

U.S. line for Salvador: war, yes; dialogue, no

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

NEW YORK — Rubén Zamora, a top spokesperson for the Salvadoran liberation forces, charged at a June 27 news briefing here that the Reagan administration has opted for an escalated war, not negotiations, in El Salvador.

"The basic policy of the administration is to go for a military victory," Zamora said, even though the Salvadoran government it backs is losing the war.

This is increasing the danger of direct U.S. intervention and a full-scale regional war. "If the Salvadoran army is on the verge of collapse, and the Reagan administration is still on this course, they are going to send in the boys."

"We want to avoid that," he said, which is why the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) are continuing their political campaign to demand that Washington agree to negotiate with the rebel forces.

Zamora is a member of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR.

He came to the United States in mid-June to present directly to U.S. government officials, political figures, and the media the latest FMLN-FDR proposals for a dialogue. The proposals were made public in Mexico City June 9.

"We are ready to start talks at any time," Zamora said, "but we haven't received any answer."

The latest FMLN-FDR proposal reiterates their offer to initiate "a direct dialogue, without preconditions among the parties to the conflict, in which all the problems our society confronts can be discussed comprehensively; and where all sectors interested in the search for peace and justice can contribute."

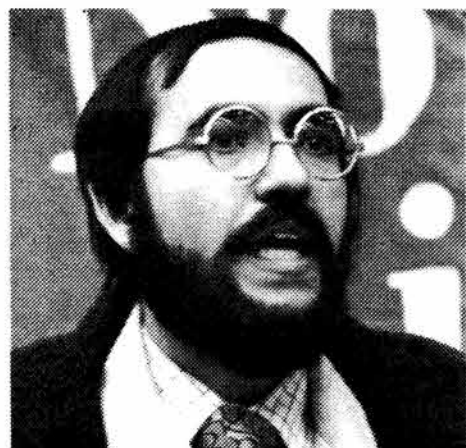
The FMLN-FDR explains that "Today, given the undeniable political and military advances of the democratic and revolutionary forces of the Salvadoran people, and the increasing international pressure favoring a political solution, our enemies attempt to cover themselves with the mantle of dialogue."

"Nevertheless, conciliatory words cannot hide the tragic reality of a Salvadoran Government whose only survival depends on continued state terrorism and the support of the Reagan administration."

The Salvadoran groups explain that "the increasingly militaristic and interventionist role of President Reagan's administration demonstrates that in El Salvador there will be no peace, no justice and no independence as long as this policy continues."

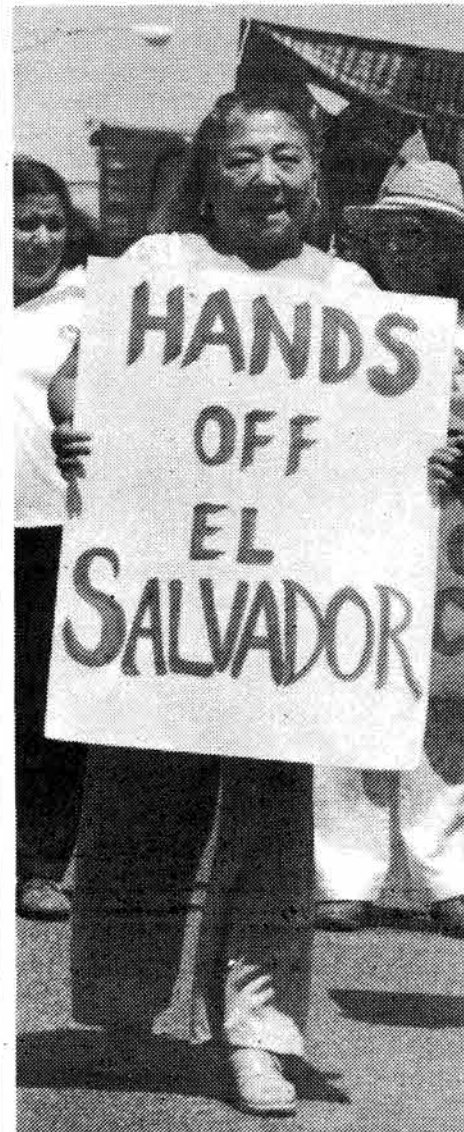
In response to Reagan's appointment of Richard Stone as special ambassador to

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Rubén Zamora of the FMLN-FDR

Labor's stake in fight against U.S. war drive



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Reagan pushes toward sending U.S. troops to Central America

"Never say never. You know they blew up the *Maine*."

At a news conference June 28, Reagan gave that response to a question about whether the U.S. would send troops to Central America. In the past, Reagan had ruled out using U.S. combat forces. His shift was the latest step in an orchestrated public relations effort to prepare massive intervention in Central America.

The reference to the U.S.S. *Maine* was revealing. The explosion of this battleship in Havana harbor in 1898 was used by the U.S. government as a pretext for war — in

guaranteeing the gains of the Salvadoran freedom fighters.

The workers and farmers of El Salvador and Nicaragua are fighting for the right to determine their own future — free from the domination of American corporations.

Workers want the right to a job, to decent pay, to belong to a union. Farmers want the right to work the land without being subject to extortion by landlords and loan sharks. The people want health care, education, housing, and economic progress.

To get these things, they want a government that will defend the interests of the workers and farmers, instead of those of the oligarchies kept in power by Washington.

In Nicaragua, the people have succeeded in breaking the political power of the oligarchy and have established a workers and farmers government.

In El Salvador, they are fighting to achieve this.

Washington has responded in El Salvador by propping up a government that has killed more than 35,000 people in the last four years.

In Nicaragua, Washington backed the Somoza dictatorship down to its last days, as it killed more than 50,000 people in a desperate effort to keep power. And today, the U.S. government is financing and arming the Somocistas who are killing Nicaragua.

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EDITORIAL

which the American imperialists seized Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Today the U.S. rulers are looking for a similar pretext in Central America.

Jean Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, justifies escalating the war on the grounds that Central America is the United States' "fourth border."

The U.S. imperialists think that El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and every other country in Latin America is their property to dominate, exploit, and oppress.

This exploitation and domination is threatened by the advance of the Nicaragua

UMWA says bosses' thirst for profit killed 7 coal miners in Va. explosion

BY MARGARET JAYKO

DAWSON, Pa. — At 10:15 p.m. on June 21, seven coal miners were killed and three injured in an explosion that sent a curtain of fire roaring 2,000 feet down the McClure No. 1 mine in Dickenson County, Virginia.

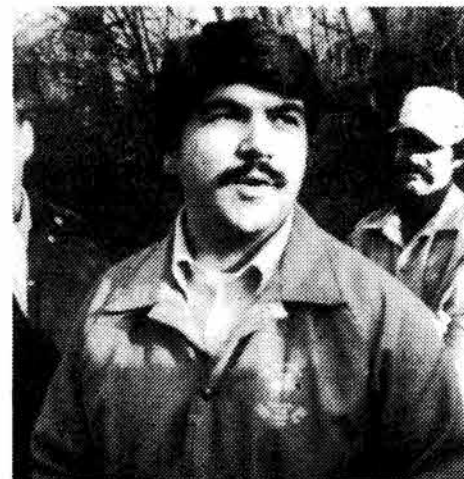
It was considered Virginia's worst mining accident in 25 years.

This tragedy, like many mining disasters, could have been prevented. But Clinchfield Coal Co., which owns McClure, subordinated miners' safety to company profit.

Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), immediately visited the site of the explosion. The UMWA is conducting its own investigation into the causes of the explosion, independently of the ones being carried out by the company and the government.

Trumka told the 5th National Conference of Women Miners, which took place in Dawson, Pennsylvania, three days later, that these workers were injured and killed "because short cuts were taken. . . . Because corporate America decided that profit and speed were more important than safety. More important than the lives of seven people who are no longer with us."

On Tuesday, June 21, about two hours before quitting time, mine section foreman F.C. Riner and miner Luther McCoy, left the end of the tunnel where the coal is mined, known as the face. They climbed into the electrically powered jeep, which runs on rails and transports miners between the elevator shaft and the face.



UMWA President Richard Trumka



Mary Counts, 1 of 7 miners killed

When they were about 1,200 feet from the face, the section they were working on exploded. A wall of fire roared down all three tunnels in that section. Riner and McCoy were killed in the jeep. At the face, five other miners were killed in a blast of 1,200-1,400-degree heat. Three other miners were burned, but are alive. Seventy-four others were able to escape uninjured.

The seven people killed included five miners: J. Covey French, Luther McCoy, Dale Stamper, Eugene Meade, and Mary Counts. Two foremen also died: F.C. Riner and Ernest Hall.

Of the three injured, two — Emmery Howard and Harold Boyd — were listed in stable condition in the hospital. Miles Sutherland was in serious condition, with

burns over 41 percent of his body.

Much of the media attention about the accident has focused on the death of Mary Counts, the fifth woman coal miner to be killed on the job since women first re-entered the mines in November 1973. She was one of 216 women who have worked in the mines in Virginia in the last 10 years, and is thought to be the first woman killed in a Virginia mine.

The women miners conference began with a moment of silence for the sister and brothers who were incinerated in Virginia.

The conference was sponsored by the Coal Employment Project (CEP) an organization that helps women get and keep jobs in the coal mines. Several conference

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY LEE MARTINDALE

As Héctor Marroquín tours the country seeking support for his right to political asylum in the United States, he has been greeted with warm solidarity by fellow workers at plant gates.

Marroquín is a Mexican-born socialist fighting deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The INS wants to deport him because of his opposition to the U.S. war in Central America, his conviction that working people here need to replace the current government with a government of workers and farmers, and his activities as a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

His case is now before the Supreme Court. The decision on his case will affect the legal status of hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans and others fleeing repressive dictatorships supported by Washington in Central America.

In San Antonio, Texas, members of the Socialist Workers Party organized well in advance of Marroquín's visit to their city to let working people know about his case and build support for his right to stay in this country.

Elsa Blum, organizer of the San Antonio SWP, reports that they mapped out a three-week effort to take the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and brochures explaining Marroquín's fight to plant gates. In addition to plants where regular weekly sales have been established, they went to others — large garment and electrical plants, and the Kelley Air Force Base complex with its huge civilian work force organized by the American Federation of Government Employees. Stepped-up sales on Saturdays in working-class communities were also projected.

The campaign was a big success. 2,000 copies of the Marroquín brochure were handed out at plant gates by about 30 teams in the three-week period. Participation by SWP members in plant-gate sales was boosted to 75 percent, the highest yet in San Antonio.

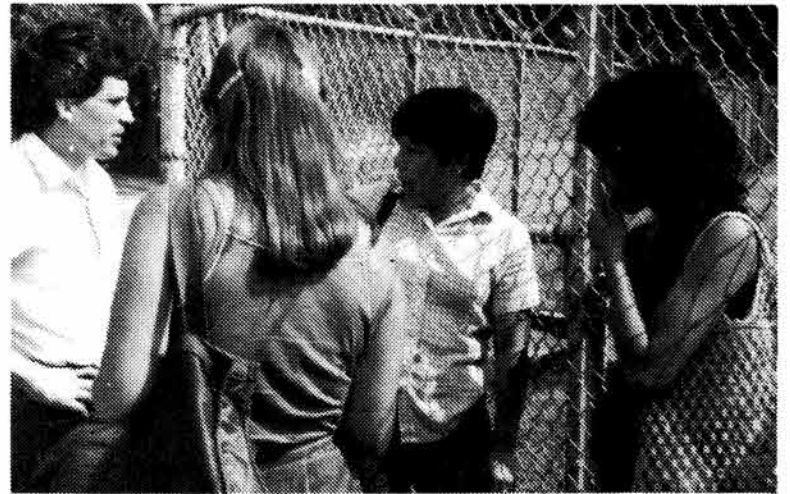
At plants where the *Militant* and *PM* hadn't been sold regularly before, team members report that interest in and support for Marroquín's fight led to discussion of other political issues:

"At the Pearl Brewery we talked to a Black Vietnam vet who's a

member of the Teamsters union. He was very interested in Marroquín's case. He wanted to know why we were there at the plant gate, why we were talking to workers like himself about this case. He liked our explanation that this is the kind of political issue we think workers need to get involved in and get their unions mobilized to fight around."

Blum reports that teams selling the *Militant* and *PM* at grocery stores on Saturdays often met workers who already knew about Marroquín's fight from brochures they had received at their plant gate.

This aggressive effort to get out the word about the case was also successful in getting more workers involved in the campaign to win support for Marroquín. Fifty signatures were gathered on petitions supporting Marroquín's right to political asylum at one shop organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). Marroquín visited the plant gate during his tour of San Antonio to meet and talk with these new supporters. Two women who had signed the petition decided, after talking with Marroquín, to go with him to



Héctor Marroquín (left) discusses his case for asylum with workers at Levi's Youthwear plant in San Antonio.

another garment plant where one of them used to work. They introduced him to friends there and helped pass out brochures.

Marroquín also visited two other plants while in San Antonio. Sixty-five workers signed petitions supporting his right to political asylum during these plant gate visits, in addition to other signatures Marroquín supporters gathered from coworkers on their jobs. At one plant, a woman

whose husband plays in a local band offered the group's services if there was any way they could help out.

After meeting Marroquín and participating in the campaign to defend him from deportation, one ACTWU member decided she'd have to follow the *Militant's* coverage of the case more closely, and Blum reports that the socialists expect other workers to become regular readers, too.

UMWA: bosses' thirst for profit killed 7 miners

Continued from front page

participants, who were friends of Mary Counts, visited her family on the way to the conference.

CEP leader Joyce Dukes told the 250 people in attendance — about 150 of whom were coal miners — a little bit about Mary Counts, who was known to everybody as "Cat."

Dukes recalled that when she first met Counts, she was making minimum wage in

Next week's "Militant" will carry a full report of the Fifth National Conference of Women Miners.

a CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) job.

She had five children, and was 51 years old when she died.

When Counts began working in the mines six years ago, she was one of the first women coal miners in western Virginia. She started out, like many women miners, shoveling coal onto the conveyor belt that transports coal out of the mine. She had recently completed training to operate a shuttle car, which carries freshly mined coal to the conveyor.

Dukes pointed out that while Counts had never actually attended any of the national women miners conferences, she was always eager to find out who attended and what was discussed.

Counts was "killed in an accident that

could have been prevented," declared Dukes.

All the evidence confirms that statement.

McClure No. 1 is the largest mine in Virginia, employing about 300 workers. It's owned by the largest coal company in Virginia: Clinchfield, which, in turn, is a subsidiary of Pittston Co., one of the largest coal producers in the country.

"We consider McClure No. 1 one of the most modern and best coal mines in the country," boasted Gene Matthis, president of Clinchfield. The company had "spared no expense" in safety, and the ventilation system "was the best that money could buy."

Miners and their families in the area tell it a little differently. Among them, McClure No. 1 has a bad reputation. It's known as a "hot mine" — every day it releases three million cubic feet of methane into the atmosphere. Methane is a flammable gas found in coal mines.

"This mine liberates a lot of methane. It's a mine that has dry coal, and there's a lot of dust with the coal," said John Kennedy, president of UMWA District 28, which covers Virginia. Coal dust is highly explosive.

But given the nearly 30 percent unemployment rate in the Cumberland Plateau area, and the nearly 50 percent jobless rate among UMWA miners, Clinchfield was able to get people to work in this potential inferno.

Joe Main, administrator of the UMWA's health and safety department, put it this way: "We've had a fatality here every year since 1981 and now we've had this disaster. If anyone tries to make me believe that this is common, that this is the status quo, that it ought to be accepted, I don't buy that for a second. . . . This mine has some serious problems."

The mine opened four years ago. In that time, Kennedy said, there had been 11 fatalities. In the past three years, there had been 65 non-fatal injuries.

This year, McClure No. 1's accident rate was *three times* the national average, and its fatality rate was *nine times* above the national norm.

In the past nine months alone, McClure No. 1 had received 163 citations for violating health and safety regulations, including more than 30 for improper or faulty ventilation of methane.

The government, in the person of MSHA, has been complicit in allowing Clinchfield to threaten miners' lives.

Ray Ross, the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) director in Virginia, admitted that methane at McClure No. 1 was a "recurring problem." But he denied it was cause for alarm, saying "All mines are a problem to more or lesser degrees."

The UMWA has been sounding the alarm on the dangers from the stepped-up

company-government collusion in forcing miners to work in increasingly unsafe sites.

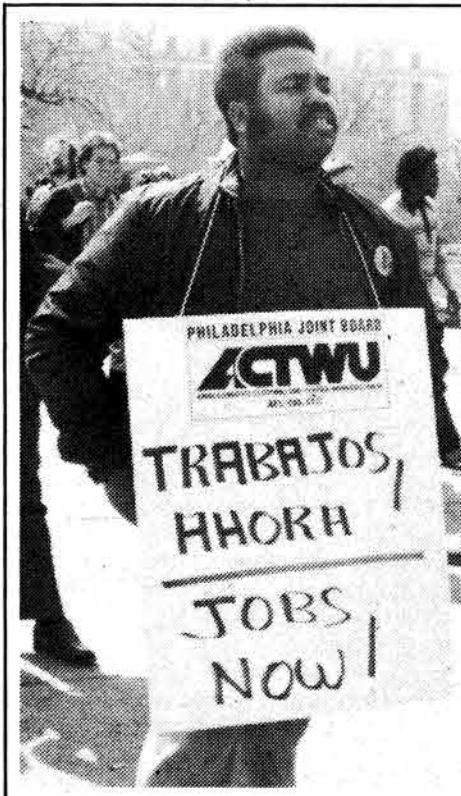
MSHA has dramatically cut the number of safety violations that are deemed to be "significant and substantial" — that is, violations that employers can be fined more than \$20 for. Penalty assessments for safety violations overall have decreased by one-third, and there are proposals to gut the existing rules. The number of safety inspectors has also been reduced.

The combination of the bipartisan cuts in MSHA funding, lax enforcement of safety laws, and the drive by the coal operators to prevent the UMWA from enforcing safe conditions in the mines means more injuries and more deaths.

It's in this context that Trumka told the women miners conference, "Ideally, mine disasters like that should never, never occur. But as all of you know, perhaps better than anyone else, we don't live in an ideal world."

