who were slaughtered."

through unity they can have an impact on the system. And I think maybe in a historical sense they represent the right direction for the future. It is these forces, together with the Palestinians, that will realize the history of Palestine and establish there a truly secular, democratic, progressive society where Jews, Moslems, Christians, Palestinians, and Israelis can coexist with equal rights.

The PLO condemns persecution of the Jews. It is symbolic of this that our delegation in Warsaw laid a floral wreath during the recent memorial to the Jews who fought the Nazis in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

It is not the U.S. or other superpowers who will determine or can determine the history of the Middle East. The Roman Empire, the British Empire, the French tried to do that and failed. It is the people who make the future. The progressive, democratic, Israeli forces, the Palestinian people, the Arab people — it is their struggle to make and shape the future of the region.

We know this from the past and that is why I am giving so much significance to these forces inside Israel. I personally have met, for example, with some leaders from the Israeli Black Panther party, Israeli-Arab Jews. I met with Charles Biton, who is one of the leaders and a great man, an important man.

That is why I am saying they should be united and they should struggle — on the one hand social and economic change to help underprivileged, persecuted Jewish classes in Israel, and on the other to rally with the Palestinians in struggle against the racial discrimination and the militarism of Zionism and the Zionist ruling circles.

Q. The U.S. press has been full of reports saying that the PLO missed a historic opportunity by not agreeing to Reagan's demand that the PLO give up its role as representative of the Palestinian people and agree to his plan. How do you answer this?

A. Well, as you know, this is total nonsense. What has been offered to the Palestinian people that they have missed an opportunity? Reagan offered them continued slavery.

Camp David said the Palestinians should remain under Israeli military rule, but they should have limited autonomy — meaning

to run their own garbage collection and other minor affairs. But education, serious social and economic questions, political representation — that is all up to the Israeli army.

And what did Reagan offer in return? Nothing. He didn't even say that he recognized our right to self-determination and to sit down and negotiate with the Israelis. He said Jordan should speak for the Palestinians. So he again was offering the Palestinians continued slavery. Denying them their national rights, their right to self-determination, their right to a Palestinian state. Denying them their rights to speak for themselves.

Hussein speaks for Jordan; Mubarak speaks for Egypt; Begin speaks for Israel — although I doubt he even speaks for Israel. But the Palestinians must speak for themselves, and their representative is the PLO.

### The Big Stick

So actually, the Reagan administration is using this argument to cover up for the reality that Reagan did not offer genuine peace to the Palestinians and to the region. What Reagan offered the Middle East was the Big Stick — the Israeli war in Lebanon, so that the Lebanese would have to sign on the dotted line, followed by Jordan. His idea was to bury the Palestine cause and to have little puppet American garrison-type states — Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt — under American hegemony and control to insure that oil keeps pumping dollars into the pockets of the multinational corporations.

The official American position up to now has nothing for peace in it, because peace rests on offering the Palestinians their self-determination, their statehood.

As you know even during the Geneva talks in 1972-73, Chairman Arafat said, "Where is the invitation for me to go to Geneva? Is the Palestinians' right to self-determination on the agenda?" So we did not miss an opportunity.

The Reagan policy has resulted in genocide and mass murder for the Palestinians. Sabra and Shatila. And the Reagan administration has even tried to prevent us from speaking up in protest of these atrocities.

For example, the chairman of the UN

Continued on Page 13





# Cuba's answer to U.S. drug-pushing charge

'For U.S. to eliminate drugs would be to eliminate imperialist system itself'

In his May 20 speech in Miami to right-wing Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles, President Reagan repeated the U.S. government's charge that Cuban government officials are involved in illegal drug dealing. Without offering a shred of evidence, he asserted that "Castro officials are involved in the drug trade, peddling drugs like criminals, profiting on the misery of the addicted."

Cuba has answered these slanders consistently, pointing out the real source of the drug trade — U.S. imperialism.

Below we reprint excerpts from an editorial run in the English-language edition of the Cuban newspaper *Granma* on Nov. 21, 1982, following the indictment in absentia of four Cuban officials for drug running.

We strongly and indignantly reject this absurd and unprecedented accusation.

For the last 24 years the Yankee imperialists have been inventing all sorts of lies and slanders against Cuba, but never before have they made such a ridiculous claim or resorted to such wretched and cowardly tactics.

The Reagan administration and the CIA are clearly behind this campaign, carried out by the reactionary press of the hemisphere for more than a year.

Drug use, as everyone knows, is caused by the turmoil experienced by broad segments of Yankee society, an incurable disease in that country and a product of the alienating, inhuman and decadent system which prevails in the United States.

Everyone also knows that southern Florida, and Miami in particular, has for years been a capital of crime and drug smuggling in the United States.

Drugs have become the main "industry" in Florida, with an estimated value of \$12 billion a year.

Powerful multimillion-dollar mob organizations control this dirty business and openly bribe judges and government officials.

## Assassination plots

We must keep in mind that these chiefs of organized crime served the CIA and the U.S. government in their plans to assassinate leaders of the Cuban revolution. This is simply another indication of the well-known ties between the Mafia and certain U.S. officials, and the services they provide for each other.

Many of the counterrevolutionaries and terrorists who for years were trained and armed by the CIA to operate against Cuba are now involved in this prosperous business and are leading figures in the world of crime.

The links between these mob organizations in Florida and their counterparts in Colombia and elsewhere, all of them tied to influential political and military circles, oligarchs and adventurers without scruples, are the foundations for this unprecedented drug traffic.

Fabulous economic interests have developed around this shady trade. It is controlled by a well-established power structure. Thus it is not surprising that the Yankee government is unable to eliminate the traffic since it would be like asking them to eliminate the Yankee imperialist system itself.

Any suggestion that Cuba has anything in common with people of this sort is an insult great enough to make the blood of any Cuban boil.

Cuba is the exact opposite of the corruption, vice and decay of Yankee imperialist society.

Cuba is the most corruption-free country in the hemisphere. A country without drugs, gambling or prostitution, where there is no room, nor will there ever be room for the ills eating away at U.S. society. Our unblemished moral standards, principles and international conduct place us light-years away from these degrading practices. We are as remote from the drug traffic as we are from the base and vile methods used against Cuba by the immoral and dishonest government of the United States.

## Cuba's fight against drug trade

But Cuba, because of its convictions, sense of responsibility and of law and especially because of its geographic location, is undoubtedly the country which has acted with the greatest vigor and tenacity against those responsible for the air and sea traffic of narcotics to the United States.

We were not hindered by the fact that the drugs were not going to Cuba and did not affect our people in any way, nor by the criminal and hostile policy of the U.S. government against our country. A legal and moral problem was involved and that was what determined our actions.

The government of the United States will be totally responsible if, as a result of the circumstances flowing from this campaign of lies and slanders against Cuba by the United States, our country decides to halt the tremendous effort it has been making to discourage and combat the drug traffic.

For the moment, in response to this grotesque policy, the Cuban government has decided to halt all cooperation between our Border Patrol troops and the U.S. Coast Guard.

In 1981 and 1982 alone, Cuban officials captured 17 boats and planes, arresting 79 persons, of which 25 were from the United States. The latest case was on October 19, in which a cabin cruiser, registered in the United States and carrying marijuana



Militant/Duane Stilwell

valued at \$2 million, was captured off the coast of Pinar del Rio.

In these operations hundreds of thousands of tons of marijuana have been captured and destroyed, along with large quantities of other drugs. All the guilty parties have been taken to court and given stiff sentences, and many of them are from the United States.

## Bribery of no value

Here the money they used in the United States to bribe policemen, judges and prosecutors is of no value. More than a dozen are in our jails right now; some have been sentenced and others await trial. If there are not more of them in jail, it is because

Cuba has consented to requests for their release by various personalities in the United States itself.

These are the facts.

We feel that people and the press in the United States, and every citizen of that country with a sense of dignity and decency, have the duty to demand that proof be presented without delay or excuses.