"The fact of the matter is female and male miners alike need protection from employers who put profit before people, work rules and efficiency before humane treatment, production before health and safety, and convenience before equality."

"As a representative of the men and women who mine coal, I say to you today, that each of us must unite. We must unite on every front if we are to assure economic and social justice to all our people and to insure health and safety in the coal mines."



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Unionists return from Salvador: 'No U.S. aid'



Jack Sheinkman (left), secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and Dave Dyson, executive director, National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, talking with Salvadoran refugees on their trip to that country.

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

A broadly representative delegation of trade union officials has recently returned from a trip to El Salvador. The group, organized by the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, conducted an intensive study of the situation in the country and returned more firmly convinced of the need to oppose the U.S.-backed war there.

A statement released by the delegation reports:

"We have talked to trade unionists imprisoned in Mariona prison, some of them for two years, some of them arrested only in the past two or three weeks.

"We have met with leaders of the democratic unions who are attempting to build a free labor movement in El Salvador.

"We have met with U.S. Embassy officials and with AID [Agency for International Development] personnel overseeing our country's programs in El Salvador.

"We have talked with the El Salvador Government's Human Rights Commission, and with the Catholic Church's human rights organization.

"We have talked with refugees from war-torn areas and observed their living conditions and their hopes for peace.

"We have talked with officials of the El Salvador military organizations, the El Salvador police commands, and the commercial business and employer community of El Salvador.

"We have talked to the Mothers of the Disappeared whose sons and daughters were taken without explanation, often never to be seen again."

The delegation's conclusion is that "nothing we have seen or heard suggests that there has been any change in El Salvador that would call for different policies from those adopted when the Labor Committee was founded two years ago."

These policies include opposition to U.S. military aid and intervention; support for free trade unions; support for other basic human rights; and encouragement of a negotiated settlement in El Salvador.

Furthermore, the unionists state that they believe "it is even more urgent for all Americans to become aware of what is happening in El Salvador, and to understand fully the role of the U.S. government. . . . Because scores of innocent Salvadorans are dying each week, we believe that immediate action is called for to bring these facts to the American people."

The delegation plans to issue a more comprehensive report to the National Labor Committee, which includes among its members top officials of 12 international unions, representing millions of workers. At that time the delegation has promised to "recommend a course of action designed to alert the American people to the tragedy unfolding in El Salvador."

The trade union members of the delegation included: William Lucy, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Jack Sheinkman, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); Ted Barret, Director, Region 9, United Auto Workers (UAW); John De Mars, special assistant to the executive director, National Education Association (NEA); Sam Pizigati, director of communications, NEA; Jack Howard, assistant to the president, AFSCME; and Dave Dyson, executive director, National Labor Committee.

The National Labor Committee can be contacted at 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 242-0700.

Detroit march calls for end to U.S. war

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

DETROIT — On June 18 while Salvadoran President Alvaro Magaña was in Washington, D.C., meeting with President Reagan and congresspeople to secure more support for his blood-stained regime, Salvadoran trade unionist Alejandro Molina Lara was in Detroit marching with 500 other opponents of U.S. foreign policy in Central America.

The marchers, who demanded an end to U.S. intervention in the region and called for money for jobs, not war, came from Ann Arbor, Flint, Lansing and Toledo, Ohio, as well as Detroit. Joining Molina Lara in a spirited contingent that led off the march were Horace Sheffield, president, Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Detroit City Councilwoman, Maryann Mahaffey; and Shuping Coapoge of the African National Congress.

At the rally following the march, Mahaffey read aloud the city council resolution endorsing the demonstration.

Sheffield told the rally, "Reagan is also at war against civil rights in this country." He called attention to the August 27 national march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. "We will mobilize in Detroit for Black rights, for the women's movement, and for the peace movement," Sheffield declared. He reported that the United Auto Workers (UAW) would be sending buses to the August 27 action.

Winston Lang, Detroit director of the NAACP also urged participation in August 27. He told the crowd, "We welcome Alejandro Molina Lara on behalf of the Detroit branch. We're glad to be here today to

find out firsthand about the war in Central America."

Carole King, Great Lakes regional director of the National Organization for Women also addressed the rally. "As a feminist I know that women suffer the most," under right-wing regimes. "In Central America women fight side by side with men in the movement," she pointed out. "We have to support these women and everyone. The struggle for justice is women's struggle. The women's movement is part of the peace movement and the peace movement must be part of the women's movement," said King.

The highlight of the rally was the speech given by Molina Lara, the organization secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS). He was introduced by Frank Hammer, vice-president of UAW Local 909. Hammer pointed to the tens of thousands of Salvadorans who have been murdered by the U.S.-backed regime and to the plight of Salvadoran refugees in the United States who are being deported back to El Salvador where many face imprisonment or death.

"The same U.S. monopolies that oppress American workers are oppressing us in Central America," said Molina Lara.

"The FDR-FMLN [Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front] is setting an example for the rest of the world," he explained. "We're ready to fight to the end and that is what the government here wants to suppress — that the revolutionary people of El Salvador set a clear example for the rest of Latin America, Africa, and the world, to

inspire peoples everywhere to continue to fight."

Referring to Magaña's visit, Molina Lara explained that he was only here to accept the dictates of the Pentagon.

The Salvadoran revolutionaries are prepared to negotiate, said Molina Lara, but if the reactionary forces continue to refuse "we will face the challenge. We will write a new page of history, even if we have to do it with our own blood. All the people who are struggling throughout the world are with us," he concluded. "We hope the Salvadoran and American people can insure that this year will see peace in Central America."

Also speaking at the rally, which was chaired by Russ Bellant and Sharon Rose of the June 18 coalition that organized the action, were Anan Jabara, president of the Palestine Aid Society; Donald Tellesford of the Michigan Grenada Association and Grenada Solidarity Committee; Shuping Coapoge of the ANC; Ann Arbor City Councilperson Lowell Peterson; South African author Phyllis Jordan; and Bill Roundtree of the All People's Congress. Folksinger Charlie King performed.

The rally received a message of support from the FDR. A moment of silence was observed for those dying in Nicaragua, as they fight to repel U.S.-backed invaders on two fronts.

In the week prior to the demonstration, local Nazis and Ku Klux Klanners threatened a countermarch at the site of the antiwar rally. On the day itself, 10 Nazis showed up in nearby Dearborn, Michigan. No countermarch occurred in Detroit.

Meatpackers end strike against Wilson

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The United Food and Commercial Workers' Union (UFCW) strike against the Wilson Foods Corp. has ended. Some 5,200 workers voted on June 26 to accept a new contract by a margin of about 55 percent to 45 percent.

A spokesman for the UFCW said the union was not at liberty to divulge the terms of the new contract. This, he said, was due to the fact that it is still subject to the approval of a bankruptcy court judge. The UFCW spokesman, Walt Davis, did say that the tentative pact will "modify the economic terms of the master agreement" in pork processing.

The strike, which began June 4, was forced on the UFCW by an unprecedented union-busting maneuver by the giant pork processor. In April, Wilson filed for bankruptcy. While the company admitted that it was not going out of business, it used the bankruptcy ploy to repudiate the union contract and slash wages from an average of \$10.69 an hour, down to an average of \$6.50 an hour. The new agreement sets wages somewhere in between these two figures.

Next week — speech by Grenada's Maurice Bishop

Next week the *Militant* will begin the first of three parts of the speech by Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada, given at Hunter College in New York City. More than 2,500 people packed the college auditorium June 5, with hundreds more turned away at the door.

In 1979, the Grenadian people overthrew a U.S.-backed dictator and established a government of workers and farmers on the Caribbean island of 110,000 people.

Bishop's speech answers the frequent charges made against his coun-

try. The central problem for Reagan, he explains, is that Grenada is a Black, English-speaking country that has a "dangerous appeal" to 30 million Black people in the United States, as a secret U.S. report put it.

To our knowledge, the speech has not yet appeared anywhere in print. It is certain to be of interest to the many unionists that the *Militant* is sold to on regular plant-gate sales. It will be welcomed by Central America solidarity and antiwar activists, by Grenadian nationals and other Caribbeans, and by the Black community as a whole.

With the accompanying subscription blank, new readers can be assured that they receive all three parts of the speech as part of an introductory subscription.

We can expect that many people will be interested in helping distribute these three issues of the *Militant*. Some bookstores and community centers may want to take consignments as well.

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Reagan on use of troops: 'Never say never'

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

President Reagan used his June 28 news conference to take another step in preparing public opinion for the eventual use of U.S. combat troops in Central America.

Pentagon and administration officials have repeatedly speculated in recent weeks that GIs could be needed to help crush the revolution in El Salvador or overturn the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua.

When asked by a reporter if he was pledging to the American people never to send combat troops to the region, Reagan responded:

"Well, you were asking a kind of a hypothetical question, so I gave a hypothetical answer. And it's an old saying that the president should never say never. You know, they blew up the *Maine*."

Reagan's reference to the *Maine* is a particularly revealing glimpse of White House efforts to find — or manufacture — a pretext for all-out military intervention in Central America.

Washington charged Spain with responsibility for a mysterious 1898 explosion which sank the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor. In the war that followed Washington won control of three of Spain's richest colonies — Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

A modern version of the sinking of the *Maine* was the "Gulf of Tonkin incident" in 1964 that served as the excuse for escalating the war in Vietnam.

The White House is convinced that U.S. combat troops will inevitably be needed to save the Salvadoran dictatorship and, if possible, overthrow the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua.

In El Salvador the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) is continuing to press forward in its struggle. At the same time the Salvadoran army appears to be having little success in a major antiguerrilla offensive centered in the key Salvadoran provinces of San Vicente and Usulután.

On June 23 FMLN forces overran a military post guarding the strategic Las Guaras bridge, only 12 miles northeast of the capital. The rebels then dynamited the bridge, isolating the city of Suchitoto and two hydroelectric dams that supply half of El Salvador's electricity. The action forced the government to dispatch 2,000 troops in an effort to lift the siege of Suchitoto and retake the highway leading from the city to San Salvador.

Another 6,000 Salvadoran army troops are engaged in a Vietnam-style "search-and-destroy mission" in San Vicente province. After several weeks of the offensive, army commanders admit that they haven't found very many guerrillas.

But commander of the U.S. advisers in El Salvador, Col. John Waghelstein, told reporters June 28, don't "look for body counts because that's not what the operation is about." Rather, Waghelstein said, Salvadoran army troops were engaged in "civic action" programs.

In Vietnam civic action meant herding Vietnamese farmers into concentration camps called "strategic hamlets" and assassinating tens of thousands of civilians suspected of rebel sympathies.

Despite Waghelstein's claims that the army offensive proved that the U.S. advisers were whipping the Salvadoran army into shape, he was forced to admit that since early 1982 the FMLN has expanded its control over El Salvador's northern provinces and has maintained a steady offensive against the Salvadoran army.

Land reform blocked

Meanwhile, El Salvador's constituent assembly began debating a draft constitution that effectively blocks all future land reform. Washington has pressed the Salvadoran government to adopt a constitution to improve its "democratic image" and lay the basis for elections later this year.

Two articles of the draft constitution would primarily affect the two-year-old land reform's second phase, in which the government is to take over rich, middle-size farms that grow most of the country's chief export crop, coffee.

The proposed constitution would give landowners a year's notice before the government took over their property, allowing them to divide their acreage among family members so that it would not be affected by

the land redistribution law.

A recent study of another phase of the land reform, the so-called Land to the Tiller program, indicated that of the 60,000 peasants who had applied for title to lands they had previously rented, more than 10,000 had already been evicted by landowners backed up by the military.

On 15 properties in Ahuachapán, interviewers found that out of 210 original beneficiaries of the land reform, 155 had been evicted.

'Contras' announce offensive

The Reagan administration is also moving ahead in its efforts to provoke a war between Honduras and Nicaragua, giving Washington the pretext it needs to get U.S. combat troops on the ground in Central America.

After several days of fierce combat that began June 4, the Nicaraguan army drove back an attack by 600 counterrevolutionaries near the town of Teotecacinte on Nicaragua's border with Honduras.

For the first time since the CIA began organizing large-scale invasions of Nicaragua by former members of ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard, Honduran artillery played a major role in the attack.

National Black party leaders meet

BY NAN BAILEY
AND MALIK MIAH

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Over the weekend of June 17-19 the Central Committee of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) met at Jersey City State College to discuss the current situation in the party and map out its perspectives for the coming months.

The Central Committee (CC) is the highest leadership body of the party between meetings of the National Party Congress, which take place once a year.

Two important decisions were reached at the CC: first, for the party to actively participate in the August 27 march on Washington, D.C., for jobs, peace, and freedom called by the major civil rights organizations and endorsed by the AFL-CIO; and second, to hold the third National Party Congress in November.

About 60 party leaders attended the CC. This included representatives from Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seaside, California; Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio; Philadelphia; Pittsburgh; Milwaukee; Minneapolis; Baltimore; Jersey City; and New York City.

On Friday night 25 people attended a forum on electoral politics and its relation to advancing the fight for Black self-determination, sponsored by the Jersey City chapter of NBIPP. Because Blacks feel doubly the blows of the government's and employers' antiworker and racist policies and practices, this discussion at the forum was quite timely.

There were three panelists: one of the local coordinators of the Jersey City chapter; a representative of the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters; and Ron Daniels, the national cochairperson of NBIPP.

The Jersey City NBIPP leader and the New Afrikan Freedom Fighters' representative took an abstentionist stance toward the August 27 march, on the basis that it is being led by "reformist" Black leaders. They said the march would serve no useful purpose.

They were also critical of participating in elections as one way to build the Black struggle today. For example, they didn't grasp the significance for NBIPP and those favoring independent Black politics of Jesse Jackson's proposal that a Black run for president in the Democratic Party primaries. Although Jackson's idea will not move Blacks any closer to freedom, discussion on his proposal does provide an opportunity for NBIPP to raise its program and explain why Jackson's pro-Democratic Party perspective does not point the way forward.

Both speakers tried to claim that their view was the stance Malcolm X took in the early 1960s.

In Tegucigalpa, Honduras, a spokesman for the *contras*, as they are called, vowed June 27 that the counterrevolutionaries will throw 5,000 troops into a major military offensive against Nicaragua sometime in July.

While the CIA has concentrated its biggest effort among the Somozaists based in camps just inside Honduras, Washington is also keeping its options open on Nicaragua's southern border with Costa Rica. A counterrevolutionary band in that area, headed by an ex-Sandinista, turncoat Edén Pastora, is lobbying the U.S. government for more backing. Although the CIA has been quietly funneling money to Pastora through fronts in several countries, his forces are bogged down in an isolated jungle area along Nicaragua's border with Costa Rica.

To pump up the sagging effort, another leader of Pastora's counterrevolutionary gang, Alfonso Robelo, spent several weeks in June pressing Washington for more funds.

Meanwhile, Pastora pulled a publicity stunt to highlight his demand for a larger share of the CIA pie. Pastora announced June 22 that he was suspending his attacks, at least temporarily, to undertake a "reevaluation of our resources . . . our means of assistance, and look at the real perspectives for moving ahead."



In past Reagan has claimed he has no plans to send U.S. combat troops to Central America. Now he says it cannot be ruled out.

In fact, as one person in the audience explained, Malcolm favored mass independent Black political action, including working with liberal Black leaders in action around issues they could agree on. Malcolm also taught that the Democratic and Republican parties were enemies of Blacks.

Ron Daniels, while taking a sharply negative view of the August 27 march's leadership, favored NBIPP giving critical support to the march. (At the CC meeting later, Daniels reversed this stance. He voted for NBIPP to actively participate and build the march.)

Concerning NBIPP's role in elections, Daniels said, "electoral politics is an important vehicle, but we need a comprehensive strategy" first — in order to decide whether running or endorsing candidates for office is in NBIPP's interest.

U.S. line for El Salvador

Continued from front page

Central America, the FMLN-FDR proposes direct talks with Stone. They reject the idea that Stone can serve as a mediator since he is "a representative of one of the parties directly involved in the conflict and therefore not a mediator."

"Because of its role in providing economic, political, and military support to the Salvadoran regime, as well as its increasing control over the decisions of the Salvadoran Government, we consider the Reagan Administration as a belligerent party directly confronting the FMLN-FDR."

Anticipating possible attempts by Washington to use diplomatic maneuvers to try to split the FMLN-FDR, the statement emphatically rejects "any attempt to divide our fronts" by trying to exclude one of them from talks. "To achieve a political solution, the alliance between the democratic and revolutionary forces, represented by the FMLN-FDR, is inseparable and indispensable. Attempts to solve the crisis by excluding one of our fronts are not only unworkable but are rejected by the FMLN-FDR as divisive maneuvers."

In response to questions from the media, Zamora said that the Stone appointment was a public relations ploy. "We tend to see the Stone mission as something that is more for domestic consumption" than a real attempt to get any kind of talks underway.

"Reagan is trying to carry out a two-track policy: one for public consumption here, and one on the ground over there."

Nevertheless, he said, "If Stone is willing to meet with us, we will approach that with an open mind."

"Just the fact of having a dialogue with

him would be positive. Dialogue would become more legitimate."

In response to another question, Zamora explained that the FMLN-FDR would not participate in the elections scheduled to be held in El Salvador later this year unless "there is a comprehensive political settlement beforehand."

He explained that empty promises of "safeguards" from the regime will do nothing to guarantee the physical security of the candidates and supporters needed to wage an effective campaign. In response to charges that the FMLN is dependent for its arms on supplies from Cuba and other countries, Zamora explained that the bulk of the rebels' weapons are captured from the Salvadoran army itself. "The problem is ammunition," he added. "The source of ammunition is to buy it internally, from the soldiers of the regime's army. This is something that has been going on for some time in El Salvador, not something new."

"What is new, however, is that up until the middle of last year, the FMLN bought its ammunition with *colones* [the Salvadoran currency]. But then in August of last year, the soldiers started asking to be paid in dollars. It shows what they think of the situation."

Zamora also charged that Reagan administration propaganda around the election issue is designed to serve as cover for increasing U.S. military involvement. He pointed to several significant developments, including the expansion and upgrading of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, the building of more U.S. military housing and hospital facilities there, and the stepped-up training of Salvadoran troops in Honduras.

Marroquin wins support in San Antonio

Héctor Marroquín is currently on a national tour to win support for his six-year-long fight for political asylum in the United States.

Forced to flee government repression in Mexico nine years ago, Marroquín crossed the border and worked without papers until his arrest by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in 1977. By then he had joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

His appeal of the deportation order against him is now before the Supreme Court. It is likely that the court will not decide whether or not to hear his case until its fall session.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which organizes support for Marroquín's case, is urging that protest messages demanding the deportation order be dropped be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Copies of messages, requests for more information, and tax-deductible contributions should be sent to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

BY STEFFI BROOKS

SAN ANTONIO — Hundreds of San Antonians lent their support to Héctor Marroquín's fight for political asylum during his June 11-14 tour of this majority Chicano city.

On Sunday, June 12, Marroquín spoke before two morning masses at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church on the Chicano west side. After each mass ended and people poured out of the church, many lined up to sign petitions demanding asylum for Marroquín. Almost every person put money into a collection can to help finance the fight. Ninety-three signatures and over \$100 were collected.

On June 14, Marroquín spoke to two classes at St. Philip's, a predominantly Black community college, where dozens more signed their names to petitions. That afternoon, Marroquín toured four factories where supporters had been campaigning for several weeks. Eighty-two more signatures were gathered for the political asylum fight.

At the Levi-Strauss Women's Wear clothing factory, organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, most workers were already familiar with Marroquín's case when he arrived at the end of the day's shift. (See accompanying article.) Fifty had already signed a telegram in support of his fight, and some workers were wearing buttons saying, "Stop the deportation of Héctor Marroquín!"

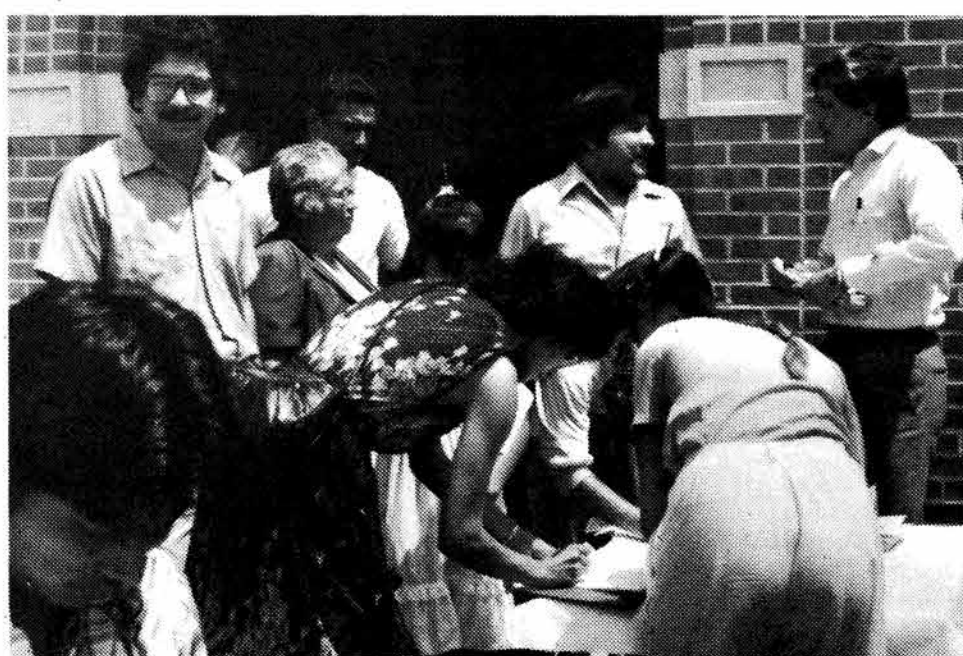
Because of the support, Levi-Strauss management could do nothing to prevent workers from greeting Marroquín in the company parking lot.

Two new supporters accompanied him to another Levi-Strauss factory nearby and

helped explain the case to workers there. After listening to a brief explanation of Marroquín's situation, one young woman expressed a theme struck by many San Antonio workers: "It's just another case of a Mexican being framed. Like I always say, 'Viva la Raza!'" She signed a petition and gave Marroquín a clenched fist salute.

Speakers at a rally for Marroquín on June 11, attended by 40 people, stressed the need to unite behind this case in order to fight the Immigration and Naturalization Service's racist policies against Latinos on both sides of the Rio Grande. Marroquín was joined at the podium by María Cabral of *El Pueblo* newspaper, Father Tim McCluskey of St. Timothy's church, and Rubén Sandoval, a well-known civil rights attorney.

Sandoval also loaned his restaurant for a press conference and reception for Marroquín on June 13. The *San Antonio Light* and all four San Antonio TV stations, including the Spanish-language network, carried news of Marroquín's fight for asylum.



Marroquín (right) talks about his case as people line up to sign petitions outside Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in San Antonio. Militant/Sherry Fekete

Levi-Strauss workers back fight: 'Why do we need borders anyway?'

BY STEFFI BROOKS AND SHIRLEY PEÑA

SAN ANTONIO — "Come over. You should sign this petition. This guy fights for the people."

"My husband is Mexican too. I'll sign."

"I don't agree with Reagan either and I'm not afraid to speak out against him. Why do we need borders anyway?"

When we set up a literature table for Héctor Marroquín in the cafeteria at the Levi-Strauss Women's Wear plant in San Antonio, we expected to find interest among our coworkers, but not the instant support that turned out to be there.

We explained that Héctor was a friend of ours and a member of our organization, the Socialist Workers Party, and that his life was in danger if the government deported him to Mexico. We asked coworkers to sign a telegram to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) demanding political asylum for Marroquín.

Coworkers were angered that the INS would not want Marroquín in the United States because of his political views. Many had their own stories about run-ins with racist INS agents.

Many workers at Levi-Strauss have family living in Mexico. They were not surprised to hear that the Mexican police assassinate political activists.

A *mexicana* said she hoped Héctor could win asylum in another country, "any country but Mexico."

Another woman said that the police in

Mexico act like the police in the United States, who infiltrated and disrupted the Chicano movement here.

A Black coworker pointed out that the CIA is active in Mexico, targeting activists for the Mexican government to come down on, and that this shows how the United States tells the Mexican government what to do.

Within two days, we collected 50 signatures demanding asylum for Marroquín.

When Héctor visited our plant four days later, 30 more people signed petitions in the space of 10 minutes.

One of the members of our union — the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union — told her friends to sign because "this cause belongs to all of us."

The INS should bear this in mind and think about who they will come up against if they continue their persecution of Héctor Marroquín.

Nicaraguan women tour Ohio

BY MORRIS STARKSKY

CINCINNATI — Two Nicaraguan women on a U.S. solidarity tour were welcomed here at a June 14 reception hosted by the Cincinnati chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Ivón Siu is director of international relations for the Nicaraguan Women's Association-Luisa Amanda Espinoza (AMNLAE). Zulema Baltodano is a member of Mothers of the Heroes and Martyrs of the Revolution, the Nicaraguan Human Rights Commission, and AMNLAE.

In a brief program, the Nicaraguan women were greeted by Val Libby, representing CLUW; Jackie Rubio, a leader of the Cincinnati Central American Task Force; and Beth Kelly, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

Libby presented the women with several symbols of solidarity, including a CLUW medallion and a union button that said, "A Woman's Place is in her Union."

Kelly explained the strike her union is waging against a union-busting campaign by COPAZ Meats. She expressed her solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people and wished them well. A collection for the striking COPAZ workers raised \$64.

The reception was followed by a public meeting sponsored by the Central American Task Force. More than 100 attended. Siu explained the new role of women in Nicaraguan society, and the progress women are making in what they call their "second revolution."

She explained that the U.S. aggression against her country is out of fear of Nicaragua's example for other poor and developing countries in Central America.

Zulema Baltodano emphasized the humane treatment of the former National Guard prisoners, who killed and tortured thousands of Nicaraguans before the revolution triumphed. These prisoners are inmates of prison farms where they learn productive skills, enjoy educational activities, and are even allowed conjugal visits by their wives. Many of these former professional killers have been rehabilitated and

released to participate in building the new Nicaragua.

After the women spoke, the meeting participants gave them a standing ovation.

During their tour stop, Siu and Baltodano visited a picket line of 35 unionists and members of the National Organization for Women at the county courthouse. The picket protested lack of compliance with affirmative-action hiring requirements on publicly financed construction projects.

Other events in the Cincinnati area included an informal discussion at Xavier University, a meeting sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee in Dayton, a meeting at the Grailville Center in Loveland, and a meeting in Covington, Kentucky.

MILWAUKEE — Sixty people attended a meeting here on June 18 for Ivón Siu and Zulema Baltodano.

Sponsors of the meeting included the Central America Solidarity Coalition, Women's Coalition, Social Action Commission, Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi, and Sanctuary Coordinating Committee.

The aim of Reagan's support for ex-Somoza National Guardsmen is "to create conflict between Nicaragua and Honduras," Siu said. This will give the United States an excuse to have "a more open intervention in Central America."

Siu added, "To avoid a war in Central America is a common cause between the people here and in Nicaragua."

"We fought a war of liberation to be free," said Baltodano. "To be free to us means being able to rebuild our country, and with our own resources make our own history shaped in a way to meet our people's needs."

Asked about ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora, who has opened a "southern front" against Nicaragua from Costa Rica, both women branded him a traitor.

Pastora claims the Sandinistas "had betrayed the revolution, that the leaders were all living in the lap of luxury," said Siu. "But as a reporter pointed out, he took six Mercedes Benz from Nicaragua when he left."

Dallas rally hits deportations

BY KATHY RETTIG

DALLAS — More than 50 people gathered at the Batten Community Center here on June 17 for a rally in support of socialist Héctor Marroquín's fight for political asylum in the United States.

José Rinaldi, a shop steward for the Texas State Employees Association, told how he and his coworkers at the Department of Human Resources had been ordered to report any undocumented worker who applied for food stamps or Medicaid benefits.

Rinaldi told the meeting that at his last union convention, delegates passed a resolution in opposition to this policy of forcing them to act as immigration officers. He said that he and fellow employees just received a memo last week directing them to cease reporting undocumented workers immediately.

"A victory for Marroquín," Rinaldi said, "will be a victory for the people of Central America and for union members in the United States."

Mexican-American community activist Adelpha Callejo spoke to the rally in her capacity as an attorney who represents

U.S.-born children of undocumented workers.

Condemning the Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill as a ruse that will lead to more sweeping deportations, Callejo said that implementation of this bill will only further the disintegration of Latino culture and the Latino family unit in the United States.

"Why are [Latinos] such a threat for them to be doing this to children and hungry people?" she asked.

Father J. Lucia from the Migration and Refugee Services spoke about the need for the church to boldly fight against these injustices against undocumented workers.

Also speaking were Larry Lucas from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a representative of a local refugee organization.

Greetings in solidarity with Marroquín were read from the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

While in Dallas, Marroquín received major coverage in several newspapers including the *Dallas Morning News* and the *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, as well as on several radio and TV stations.

AIDS: behind the antigay scare campaign

BY FRED FELDMAN

Gay people are targets of a reactionary scare campaign set off by the spread of AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome). AIDS renders victims susceptible to a wide variety of rare, often fatal diseases, which the body's immune system usually prevents.

Since the disease was first diagnosed a few years ago, 1,641 cases have been reported; 645 people have died. There is no cure for AIDS at present, and its causes are unknown.

The overwhelming majority of known victims have been gay men. Another sizable category have been users of intravenous drugs. A smaller group of victims have been frequent users of blood products, such as hemophiliacs.

About 5 percent of the victims have been Haitian, and this tiny number of cases has been used to portray Haitians as a major carrier of AIDS. It has added to the problems of racist discrimination that Haitians already face in finding jobs and housing. According to the New York *Amsterdam News*, the media's linking of Haitians in general to AIDS has "had a devastating social and economic impact on the more than 400,000 Haitians living in the New York area."

"They have blown this thing out of proportion so much that there's no other reason for it than to indicate a subtle form of racism," said Roger Biamby, executive director of the Haitian-American Community Association of Dade County, Florida.

Antigay propaganda has been at the center of the publicity about AIDS.

Gay rights groups have been demanding that the federal government fund research into AIDS.

The House of Representatives passed a \$12 million appropriation for AIDS research as part of a broader budget measure. Reagan is threatening to veto it.

As a banner at the June 26 Christopher Street Liberation Day march in New York City put it, "AIDS: we need research, not hysteria!"

Hysteria is just what ultraright forces have been trying to whip up. Far from supporting efforts to find the cause and cure of AIDS, they have called for a witch-hunt against gay people. And the media has helped them along, giving wide circulation to their hate propaganda.

They have pushed wild claims that AIDS can be contracted by any form of contact with gay people.

In fact, only an infinitesimal percentage of gays have contracted AIDS. All the evidence indicates that AIDS cannot be caught through casual contact. In fact, the evidence is not yet conclusive that AIDS is contagious, although many specialists think it is spread primarily through sexual relations or unsterilized hypodermic needles that have been in contact with infected blood.

Dr. Donald Armstrong, chief of infectious disease service at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, stated, "I think it's one of the least contagious infectious diseases I have seen."

'Gay plague'

In the May 24 *New York Post*, former Nixon aide Patrick Buchanan called for excluding gays from food-handling occupations. He declared:

"The poor homosexuals — they have declared war upon nature, and now nature is exacting an awful retribution."

A week later in the *Post* Buchanan was spreading the false claim that health care workers are in peril of contracting AIDS from patients having the disease. "If promiscuous homosexuals in the urban centers of New York and San Francisco are capable of transmitting death with a casual sexual contact, their slogan that sexuality is a private matter, to put it mildly, would no longer seem to apply."

The same theme was struck by Ronald

Godwin, an official of the Moral Majority. He called for the federal government "to protect the general public from the gay plague."

At the same time, he denounced the move to appropriate money for AIDS research. "What I see is a commitment to spend our tax dollars on research to allow these diseased homosexuals to go back to their perverted practices without any standards of accountability."

Godwin's antigay statements were broadcast in the June 17 *New York Times*.

The *Times* also did its bit to foster hysteria on the issue with headlines like, "Mere Contact May Spread AIDS."

The kind of reaction the right is trying to generate is indicated by the cases of landlords evicting AIDS victims and hospital and funeral home personnel who refuse to handle them. They would like to see such inhumane and irrational ostracism extended to all gay people.

They are pushing for legislation shutting down gay bars and other gathering places, using AIDS as a pretext.

Cops demand gloves

In San Francisco, the cops — well known for their hostility and brutality to gays there — have been issued disposable plastic gloves and face masks to protect them from the supposed danger of contracting AIDS while harassing gay people.

The Reagan administration has participated in its own way in the antigay campaign. Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler suggested that there was no need for special federal efforts to solve the AIDS problem since "for the overwhelming majority of Americans, there appears to be little or no risk of falling victim to this disease."

In a column in the April 22 *New York Times* Dr. Kevin Cahill highlighted the discrimination involved in this stance. "When a fatal infection struck down veterans attending an American Legion convention, health professionals across America joined in the search for a solution. . . . But when the victims were drug addicts and poor Haitian refugees and homosexual men, no major research programs were announced."

The extreme right would like to set up gays as a scapegoat, just as it attempts to do with Jews. Such scapegoats are used to divert attention from real solutions to the problems working people face, in favor of hunting down some persecuted group, which is described as the root of all evil.

The right-wing hate propaganda around AIDS is an attempt to strengthen the myth that any form of sexual nonconformity will be punished by God, and should be banned and persecuted by society. That reinforces the fear, guilt, and feelings of inferiority about sexual matters that capitalist society instills into hundreds of millions of people, homosexual and heterosexual alike.

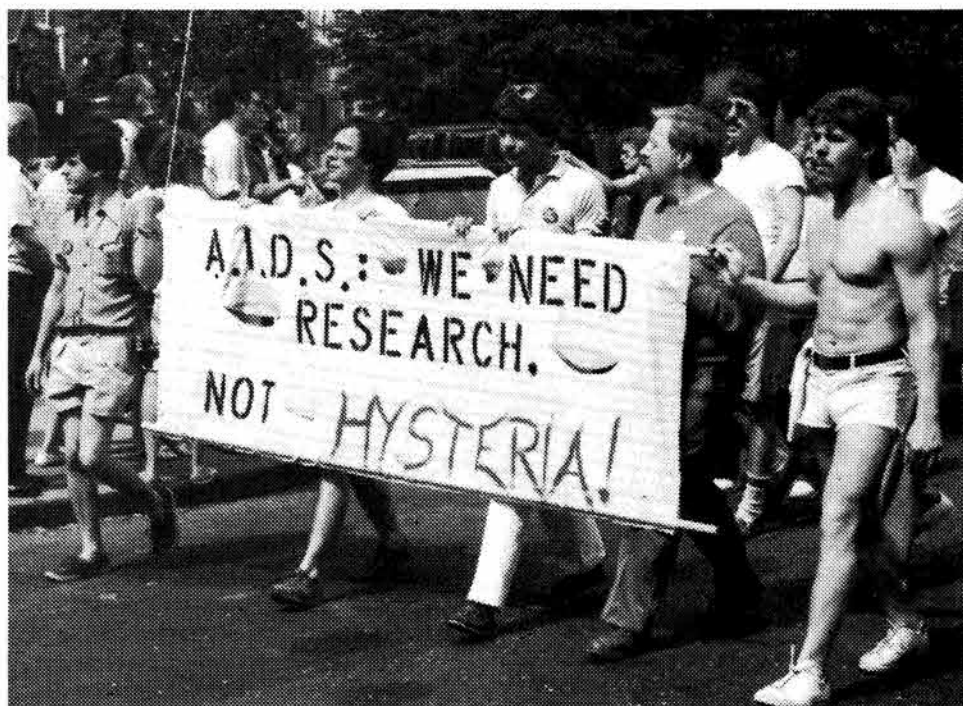
It is part of teaching every working person from childhood not to dare challenge authority — above all, the authority of the exploiting class and its government.

The women's liberation movement shook many of these reactionary ideas on such subjects as abortion, contraception, and women's sexual rights. Gay men and lesbians began to take advantage of changed attitudes by asserting the right to "come out" and to equal rights in every area of life. And they won support from millions of heterosexuals.