Cuba has far too important a position in history and in the eyes of the peoples to be damaged by mudslinging. The mud will fall on those who tossed it.

One more thing. Those four Cubans indicted in Miami by the federal grand jury have more decency, courage, honesty and moral standing than all the politicians and juries in the United States put together.

# Senate whips up campaign slandering Cuba

BY ANDREA BARON

MIAMI — A U.S. Senate hearing held in Miami April 30 intensified the government's slander campaign claiming that the Cuban government is involved in drug trafficking.

The joint hearing of the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, the Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, and the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs heard testimony from government officials and convicted drug smugglers.

In recent months, U.S. officials have claimed that the Cuban government was providing "safe harbor" for drug smugglers on their way to Miami.

In November 1982, the U.S. attorney in Florida indicted 14 people on charges of smuggling marijuana and methaqualone tablets. Four on those were officials of the Cuban government indicted in absentia, including Fernando Ravelo Renedo, the Cuban ambassador to Colombia, and René

Rodríguez Cruz, president of the Cuban Institute for Friendship Among Peoples (ICAP).

The Cuban officials were charged with facilitating the importation of drugs into the United States. The Cuban government vigorously denied the charges.

The April 30 hearing marked an escalation of the campaign to smear Cuba. Four of the smugglers, who were convicted in February, testified that the Cuban government is actively involved in organizing smuggling and providing money to buy drugs to be sold in the United States.

One of the witnesses, Mario Estévez González, claimed he was a Cuban intelligence agent who was sent to the United States in the Mariel boatlift. He testified that he was told to become a drug smuggler and turn the profits over to the Cuban government.

When he was questioned about where the Cubans obtain the drugs, he replied, "Fidel has been planting marijuana in Cuba for a long time."

Estévez testified that thousands of Salvadoran, Colombian, and Nicaraguan guerrillas are being trained in camps in Cuba. He explained, "The Colombians and Salvadoran guerrillas pay for their training with cocaine."

While conceding that Cuba has no drug problem, and that the Cuban people hate drugs, Estévez said, "This is a very secret plot of Fidel and the DGI, the Cuban intelligence agency. They are trying to create a crisis in the southern United States."

Another of the witnesses, drug smuggler David Perez, testified that in return for using Cuban territory to load his boats, he was required to deliver guns to guerrillas in Colombia.

In her opening statement, Sen. Paula Hawkins of Florida, who chaired the hear-

ing, explained what the U.S. government is trying to accomplish with these false charges. "The fact that Castro has chosen to associate himself with criminal elements and international drug smugglers is a clear indication of his contempt for international law and his intent to undermine American society through drug addiction, moral corruption, and violent crime."

"Investigations reveal that the Cuban dictator's support of drug trafficking is linked with his promotion of terrorism in Latin America. Ships are loaded with drugs in Cuba to be taken to the United States. Leaving the United States, many of these same ships return to Cuba with weapons destined for the South American mainland."

## McAliskey, O'Hara to speak in N.Y.

Irish freedom struggle leader Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and Elizabeth O'Hara, sister of deceased hunger striker Patsy O'Hara, will address a June 10 rally in New York demanding freedom for Irish hunger striker Nicky Kelly.

Kelly, a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, is serving a 12-year prison sentence for a train robbery he did not commit. All legal appeals have been exhausted and the Irish minister of justice has turned down a plea from Amnesty International that his case be reviewed.

As a result, Kelly began a hunger strike May 1 in an attempt to gain his freedom.

The New York rally will take place at 8 p.m. at Holy Name Church, Amsterdam Avenue and 97th Street. It is sponsored by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee.

## Imperialism vs. the Iranian Revolution:

Which side for working people?

By Janice Lynn & David Frankel



40 pp., \$95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.





Héctor Marroquín

Militant/Lou Howort

# 'Gov't deporting you? I'll sign'

BY DIANE WANG

NEW YORK — "The government's trying to deport you? That's all I have to hear. I'll sign that petition."

"I really respect you — keep on fighting. The least I can do is sign."

"Can you win? Can we win? I hope you do!"

That is the kind of warm response Héctor Marroquín met with as he spoke to workers outside factories and shipyards in the New York-New Jersey area.

Marroquín visited here as part of a nationwide tour sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). He fled government repression in Mexico nine years ago and is today a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has ordered him deported because of his political views. On June 16 the U.S. Supreme Court will discuss whether to hear Marroquín's appeal.

At the Brooklyn Navy Yard in just a half

hour, 60 workers signed a petition supporting Marroquín. Outside the Eagle Electric plant organized by the United Auto Workers some 25 workers stopped to hear about the case. Outside a Brooklyn building that houses eight or nine garment shops another 35 signed petitions, and one worker gave a \$5 donation.

At a large complex of garment factories in Hoboken, New Jersey, more than 50 workers signed petitions.

In addition to the 30 workers from the 207th Street transit barn who spoke with Marroquín during their lunch, about 20 came to a house meeting after work to continue discussions with him.

Local 3369 of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) heard Marroquín's story and voted to support his appeal for asylum.

Speaking at a May 20 rally for Marroquín, Kurt Bigelow, executive vice-president of AFGE Local 3369, explained his union's support. Local 3369, representing

Social Security field workers, has been locked in a bitter fight with the government. There are 30 cases of discipline against the local's leaders, and several officers, including Bigelow, have been fired. "The same government that finds Héctor unsuitable to live here finds me unsuitable to work for it," Bigelow explained. "I have learned we have to link up — it's the same struggle."

This theme was repeated by a number of speakers, including Irish freedom fighter George Harrison, Mark Banks of the American Indian Movement, Eddy Dupiton of a Haitian social services agency, and Nick Sánchez, a national vice-president at-large of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights.

Speakers from both the Committee for Salvadoran Refugees and the Comité Roque Dalton pointed to the plight of thousands of Salvadoran refugees.

More than 55 people attended a meeting in Newark on May 21.

Ramón Irizarry, the New Jersey coordinator of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, pointed out that nearly 90 percent of those who face deportation are Hispanics. A lawyer specializing in immigration cases, Irizarry stated, "I get enraged every day in Newark immigration court over the treatment of aliens."

He noted that although El Salvador is "as clear cut a case for political asylum as you can make," not one Salvadoran has been granted asylum in New Jersey.

The meeting also heard from Wilma Reverón of the International Office for the Independence of Puerto Rico, feminist activist Connie Gilbert-Neiss, Tom Jenkins of the Peoples Express Workers Association and Irwin Nack, a history professor and president of the American Federation of Teachers local at William Patterson College.

Written messages were read from the sister of slain journalist John Sullivan, whose body was recently returned to New Jersey from El Salvador; Casa Nicaragua; New Jersey American Civil Liberties Union leader Jeffrey Vogel; and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union official David Dyson.

Requests for more information on Marroquín's case and contributions should be sent to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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.

## ACTWU official backs Marroquin

The following message from David Dyson was sent to rallies in support of Héctor Marroquín held in Brooklyn on May 20 and Newark on May 21. Dyson is a staff representative for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and secretary of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

I join with other trade union leaders across the country in support of Héctor Marroquín's fight against deportation.

Throughout Héctor's fight for political asylum in this country it has been clear that he faces deportation because of his political ideas. Héctor speaks out against the U.S. government's war policies and for the rights of the thousands of Salvadorans, Haitians, and others who, like him, have been forced to flee their native land in fear of political persecution.

The Reagan administration is now step-

ping up its war against the people of El Salvador. While millions of workers here are unemployed and our social services are being cut back, our government is sending millions of dollars to prop up a repressive government in El Salvador and paving the ground for a new Vietnam War in Central America.

Everyone in this country — citizens and noncitizens alike — should have the right to speak out against this war. And yet, outspoken political immigrants like Héctor Marroquín face intimidation, persecution, and deportation because of this government's immigration laws.