The right wing would like to roll back this progress, which benefits all the oppressed and exploited.

Forcing gays back into the closet would be an advance for the drive to roll back the rights of women, Blacks, and all working people.

"Research, not hysteria." The sensible message of the gay rights marchers is a good one for working people to have in mind when faced with the antigay fear campaign around AIDS.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Marchers at New York Christopher Street parade June 26

Hundreds of thousands march in annual gay pride parades

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

Hundreds of thousands of supporters of gay rights turned out for the annual Gay and Lesbian Pride parades and marches on June 26 in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago. The previous week, 18,000 marched in Boston, the *Gay Community News* there reports.

A theme of this year's demonstrations was opposition to the anti-gay campaign that some are attempting to whip up over AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome).

Responding to the claim by some Moral Majority types, Robin Tyler told the Boston rally:

"Sickle-cell anemia is not God's way of punishing Black people; Tay-Sachs disease is not God's way of punishing Jews; breast cancer is not God's way of punishing women, and AIDS is not God's way of punishing gays!"

The largest of the actions was the San Francisco march. There, a number of anti-war and Central American solidarity activists and groups participated in the march, calling for an end to the U.S. war in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign of Pat Wright for mayor marched in this contingent.

Wright and her supporters distributed a campaign statement that read in part:

"I join with you to celebrate the progress gays and lesbians have made against their oppression. This is progress for all people fighting class, race, and sex oppression and

it helps expand everyone's democratic rights.

"Part of the government's war drive against the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador is an assault on the rights of working people, including gays, at home.

"The rise of White House approved religious fanatics; increased cop beatings of gays; and the use of the deadly disease, AIDS, to whip up antigay sentiment, are all parts of a broad attack on the working class and the oppressed."

An important victory was won in New York prior to the march when an injunction, sought by right-wing organizations to prevent the parade from taking place, was denied. The Catholic War Veterans, supported by such groups as the Rabbinical Alliance, also failed in a bid to close off the steps and sidewalk around St. Patrick's Cathedral, on the parade's Fifth Avenue route. Despite their failure in court, these forces received a helping hand from the New York cops who agreed to cordon off the Cathedral area and allow room for a counterdemonstration.

Chief Milton Schwartz of the Manhattan South Precinct told the *Gay Community News* prior to the gay pride parade that the organizers of the counterdemonstration were "talking big numbers" for what he called "the first major counterdemonstration" against the annual march.

As it turned out the counterdemonstration was a big flop. Only a handful of antigay bigots turned out to jeer as tens of thousands of gay pride marchers passed by.

Indiana socialists file ballot suit

BY KEVIN DWIRE

INDIANAPOLIS — A lawsuit filed in Federal District Court on June 16 demands that Socialist Workers Party candidates for city offices here be placed on the 1983 ballot.

The suit was filed by the Indiana Civil Liberties Union (ICLU) on behalf of SWP mayoral candidate Bill Warrick and city-county council candidates Roger "Billy" Jones, Margaret Thomas, and Kevin Dwire. Defendants are the Marion County Board of Voters Registration and the Marion County Election Board.

The suit was announced at a June 16 news conference held at the ICLU offices. "Filing our ballot rights lawsuit today marks an important step forward in the fight for ballot rights," Warrick told the news media. "We take this action on behalf of the 10,000 Indianapolis working people who signed to place the socialist candidates on the ballot."

"The folks who signed our petitions wanted to give people a chance to vote for young workers who defend the rights of unionists, Blacks, and women," Warrick, 31, is a refinery worker and a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-535 at Rock Island Refining Corp.

Davy Eaglesfield, ICLU cooperating attorney, told reporters that the lawsuit will

challenge three aspects of Indiana election law and asks that the names of the socialist candidates be placed on the November ballot.

Eaglesfield noted that the lawsuit challenges the February early filing deadline for independent candidates' petitions, the methods used in validating petition signatures, and the five-year residency requirement for mayoral candidates.

Eaglesfield told the media that SWP campaign supporters had submitted almost double the required number of signatures, and at one point were told by a county election official that they had exceeded the number needed for ballot status. However, election officials reversed themselves a week later.

Socialist campaign volunteers have begun checking disqualified signatures against voter registration cards. An initial sample of 234 signatures revealed that 64 of these were improperly invalidated.

Prominent individuals are continuing to speak in support of the right of the SWP candidates to be listed on the ballot. Recent ballot rights endorsers include Dallas Sells, United Auto Workers Region 3 director, and Black attorney Theodore Wilson, who was a candidate in the May 3 Democratic mayoral primary election.

Oberlin conference theme: Marxist continuity

BY FRED FELDMAN

The 1983 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference, to be held July 30-August 6 in Oberlin, Ohio, will focus on the continuity of the ideas and struggles of the communist movement.

Major talks will be presented on:

- The living continuity of the contributions of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of the modern communist movement, and their further development by Lenin, the Bolsheviks, and the Communist International during its early years.
- The political situation facing the working class in the United States and other imperialist countries.
- The events in Central America and the proletarian stand on the fight against the war.
- The Marxist analysis of women's oppression and strategy for liberation.
- The struggle against national and colonial oppression.
- The dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the heart of all the conference activities will be the second volume of Farrell Dobbs' *Revolutionary Continuity: The Struggle for Marxist Leadership in the United States*.

Dobbs, the former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, is authoring a series on the struggle to build a Marxist proletarian party in this country.

The new volume covers the years 1918 to 1922, when the Communist movement in the United States was founded under the impact of the October 1917 revolution in Russia and the launching of the Communist International. The roots of the Socialist Workers Party go back to these events, and to the defense and development of the Marxist program by the Communist International under the leadership of the Bolsheviks.

In addition to the daily talks, there will be two major class series based on Dobbs' book. One will examine the book from the standpoint of the Communist International during the period of its first four world congresses.

The second series will take up the book from the vantage point of developments in the U.S. working class that helped to lead to the establishment of a single united Communist Party by 1922, and how that party attempted to build a strong communist current in the American labor movement.

Several classes, focusing on the writings and activities of Marx and Engels, will be given by students at the current session of the Socialist Workers Party leadership school. These will include Marx and Engels on the labor party, on the housing question, and on anarchism.

There will be many other classes — on women's liberation, the Black struggle, Marxist policy in the trade unions, and the struggles in Central America, the Caribbean, the Mideast, Africa, and Asia.

There will also be introductory classes on Marxism for those who are new to communist ideas.

A major aspect of the conference will be meetings of participants working in the garment and textile, oil and chemical, steel, electrical, auto, coal, rail, aerospace, and other industries.

They will discuss the impact of the beginning of rehiring, stemming from the upturn in the capitalist business cycle, and the new opportunities this presents for socialists to get industrial jobs and discuss politics with thousands of other workers.

These meetings will feature discussion of how socialist workers can help to advance the growing opposition in the unions to the new Vietnam-style war that is being escalated in Central America today.

They will take up the role of the unions in the fight for Black rights and women's equality. And they will provide an opportunity to size up the progress of regular weekly plant-gate sales of the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

A final major talk at the conference will summarize the discussions at the meetings of industrial workers and point to the next steps to be taken in building the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Most conference activities will be conducted in English, but some classes will also be given in Spanish, and Spanish and French translation will be available for the major talks, the classes, and workshops.

If you are interested in attending the conference, fill in the coupon below or contact one of the offices listed on page 13.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

International rally at last year's socialist conference hailed liberation struggles in Central America, Caribbean, South Africa, Indochina.

Canadian and U.S. revolutionists announce launching of new magazine

BY STEVE CLARK

The Revolutionary Workers League of Canada and Socialist Workers Party of the United States have announced a campaign to gain readers for a new magazine of Marxist politics and theory, *New International*. The first issue of the magazine, dated fall 1983, will be available at the beginning of August.

The magazine is a joint project of revolutionists from both sides of the border in North America. Its editorial board is made up of members from the United States and Canada.

The inaugural issue of *New International* contains two major articles.

The first is "Their Trotsky and Ours," by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. This discussion of communist political continuity today and its roots is based on a speech presented during the Young Socialist Alliance convention in Chicago last December 31.

The second article is "Lenin and the Colonial Question" by Cuban Communist Party leader Carlos Rafael Rodríguez. This is the first English translation of this important 1970 article.

A regular feature in the new magazine will be the "Arsenal of Marxism," containing articles, speeches, and documents from the history of the revolutionary workers movement. The first issue will contain articles on the 1916 Easter Rebellion by Russian revolutionary leaders V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky.

The contents of the first issue provide a good introduction to what the editors hope to accomplish with the new magazine. It will center on historical, theoretical, and political articles related to the most important questions of program, strategy, and organization facing revolutionary Marxists in the working-class movement worldwide. These will include contributions by revolutionists not only from North America but also from other countries. The magazine will reprint and translate articles and documents from the revolutionary working-class leaders of the Cuban Communist Party, the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, the New Jewel Movement of Grenada, and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador.

The aim of the magazine, as indicated by its name, is to contribute to the political discussion and exchange that must accompany progress toward building a worldwide revolutionary leadership of the working class that is looked to by millions around

the globe.

It will be a tool for revolutionists seeking to advance along the historic line of march of the working class that — as Marx and Engels explained — must and will culminate in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which having been achieved on a world scale will organize the toilers to abolish once and for all exploitation and oppression under the international dictatorship of the imperialist ruling classes.

Copies of the first issue of *New International* will be available at the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference to be held in Oberlin, Ohio, at the beginning of August. The subscription price is \$12.00 for four issues. Write 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Iranian militant Babak Zahraie moved to solitary confinement

BY FRED FELDMAN

More than five months have passed since Iranian revolutionary Babak Zahraie was imprisoned in Tehran. Neither his family nor friends have been allowed to visit him and no charges have been made public against him.

Recently Iranian authorities moved Zahraie from Evin Prison to Rajaie Shahr Prison in nearby Karaj. He has been placed in solitary confinement. Jurisdiction in his case has been turned over to the Pasdaran (Revolutionary Guards).

Zahraie, a central leader of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) of Iran, spent years in exile during the tyrannical reign of the shah. Living in the United States, he was active in the anti-shah student movement and in the movement against the Vietnam War.

Because of these activities, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) attempted to deport him to Iran in the early 1970s.

Zahraie and his supporters successfully exposed the deportation move as a conspiracy between the U.S. government and the shah's secret police, SAVAK. Protests by opponents of U.S. support to the shah, anti-Vietnam War activists, Blacks, and

others forced the INS to withdraw its deportation proceedings.

Zahraie went on to help found and lead the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), which helped win the release of religious figures, writers, and other political prisoners from the shah's jails, including Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri and Hajatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani. It denounced attempts to restrict the political activities of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini when he was living in exile in France. CAIFI also exposed the U.S. role in training SAVAK torturers and propping up the repressive regime.

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.

He and his party, the HKE, have supported and participated in the mobilizations to defend Iran from the invasion perpetrated by the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein.

Zahraie served as editor of *Kargar*, a socialist newspaper put out by the HKE, until it was banned in 1982.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution are urged to send messages calling for the release of Babak Zahraie. Such messages should request:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of U.S. imperialist attacks on the revolution, I urge you to free anti-imperialist fighter Babak Zahraie, currently held in Rajaie Shahr 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 Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili, Shoraye Ali Dhazie, (Supreme Council of Justice), Tehran, Iran. Copies should be sent to the *Militant*.



Babak Zahraie

Attend the socialist conference

If you're interested in attending the 1983 Socialist Educational and Activists Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, from July 30-August 6, fill in the coupon below. Send to the SWP branch or YSA chapter nearest you (see directory on page 13), or to the SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Nicaraguans tackle problems facing nation's small farmers

Rural producers ask government to cancel their debts

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

PANCASÁN, Nicaragua — Nearly 1,000 farmers gathered here June 23 to celebrate another concrete step forward in the Nicaraguan revolution.

Some 600 families, most of them grouped together in 27 cooperatives, were granted land-reform title to more than 11,500 manzanas (one manzana = 1.73 acres) of some of the best farm land in the area.

Most of the land formerly belonged to big landowners who supported the Somoza dictatorship. It was confiscated by the revolutionary government after the July 1979 insurrection.

The ceremony, the seventh granting of land titles that has taken place in the last year and a half, was a day of joy and celebration. Virtually every farm vehicle in this remote area — nearly a three-hour drive from the nearest paved roads — was decorated with homemade, red-and-black Sandinista flags and mobilized for the day.

It was also a day of serious political discussion about one of the major problems small farmers here face. That is the question of their growing debt.

The discussion, initiated by the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), a mass organization that grew out of the revolution, will be of interest to all who are concerned with the problems of small farmers.

At the rally, Felipe Mendoza, UNAG's director of cooperatives, laid out for the farmers at Pancasán UNAG's proposal for tackling their debts: *all unpaid debts contracted by small and medium-size farmers before Dec. 31, 1982, should be wiped out by the revolutionary government.*

The main beneficiaries of such a move, Mendoza explained, would be the working farmers who produce nearly all the country's basic food staples (beans, corn, and rice) and urban workers dependent on adequate supplies of such staples.

At present, total debts of this sector of the peasantry are estimated to be between \$25 million and \$35 million — a sum they have no realistic possibility of paying back in full.

Something has to be done because "we can't work in tranquility under the weight of this debt," is the way UNAG president Felipe Pérez put it when he first announced the proposal June 14.

FSLN response

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) has encouraged the fullest possible consideration of the proposal. FSLN commander Luís Carrión, vice-minister of the interior, recently underscored the connection between farmers' problems and the war against the U.S.-financed invaders.

"The counterrevolution," he said in a speech June 18, "is making propagandistic and political efforts to create a base of support inside the country."

"The social class the counter-revolutionaries are aiming their propaganda at is the peasantry. They are trying to win them over and are taking advantage of many things, including . . . the inability of the revolution to reach all parts of the country with its effects and ideas. That is, they are taking advantage of the concrete problems faced by the peasants."

"The two basic problems they are taking

advantage of," he concluded, "are the shortages," a reference to the lack of adequate supplies of eggs, milk, meat, cooking oil, and laundry soap, "and peasants' problems with the banking system." The counter-revolutionaries tell the peasants that "because of their debts, the banks are going to take away their land."

Driven off land by Somoza

The farmers who produce most of Nicaragua's food are, by and large, the small producers who were driven off prime agricultural land on Nicaragua's Pacific Coast following World War II. At that time agro-export businessmen linked to the Somoza regime sought more land for highly profitable cotton and coffee crops.

Today these food producers are located mostly on marginal agricultural land, often far removed from transportation and storage facilities.

Because of their isolated locations, they are subjected to continuing pressure from the counterrevolutionary gangs that invade from Honduras and the north. And because of their slim margin of survival, they were also among the hardest hit by last year's massive floods and the two droughts that followed.

Small farmers with access to better land, particularly that suited to the growing of export crops, have generally done better since the revolution. In fact, they have been able to repay nearly all the loans they were granted by the government.

UNAG leaders who announced the campaign for aid to the food producers stressed that even these farmers, despite extremely difficult conditions, had paid back 6 out of

every 10 dollars they had been loaned. The demand for relief on the remainder, they said, is not an appeal for charity but a search for a way out of an impossible situation.

The truth is, says UNAG leader Felipe Mendoza, "we need other measures as well."

"These include agricultural inputs at prices small and medium-size producers can afford, more technical assistance, and more and better land."

"Only in this way will we begin to solve the structural problems that make it impossible to turn the growing of basic food crops into a going enterprise."

Coupled with the request for aid were several important pledges UNAG will be seeking agreement on from its members in return. They go straight to the heart of some of the organizational difficulties UNAG has encountered and include: greater efforts to meet production goals; agreement to sell more of the food crops directly to the government instead of to private wholesalers; and greater participation in the defense effort.

'Barricada' comments

The Sandinista daily *Barricada* featured UNAG's proposal as its main front page article June 14. It followed up the next day with an editorial intended to encourage discussion.

The editorial urged Nicaraguan workers to give serious consideration to the demands being raised by their allies in the countryside. *Barricada* asked:

"With this demand, what rights are being asked for by the country's most numerous social sector, which is the essential force in food production?"

"Why are they calling for a measure that bears such a high economic cost? The leaders of UNAG explained it, letting all Nicaraguans know the reasons for their request, while at the same time showing their capacity to confront society's fundamental problems and to offer solutions to them, which is something the people can do when they are endowed with the weapon of organization and consciousness."

"The clamor for this deep-rooted demand has arisen from the ranks of the historically ignored and superexploited peasantry," the editorial explained.

"Powerful arguments are raised by the voice of those who never had a voice, because they won the ability to make themselves heard, to come up with solutions to their problems, to play an active role in society's life. They are raising arguments that flow from reality as well as proposals to change it to benefit the nation."

In the days that followed, leaders of the government and the FSLN began to comment on the proposal. The first to do so was Salvador Mayorga, vice-minister of agrarian reform.

Mayorga supported the proposal, *Barricada* reported, "but not totally." He felt it needed more discussion, including with the nationalized banking system "to see if the economy was in a position to take a step like this."

Mayorga also stressed that any immediate steps, to be successful, would have to be tied to longer range measures. Three he mentioned were, "top quality land," expansion of the cooperatives ("the most rapid way to emerge from the backwardness inherited from Somozaism"), and an overall transformation in land use "in which each region produces what is best suited to the agricultural and environmental conditions."

The next to comment was Marcelo Mayorga, director of rural credit for the state-owned national development bank (BND). He explained that such a decision could not simply be made by the BND, but would have to be made by the national government.

From the point of view of the BND,

Managua notebook: Archbishop stirs anger

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — As the U.S. war accelerates, so too does the polarization between the Catholic church hierarchy and membership.

During a recent visit to Rome, Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo, reactionary head of Nicaragua's Catholic Church, told reporters he wasn't convinced the U.S. government is encouraging aggression against Nicaragua.

"All we know is what the Sandinistas say through official channels," he said May 17, " . . . and it is very difficult to judge when the information comes from only one side."

The remarks stirred outrage here, especially among neighborhood Christian organizations. At least 600 Nicaraguans have been killed so far this year in the U.S.-organized war, many of them Catholics serving in the militia.

Doesn't he understand that our people, including Christians, are being killed "by the dollars the Reagan administration is supplying the counterrevolution"? asked Antonia Cortés Centeno, a spokesperson for the Ecclesiastical Base Community in central Managua.

"If he doesn't believe what is happening at the border, I as a Christian invite him to go and see how Christians are being murdered and kidnapped by the Somozaist National Guard, which is supplied, financed, and trained by the North American government," said Delma Espinoza Dávila, a member of a similar committee in western Managua.

Since last December counter-revolutionaries have been trying to take the northern city of Jalapa, the only major town on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border. Their aim is to declare it a "liberated zone," and request U.S. "aid."

The day following a recent attack, the three members of Nicaragua's national government traveled to this war-torn re-



Archbishop Obando y Bravo looks other way as U.S. steps up aggression against Nicaragua.

gion to speak with the combatants there, the majority of whom are peasants.

Government coordinator Daniel Ortega made it clear that the war would be long and its end would depend entirely on the U.S. government "which supports the counterrevolution so that it can attack Nicaragua."

One of the themes of this "Face the People" meeting as they are called here, was Obando y Bravo's remarks.

"Monseñor Obando ought to take a trip through Jalapa," Ortega told the peasants, adding that it wouldn't be necessary for Obando to visit Jalapa if "instead of visiting the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie he

would visit the poor neighborhoods of Managua."

"Let him come to Jalapa so that his blindfold can fall off," Ortega concluded.

During the meeting, various government measures were announced to improve social services and ease the impact of the war in the area.

These include housing construction in areas with cultivable land, developing an agronomy school and childcare center for the children of workers at a large local tobacco processing plant, reconstructing childcare centers destroyed by the counter-revolutionaries, and opening a youth recreation center.

Heading back to Managua that afternoon, a car caravan carrying government officials and journalists was ambushed.

Two Sandinista soldiers were killed defending the reporters, among them correspondents from the *Washington Post* and *Time*.

The government announced May 25 it would confiscate the lands of 15 landowners discovered aiding the counterrevolution. Their former properties will be part of some 170,000 acres scheduled to be handed over to peasant cooperatives this summer. Basic staples of the Nicaraguan diet will be grown on this acreage, easing shortages that have arisen in the last six months.

On the economic battlefield, good news has come from Iran and Algeria.

Ayatollah Khomeini told visiting Nicaraguan Minister of Culture Father Ernesto Cardenal that it would purchase the sugar produced by Nicaragua's new Malacatoya refinery when it begins operation in 1985.

In addition, the Algerian government has offered to buy all the sugar that used to be sold to the United States and at the same price.



Peasants at ceremony where they receive titles to confiscated land. Revolutionary government is taking steps to eliminate conditions that cause superexploitation and perpetual indebtedness of peasantry.

somebody had to pay the loans or the bank would have that much less money to lend. If the peasants didn't pay, it would have to be the government, through the Finance Ministry.

Rural workers' view

On June 17, the first union leader spoke. Edgardo García, general secretary of the Rural Workers Association (ATC), gave the proposal his union's wholehearted support.

García greeted in particular UNAG's promise for increased effort in food production and pointed out how this would help ATC members.

Most ATC members work on big agro-export farms, but because of the chronic shortage of basic food staples, also have to devote additional time to growing beans and corn. Increased production of these two crops would give them greater time to devote to the country's main source of export earnings and help the economy overall.

The FSLN gave its point of view June 18. Commander Víctor Tirado, representing the FSLN National Directorate, presided over a ceremony in the northern agricultural center of Estelí where coopera-

tives and individual farmers were given titles to 14,000 manzanas of land.

In fulfillment of the FSLN's commitment that no peasant would be left without land, Tirado pointed out, 150,000 manzanas had been distributed last year; another 150,000 would be distributed before the fourth anniversary of the revolution (July 19); and another 400,000 later in the

year. In all, this totals well over a million acres of prime farmland, granted to land poor peasants at absolutely no charge.

Tirado then turned to the debt question. The amount that poor farmers already owe, and how best to deal with that, "is not the fundamental problem," he said. The debt can be eliminated, reduced, or restructured.

Miskito Indians answer lies on FSLN

BY GARY PREVOST

MINNEAPOLIS — A seven-person delegation of Miskito and Sumo Indians from Nicaragua completed a successful four-day visit to Minnesota in mid-June. Throughout their stay they stressed that the truth about the situation of Indians in Nicaragua is not being told by the Reagan administration, but must be told by the indigenous people of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast region themselves.

The delegation's tour, which is also travelling to Boston, New York, and Washington, D.C., is sponsored by the National Network in Solidarity With the People of Nicaragua. The Indians came to the United States as official representatives to the International Indian Treaty Council

conference in Oklahoma.

One member of the delegation, Norma Fagoth Colomer, is a cousin of Steadman Fagoth, the counterrevolutionary figure who has been played up by the Reagan administration for his charges of Sandinista "atrocities" against Indians.

Fagoth Colomer described to audiences here the truth about the evacuation of Indians from the Nicaraguan war zone by the Sandinista government.

"I was born and raised on the Coco River," she said. "I lived downstream. We'd build houses and they'd be wiped out by flooding. There were hurricanes. People survived on fishing and hunting, but sometimes people had to eat banana skins because they had no other food." She

"The fundamental problem consists in eliminating the conditions that condemn small farmers to perpetual indebtedness," he said.

"The important thing is to change the structures of production of the farmers who grow the basic food crops." Among other things he said, "this means we have to give them adequate land, of sufficient quality. This is what the revolution has been doing for the last 20 months. And that is what we are going to continue to do."

Emergency relief of small farmers' debts would be unthinkable under a capitalist government, based on the super exploitation of rural toilers. But some form of relief is the logical outcome of the efforts the revolutionary government here has already made to meet the most pressing problems of working farmers.

In Nicaragua, the important discussion of how to tie immediate steps to longer range measures is taking place openly, publicly, and with a range of views being expressed.

This not only assures national attention to the plight of small farmers. It also helps urban workers gain a better understanding of the common interests that link them to rural producers.

described how Somoza's hated National Guard used the Miskitos as cargo mules.

Over the last two years, she said, counterrevolutionaries came to their villages on the Coco River and kidnapped and tortured residents. Her own husband, she said, was kidnapped twice because he distributed seeds for a government agriculture program.

In contrast, Fagoth Colomer explained that the Sandinista government has brought her people out of the war zone and into the 20th century by providing them with electricity, health facilities, potable water, schools, and better food.

"I constantly try to analyze the past with what is happening in the present," she said. "And in spite of all the multiple problems, this government has done more than all of the previous so-called governments combined."

The delegation's Minnesota tour began with a traditional Indian ceremony at the Little Earth housing project in Minneapolis. On June 19, the Indian leaders participated in five different church services, including one at Walker Community Church, which joined the growing church sanctuary program by welcoming a refugee from Guatemala.

On June 20, the delegation, which included Ronas Dolores, a Sumo leader; Agustin Sambola, a Capuchin priest; and Sandoval Herrera, a Moravian minister; spoke at a breakfast reception with local labor leaders. Members from 10 different unions attended including the United Electrical Workers; United Auto Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees; and Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks.

The tour concluded with a public meeting of 125 people at the Newman Center in Minneapolis. The delegation was officially welcomed by Clyde Bellecourt, national director of the American Indian Movement (AIM). AIM had extended the original invitation to the delegation to come to the United States.

The meeting also heard remarks from Roberto Vargas, first secretary of the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington. The meeting protested the recent expulsion of many Nicaraguan diplomats from the United States by the Reagan administration.

UAW member supported in fight against spying

BY MAUREEN McDUGALL

DENVER — "A war is being waged against working people today," Sally Goodman told 40 supporters of democratic rights at a June 17 rally here sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). "And we are participants in the fight against the warmakers: the Reagans, the Jeane Kirkpatricks, the Martin Mariettas, and the Lockheeds."

Goodman is fighting to keep her job as one of three women electricians at Martin Marietta Corp., a major war industry contractor in Denver. The Defense Department's Defense Investigative Service (DIS), with the connivance of the company, is seeking to revoke her security clearance on the charge that she is a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance and that she is gay.

"Martin Marietta hopes the public can be made more afraid of the 'communist threat' than of the U.S. military buildup, so they can build the MX missile," asserted Goodman.

She linked attacks on her rights to stepped-up U.S. military intervention in Central America. "They've got a problem: people haven't forgotten what Vietnam was about. The government and the war contractors realize they must attack political and free speech rights in order to get more mileage out of their prowar propaganda. That's what my case is about."

"My support for women's rights is the

reason the government charges me with being a lesbian. Employers don't like to see women breaking into jobs like mine that were previously only held by men. But workers don't fall all that much for lesbian and gay baiting any more. They don't want the government prying into my bedroom any more than theirs!"

Many see the attack on Goodman as an attack on their rights too. The American Civil Liberties Union is providing a free lawyer and Goodman's union, United Auto Workers Local 766, filed two grievances protesting the "investigation," pointing out that it constitutes harassment of an employee because of her union activity.

A statement by Bob Killian and Lloyd Trujillo, president and bargaining committee chairman respectively of Local 766, was read, stating that Goodman "should be allowed to perform her duties as an 'A' electrician without any interference or harassment by the DIS."

The rally, which was held in the Local 766 hall, reflected the broadening support for Goodman's struggle.

Tricia Gallegos, the Colorado state coordinator of the National Organization for Women and a member of the NOW National Board, read a resolution passed unanimously by the State Board defending Goodman's right to keep her job.

"We believe her constitutional rights have been violated," explained Gallegos. She linked the attack on Goodman to the attacks on the State Equal Rights Amend-

ment and Medicaid-funded abortions and urged the audience to participate in the August 27 Martin Luther King demonstration.

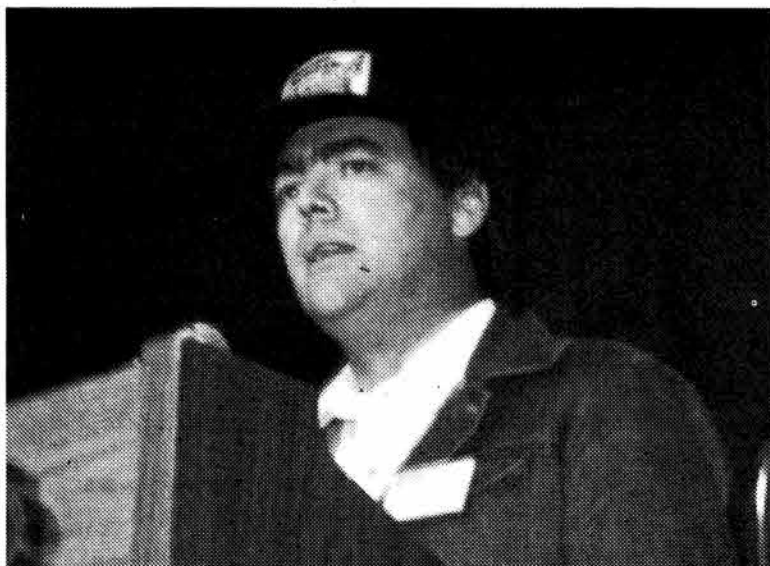
Carol Lease, executive director of Denver's Gay and Lesbian Community Center, expressed the support of the center's membership for Goodman "as a worker, as a woman, as a socialist."

Barry Roseman, of the National Lawyers Guild and the Democratic Socialists of America, called the DIS action "an attack on all people, regardless of their political beliefs or sexual orientation."

Sara Gates, speaking on behalf of the Political Rights Defense Fund, appealed for support for Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who is fighting for political asylum in the United States.

She reaffirmed PRDF's commitment to "fight against the attacks by the government on political activists like Sally Goodman and Héctor Marroquín, whom the government wants to silence and intimidate."

Shortly after the rally, Goodman was in a serious auto accident and is recovering in the hospital. In response, workers at Martin Marietta have set up a collection box to help on her medical expenses, and a number of workers have also made contributions to the PRDF. Lesbian and feminist activists in Denver have put out a fundraising mailing for Goodman, including PRDF brochures on her case.



Wayne Cryts

Missouri farmer wins round in court

A federal jury took just 30 minutes of deliberation June 2 to acquit Wayne Cryts, a Missouri farmer who had been charged with

criminal contempt of court.

Cryts was accused of knowingly violating a court order in July 1981 when he and supporters retrieved 31,000 bushels of Cryts' soybeans from a grain elevator in Bernie, Missouri. A federal judge had impounded the soybeans there after Cryts and several thousand supporters in February took them

from another grain elevator in Ristine that had declared bankruptcy.

A federal judge had ruled that Cryts' soybeans were assets of the bankrupt elevator's owners, despite the fact that Cryts held title to them.

The jury foreman said the jurors were 100 percent for acquittal on the first vote. The judge then admonished them for the verdict.

The jury foreman said "he might have replied to the judge but he feared being held in contempt of court," the *American Agriculture News* reported.

Later, the judge was admonished by his mother, who said "she was 100 percent with the jury," he said.

Cryts told the *Militant* by telephone that he was "tickled to death" by the acquittal. "I knew if I could get to a jury, I'd prove my innocence," he said.

He had "one more battle," Cryts said: the appeal, for which no hearing date has been set, of a guilty verdict for civil contempt last year, for which he was fined \$291,000. He had refused to name the farmers who helped him get his soybeans back.

UMWA activist convicted in black lung case

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

CHARLESTON — On May 28, Fred Carter was convicted in federal district court here on trumped-up charges that could bring a maximum penalty of 11 years in prison and an \$11,000 fine.

Sixty-two-year-old Carter is a member of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). He is a fighter for black lung compensation for coal miners, as well as a Black rights activist.

Last August, a federal grand jury indicted Carter on 14 misdemeanor charges of illegally soliciting fees to act as a representative for black lung claimants between 1978 and 1981. The indictment also included two felony charges of impersonating a federal official and lying to a federal agent.

This indictment was the first in southern West Virginia under a federal law prohibiting the receipt of unauthorized fees for services as a representative of a black lung

claimant.

During the course of the trial, the felony charges were dropped because the prosecution's main witnesses, James and Flora Pack, contradicted their pretrial accusations.

Judge John Haden aided the prosecution and hampered Carter's defense throughout the trial.

At the trial, Carter explained that he had been active in the black lung movement since the 1960s. He never took fees for his work, just donations to help cover his expenses.

Over the years, his efforts helped many miners get through the complex procedures necessary to acquire black lung compensation. Carter accused the government of "malicious prosecution, and violating my human and civil rights."

The conviction of Carter takes place in the context of moves by the government to tighten up the availability of black lung compensation and ultimately to eliminate it. It fits in with other moves by the companies — backed by the government — against the UMWA, like speed-up and attacks on safety in the mines.

PATCO leaders jailed in continued victimizations

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Richard Hoover, former president of the Houston local of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), was sentenced June 20 to 90 days in jail in the government's continuing vindictive prosecution of the air traffic controllers for their strike in 1981.

Hoover's sentence was for a year and a day, with 18 months' probation after he serves 90 days. Gary Eads, a former PATCO local president and now president of the U.S. Air Traffic Controllers Organization (USATCO), which is attempting to organize the controllers after the decertification of PATCO as their union, told the *Militant* Hoover intends to appeal the sentence.

Two controllers from Dallas, Gary Greene and Ron May, are currently serving 90-day sentences in a federal prison in Fort Worth. They were convicted for violating a federal no-strike law.

A third Dallas controller, Lee Grant, got the same sentence — and \$750 fine — as Greene and May, but has appealed.

When PATCO struck in August 1981, the union was asking a shorter workweek and earlier retirement. This was quite reasonable, since the controllers' jobs are among the most stressful known; controllers in other nations work considerably shorter hours and get more sick leave and earlier retirement.

PATCO had sought contract improvements in 1980 under President James Carter, a Democrat, but had been rebuffed. The union's then president, Robert Poli, met with the Republican presidential candidate, Ronald Reagan, and received the following assurance:

"If I am elected president, I will . . . adjust staff levels and work days so that they are commensurate with achieving a maximum degree of public safety."

Poli then recommended that PATCO endorse Reagan, which it did. Many controllers voted for him.

But Reagan, implementing a plan drawn up 20 months earlier by the Carter administration, had decided to make an example of the controllers as a signal to the employers of what they could expect from their government in carrying out attacks on working people. The government was going to bust the union.

The striking controllers — 11,400 of them — were fired. In October 1981 the union was decertified as the controllers' bargaining agent.

Since then, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has agreed to hire back only 124 of the fired strikers; 295 others have been ordered reinstated by the Merit Systems Protection Board. This is a reversal rate of 2.7 percent, far below usual, USATCO says.

The destruction of PATCO was a big

blow to the union movement and has been followed up by employer attacks on others in the transportation industry — airline pilots, machinists, rail workers, and truck owner-operators.

Many controllers and other unionists noted the ironic contrast between Reagan's hypocritical claims to support Solidarity, the independent trade union in Poland, while his administration was out to destroy PATCO.

A letter printed in the *USATCO Newsletter* from a former controller said, "Lech Walesa [Solidarity leader] is back to work in the Gdansk shipyards. Perhaps he's grateful he wasn't an American air traffic controller."

The continuing attacks on the air traffic controllers amount to a vendetta. PATCO and its locals have suffered fines of tens of millions of dollars. USATCO says fines on individuals so far total more than \$54,000.

Many of the fines and jail terms were imposed on controllers who pled guilty to lesser charges of criminal contempt of court, rather than face trial for violation of the no-strike law.

Aside from the 90-day sentences in Texas, jail terms so far include:

- In Alexandria, Virginia, four controllers were sentenced to 10 days in jail. Three of them were also fined \$1,000.
- In Boston, two strikers got 30-day sentences, which are on appeal.
- In Oklahoma City, five controllers were sentenced to 30 days. They have appealed.
- In New Orleans, six controllers were sentenced to do 312 hours of "community service" for 12 hours a week until their probation is over.
- In Puerto Rico, eight controllers got 4-hour sentences.

USATCO's goal is to organize and represent the air traffic controllers, and it includes a number of former leaders of PATCO. USATCO has tentative plans for a national constitutional convention this summer.