Héctor Marroquín's request for political asylum now facing the Supreme Court is a fight not only for himself. It is also for thousands of victims of political persecution and for all those who speak out for democratic rights. If Héctor can be deported for his political ideas, none of us are safe.



David Dyson

Militant/Lou Howort

## Farmers seek ties with labor and Blacks

Continued from front page

cussions. Farmers expressed their willingness to speak before union meetings and their eagerness to join union picket lines.

A major discussion occurred over the draft of a national farm program. This program is designed to guarantee family farmers a fair price for the raw materials they produce. In NAFA's view, it offers a long-range solution to the fact that farmers have to substitute credit for income because of low prices and high production costs for farmers, over which they have no control.

Merle Hansen, a Nebraska farmer, vice-president of the U.S. Farm Association, and chairman of NAFA, reported that farmers in 1982 ran operating costs of \$144.4 billion and received income of \$144 billion. Hansen said this means farmers lost \$.4 billion and some worked the entire year for nothing. He added that the national farm debt in 1983 stands at \$215 billion.

The NAFA meeting took up the farm bankruptcies and forced farm sales sweeping the country. "Ninety forced farm sales in one day in Iowa is too many," said Roger Allison, a Missouri AAM activist and chairman of NAFA's legal strategy committee.

Exposing the vulture-like loan, interest, and foreclosure practices of the Farm Home Administration, Production Credit Association, and the Federal Land Bank is seen as a key task of NAFA. It also wants to become a clearinghouse of information, publish a farmers' rights handbook, and develop strategy for national class-action suits to defend family farmers from the farm credit system.

Many participants in the meeting were recent veterans of direct-action efforts, like penny auctions, to prevent farm foreclosures. Ringer, leading a discussion on direct action tactics, explained that NAFA must encourage farmers to make a stand for their farms. He added that the farmer must decide voluntarily to resist, but lending moral support was key because many farmers get frustrated and feel alone and down after months and months of legal hassles.

Ringer said NAFA's stance must be: "I owe the debt, I'll pay when I can." But to defend the farmer "we must have an iron-clad, whatever-it-takes, state of mind."

The discussion rejected the idea that farmers are responsible for violence. Hansen explained that violence flows from the government's antifarm policy. He asked, "What is violent?" and answered, "the planned program of running farmers off the land."

The discussion addressed how to organize larger mobilizations of farmers at foreclosure sales. Other direct action initiatives were reviewed, such as protests against banks, implement dealers, and government officials.

Strikes and boycotts were touched on, and attention was drawn to past examples of successful farm protest movements: the

Farm Holiday Movement in the 1930s and the recent Minnesota struggle against putting high-tension wires through farmers' fields.

Informal discussion at the weekend meeting underscored its seriousness and political content. There were more detailed exchanges on how to get farmers and workers together, the U.S. war in El Salvador, and the need for real political power for workers and farmers.

NAFA wants to publish a brochure outlining its goals and structure. Organizations can affiliate to NAFA. Individual supporters can join. Initial fund-raising efforts include selling supporter cards and red bandannas, the recent symbol of farmer resistance.

### 'People are what's important'

Hansen, in his closing remarks, said farmers suffer from an oppressive debt, and government policy has driven farmers off the land, reducing their number from 6.5 million in 1945 to 2.5 million in 1983. He said, "We are not inefficient and we are not bellyachers; we produce enough food to feed everyone in the world, but here in the U.S., 20 million people suffer malnutrition. People are what's important."

Attending the May conference were representatives of AAM chapters in a number of states, including Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois; COACT chapters from several states; Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance; Family Farm Movement; U.S. Farmers Association; Alden and Micki Nellis, publishers and editors of *American Agriculture News*; and others.

A statement adopted by the April 9 founding meeting said NAFA "is an alliance of organizations committed to building a unified response to the farm crisis."

For more information about NAFA, contact Carol Hodne, NAFA coordinator, 520 7th Street, Ames, Iowa 50010; telephone (515) 232-7486.

## Fidel Castro Speeches

### Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Since 1975, Cuba's foreign policy has deeply affected the course of world politics. Few of Castro's speeches are readily accessible in English. What does exist in print generally dates back to the 1960s or even earlier. This book represents a step toward filling that gap.

391 pp., \$7.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage.

## PRDF wins tax-exempt status

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is coordinating six cases in defense of the Bill of Rights, recently won a different kind of victory. In April the Internal Revenue Service okayed PRDF's application for tax-exempt status.

"This new status for PRDF means that we'll be able to solicit large tax-deductible contributions from individuals and foundations," says PRDF National Coordinator Holbrook Mahn.

"It opens up much bigger possibilities for raising the money necessary to publicize these cases, to publish educational material, and to sponsor speaking tours, as well as to cover the large legal expenses involved," Mahn told the *Militant*.

At present PRDF is focusing on the fight against deportation of Héctor Marroquín.

Tax-deductible contributions can be sent to PRDF at P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made payable to PRDF, Inc.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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# THE GREAT SOCIETY

**Suggestion dep't** — Instead of passing the Simpson-Mazzoli bill to tighten the flow of immigrants, Congress might consider the



Harry Ring

Roosevelt plan recently discovered in old archives. Fifty people, cleared by the FBI, worked four years in total secrecy to determine if some of the World War II refu-

gees couldn't be settled on Venus and Mars.

**Keeping their heads** — Members of the New Jersey legislature firmly rejected a proposal to introduce the guillotine for executions. The sponsor said he wanted it as "the most shocking and dramatic form of execution I can think of."

**Sticking to what they know best** — Nuclear plant operators may not know how to dispose of nuclear waste, prevent accidents, or evacuate people in case of accident, but they do know they don't

want to venture afield. After bus drivers in the area of New York's Indian Point nuclear plant indicated they might not be ready to drive in the event of a nuclear accident, a spokesperson for Con Edison, the plant owner, responded, "Are we ready to go into the bus-driving business? I don't think so."

**Progress report** — The pope advises that the team he appointed in 1979 to restudy the Galileo case is "progressing very encouragingly." In 1633, the scientist was compelled, under threat of torture, to recant his ungodly finding that the earth revolved around the sun, not vice versa. The pope gave no

hint as to when the verdict would be in or what it would be.

**The humane society** — The older chickens get, the more cadmium they accumulate in their kidneys. Since cadmium is a carcinogen, the feds are considering requiring that kidneys be removed from adult fowl before they're sold to consumers. It's assumed that if this is done the kidneys will be used in pet food.

**Easier to bury people** — Perdue, the union-busting chicken folk, think yanking the kidneys from old chickens would be a has-

sle. "Cadmium is a toxic metal," a Perdue spokesman observed, "so you would have to consider where you would bury the material."

**No kid's stuff** — "Toys 'R' Us" may sound like a childish name, but the company prez was top dog in 1982. He "earned" a total of \$1,413,000 in salary and bonuses.

**What housing shortage?** — Stanley Seeger, whose ancestors made it in southwestern oil, lumber, and railroads, lives on a yacht in the Mediterranean, has one in the Caribbean, plus a 14-bedroom mansion in England.