Meanwhile, it serves as an information network for fired controllers and their families. USATCO says it now has 1,900 members, including a few dozen working controllers. It has no formal dues structure, but suggests \$20 per month.

USATCO and the USATCO Legal Defense Fund share the same office at 210 7th St. SE, C-26, Washington, D.C. 20003.

USATCO is asking that messages of support be sent to PATCO members now in jail: Gary Greene, #11682-077, and Ron May, #11857-077, at the Fort Worth Federal Corrections Institute, 3150 Horton Rd., Fort Worth, Tex. 76119.

USATCO also is appealing for donations to its Legal Defense Fund, which goes toward legal expenses and aid to prisoners and their families.



Local leaders of air controllers (Gary Greene, above) are being sentenced to jail terms and fines for striking against government.

National Black party leaders meet

Continued from Page 4

seminar following the march where protesters could hear and discuss the party's view of the fight for Black liberation and self-determination today.

Organizational decisions included the establishment of a category of at-large membership for those seeking to join and build the party in areas where no chapter or local organizing committee exists.

An electoral politics commission was established to review recommendations from party chapters seeking to run or endorse candidates for office. Two such requests were submitted to this commission by the Minneapolis and Baltimore chapters. The requests are still under review and no action was taken on them at the Central Committee meeting.

The electoral politics commission was the product of discussion sparked by a Political Education session held on electoral politics. Leaders of the Philadelphia chapter initiated the discussion with a report on the recent victory of Wilson Goode, a Black Democrat, in the mayoral primary in

that city. The Philadelphia NBIPP chapter decided to not endorse Goode's campaign because, as they saw it, NBIPP's goals and Goode's campaign did not coincide. However, it was also reported that some individual members of the chapter did give Goode critical support, on the basis that his campaign was a byproduct of general ferment in the Black community aimed at electing the first Black as mayor of the city.

This erroneous stand taken by a few Philadelphia NBIPP leaders had been taken in Chicago too. There, several leaders of the chapter actively supported Democrat Harold Washington's successful campaign for mayor in April.

A rich and varied discussion also took place about Jesse Jackson's proposal that a Black run in the 1984 presidential primary, and about whether or not participation in elections was an effective way for the NBIPP to build itself.

The next NBIPP Central Committee meeting will take place in early September in Dayton, Ohio.

Education 'reforms' erode students' rights

Teachers blamed but real culprit is big-business government

BY NANCY COLE

Education, after years of neglect in this era of budget-cutting, is emerging as a big issue for U.S. policymakers and capitalist politicians.

The educational strategy being pursued, however, is not one aimed at upgrading public education available to all. Instead, new trends and proposals — combined with continued cutbacks and attacks on desegregated and bilingual education — threaten further erosion of that fundamental right of the working class.

Attention first shifted to the nation's schools with the release of a report concluding that U.S. education is being eroded by a "rising tide of mediocrity."

The April report by the National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE), set up by the Education Department, noted that "for the first time in the history of our country, the educational skills of one generation will not surpass, will not equal, will not even approach those of their parents."

Some 23 million American adults are considered functionally illiterate, the NCEE reported. Thirteen percent of all American 17-year-olds are judged to be functional illiterates.

In June, a report by Aspira, a Puerto Rican educational agency, highlighted the crisis in education with its disclosure that the drop-out rate for New York City high schools is an astounding 68 percent. For Latino students, it is 80 percent; for Blacks, 72 percent.

This all would seem to point to a genuine problem for the American people. The education of our youth, the next generation, is a crucial issue for the working-class majority. It deserves attention.

The makers of the NCEE study, however, were less concerned with the future generation of workers than with the future of capitalism.

The report begins, "Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world."

Its proposals include more basic courses in math and science, longer school days and school years, higher college admissions standards, and higher standards for teachers along with more pay for some based on "merit."

Reagan's program

Reagan immediately concurred with the report's conclusions, blaming school problems on too much federal "presence in education." Bigger educational budgets are not the answer, he said, reaffirming his program: voluntary school prayer, tuition tax credits for parents sending their children to private schools, vouchers in place of federal educational aid, and abolishing the Department of Education.

The Democratic pack of presidential contenders, led by Walter Mondale, then began talking about the deterioration of education as a product of the Reagan administration.

Reagan shot back with a revised education platform: a "back-to-basics" theme, with "merit pay" for teachers at its center. The cost would be financed by cutting other educational programs of "much lower priority." The demand to abolish the Education Department, a 1980 campaign pledge, disappeared.

In trying to camouflage his budget-cutting spree against educational programs, Reagan made the incredible statement June 9 that the United States spends more on education than on the military. In 1982, he said, "the total budget for national defense was \$179 billion" whereas "it was \$215 billion for education!"

Aides later explained that Reagan was referring to money spent on education by federal, state, and local governments. How that figure was arrived at was not explained, which it deserved to be since it was \$100 billion higher than the figure for national educational expenditures Reagan had used several weeks before. (Nor was it explained why his "defense" figure was lower than the official government figure of \$223.8 billion.)

The fact is that the federal government

will spend about \$14.4 billion this year on education — less than the estimated cost of the MX missile system and less than half that projected for 15 Trident submarines. In 1981, the educational budget was \$15 billion; the proposal for next year is only \$13.5 billion.

Big-business strategy

The longterm strategy for education was more clearly focused in a couple of big-business meetings and studies reported in May.

The Business Council, made up of the current and former chief executives of the country's biggest companies, met and concluded that business needs "more professional workers and fewer unskilled workers." They blamed the lower-than-needed skill levels on the quality of secondary education.

A report released around the same time by the Business-Higher Education Forum called on Reagan to make the government's "central objective" the nation's ability to compete with other industrial nations. Its proposals included educational "reform."

That report, as have other recent big-business studies, called for a partnership between business and schools to ensure business gets what it needs. "Adopt-a-school" programs are a growing trend among U.S. corporations.

There's much to be said for genuine efforts to raise the standards of U.S. education. But without a corresponding commitment of federal funds and resources to upgrade education for all students — including the 68 percent who drop out in New York City — then the end result will be that fewer of our youth get a better education.

The educational make-over that these big-business studies encourage could lead to big setbacks for the rights of teachers and students, especially those of oppressed minorities.

That's the path toward improved capitalist competition.

Desegregated education

Thirty years after the Supreme Court outlawed the "separate but equal" doctrine, the effort to desegregate the nation's public schools is still an uphill battle.

The Reagan administration has targeted busing for desegregation — "mandatory busing," as they like to put it — for special attack, substituting "voluntary" desegregation plans.

This is not Reagan's invention, of course. For more than 15 years, Congress has been passing antibusing legislation



Busing for desegregation is under special attack despite its record of improving education for all involved, Black and white.

every chance it gets.

The problem is that none of the voluntary plans has worked. According to research done by Gary Orfield of the University of Chicago, only a few cities out of the hundreds that have implemented desegregation plans have done so without a court order or threat of it. And several cases have had to be reopened after it became clear that voluntary plans were not desegregating the schools.

In an article in the April 18 *New York Times* magazine, reporter Lee Daniels took on the charge that busing for desegregation has lowered the quality of education for Black and white students alike.

"One review of 93 studies examining the academic impact of desegregation on various school systems found that minority students' performance in class work and on standardized tests noticeably improved and that white students' performance at least kept pace with pre-desegregation levels," Daniels writes.

"These studies showed that, because of their previously inferior schooling, minority students required at least two years before any positive impact on their academic work became evident."

Daniels argues that conclusions on busing are often drawn solely from the most publicized cases in Boston and Los Angeles, "where school authorities fiercely resisted minimal desegregation plans."

Contradicting the oft-quoted opinion polls showing that Americans in their majority oppose busing for desegregation,

a 1981 Harris poll found overwhelming support for busing among families whose children had actually been bused for desegregation.

Reagan's example backfires

When Reagan blasted federal aid to education in his May 17 news conference, he pointed to a high school in Austin, Texas, as a shining example of how local initiative can improve education without federal intervention.

That surprised the school's officials because, as principal Adan Salgado explained, the school — 99 percent Mexican-American and Black — was the "door-mat of the district" until three years ago when busing was ordered for desegregation. Then emergency federal aid allowed the school — now with substantial numbers of white students — to build new classrooms, remodel other facilities, and add Latin and computer sciences.

Yet segregation of Black students is increasing in the Northeast, Daniels reports, and it has risen sharply for Latinos nationwide.

Bilingual education has also come under attack recently. A task force of the Twentieth Century Fund recommended to Reagan in May that the government discontinue support to bilingual education and instead teach children to speak, read, and write English by "immersing" them in it.

"Are they saying to the language-minority child: Succeed, or drop out so that you

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In Cuba: education above all else

BY NANCY COLE

How does a government that represents workers and farmers rather than big corporations take on the problems and challenges of educating its people?

"Education: 20 Years of Change" headlines an article in the Spring-Summer 1983 *CUBATIMES* by Marvin Leiner, chair of the Department of Elementary and Early Childhood Education at Queens College in New York. The article is reprinted from the *Journal of Reading*.

Leiner reports that two decades after the revolution "Cuba's highest flag is still the banner of education" as it was when he first visited the island in 1968-69.

He summarizes the "significant, remarkable educational accomplishments" of the Cuban revolution as follows:

- "A daring national commitment to a revolution in education, unparalleled in developing countries. Cuba has devoted about one-fifth of its total productive capacity to formal schooling."

- "A major offensive in mass education at the day care, primary, and secondary levels. This included almost doubling the number of elementary schools, more than 1,000 new junior high schools, and nine times more senior high schools than in 1958-59."

- "The training of thousands of new teachers and the introduction of a national

staff development program employing a variety of strategies: university expansion of teacher training, in-service seminars, television, summer workshops, correspondence courses — all in an effort to improve teacher quality and introduce major curriculum changes.

- "A strong attack on adult illiteracy, beginning with the historic Literacy Campaign of 1961 and institution of follow-through programs throughout the island."

- "The adaptation of a twofold dynamic strategy for educational change which (a) did not hesitate to borrow or learn from basic research and development from developed countries and (b) introduced their own Cuban innovations such as the *escuela-en-el-campo* [school-in-the-countryside] model, boarding schools, work/study programs for adolescents and adults, parental and community involvement and nonformal programs such as *círculos de interés* [interest circles]."

- "A national effort to bridge the large gap between rural and urban educational opportunity. This emphasis has reversed the historical Latin American legacy by giving top priority to rural schools — resources, scholarships, teachers, new buildings, and medical and dental benefits."

Leiner documents his conclusions with facts and figures that provide telling con-

trasts to the educational problems of the United States.

More than one third of the entire population of Cuba — 3.5 million people — is enrolled in school.

All education in Cuba is completely free.

In contrast to the alarming dropout rates in the urban centers of the United States, 82 percent of 13-16 year olds in Cuba are enrolled in secondary schools. Virtually all children aged 6-12 go to school.

The three university centers before the revolution have expanded to 39, with a student population eight times greater. Not only is tuition free, but students receive lodging, board, and stipends as well.

Day-care centers, open to children from 45 days old up to age 6, provide a basis for later growth in reading, math, and science. These allow women with young children to enter the work force and to pursue their own education.

Leiner suggests that the "Cuban revolution in education" merits the careful attention of others concerned with educational change. Unfortunately, those who control educational funding and policy in the United States are dedicated to discrediting the gains of the Cuban revolution. They've learned only that they want no more Cubans in the region providing the subversive example of free, equal education for all.

CALIFORNIA

San Jose

Stop the Deportations! Political Asylum for Héctor Marroquín. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Sam Rodriguez, International Association of Machinists Local 562; Richard Miles, member, San Jose Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador; representative, People United for Human Rights; others. Translation to Spanish. Thurs., July 7, 7 p.m. 1st Presbyterian Church, 49 N 4th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Harold Washington's Victory: a Discussion of the Black-Latino-Labor Coalition for the 1984 Elections. What Socialists Stand For. Speaker: Stuart Crome, Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee. Sun., July 10, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Stop the Deportations! Speaker: Representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 9, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Crisis in Housing: How Not to Redevelop St. Louis. Panel discussion. Sun., July 10, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Profits From Racism: Union-busting at People's Express Airlines. Speaker: Tom Jenkins, representative, People's Express Workers Association; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean. Speaker: Wilma Reverón, director of International Office of Information for the Independence of Puerto Rico, Lares Committee at the United Nations. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Orquesta Aragon, Los Bravos, Caridad Cuervo: In Concert With Cuba. Fri., July 15, 7:30 p.m. and 11:30 p.m. Beacon Theater, 2124 Broadway (near 74th St.) Ausp: Caribe Productions Inc. For more information call:

Box Office, (212) 874-1717; Charget, (212) 944-9300; or Ticketron, (212) 977-9020.

Protest the U.S. War Against Nicaragua. March and rally. Sat., July 16, 12 noon. Gather at Herald Square, 34th St. and Avenue of the Americas. Rally at 2 p.m. at Union Square, 14th Street. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 741-0633, 243-2678, or 242-1040.

Celebrate the 4th Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution. The Revolutionary Dance of the Summer — Direct from Nicaragua: Grupo Pancasan. Sat., July 16, 9 p.m. Martin Luther King Center Auditorium, Hospital and Health Care Workers District 1199, 310 W 43rd St. (near Eighth Ave.) Donation: \$10. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua.

Picnic in Central Park to Celebrate the Nicaraguan Revolution. Nicaraguan food, games, and fun. Grupo Pancasan. Sun., July 17, 12 p.m. to 6 p.m. 88th St. and Central Park. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Women's Liberation: Solidarity in the Fight Against U.S. War in Central America. Speakers: Andrea González, National Committee member of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 9, 8 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Report Back From National Women Miners Conference and Southwest Regional National Organization for Women Conference. Speakers to be announced. Fri., July 8, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON D.C.

Government Attacks on Immigrant Workers. Panel Discussion. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 8, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Myth That Imports Steal Jobs: a Working-Class Answer to the Lies of Big Business. Speaker: Joan Radin, former Socialist Workers candidate for mayor; member, United Mine Workers of America Local 2271. Sat., July 9, 8 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

How to Defend Abortion Rights. Panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Fri., July 15, 8 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Education 'reforms' erode student, union rights

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won't be counted?" asked Jack John Olivero, president and general counsel of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund. "In the classroom, the poor cannot be regarded the same as those with wealthy sponsors if each group is to have an opportunity for an education equal to its peers."

In New York City alone, 70,000 of 900,000 students are in some kind of bilingual program made possible by federal aid.

Congress already cut aid to bilingual education from \$161.5 million in 1981 to \$138.1 million last year.

High school diplomas

What about literacy tests before awarding high school diplomas?

In Florida, 1,665 high school seniors did not receive diplomas at the end of this school year. Their future options are now considerably narrowed. College, a decent job, and even the army are off limits.

Two-thirds of those who failed the state's diploma test are Black, although Blacks make up only one fifth of Florida's high school students.

Black students challenged the tests, which were ordered by the legislature in 1976. In 1979 a federal judge ruled that the Florida tests were not racially or culturally biased but ordered the state to wait until this year to start withholding diplomas. A last minute appeal argued that the legacy of segregation and the vestiges of a dual school system prevented Blacks from performing as well as whites on the tests. It was rejected.

Thirty-seven other states have begun to adopt similar exams.

Until World War II, college education was more or less for the wealthy. The GI Bill of Rights ended that, and the civil rights movement of the 1960s changed it more dramatically. State university systems expanded significantly.

From 1960-81, the percentage of Black and Latino students attending college grew from 6.4 percent to 14.6 percent of all students.

Now rocketing costs combined with cuts in federal aid and more restrictive admissions standards threaten this progress.

Twenty-eight states have adopted tougher admissions standards or are considering doing so. Given that Black students on the average score 100 points below whites on college SATs (Scholastic Aptitude Tests), they will be disproportionately affected by the new policies.

State governments are also looking to cut costs on remedial programs for university students. Oregon has figured out its own penalty for students with inferior schooling: it charges them an extra \$104 for each remedial course.

Reagan has given a high priority to cut-

backs in student assistance programs, proposing that even those low-income students who can show "need" have to come up with 40 percent of college costs in order to qualify for federal assistance.

The new "needs" criteria aim to close the door to those families with incomes of \$15,000 or more, shutting out a considerable number of working-class families.

At the same time, another trend among private colleges is awarding more scholarships for "merit" rather than for need.

All this has meant a decline in Black college enrollment.

The more prestigious schools have seen their already small Black student populations drop even further: from 199 to 178 at Cornell; from 126 to 97 at Harvard.

The United Negro College Fund, with 42 member-colleges, reports a 3.7 percent drop in enrollment last fall. For first-time freshmen, the drop was 12 percent.

Teachers

Teachers are taking the brunt of current criticism leveled against U.S. education.

The proposals to "upgrade" teaching contained in the recent round of studies go in the direction of making it a "profession" with fewer oppressed nationalities among its ranks and fewer union protections.

By 1985, at least 25 states are expected to require some kind of teaching licensing exam.

"The test is killing future Black teachers. It's an academic electric chair," says Walter Mercer, a professor at the predominantly Black Florida A&M University.

Only 37 percent of Florida A&M students passed the test, which is a similar proportion to other Black colleges across the South.

In California, 7 of 10 minority teacher applicants failed the state's first licensing test last December.

In Arizona, three out of four Black and American Indian applicants didn't pass, along with two out of three Latinos.

In Florida, after one third of Black applicants failed the test compared with 10 percent of whites, the state board of education raised the minimum scores required to pass.

Last year three Black graduates in Alabama filed suit after they failed the state's test, charging the exams tested information they had never been taught and that the questions were racially biased.

Other critics of the tests, including the National Education Association (NEA), argue that the tests can't predict how good a teacher a graduate will become.

Merit pay

As the nation's two teachers unions have repeatedly pointed out, teachers need

higher pay. The average pay for elementary school teachers is \$18,500; for secondary school teachers, \$19,500. Starting pay is as low as \$12,000.

Like other workers, many teachers with families have had to take a second job, a necessity, they point out, that interferes with the quality of their teaching.

Making teachers' wages "competitive" with professions such as engineering is a big focus of the proposals to upgrade education. But rather than focus on increasing the pay for all teachers, the emphasis is on "merit" pay for some.

Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander blames teachers unions for defeating his recent proposal for master teacher programs that would have paid the chosen few up to \$7,000 more each year.

The Florida state house approved a \$60 million merit-pay package last month over the objections of teachers unions.

"It comes down to who knows the evaluators, who plays golf with the superintendent, and who doesn't cause trouble," explains Pat Daly, vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

However, AFT President Albert Shanker has now urged his members to keep an "open mind" on the issue.

According to Willard McGuire, president of the NEA, "Merit pay has been used time and time again in the past to pay a few people more so than many more could be paid less."

Merit pay is fast becoming a football in the 1984 presidential campaigning. Reagan latched onto it, believing it an effective play against Mondale and other Democrats

who are presumably interested in the support of the NEA. But after a few days of that, Mondale backed down, saying he was for it if it "means that we will pay more for superb teachers and that we will eliminate teachers that are incompetent."

Reagan came back with a broadside attack on the NEA in a June 15 speech. "Until [the NEA] relaxes its opposition to the badly needed reforms the country wants — in hiring, salary, promotion and tenure — the improvements we so desperately need could be delayed," he charged.

The intent of all this is twofold. On the one hand, if the government were to successfully pull off the merit-pay scheme, it would cripple teachers' collective-bargaining strength and unity.

On the other hand, placing all the blame for the crisis in education on teachers diverts attention from the real culprit: a government that puts the interests of big business at the top of its priorities. When profits dictate budget cuts for social services and hikes for the military, the Democratic and Republican politicians respond. When profits demand workers with higher skills, the capitalist officials comply.

None of it has anything to do with the needs of working people. And while the attacks today may fall hardest on the poorest, the Black and Latino workers, the target is public education, a fundamental right of the working class.

Labor should snatch this issue from the big-business politicians by making education its own crusade. The union movement should be demanding more federal funds for the schools, defending desegregation, busing and bilingual education, and solidifying with teachers' rights.

Consul General of Grenada on tour in Calif.

BAY AREA

Solidarity Rally: The Truth About Grenada's Revolution. Speaker: Joseph Burke, consul general of Grenada. Translation to Spanish. Sun., July 10, 6 p.m. Sailboat House, 568 Bellevue Ave., Lakeside Park, Lake Merritt, Oakland. Ausp: Bay Area Burke Tour Committee. For more information call (415) 642-2175.

LOS ANGELES

Grenada: the Peaceful Revolution. Why is Reagan Trying to Destroy it? Speaker: Joseph Burke. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 15, 7:30 p.m. St. Brigid's Catholic Church, 5214 Western Ave. (between Slauson and Vernon on Western). Ausp: U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. For more

information call (213) 822-8295.

SAN DIEGO

Grenada: the Peaceful Revolution. Why is Reagan Trying to Destroy it? Speaker: Joseph Burke. Translation to Spanish. Thur., July 14, 7 p.m. Golden Hill Community Hall, 2220 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Ad Hoc Grenada Solidarity Committee. For more information call (619) 283-8819.

SEASIDE

Solidarity Rally: The Truth About Grenada's Revolution. Speaker: Joseph Burke. Wed., July 12, 7:30 p.m. M.L. King Middle School, 1713 Broadway, Seaside. Ausp: Joseph Burke Tour Committee. For more information call (408) 899-1316.

LETTERS

Rosenberg memorial

I had the privilege of attending the memorial meeting commemorating the 30th anniversary of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg by the U.S. government. They were framed up on charges of "stealing" the "secret" of the atomic bomb.

Several hundred people, mostly activists from the 1930s and 1940s, attended the meeting on June 17 at the Ethical Culture Society in New York City.

Presentations were made by a wide variety of people including Robert and Michael Meeropol (sons of the Rosenbergs), Walter and Miriam Schneir, Arthur Kinoy, and Marshall Perlin, one of the attorneys for the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

The tenor of the meeting was one of anger and sadness, but also of rededication. Several of the speakers pointed out that the Rosenbergs were framed up and executed in the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt so that every American would be intimidated from speaking out — from those who questioned the Korean War to those who fought against the company on the shop floors.

Speakers at the meeting emphasized that while the current administration is attempting to use the same red-baiting and scare tactics, the legacy of the Rosenberg case is that we must continue to oppose governmental policies even more vigorously. This is especially true now when the U.S. government is trying to whip up

war hysteria over El Salvador and Nicaragua.

There were two interesting highlights that readers of the *Militant* may be interested in. First, Ed Asner, who sent a message to the meeting, is currently making a movie based on the case. He will play Emanuel Block, the attorney who defended the Rosenbergs.

Secondly, one of the speakers reported that the Cuban government has declared that the 10 days from June 15 to June 25 will be dedicated to the Rosenbergs, and during that time a monument will be unveiled there commemorating their heroic stand against U.S. imperialism.

Edwin Fruit
Brooklyn, New York

and Machine Workers (IUE), has joined the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. However, most were willing to sign even before knowing our union's position.

Once we began, a couple of other workers joined in the effort. One helped explain to a group of workers that elections in El Salvador were rigged.

The petition drive was the first organized activity on the situation in Central America to take place in our plant.

B.J.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Spartacist disruption

Over the June 3-4 weekend the Northern California Young Socialist Alliance chapters held a successful educational conference, attended by some 60 people. The theme of the gathering was "What working people can learn from the ideas of Marx and Engels."

On the first day of the conference there was an attempted disruption by the Spartacist League. This small sect has carried out verbal and physical disruptions in the Bay Area in the past, particularly at meetings organized by the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party.

Eight members of the sect turned up at the conference. Two managed to get inside and attempted to start a fight by throwing a punch which drew some blood. Conference organizers ejected



them from the room.

The whole thing was clearly a set up. One of the SLers came with a camera. Their purpose, evidently, was to try and provoke an incident which they could photograph and then "document" in their newspaper.

For the next three hours, SL members tried to provoke a more violent confrontation by taunting the conference participants. Their remarks were indicative of their backward political views.

Referring to the YSA's defense of the Iranian revolution against imperialist attacks one Spartacist yelled, "What way do you kneel when you pray to Allah?"

They shouted at women conference participants: "Where's your veil?" and "Don't the men make you wear a chador?" (The veil and

chador are traditional garments worn by many women in the Middle East.)

When this gambit failed, the SLers finally left, promising to return the next day. However, this turned out to be an empty threat.

The conference proceeded successfully and two young people decided to join the San Francisco YSA chapter.

Raúl González
Oakland, 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.

How imperialism robs and starves the Third World

Continued from Page 15

hunger as local production is exported to meet the requirements of debt service; unemployment; and shocking declines in already degraded standards of living.

Imperialist exploitation — whether expressed in unequal terms of trade, the repatriation of corporate profits, or debt service — is the secret of the persistent underdevelopment and mass misery in most of Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Revolutionary demands

Fidel ends with a section on the aims of the Nonaligned Movement.

He proposes a struggle to cancel the unpayable external debt, and against unequal exchange in trade relations. He stresses the need to oppose the growing number of protectionist measures in the imperialist countries, which further worsen conditions for the underdeveloped countries.

He calls for massive assistance from the developed

countries to the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

He demands industrialization plans that meet human needs. He insists on the need "to struggle in each of our countries for the adoption of measures to control and limit the activities of the transnational corporations, fully exercising our right to sovereignty over our resources, including the right to nationalize them."

"Health is an essential right of all men and a responsibility of society," he declares.

He calls for campaigns to abolish illiteracy in all countries.

And he calls for a food policy that would end hunger and rural unemployment through profound socioeconomic changes, including agrarian reforms.

These and other demands constitute the heart of the "new international economic order" that the Cuban government is seeking to mobilize the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America to fight for.

This is the kind of transformation that the workers and

farmers of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Grenada are seeking.

And this is the kind of progressive social change that Washington is launching a bloody new Vietnam in Central America to prevent.

SELECTED SPEECHES OF FIDEL CASTRO

Eight speeches given over the last twenty years. Includes Castro's famous 1960 speech to the UN General Assembly. Also, "The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought," "Against Bureaucracy and Sectarianism," "The Road to Revolution in Latin America," and Castro's 1979 speech on the twentieth anniversary of the Cuban revolution. \$4.00, 134 pages. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

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Imperialist hands off Iran!

The imperialist government of France, headed by François Mitterrand, has agreed to "lend" the Iraqi government five of its Super Etendard fighter bombers. These planes are capable of firing powerful Exocet missiles. Iraqi officials said they wanted them to bomb Iranian oil installations. France is also training Iraqi pilots to fly the planes.

According to the U.S. State Department, which made this information public, the agreement between France and Iraq was made in secret last month in Paris. It will result in a major increase in Iraq's firepower, which is concentrated on pursuing its 34-month-old invasion of Iran.

Iraq's decision to launch a war against Iran in September 1980 was welcomed by the imperialist powers. The Iraqis made no secret that their goal was to overthrow the Iranian government and crush the revolution.

But the Iranian masses knew they had something to defend, and mobilized in their millions to push back the invaders, who they see as a mortal threat to the gains they have won in the four years of their revolution.

In light of Iran's ability to resist the invasion, imperialism and proimperialist regimes in the region have become more open in backing Iraq.

According to the *London Observer*, 80 Iraqi military pilots are also being trained in Great Britain by an officer recently assigned to the British Ministry of Defense.

The U.S. government claims it is neutral in the war.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

It was Washington that backed the murderous shah of Iran, who was overthrown by the popular masses in 1979.

It was U.S. imperialism that dominated Iran's economy, leaving the country impoverished and underdeveloped.

With the ousting of the shah, the oppressed and exploited of Iran — and the rest of the region — were inspired to fight for their many pressing needs, from an end to imperialist plunder, to higher wages and more control of the factories, to land to the peasants and equal rights for women and oppressed nationalities.

The U.S. government has done everything in its power — covert and overt, military and economic — to turn back the revolution and overthrow the government of Ayatollah Khomeini, which stands as an obstacle in the way of Washington's counterrevolutionary designs.

It was recently revealed that the U.S. Air Force has a

secret base in the desert of southern Egypt.

Originally, it served as the staging ground for President Carter's unsuccessful April 1980 military raid on Iran carried out on the pretext of freeing the U.S. hostages.

Now, Defense Department officials admit, about 100 Americans are on duty at the base. It is part of the support network for the Pentagon's Rapid Deployment Force, which is aimed at the Iranian revolution, as well as the Arab world.

The Iraqi regime has been cranking out a lot of peace talk lately, calling for a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq. The regime even claims it is withdrawing its troops from Iran.

But this talk about peace is simply serving as a cover for the Iraqi government to continue its bloody war against Iran.

The Iraqis still occupy 350 square miles of Iranian territory. Repeatedly the Iraqi army shells towns occupied by civilians in the western part of Iran.

According to the international edition of *Kayhan*, the main Tehran daily, since the outset of the war "about 80,000 residential buildings had been shelled and damaged or totally ruined by the Iraqi troops in the Iranian cities of Khorramshahr, Abadan, Ahvaz, Dezful, Shush, Susangerd, and Hoveizeh."

In the face of this sustained aggression, the Iranian masses have continued to mobilize to expel the invaders from their territory.

As the Iranian mission to the United Nations has stated, "The Iraqi regime has proven with its unfounded claims of voluntary withdrawal, and its savage bombardment of civilian targets after each military defeat, that its call for peace cannot be seriously considered because such a regime will only use peace for reorganization of its armed forces, leading to another sudden aggression. The only alternative [for] the Muslim people of Iran and their combatants on the warfronts is to make the regime heed their legitimate demands through military victories and by inflicting losses upon the army of aggression."

Iran is simply demanding that the Iraqi invaders leave them in peace, and pay reparations for the extensive damage done to Iran.

Working people and their allies have every interest in supporting peace and aid — not bombs and hatred — for Iran.

Imperialist hands off Iran!

Labor's stake in fight against war

Continued from front page

guan workers, farmers, and youth.

U.S. imperialism acts this way because these struggles threaten profits that the imperialist corporations have been plundering from these countries.

But American workers and farmers have no stake in the exploitation of the peoples of Central America. Working people here want the same things that our Salvadoran and Nicaraguan brothers and sisters want. And our needs are under a sharpening attack by the same big corporations, and the same capitalist government that is escalating the war against Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The majority of people in this country remain opposed to Washington's war in Central America.

But the U.S. rulers have made it abundantly clear that, regardless of majority opinion, they will deepen their military intervention — up to and including the use of American GIs.

Thousands will be protesting these war moves in Washington, D. C., on July 2. And on July 2-3, the second border conference of the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador will take place in Tijuana, Mexico.

Participants in these and other activities protesting U.S. intervention in Central America are being challenged to think about how to build a movement that can force U.S. imperialism to end its invasion and let the people of Central America decide their own future.

Many opponents of U.S. intervention hoped that Congress, under pressure from public opinion, would put a stop to the new Vietnam. That hope has been thoroughly tested.

Far from acting to block escalation, Congress has voted funds to pay for it. Debates between "doves" and "hawks" boil down to a difference over how, not whether, to deepen the U.S. war.

This outcome was foreshadowed April 27, when Sen. Christopher Dodd — a leading Democratic "dove" — went on nationwide TV to answer Reagan's war speech before Congress. "We will oppose the establishment of Marxist states in Central America," Dodd insisted.

The June 27 *Washington Post* pointed out that since Reagan's war speech, "Congress has given him most of the aid funding he has requested, albeit with much foot dragging."

"Two months ago, for example, debate on foreign aid requests included demands for proof that Nicaragua was supplying arms to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. This month, there was no dissent when the House Foreign Af-

fairs Committee denounced Nicaragua for exporting revolution."

The Democrats and Republicans in Congress will not be deterred from their bipartisan war policy by opinion polls.

The fight against Washington's war policy must be built around educating and mobilizing the forces who have nothing to gain and everything to lose from the new Vietnam war — the working class and the oppressed nationalities.

The escalation of Washington's war will bring an escalation of the battles over that war policy inside the United States. And those battles will be part of the deepening of the class struggle, in which the fight against the imperialist war will be central.

War means more attempts to bust unions and impose takeback contracts. It means more cuts in funds for health and social services.

For the Black community, it means more attempts to roll back the gains won by the civil rights movement. It means disproportionate death and injury for Black youth, just as happened in Vietnam.

It will mean more racist attacks on Latinos and on all foreign-born workers. This can already be seen in Reagan's racist rhetoric about "feet people" threatening to inundate this country.

Working people are beginning to respond to this challenge. A discussion and debate is under way within the labor movement. There is growing support for the proposal that the AFL-CIO come out forcefully against Washington's deepening war in Central America.

Within the Black community, opposition grows as the war escalates. This is indicated by the support given to the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom by all the major civil rights organizations.

A growing layer of fighters for women's equality is also recognizing that the struggle for women's rights is incompatible with imperialist war.

The escalation of the U.S. war against Central America calls for the united efforts of all those dedicated to defending the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan revolutions, of all those who are unconditionally opposed to U.S. intervention.

Within that framework, we need to base our strategy on an orientation to the working class and the oppressed nationalities. This means 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, Nicaragua, and all of Central America.

Raul Castro on role of party and state in Cuba

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Pathfinder Press has just published Volume II of Fidel Castro's speeches. It is titled *Our Power Is That of the Working People: Building Socialism in Cuba*. This volume also includes some speeches by Raúl Castro, second secretary of the Cuban Communist Party (CCP) and commander of Cuba's armed forces.

One of these is "The Role of the Communist Party of Cuba," which was delivered by Raúl Castro on May 4, 1973, to a meeting of cadres and functionaries of the CCP's Central Committee.

This speech was given at a time when the Cuban leadership was making efforts to strengthen the unions and mass organizations, and to institutionalize the participation of the masses in decision-making. It was also a time when the CCP was growing and strengthening its presence in the workplaces.

Raúl Castro explained the relationship between the party, the state, the mass organizations, and the representative institutions, which came into being later.

He explained that "In a revolution whose objective is the construction of socialism and communism, the establishment of what classics of Marxism labeled the dic-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

tatorship of the proletariat becomes necessary and indispensable after political power is taken."

The working class must exercise its dictatorship "in alliance with the other laboring classes," especially the peasants.

On the other hand the working class as a whole is not in a position to exercise its dictatorship. Castro quoted V.I. Lenin's view that the dictatorship of the proletariat "can be exercised only by a vanguard that has absorbed the revolutionary energy of the class."

In other words, "the working class can realize its dictatorship and construct the socialist society only through a political party that groups its conscious minority."

But there is more to the dictatorship of the proletariat than the party, said Castro.

"The party is only the vanguard minority of the most advanced social class, and it is charged with leading and carrying on its shoulders the greatest weight in the construction of socialism. Because of this, to exercise its leading function throughout all of society, the party is supported by the state, the mass organizations, and when necessary, by the direct mobilization of the working masses. *The most ideal and direct instrument to rule society is not a political party, but rather the state*, the apparatus without which the dictatorship and the implementation of the tasks of constructing socialism are not possible."

Castro then developed the theme of the different roles played by the state and the party.

"The power of the party rests directly in its moral authority; in the influence that it has among the masses; in the clarity with which it expresses their interests and aspirations; in the consciousness that it imbues in them of their revolutionary, economic, and social duties; and finally, in the confidence that the masses put in it. Hence, its actions are based, above all, in convincing — whether it be through actions or through its ideological and political positions.

"The power of the state rests directly in its material authority, having at its disposal a special force to make the fulfillment of its decisions compulsory; to subject everyone to its juridical norms. Hence, its action is based, above all, in coercion, in the compulsory nature of the laws, regulations, and orders it issues.

"Thus, if the party and the state become mixed up, it first of all harms the effort of convincing the masses politically and ideologically, it harms the work that the party has to carry out and which only the party can conduct; and secondly, it harms the activities of the state, whose functionaries cease to be responsible for its decisions and activities."

Castro also dealt with the relationship between the party and the working class.

He quoted Fidel Castro: "One cannot simply say that the working class is represented as a class if we're trying to simply have the party represent it. That is to say, that while the party represents the interests of the working class, it cannot be said that it represents the expressed will of the entire class."