## CALENDAR

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Nicaragua and the Defense of the Revolution.** Speaker: Virginia Garza, Socialist Workers Party delegate to recent Nicaraguan women's conference for peace. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 11, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

### INDIANA

#### Indianapolis

**Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement.** Speakers: Theodore Wilson, Democratic candidate for mayor in recent primary elections; Roger "Billy" Jones, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city-county council, member of United Steelworkers of America. Sun., June 5, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

**The Fight for Political Freedom in the United States and Central America.** Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Frisco Gilchrist, member, Committee for Peace in El Salvador; Bill Scanlon, trustee of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-706; Dean Anthony, Young Socialist Alliance, member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1048; Melvin Chappell, youth coordinator of Ed Warren campaign in Chicago; Bill Warwick, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-535. Sat., June 11, 7:30 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Warwick for Mayor Committee. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

### MASSACHUSETTS

**Labor's Turning Point: The Minneapolis Teamsters' Strike of 1934.** A film on the birth of the CIO, a dramatic presentation of a key chapter in American labor history. Sun., June 5, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Kenmore T stop. Donation: \$3. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

**The Roots of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It.** Young Socialist Alliance Discussion Series. Sat., June 11, 1 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th fl., Kenmore T stop. Aup: YSA. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Dow and Dioxin From Vietnam to Michigan.** Speakers: Larry Fink, director, Foresight Society; Gary Lang, Vietnam veteran and Agent Orange victim; representative of Lone Tree Council, Saginaw environmental group. Sat., June 11, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Union-busting, Layoffs, Forced Overtime: a Discussion Among Auto Workers.** Speakers to be announced. Sun., June 12, 7 p.m. 4715 A Troost. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**Public Health Care Under the Knife: Will it Survive the Cuts?** Speakers: Clifford Wilson, president, United Black Community Fund; representative, Campaign for Human Dignity; Bob Allen, former Socialist Workers candidate for alderman. Sun., June 12, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**What the People of El Salvador are Fighting For: As Seen Through the Lives of Working-class Leaders Commander Ana María and Commander Marcial.** Speakers: Andrea González, member Socialist Workers Party, just returned from women's conference in Nicaragua; Alfredo García, former member of National Teachers Association of El Salvador; others. Sat., June 11, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. Open house to celebrate opening of new bookstore and forum

hall, 6-7:30 p.m. Party to follow forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW MEXICO

#### Albuquerque

**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). Aup: 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. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

### New York

#### Manhattan

**Why War Is a Trade Union Issue.** Speakers: Kirk Bigelow, executive vice-president, Local 3369 American Federation of Government Employees; Steve Beren, member, United Auto Workers Local 369, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 10, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal). Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**U.S. Navy Out of Vieques! No U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean!** March with the New York Committee in Support of Vieques at the Puerto Rican Day Parade on Fifth Ave. Sun., June 12. Vieques is a small Puerto Rican island used by the U.S. Navy for target practice and war maneuvers. The contingent will meet at noon on the southeastern corner of Fifth Ave. and 44th St.

**Honor the Memory of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.** 30th commemorative year of the tragic execution June 19, 1953. Demonstration at U.S. Court House. Fri., June 17, noon to 2 p.m. Foley Sq. Memorial meeting, Fri., June 17, 7:30 p.m. Ethical Culture Society, 2 W 64 St. Aup: National Committee to Reopen the

Rosenberg Case. For more information call (212) 228-4500.

**Film: Case of the Legless Veteran.** Tues., June 21, 8 p.m. 350 E 10th St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Film Program in the Assembly.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**The Frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.** Speaker: Bev Hansen, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 12, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Evening In Support of Nicaraguan Women.** Speakers: Ivón Siú and Zulema Baltodano, Nicaraguan Association of Women. Translation to English. Tues., June 7, 7:30. Friends Center, 15th and Cherry Sts. Donation: \$3. For more information call (215) 848-4407 or 842-9507.

#### Pittsburgh

**In Pursuit of Refuge.** Speakers: representative, Young Socialist Alliance, speaking on Héctor Marroquín case; others to be announced. Sat., June 11, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd fl., East Liberty. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### UTAH

#### Price

**Stop the Deportation of Héctor Marroquín!** Speaker: Joe Geiser, union coal miner, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 11, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

#### Salt Lake City

**Immigrant Workers and Simpson-Mazzoli Bill.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., June 10, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## Rally builds solidarity with UMWA strikers

BY CAROL DUCHIEWICZ AND AL DUNCAN

PITTSBURGH — "The United Mine Workers of America [UMWA] views every single local — every single member — as important," declared Richard Trumka, president of the union, at a May 9 rally in support of UMWA Local 2350.

"This union will stay with you for as long as it takes to get a contract," he continued. The local has been on strike against the Dowty Corp. at its Zelienople plant since its contract expired February 18.

Dowty, an assembler of roof supports and other longwall mining equipment, has tried to break the strike through farming out work to other firms and using the scab labor of supervisors and mining engineers. The UMWA picket line has been harassed by cops and an injunction limiting the number of pickets has been imposed. Company men have attacked and injured peaceful picketers.

The 66-member miners local is fighting back against an international corporation with plants in

Great Britain, South Africa, and elsewhere.

The rally drew about 100 people including Dowty workers and their families, miners from other UMWA locals, and members of other unions. In addition to Trumka, other speakers included Margi Mayernik, cochair of the Fifth National Women Miners Support Team; Donny Redman, UMWA District 5 director; Mikki Miller, UMWA Local 1197 financial secretary; Jim Gaines, Blacksville II Defense Committee; Joe Wingerson, Teamsters Local 609; Sylvia Lazaro, Stop Union Busting Coalition; and John Gardner and Mike Thayer of UMWA Local 2350.

Margi Mayernik declared, "We believe that solidarity begins not in Poland, but at home. Today we are proving to the company that we are strong and we are standing together."

Joe Wingerson's remarks were especially well received. Teamsters Local 609 is the target of a vicious union-busting attack by Browning-Ferris Industries. Wingerson promised the crowd "that no Teamster truck would deliver Dowty goods." He encouraged the Dowty workers "to pull together and keep solidarity among yourselves."

Local 2350 member Mike Thayer described efforts to win support for the strike. "Over the last few months we have spoken to a number of UMWA meetings about what was going on at Dowty and about ways in which they could help us in our fight," he said.

"As a result our local has collected thousands of dollars and has succeeded in getting the word out about our struggle to thousands of miners and other workers in the area. This rally is part of this effort," said Thayer.

A key issue in the struggle is wages. The average hourly wage at Dowty is \$5.58 an hour. As a result, said Local 2350 President Gardner, "a number of Dowty workers had to rely on other sources of income — such as second jobs . . . in order to make ends meet."

"This is one reason why we are on strike today," said Gardner. "We need more money in order to survive."

In her speech Mikki Miller explained that workers "have heard every conceivable sob story from the companies" about their lack of money to pay decent wages and benefits. "But companies don't lose their homes," she said.



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand  
Dowty miners rally to defend strike. United Mine Workers President Trumka (right) attended rally and gave support.

"Companies don't worry about the doctor when they are on unemployment."

One Dowty worker who was asked if the company really had the money to raise wages pointed to the brand-new building the company moved into last year and said, "If they can pay for that

thing, then they can afford to pay us."

A notice in the United Mine Workers *Journal*, the national magazine of the UMWA, reports that donations to aid the Dowty strikers can be sent to UMWA District 5 Relief Fund, RD #1, Box 172, Belle Vernon, Pa. 15012.

## Interview with Palestinian leader at UN

Continued from Page 9

Security Council in April is U.S. ambassador Kirkpatrick. Under her chairmanship we could not go to the Security Council to discuss the poisoning of Palestinian children on the West Bank — an act of genocide.

Kirkpatrick says she agrees with freedom of speech. She says Nicaragua should allow democracy and freedom of speech. But she denies us the right to go to the Security Council to talk about increased Israeli military repression in the occupied territories.

The U.S. government is against freedom of speech for the Palestinian people. It denies leaders of the Palestinian people the right to come to this country and speak. It even denies the right of Palestinian poets, like Mahmoud Darwish, the right to come and read poetry.

The American government is an imperialist government. It has no morality. It committed war crimes in Vietnam, it will continue to commit them in South Africa, in Latin America, in the Middle East. This is the U.S. government.

*Q. Can you comment on the pressure the Reagan administration is putting on Jordan and other Arab governments?*

*A.* Yes, even the *Wall Street Journal* documented recently that the Reagan administration blackmailed Jordan and told Jordan, if you enter the negotiations we will increase military and financial aid to you.

So the U.S. government has used all forms of pressures and threats against the Jordanian government to force it to enter the negotiations and abandon the PLO and abandon the Palestinians.

Secretary of State [George] Shultz went on record recently as saying directly that the Arab states should abandon the PLO —

as if the Arab states are American colonies who take orders from the State Department. The Arab states are not powerful, they are not united, they are not fully backing the PLO militarily and politically, but they are not American colonies and they are not going to take orders from Secretary of State Shultz.

### Fez conference

There is a minimum amount of support for the PLO among the Arab states. We wanted more support. That is why Chairman Arafat said that the Arab decision that came out of Fez was a minimum Arab decision — it should be implemented hand-in-hand with an Arab military, political, and economic strategy. Because when you have a political platform you need to have the power to implement it.

So that is why the PLO is urging the Arab states to unify and to use their military and economic power to implement the Fez proposals.

*Q. Do you see a shift in attitude on the part of the American people in their sym-*

*pathy toward the Palestinians because of the war in Lebanon?*

*A.* At the popular level, at the level of the American people, there was strong support for the PLO and Palestinian and Lebanese people. Actually, polls have indicated that around 65 percent of the American people were against Begin's war and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the misuse of American cluster bombs, etc.

So at the popular level the American people opposed the war and expressed views, although not at the level I would have wanted — at the level of opposition to the Vietnam War, for example. Ultimately American public opinion should influence the system, the government, the decision-making. Yet the U.S. Congress is now allocating more money to Israel, much more than the administration was even asking for.

This is against American public sentiment. This is supposed to be a democracy. How is it that American popular views and feelings are in one direction and the U.S. policy is in another? Therefore this is not a democracy.

It is run by an oligarchy — Reagan and a few people representing the multinational military-industrial complex make decisions that are not in the public interest. These American officials have no moral backbone.

The American people are something else. The American people were against the war in Vietnam; they are against apartheid and the killing of Blacks in South Africa; they are opposed to the near-genocidal war against the peoples of Central America; and they are against the genocidal aspects of this war in the Middle East. They are for genuine peace where people can rule themselves and have control over their own destiny.

This is the gut feeling of the American worker, the working-class people who made this country. The Palestinian struggle is not over territory. It is a struggle for human dignity. And that makes it the struggle of every human being who is against exploitation, oppression, fascism, racism, and persecution.

From Intercontinental Press

## AAM leader on farmers' fight, alliances

Continued from Page 7

article. I'm learning how to carry out terrorist attacks. I'm making seven-pound, crude-type bombs. And you know, by god, I didn't like that. So I'm going to try to do something about it.

### Anti-Semitism charge

*Q: Other aspects of the articles in the Denver Post and other papers claim that the AAM is anti-Semitic and supports right-wing causes. What is your response to these charges?*

In his decision Judge Redden stated, "the length of time each defendant has lived with these unresolved criminal charges — over seven-and-a-half years — is excessive."

The government did all it could to violate the rights of the defendants. It used informers and illegal surveillance against them and repeatedly delayed bringing the case to a resolution. It appears that the government may try to appeal Judge Redden's ruling.

Meanwhile, Dennis Banks continues his fight against extradition to South Dakota, where he faces further frame-up charges.

*A:* That's the stupidest, most outrageous statement that a person could make. I have held, and have documented proof that I've held, over 2,400 meetings in all 50 states in the last five years. I gave speeches at every one of them. I've got thousands of my tapes that were made at these meetings. And I guarantee you, not in one meeting, not in one tape, have I ever spoken one word that was racist or against the Jews, not one word. It looks to me like, if I as an individual, Alvin Jenkins, even had a particle of racism, that surely I would have slipped up one time in five years of giving hundreds of speeches and interviews. No, that is absolute stupidity.

### 'We're all in the same boat'

*Q: What kind of steps are needed by the labor movement and by farmers to solve their problems?*

*A:* We're all in the same boat. We've been pitted against each other now by big money and by brain washing, to be truthful. Labor's my enemy and I'm labor's enemy and all this stuff. We were fighting each other and didn't know who our enemy really was.

You're not going to get out from under the problem until you have control of your destiny. There has to be a terrible shake up

in the United States government and a complete reorganization of who deserves what. Do we owe our lives, do we owe all of our productivity and our children and our grandchildren's lives so that some multinational corporations like Citibank, Morgan Trust, Chase Manhattan, and a few like this can survive and live royally the rest of their lives. Or do we decide no, the millions might deserve a better life and Citibank ought to take it on the chin.

Citibank's not going to take it on the chin as long as they can buy the votes they need and you and I pay the interest bill to keep them afloat. We need a change of policy; that is, the American people need to decide to bind ourselves together, become Americans, and demand a simple parity, we'll call it. Parity means nothing but equal.

When are we going to decide? I don't know, maybe in my lifetime and maybe not. But I'll tell you this, I can't win my battle fighting my friends. Until labor and all of us decide we are friends, then we'll fight each other. And in the end we're both going to lose. Just like we have for several years. And we'll keep on losing. It's when are we going to finally decide to swallow our pride, take the chip off our shoulder and decide I need you and you need me. Then we'll get together and we'll turn it around.

## Charges dismissed against AIM activists

PORTLAND — After more than seven years of government prosecution, all charges have been dropped against four American Indian Movement (AIM) activists. Dennis Banks, his wife KaMook Banks, Russell Redner, and Kenneth Loud Hawk had faced frame-up charges of illegal possession of firearms and explosives, which dated from November 1975 when their van was stopped while traveling in eastern Oregon.

On May 20 in Portland, U.S. District Judge James Redden dismissed all the charges because the defendants' constitutional rights to a speedy trial had been violated.



## 'Color blind' attack on civil rights

The U.S. Supreme Court imposed a limitation on the Reagan administration's racist policies May 24 when it barred tax exemptions for discriminatory private schools.

The next day Reagan replaced half of the six members of the Civil Rights Commission with three white men, all of whom oppose affirmative action and the use of busing to achieve desegregated education.

It was a further refining of the administration's "color blind" approach to civil rights.

The Supreme Court decision stemmed from a suit brought by Bob Jones University, which claims to base its discriminatory policies on passages from the Bible. Originally the Justice Department was going to defend the Internal Revenue Service rules denying tax-exempt status to schools that discriminate. Then in January 1982, Reagan announced he was going to give Bob Jones the tax-exempt status it wanted. When a public uproar followed, Reagan said he had to grant the exemption because no laws prohibited it.

The Supreme Court, in an 8-to-1 vote, ruled otherwise.

The new Civil Rights Commission appointments are in line with the arguments coming these days from William Bradford Reynolds, Reagan's so-called top civil rights enforcer. Reynolds, who is the assistant attorney general for civil rights, says, "to use race to get beyond racism makes no more sense than to prescribe alcohol to get beyond alcoholism."

The facts, of course, are that Black unemployment is

more than double that for whites, and Black family income is only 56 percent of that for whites.

Segregated education for Black students is actually increasing in the Northeast, and nationwide for Latino students.

There's nothing "color blind" about the statistics.

Reagan is moving full speed ahead against the civil rights gains of the past. In doing so, he wants a "unified" administration face. The ousting of the three civil rights commissioners followed the strong-arming of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission into withdrawing its court brief criticizing administration attacks on affirmative action.

Reagan is proposing to replace current affirmative action rules for federal contractors with toothless rules emphasizing voluntary cooperation by employers.

The "color blind" approach means turning a blind eye to racist practices while using government power to stifle protests against racism.

Yet no action has come from Congress to halt Reagan's assault on Black rights.

In fact, nearly every congressional session since 1968 has passed antibusing legislation. And Democrats and Republicans alike have voted for the budget cuts in civil rights enforcement, as well as in social services, that have hit Blacks and Latinos the hardest.

The pace and tone may be distinctively Reagan's, but the attack on civil rights is decidedly bipartisan.