Thus, said Raúl Castro, there is the necessity of remembering the "principles of proletarian democracy," which "imply the participation of all the members of the working class (and not only its vanguard) and the other laboring classes in the exercise of the proletarian dictatorship, that is to say, in the ruling and governing of society."

Our Power Is That of the Working People is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please send \$7.95 plus \$.75 for postage.

How imperialism robs, starves Third World

The World Economic and Social Crisis: its impact on the underdeveloped countries, its somber prospects and the need to struggle if we are to survive. By Fidel Castro; Publishing Office of the Council of State, Havana, Cuba, 1983; 216 pages.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

This book by Fidel Castro is an important political and economic statement. It was prepared with the assistance of a group of young economists from Cuba's World Economic Research Center and the International Economic Research Center of the School of Economics of the University of Havana.

Documented to a large extent with figures released by capitalist sources including the U.S. government, Fidel

BOOK REVIEW

Castro gives a detailed indictment of what imperialism is doing to the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The *World Economic and Social Crisis* was presented as a report to the Seventh Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries this spring in New Delhi. But Fidel Castro had a far wider audience in mind than the assembled heads of government.

The book is an invaluable tool for anyone who wants to understand and explain, on the basis of facts and figures, the causes of the rising tide of struggles for change in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is an effective answer to the lie by the Reagan administration that the Nicaraguan revolution and the civil war in El Salvador are the result of plots hatched in Moscow and Havana.

Progress and poverty

Fidel points to the tremendous contradiction between the progress of science and technology on the one hand and the growth of poverty and misery on the other.

"A decisive change has occurred," Fidel says, "in the historical development of the productive forces of society."

"From the theory of relativity to that of the quantum theory — passing through nuclear physics, polymer chemistry, cybernetics and molecular biology — many of the findings that under other circumstances would not have gone beyond the scientific abstractions of a researcher . . . today become inspiring sources of projects which swiftly move from drawing board to production plant and then to market."

But there is the other side of the coin.

There are more than 500 million people either totally or partially unemployed in the underdeveloped countries. This comes to about 50 percent of the economically active population.

The most chilling statistics Castro provides concern hunger.

More than half a billion people go hungry. *Forty million, half of them children, will die this year of starvation.* More than 100 million children under five years of age suffer from malnutrition. In Latin America, which is better off in this respect than much of the underdeveloped world, *one million children die yearly of hunger* according to the Pan American Health Office.

Cause of world hunger

Castro rejects and disproves the claim that hunger in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is caused primarily by rapid population growth. He cites the judgment of the director general of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization:

"Though there is sufficient food for everyone, 500 million people are still suffering from hunger and disease and even die because they are too poor to buy the food that is already there. In some countries, mountains of food are stockpiled, while in others hunger and poverty persist. The obese are seeking new cures and the malnourished are offered no remedies. Many pets are pampered while hungry children are forgotten."

How can such a situation exist?

It exists because the bulk of modern industry is still the private property of the ruling capitalist class, producing for private profit and not human needs. It exists because the giant corporations that own this industry are determined to block the underdeveloped countries from taking the measures needed to begin overcoming these problems.

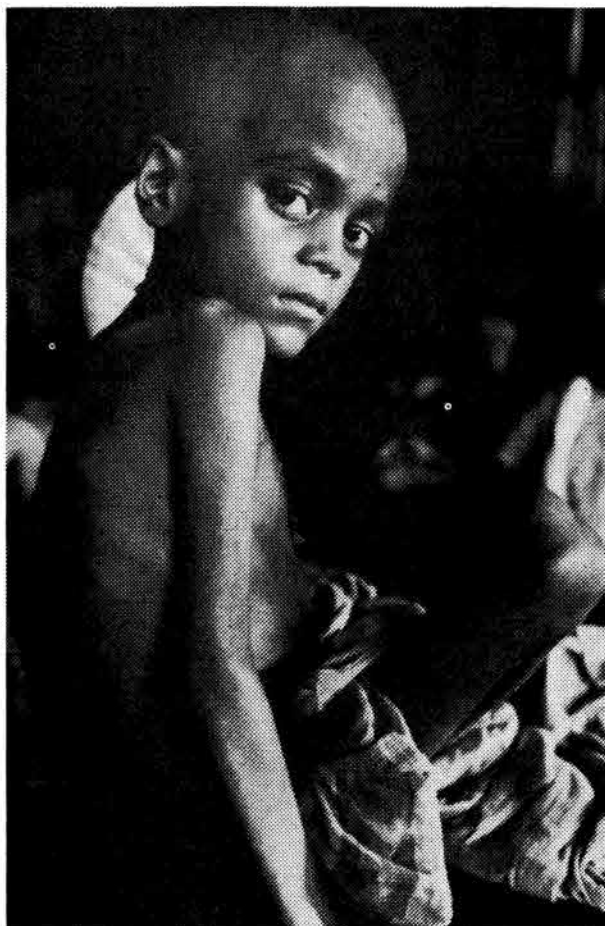
Why, Fidel asks, hasn't the "green revolution" in agricultural technique eliminated hunger?

"Modernization of agriculture in certain Third World areas," he writes, was "based on the use of scientific advances without altering the internal and external socioeconomic structures that constitute the basis for agricultural backwardness." The result "evidenced that agricultural and hunger problems are not only of a technological-productive nature, but that they are mainly derived from social structures and relations of domination."

Crisis of capitalism

The food crisis that threatens the survival of much of the world's population is a consequence of imperialist domination and capitalist misrule.

Fidel notes that capitalist business cycles "in the course of time, have tended to produce sharper, deeper



Fidel Castro explains in new book how imperialism is at root of hunger and underdevelopment of Third World.

and more generalized interruptions of the economic upsurge with world-wide effects. The most notorious crisis was the catastrophic world-wide depression of 1929-1933."

For a while after World War II, he continues, "the upsurge tended to be longer while the crises . . . sometimes appeared as relatively brief and mild recessive processes."

But towards the end of 1973, "in the midst of an unprecedented upsurge, economic activity was suddenly weakened, turning into a significantly deep crisis throughout the developed capitalist world in 1974 and early 1975." An upturn that began in the second half of 1975 was followed by a new cyclical crisis that began in 1979. Between the cyclical downturns unemployment has remained higher, rising to higher and higher levels with each new cycle.

This has had grave consequences for the whole world. As Fidel points out, even "the socialist countries, which have also been subjected to growing political hostility by the U.S. Government," have been affected.

But "for the Third World peoples," Fidel writes, "the present crisis has meant the almost complete ruin of their economies; the dashing of their hopes for improvement, because of the worsening conditions in trade; and bankruptcy staved off by mortgaging both the future and even the present, expressed in unbearable, unpayable indebtedness — in short, a prospect of hunger, poverty and disease for a painfully growing proportion of mankind."

The crises of 1974-75 and 1979-82 accelerated the decline of the financial position of the underdeveloped countries. During the years of 1973-75 their foreign debt grew at an annual rate of 25.1 percent while debt payment on interest zoomed upward at an annual rate of 61.1 percent.

The expansion of credit to the underdeveloped countries during the 1974-75 crisis had the effect of "cushioning the consequence of crises, at the cost of mortgaging the underdeveloped countries' future and generating a growing — and today unbearable — process of economic strangling in those countries."

During the economic upswing, the foreign debt of the underdeveloped countries continued to grow rapidly. Today it has reached 650 billion dollars.

Fidel states, "1974 and 1975 were bitter years for our countries, but . . . the situation has become even more oppressive in 1981 and 1982."

Even big business is concerned.

They fear that even the interest on these debts will prove uncollectable.

At the root of the debt crisis are trends in the imperialist exploitation of three continents that have been at work since the end of World War II.

Unequal exchange

After World War II, world trade grew rapidly. But from the 1950s on, the relative position of the underdeveloped countries worsened. The key factor was the declining prices of raw materials, which are the main exports of these countries, compared to the prices of industrial goods that they had to purchase from abroad. This established terms of trade that have been a steady drain on the wealth of the dominated countries.

For example, the real price (accounting for inflation) of tea is about one-third what it was in 1960. The same is true for the price of jute. In 1981, the price of natural rubber was 60 percent below the 1960 level.

Other commodities whose real prices have plummeted include beef, soybeans, palm oil, sugar, and cotton.

Exploding a myth

Fidel exposes the claim by various capitalist economists that large-scale industry is shifting from the imperialist powers to Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The share of the underdeveloped world in metal manufactured products increased 105 percent between 1963-80.

But this was a rise from only 2 percent of total world production in 1963 to 4.1 percent of world production in 1980.

Fidel notes "the strong concentration of the underdeveloped world's industrial production in a few countries, with a tendency to increase that concentration. In short, five countries were responsible for 61.4 percent of the industrial output of the underdeveloped world in 1980. In 1975, they were responsible for 56.7 percent. This means that more than 115 countries shared less than 40 percent of this production. During the period of the underdeveloped countries' most rapid manufacturing growth (1966-75), 69 percent of the increase took place in only nine of them."

The industry that underdeveloped countries have tends to be branches of production like garment manufacture, carried out with small amounts of capital and primitive technology. The advanced industry that exists is owned largely by corporations based in imperialist countries that export capital to the underdeveloped countries. Fidel calls these "transnational corporations."

"The really impressive thing is that 69.2 percent of the world's industrial work force is found in the Third World and that it generates less than 9 percent of the world industrial production," he writes. "Industry in more than 100 countries is . . . at definitely obsolete technological levels, producing for a limited domestic market and subsisting precariously thanks to protectionist policies by the public sector and the further reduction of its workers' standard of living."

Who benefits?

Who then benefits from the activity of the imperialist monopolies in the underdeveloped world?

"For every new dollar invested in all the underdeveloped countries during that period, transnationals repatriated approximately \$2.2 to their home countries," Fidel writes.

He explains, "The profit rate declared by U.S. transnationals in the underdeveloped world in 1981 was 24.1 percent; this easily surpasses both the rates attained in the developed capitalist countries (16.6 percent) and the world rate (18.4 percent)." These profits squeezed out of the underdeveloped countries are the greatest contributors to the U.S. balance of payments.

Economic vampirism

Great as the exploitation carried out by the industrial monopoly corporations is, their role has been overshadowed increasingly by bank capital.

"Direct investments by transnationals are not, and have not been for more than a decade, the main component of the mass of private capital exported to the underdeveloped countries. *Direct investments have been displaced by the export of loan capital which . . . made up almost 90 percent of the financial flow to the underdeveloped world in 1980.* . . .

"This expansion . . . has been conditioned, among other factors, by the decline in profit rates in the main capitalist countries and the contraction in world trade and production, stemming from the deep crisis facing capitalist economy. This has decisively influenced the shift of capital flows from the productive sphere to international financial circulation."

A small group of billionaires in the imperialist centers live like vampires, in large part by sucking an ever-increasing stream of wealth in the form of debt service from the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The results include the slowing or paralysis of economic growth; the undermining of even the limited independence won by many countries as they are pressured to submit to the bankers' demands; the growth of

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Steelworkers say: march Aug. 27

Jobs, peace, freedom rally gains labor support

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Labor support for the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom continues to grow.

The international vice-president for human affairs of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Leon Lynch, has sent a letter to USWA district directors, staff representatives, and local union presidents encouraging them to "endorse and support this most worthy undertaking."

The demonstration has also been recently endorsed by the United Mine Workers of America, Communications Workers of America (CWA), American Federation of Government Employees, United Furniture Workers, and Office and Professional Employees International Union, according to the August 27 mobilization offices in Washington, D.C.

The General Executive Board of the United Electrical Workers (UE), at its June 2-3 meeting, called for the biggest possible UE participation in the march.

UE President James Kane said, "We should make as great an effort for the August 27 march as we did for the September 19, 1981 'Solidarity Day' rally."

The June 24-26 conference of the Coal Employment Project, an organization that fights for women to get and keep jobs in the mines, also endorsed the march.

The demonstration, which was initiated by a number of civil rights leaders, has been endorsed earlier by the AFL-CIO and by a number of major unions, including the USWA, United Auto Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, United Food and Commercial Workers, and others.

Lynch, in his letter to USWA officials, pointed out that the Steelworkers union endorsed the August 1963 march on Washington, which the demonstration this fall is to commemorate, and that "we had members from all across this nation participate in that historic event."



Militant/Fred Murphy

Steelworkers at September 1981 Solidarity Day march on Washington. Many will be returning for August 27 action.

The work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who led the 1963 march, "is not finished," Lynch wrote. He continued, "We are still in search of a discrimination-free, pluralistic society."

"Now more than ever we need jobs. The callous policies of the Reagan Administration have had a devastating impact on workers, minorities and poor people."

"Once again our Union has joined with others from the labor movement and the civil rights field to dramatize the plight of

those who Dr. King held so dear; laboring people, poor people, the elderly and minorities."

The CWA's endorsement came in a resolution passed at the union's recent convention in Los Angeles.

Stating that the "goals of peace, freedom and full employment are still as elusive as they were [at the time of the 1963 march]," the resolution called for the adoption of Dr. King's birthday as a national holiday and pledged the union to "actively participate in and join with our union brothers and sis-

ters in a march on Washington, D.C., to be held on August 27, 1983, to commemorate and to reaffirm the principles laid down by Martin Luther King, Jr. in his 'I Have a Dream' speech."

There are coalitions building participation in August 27 in most cities. Many unions, including those listed above, are part of them. For further information contact the 20th Anniversary Mobilization offices at 1201 16th St., NW, Suite 219, Washington, D.C. 20036; telephone (202) 467-6445.

ANC answers White House on S. Africa freedom fight

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

NEW YORK — The Reagan administration's latest sermon on behalf of "peaceful change" in South Africa amounts to a blessing of the apartheid system and the government that enforces it.

That was the conclusion of David Ndaba, a member of the UN mission of the African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's predominant liberation organization. It came after a June 23 speech by the State Department's Lawrence Eagleburger, pledging U.S. support to "those inside and outside the government in South Africa who are committed to peaceful change."

Addressing a meeting here the following evening, Ndaba pointed out, "We were for peaceful change in 1912 [the year the ANC was founded]. We appealed to the British and U.S. governments to help put an end to apartheid. These appeals fell on deaf ears."

"We held peaceful, mass demonstrations and boycotts. These were met with bullets."

"Faced with this, we concluded we could no longer continue unarmed resistance. In the words of ANC President Oliver Tambo, 'We have offered the other cheek so many times that there is no cheek left to turn.'"

So it is, Ndaba continued, that "only now does Washington condemn those who use violence in South Africa. If they truly wish to condemn those who use violence, let them condemn the apartheid regime."

For the June 24 meeting, which was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, Ndaba was joined on the platform by Thabi Ndaba, also of the ANC's UN mission. In-

tercontinental Press staff writer Ernest Harsch chaired the gathering of about 100.

David Ndaba began with a look at South Africa's colonial history, dating from 1652. The result of this, he said, is that today all political and economic control, and 87 percent of all arable land, belong to South Africa's 4 million whites.

As for the nation's 26 million Blacks, "We exist only to sell our labor. Those who can't work — women and children, those who are too old or sick — are forcibly removed to the Bantustans." These are camp-like reserves where tuberculosis is the only thing that prospers.

He recalled the martyrs of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, 67 Blacks gunned down by Pretoria's police. More recently, there was the 1976 Soweto revolt, where close to 1,000 fell.

Then there were Black figures like ANC leader Nelson Mandela, whom the regime threw in prison; and Black Consciousness movement leader Steve Biko, whom the regime murdered in prison.

"Not even George Washington could say, 'We tried peaceful means for more than 50 years,'" Ndaba declared. "The people's patience had ended. We were left with one of two choices: submit or fight."

There followed a series of ANC-led armed actions against South African military and economic targets. Due largely to these, the ANC regained the popularity and prestige among Blacks it had lost in the years between Sharpeville and Soweto.

Ndaba characterized these actions as "armed mobilization."

"This is a political struggle; our aim is to mobilize people politically. It is the combination of mass political struggle and armed action that will achieve our freedom. We say, 'The Freedom Charter in one hand, an AK-47 in the other.'"

The Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by an assembly of anti-apartheid organizations, to this day "embodies the aspirations of those who are fighting for a nonracial, democratic South Africa," Ndaba said.

Ndaba then turned to international matters, particularly the struggle in Namibia. There, the South West Africa People's Organisation has been battling for the territory's independence from Pretoria since the early 1960s.

By linking Namibian independence to a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, Ndaba said, "the U.S. is holding the Namibian people hostage. It is saying, 'You will never be free until the interests of imperialism are served.'"

Those interests, according to Ndaba, include the overthrow of the governments of Angola and other "frontline" African states that have aided the South African freedom struggle. "Just as Israel is capable of invading Lebanon, South Africa is capable of invading the frontline states."

In all this, said Ndaba, Washington "encourages the apartheid regime": through statements like the June 23 pronouncement; through economic, military, and intelligence aid. Such aid is especially thriving under Reagan.

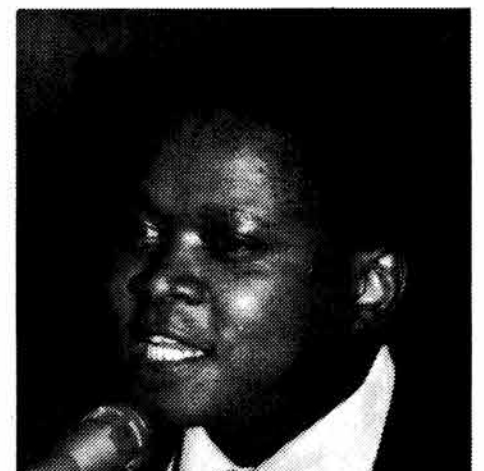
Thus, Ndaba concluded, "how long our struggle lasts depends on how much you,

the American people, do. We cannot do without your support."

"It wasn't until the U.S. people took to the streets that Vietnam won its independence. We must raise the issue of South Africa to the level that Vietnam once was and that Central America is today."

"We are asking you to view this as an act of solidarity. Solidarity is not charity. Solidarity is an act of mutual aid among forces who are struggling for the same objectives."

Following the talk, Thabi Ndaba fielded questions from the audience. Then the evening, which opened to strong applause and chants of "ANC, ANC," closed with a standing ovation.



Militant/Lou Howort

David Ndaba, one of African National Congress's representatives to UN.