## Big potential for August 27 march

Continued from front page

The march on Washington has the potential to be a large, militant, and powerful expression of opposition to the war at home and abroad being waged against working people by big business and its government.

The slogan of "jobs, peace, and freedom" is a challenge to the big-business attack on these basic needs. This attack is an attempt to force working people to pay for the crisis of the capitalist system.

The rulers have used unemployment and wage and benefit cuts to push down the standard of living of working people and beef up profits.

The rulers are escalating a new Vietnam in Central America, and are carrying out a massive military buildup to back it up. Working people are paying the price in social service cutbacks and the prospect of youth being sent to die to protect the investments of big corporations.

To further divide working people and lower living standards, they are reinforcing racist and sexist discrimination across the board. And to pursue increasingly unpopular policies, the government is tightening restrictions on democratic rights.

It is not surprising that the August 27 protest against these policies should have been initiated by the Black rights movement. Blacks and other oppressed nationalities are the hardest hit by every aspect of the bosses' offensive.

The rulers' moves to strengthen racist discrimination in every area of life means that unemployment, social service cuts, war preparations, and attacks on basic human rights strike the Black community with special savagery.

Black people know that the new Vietnam in Central America will mean disproportionate deaths and maimings of Black youth, as happened in the Indochina war.

These conditions impel Black working people to begin fighting and to pose demands that express the most basic interests of all working people.

The civil rights leaders who initiated the August 27 march have moved to forge a broad alliance to build it. That alliance includes unions, Puerto Rican and Hispanic rights organizations, farmers' associations, women's rights organizations, and committees and coalitions op-

posing the U.S. war in Central America.

Coalitions already exist in many localities to build the August 27 march and many more will be established. In New Jersey, Newark mayor Kenneth Gibson has become one of the co-chairs of the New Jersey Coalition of the August 27 March on Washington. Gibson is one of many Black elected officials who have expressed support for the march.

The union movement has a big role to play in building support for August 27. In addition to the AFL-CIO, endorsements for the action have come from the United Auto Workers; United Steelworkers; International Association of Machinists; United Food and Commercial Workers; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; National Education Association; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; National Health and Hospital Workers 1199; and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Representatives of the United Steelworkers of America have been attending meetings of the national coalition in Washington, D.C., and of the local coalition in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The wide support already won puts union members in a good position to build for the strongest possible participation by organized labor. Union members should publicize the march among their coworkers and urge locals to invite speakers to discuss the August 27 march. Endorsements can be won from many more locals and internationals.

Unions should participate in the local and national coalitions, put out union leaflets for the march, contribute to defray the costs of the action, and provide buses to get their membership and others to Washington.

Local coalitions and committees opposed to the U.S. war in Central America should put August 27 at the top of their priorities. It is a chance to reach out to hundreds of thousands of working people — in the unions, the Black communities, and elsewhere — who agree that Washington should get out of Central America now and let the people there decide their own future.

All out to build the August 27 march for jobs, peace, and freedom!

## African National Congress 1955 Freedom Charter

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The African National Congress (ANC) has announced its intention to step up the struggle for Black freedom against the racist, apartheid regime of South Africa. This move was prompted by the increasing violence, exploitation, and oppression that is the lot of the country's 25 million Black inhabitants at the hands of the white minority ruling class.

The system of institutionalized violence and segregation, known as apartheid, has been the tool used by the capitalist class of South Africa to keep the Black majority impoverished and lacking in even the most basic democratic rights.

The ANC, the foremost national liberation organization in South Africa, helped organize a congress 28 years

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

ago, in June 1955, at which a far-reaching program for the abolition of apartheid and the attainment of majority rule was adopted.

It was called the "Freedom Charter," and was supported by three other groups attending that Congress of the People: the South African Indian Congress; the South African Colored People's Organization; and the Congress of Democrats, a group of whites who supported the struggle of Blacks in South Africa.

The charter began by asserting that, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people."

It insists that "only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of color, race, sex, or belief."

The charter contains several demands that must be fulfilled in order to obtain such a state. For example:

- "All apartheid laws and practices should be set aside."

- "All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils, and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government."

The demands in the section of the charter titled "The land shall be shared among those who work it" reflect the forcible expropriation of farmland from Blacks by the white minority. Thus, the charter declares:

- "Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger."

- "Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to those who work the land."

- "All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose."

With their land stolen out from under them, most Blacks in South Africa are now workers. The charter has a section of demands that address the specific problems of workers, including:

- "All who work shall be free to form unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers."

- "Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work."

- "There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers."

The charter mandates a dramatic upgrading of the quality of life in the fields of education, health care, and housing. For example:

- "Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children."

- "Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches [childcare centers], and social centers."

The ANC dubbed 1980 — the 25th anniversary of the charter's adoption — as "The Year of the Charter" and went on a major campaign to popularize it.

Commenting on the charter in their newspaper *Mayibuye* that year, they said, "The consolidation of our revolutionary goal — power to the people — through the seizure of political power and the implementation of the Freedom Charter, rests ultimately on the economic clauses or pillars of our program: 'The people shall share in the country's wealth!' and 'The land shall be shared among those who work it!' These clauses are the core of our program, defining more than all the other clauses the substance of our vision of a liberated South Africa."

In October 1981, delegates from 109 different organizations unanimously reaffirmed the Freedom Charter's demands at a "nonracial democrats" assembly in Durban, South Africa.

The charter "is a living document which is relevant today," the conference declared. "It is a universal document containing our minimum demands. It provides us with guidelines of a framework within which all struggles today are conducted."



August 28, 1963, march on Washington.



# Farmers' struggle: why labor must take a stand

BY FRED FELDMAN

Farmers are hurting badly. Under the impact of the economic crisis, the average net income for a U.S. farm family from agriculture dropped to less than \$8,000 last year — below the poverty line. Soaring indebtedness and high interest rates have given banks and other creditors a \$200 billion stranglehold on the family farmer. A growing number face foreclosure or eviction. Farmers are starting to mobilize to block foreclosures through penny auctions and other means. The union movement needs to throw its powerful support behind the farmer in this fight. After all, union members are being pushed to the wall also. Layoffs have robbed millions of their livelihood.

## AS I SEE IT

Takebacks and union-busting grind down the living standards of millions more. And the shadow of foreclosure and eviction from their homes hangs over a growing number of workers.

The same capitalist class that is tightening the noose around farmers' necks is increasing its profits at the expense of workers.

So it's natural that workers feel heartened when they see farmers standing up and fighting.

The Central Labor Council of the Cincinnati AFL-CIO gave voice to this sentiment when it devoted the front page of its monthly magazine to hailing the anti-foreclosure activities of Ohio's Family Farm Movement.

An indication of the powerful potential that an alliance of workers and farmers can have is the August 27 March for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom in Washington, D.C. That march has won the official backing of civil rights organizations, the American Agriculture Movement, North American Farm Alliance, and the AFL-CIO.

The idea of a fighting alliance with labor and the civil rights movement has a strong appeal to many hard-pressed working farmers. What better way to isolate and push back the small minority of bankers, landlords, and corporation heads who are exploiting all working people.

There are forces that are determined to head off such an alliance, however. They aim to lead working farmers into a trap.

An example of this is KTTL-FM, a radio station broadcasting out of Dodge City, Kansas.

These broadcasts have sparked protests from Hispanic people living in the area, the National Black Media Coalition, and other groups.

Under the ownership of Charles and Nellie Babbs, KTTL has broadcast tapes of speeches by William Gale and James Wickstrom, figures associated with Posse Comitatus, which is trying to gain a following among farmers.

According to the May 14 *New York Times*, "a James Wickstrom has been identified as national director for counterinsurgency for Posse Comitatus."

Broadcasts on KTTL call for "cleansing the earth" of "Black beasts."

Gale declared in a taped broadcast on the station: "Yes, we're gonna cleanse our land. We're gonna do it with a sword. And we gonna do it with violence."

"You better start making dossiers, names, addresses, phone numbers, car license numbers on every damn Jew rabbi in this land and every anti-Defamation League leader or JDL leader in this land, and you better start doing it now. . . . You get these roadblock locations, where you can set up ambushes and get it all working now."

In an interview on ABC-TV's "Nightline" Nellie Babbs asserted that unemployment and other problems facing working people were caused by "boat people" and other immigrants. She even denounced the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill for allowing any immigrants to stay here at all.

She attempted to defend the anti-Black, anti-Semitic threats made on KTTL by identifying herself with the farmers' fight against foreclosures. She portrayed herself as a supporter of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) and said that Posse Comitatus supporters have spoken at some AAM meetings.

By seeking to associate the AAM with the calls by Posse Comitatus for racist assassinations of Blacks and Jews, she is helping big business and the government, which are trying to slander farmers as violent enemies of working people.

Posse Comitatus blames Jews, Blacks, immigrants, and Latinos for the plight of farmers. The appeal to racism covers up the real beneficiaries of the exploitation of farmers — the big-business magnates who own the banks, food combines, and other big corporations.

It isn't a conspiracy of Jews, Blacks, and "boat people" that has caused the prices for farm products to drop while the prices of products farmers must buy soar.

It's the logic of capitalism that puts the profits of the ruling class ahead of the needs of farmers or any other working people.

It isn't immigrants who deprive farmers of parity, but the government in Washington that protects the interests of the capitalist class.

Nor did immigrant workers create the capitalist business cycle, which has regularly thrown millions out of work whether or not there was massive immigration.

Babbs and the Posse Comitatus let the ruling rich off the hook, while they try to send farmers off into a search for racial scapegoats — mostly among other working people.

Above all, Babbs and the Posse Comitatus want to alienate farmers from the labor movement and the civil rights movement. And they want to prevent the labor and civil rights movements from throwing their support behind the embattled farmers.

Who benefits from putting obstacles in the way of such an alliance? Who benefits from the racist propaganda of Posse Comitatus? Obviously, the very class of bankers, industrialists, and landlords who are ripping off the farmer.

The activities of Posse Comitatus help show how important it is for the unions to put their weight behind the farmers' struggles. This is the way to stymie the efforts of Posse Comitatus and other antilabor vigilantes to recruit desperate farmers into union-busting goon squads.

What's going on in Kansas is something that is beginning to happen all over the country. As the problems society faces grow more severe, people are polarizing. As this develops, millions are forced to choose between looking to the working class as a force for necessary change, or backing the ruling capitalist class and the brutal measures they will carry out to try to preserve their exploiting system.

If the labor movement doesn't lead the struggle for a way out, antilabor vigilante groups like Posse Comitatus gain an advantage.

With the massive power of labor and the Black community behind them, working farmers can carry out an effective fight for a moratorium on foreclosures. Through an alliance with the farmers, labor and the Black community can forge a powerful weapon against union busting and racist attacks.

Together the labor movement and the farmers can create a fighting alliance that can replace the government of the rich with a workers and farmers government.

## LETTERS

### Chicago and NBIPP

Coverage of the Chicago mayoral race in the *Militant* was just superb, providing needed analysis.

But the printing of the statement by the National Black Independent Political Party on the Washington victory, without an accompanying rebuttal, was disturbing. That statement compounds the misconceptions about the Democratic Party which working people, black and white alike, are just beginning to shake off.

Misplaced trust abounds in the statement, in such lines as: "The NBIPP 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 effort to achieve . . . the most just and equitable allocation of goods and services possible under the existing economic-political arrangements in America."

Because the NBIPP is so important to the future of the working class movement, the *Militant* is correct to take note of its statements. But only very misguided leaders such as Ron Daniels and Elsa Brown of the NBIPP can place such enormous faith in the capitalist Democratic Party. It's up to the revolutionary press not just to report what the socialists are doing, but to show how very deluded is any reliance on bourgeois parties.

Albert Cassorla  
Philadelphia, Pa.

[In reply — The *Militant* considers the discussion around the meaning of the Chicago mayoral elections a very important one for the Black liberation struggle and the fight for independent working-class political action.

[We have presented our point of view on the lessons to be drawn and have reported extensively on the mayoral and congressional campaigns of Ed Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate who has been actively participating in this discussion. Warren is also an NBIPP member.

[The NBIPP nationally has also joined this discussion and we feel the various views of its leaders are an important part of this ongoing exchange of views.

— Editors]

### 'Barricada'

Just a suggestion — you ought to run a review of *Barricada's* English language weekly edition. I subscribed six months ago after seeing the note in your paper and think if others knew more about it, they would subscribe also.

Steve Millen  
Bloomington, Indiana

[In reply — *Barricada Internacional*, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is available in Spanish and English. The price is \$12 for 6 months. Send check or money order to: Barricada Internacional, Apdo. No. 576, Managua, Nicaragua.]

### Itching for war

We can only hope the antiwar

movement during Vietnam created enough sentiment in the American people to prevent another full-scale involvement as in Vietnam. Goodness knows the U.S. government has been itching for another war for years now. Maybe with the work we did in the '60s and '70s they might just have to go on itching for a while.

Angela Remedi  
Santa Monica, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

# New York nuclear plants: unsafe, unhealthy, expensive

Continued from Page 16

rounding the Indian Point reactor in New York's Westchester County.

Indian Point is 35 miles upriver from Manhattan. At least 288,000 people would have to be cleared out if something went wrong with it. The plant's track record suggests the chances of this are not remote.

Indian Point Unit 1 has already been retired for safety reasons. When the NRC in January announced new safety standards (its own advisory committee called them "a sham"), it also announced Indian Point Unit 2 didn't meet them.

Last year, two years past an NRC "deadline," the plant's operators, Con Edison and the New York Power Authority, and the state put together an evacuation plan.

On March 9 of this year, an emergency drill was staged to see how the plan worked.

Officials in neighboring Rockland County boycotted the drill. This, at the urging of volunteer firemen and emergency

workers. "They said this plan is garbage," county legislature Chairman Herbert Reisman later said. Over in Westchester, bus drivers made it clear they wouldn't cooperate either.

This fiasco left the NRC little choice. On May 5, it gave all concerned one month to come up with a plan or risk closure of Indian Point.

The timebomb character of these nuclear plants is shown by events this year at New Jersey's Salem power plant, 20 miles south of Wilmington, Delaware.

When the water in a reactor's steam generator drops below a certain level, it results in a loss of cooling capacity. This can lead to what the NRC's Dr. Roger Mattson termed "an extreme event" — in other words, a meltdown — if the plant is not shut down right away. The Westinghouse Company makes a circuit breaker that is supposed to do this automatically.

Westinghouse's circuit breaker is currently in use in 48 plants (Indian Point is

one of them). According to the NRC, the chances of it not working are one in 16,000 years. At Salem, a pair of them failed twice in four days. Both times, on February 22 and 25, the plant was closed down manually by an alert operator.

Salem had been down since last October. Both failures occurred during restart, when the plant was operating at only 12 percent power. Said a former NRC inspector, "They are very fortunate that they were at a low power level." Had the reactor been at full power, the operator "might as well have saved his effort."

Outrage over the incident was widespread. A top NRC official called it "the most significant accident precursor since Three Mile Island." Salem, it was learned, had already been cited three times by the NRC.

The commission threatened to dismiss the plant's management and strip its license. It settled for an \$850,000 fine

against the plant's owners, Public Service Electric and Gas (PSE&G), and agreement to restart the plant after some cosmetic changes.

Since the February accident, Salem has spilled radioactive water into the Delaware River three times, and 67 workers at the plant have been exposed to radioactive dust. PSE&G, meanwhile, has told ratepayers they may have to cough up for replacement power while Salem is down.

One month after the near-disaster at Salem, the *New York Times* wrote, "The public will not respond in measured fashion to another core damage event: it may simply reach for the ax."

And that is in part what has been happening around New York. Of the 16 nukes once planned for the state, 8 have so far been guillotined. Six others, however, are still on line, ticking away.



## 10,000 march for desegregation, school busing in Norfolk, Virginia

BY CRAIG McKEISSIC

NORFOLK, Virginia — The fight to defend desegregation and busing took an important step forward here with one of the largest civil rights actions in this city's history.

Upwards of 10,000 people, mostly Black workers and students, responded May 13 to the call by Black church leaders to demonstrate against the Norfolk school board's plans to dump busing for the city's elementary school system.

Both the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Education Association participated with large contingents and banners.

Activists from United Steelworkers Local 8888, which organizes the giant Tenneco shipyard, took part, as did members of the International Association of Machinists and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Many served as marshals, wearing their union hats.

The demonstrators chanted and sang as they walked the route to Norfolk City Hall, led by the Rev. Jesse Jackson and local church leaders.

The march was the culmination of a year-long struggle led by the Coalition for Quality Education against attempts to reverse the educational gains won by Blacks and against the return to a "neighborhood schools" program.

The march came despite a cynical attempt by the school board to obstruct any opposition. Following its announcement of plans to end the busing program, the board launched a class-action suit against four Black parents, along with their children, because of the parents' vocal opposition to the move.

Faced with an outpouring of protest against the lawsuit, the board finally decided on April 19 to drop it. By doing so, it also hoped to put pressure on the coalition to call off the scheduled march.

The Rev. Bishop L.E. Willis, one of the central organizers, rejected this. "It was only common sense to drop the suit," he said. "The march will be held despite the board's decision."

The board has tried to project the image of defenders of racial integration. They have pointed parents' attention to their much-touted voluntary "majority-minority" transfer plan. Many parents, both Black and white, have pointed out that this is no substitute for busing.

The board's real aim is reflected in its repeated use of rhetoric about "white flight." They have pointed with alarm to Richmond, which has a Black majority on the city council, as an "example" of what may happen to Norfolk if busing continues and white families are not "encouraged" to

return to the city.

The demonstration here sent a clear message to the board and the city government that the majority of working people and students refuse to allow the clock to be turned back 20 years.

Students from various schools in the city took a day off to learn a different lesson by participating in this march. Students from St. Mary's Academy, a Catholic school, expressed their support to busing, marching in their uniforms.

The march route contained vivid reminders of exclusion by segregation for the Black community. Such was the case when participants marched through Ghent Square, a new housing development that displaced Black residents of East Ghent several years ago. Prices for townhouses in this neighborhood, where the school board president lives, begin at \$115,000.

City Hall was the rally site, and Rev. Jesse Jackson was the main speaker. Jackson focused his talk on organizing a voter registration drive throughout the country.

Jackson received the loudest applause for his statement that the "Black community demands new leadership. We're tired of taxation without representation, and tired of dying abroad and not being allowed to live in peace at home."

Scores of people found their way to the literature table staffed by activists and members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.



Militant/Chris Davis

Part of demonstration May 13, one of biggest civil rights marches in Norfolk's history.

## San Jose AFL protests immigration raids

BY JACKIE STYLES

SAN JOSE — The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) stirred up labor and community protest here with a series of factory raids rounding up suspected undocumented workers. The INS opened a special office here to conduct the raids.

Angered by a raid at Levi Strauss, a unionized garment shop, the Central Labor Council and several community groups held a noon protest rally May 19 at the downtown post office.

Peter Cervantes Gautschi, a business agent for the Central Labor Council, pointed out to reporters that the workers arrested at Levi Strauss were members of the United Garment Workers union, an affiliate of the council. He charged that only unionized plants in the area had been raided by the INS during the past year.

The same afternoon as the rally, the INS raided Ozuna Mexican Food Products, a tortilla factory in nearby Santa Clara.

There the INS pulled a new stunt, appar-

ently intended to avoid a repetition of what happened at Levi Strauss.

At Levi Strauss, 31 of 38 arrested workers returned to their jobs after being released on bond or their own recognizance while they appealed deportation orders. The workers were reinstated following negotiations between the company and the union.

At the tortilla factory, where the INS grabbed 14 workers, they arranged beforehand for the Catholic Social Services refugee center to send a group of Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, and Ethiopian immigrants to the plant where the company reluctantly hired 10 of them.

The plant manager told the local paper, "The INS said there were a lot of refugees out there that needed work and asked us to give them a try. They put it nicely, but bluntly."

But that didn't work out too well for the INS either.

Within a few days, the Catholic agency

pulled out the 10 people because of the job conditions at the factory.

The INS assistant director in San Francisco, Robert Moschorak, responded by threatening to have federal funding to the Catholic agency cut off.

Apparently bolstered by public sentiment against the INS, the center's executive director, James Purcell, declared, "Personally, if the choice has to come down to accepting federal money and putting refugees in jobs created by INS raids, I would have to recommend to our board not to take the money."

Moschorak, the INS cop, had openly declared that the raids are "part of an effort condoned by our central office in Washington. We are to concentrate on going after illegal aliens in high-paying jobs."

The INS claimed the Levi Strauss workers were making \$6 to \$10 an hour. The workers there, mainly on piece work, make a good deal less.

And tortilla factories are notorious for their low wages.

The Levi Strauss raid, and the Ozuna raid with its blatant attempt to pit Asian and African immigrants against Latinos, has produced a great deal of anger among people of all nationalities.

At a Latino Workers Conference held at San Jose City College May 21, the raids were a major topic of discussion.

The majority opinion was that the INS is trying to scapegoat the Latino community for high unemployment, silence opposition to U.S. involvement in Central America, and create support for the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill, which has already been approved by the Senate.

In a workshop that took up the immigration issue, Umberto Camacho, an international representative of the United Electrical Workers, said the scapegoating of undocumented workers was intended to make other workers believe this will get them jobs.

But what the government will more likely do, he said, "is send them to intervene in Latin American countries."

## N.Y. nukes: unsafe, unhealthy, expensive

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

NEW YORK — For the people who run nuclear power plants, this has not been a year for popping champagne bottles in the boardroom.

Across the country, their plants face delay or shutdown due to cost overruns, local opposition, and mounting evidence that the things just aren't safe.

Yet, the nuclear profiteers continue to press their product on an unwilling public.

In few places is this more apparent than in the New York metropolitan area.

General Electric's Shoreham reactor sits on the north shore of Suffolk County, Long Island, 55 miles from Manhattan. It was scheduled to come on line 10 years ago. It still hasn't. Meanwhile, costs have shot up to \$3.1 billion — 10 times the original budget — making Shoreham the most expensive nuke ever built.

This is expected to hand Long Islanders the highest utility bills in the nation. The plant's owner, the Long Island Lighting Company (LILCO), is already charging them for the unfinished project. When Shoreham opens for business (November is the latest guess), LILCO says rates will jump another 38 percent.

But the biggest problem is the matter of safety. In February, a Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) engineer who had earlier pronounced the plant sound, changed his mind and said it might not be after all. He cited "a substantive defect in [LILCO's] true understanding of what is really at a minimum necessary to protect public health and safety."

Evacuating the area in the event of a disaster has thus become a focal point of the Shoreham controversy.

The northern exit from Shoreham is a

20-mile swim to Connecticut. To the south, the main escape route is the Long Island Expressway, which during normal rush-hour traffic resembles a parking lot.

LILCO previously turned in an evacuation plan that it said handled these problems. Area residents, 68 percent of whom oppose opening Shoreham no matter what, were unconvinced. Under pressure from them, Gov. Mario Cuomo ordered the state to reject LILCO's plan. Hours later, the Suffolk County Legislature voted 15-to-1 not to submit a plan of its own.

Without some plan, it is questionable whether Shoreham can open. Cuomo has offered to "cooperate in any way possible" with efforts to find one.

An evacuation plan — rather, the lack of one — is also at the center of the storm sur-

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