

France escalates war on Chad rebels

BY ERNEST HARSCH

By attacking Chadian rebel forces on January 25, the French government has made an "open declaration of war" against the people of that Central African country, according to Abdelrahman Moussa, a rebel spokesperson.

The attack was the first direct combat action since some 3,000 French troops intervened in Chad in August 1983 to help prop up the proimperialist regime of Hissène Habré and prevent rebel forces supporting former President Goukouni Oueddei from regaining power.

Within days of the January 25 assault, the French government of President François Mitterrand moved to greatly reinforce the French military strength in Chad. The number of French warplanes there was tripled, and French troops were ordered to move their military line 60 miles northward, into rebel-held territory.

French government officials have warned that they may carry out air strikes in northern Chad. "We reserve the right to strike where we want," one high-level French Defense Ministry official arrogantly proclaimed.

As a justification for this aggressive move, Paris has claimed that its planes were attacked without provocation on January 25, and that they simply retaliated. One French Jaguar jet fighter was shot down by rebel forces, and its pilot killed (the first acknowledged French combat death in Chad since August). Another plane was also hit by rebel fire.

Moussa, the rebel spokesperson, responded: "We deny having provoked the French. We were attacked and we simply acted to defend ourselves."

This renewed outbreak of fighting followed the collapse of efforts by the Organization of African Unity to arrange negotiations between Habré and Goukouni. OAU Chairman Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia accused Habré of wrecking those talks.

To further justify their increased intervention in Chad, the French authorities have sought to portray the antigovernment rebellion as nothing more than an incursion by Libyan troops. The Libyan government of Muammar el-Qaddafi, while openly acknowledging that it supports Goukouni's forces, denies the French charges that there are thousands of Libyan troops in Chad.

In the same way, the Mitterrand government has claimed that its goal in Chad is to

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Calif. UAW strikers say no to takeback contract

BY OLLIE BIVINS

LONG BEACH, Calif. — In a resounding answer to McDonnell Douglas Corp.'s demand for concessions, United Auto Workers (UAW) strikers here turned down the company's contract proposal by a 72 percent vote on January 31.

UAW Local 148 members' determination to stay out — in the face of company moves to replace them with scabs — has attracted national media attention. The issues in the strike — the longest in McDonnell Douglas history — are important ones for all labor, especially the company's demand that the union agree to a dual wage structure, under which pay for newly hired and less-skilled workers would be significantly cut.

Solidarity needed

Unionists at McDonnell Douglas are taking a stand for all workers. The entire labor movement has an interest in getting out the truth about Local 148's struggle. Solidarity is urgently needed.

Local 148's vote to reject the contract was 1,796 against to 687 for. The contract proposal was virtually the same as one rejected by the union shortly before the strike began.

UAW members at McDonnell Douglas plants in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Melbourne, Arkansas, voted to accept the com-

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Militant UAW strikers marching in Long Beach January 27 to answer McDonnell Douglas' threats to hire scabs and break strike. Four days later workers voted down contract offer.

Eyewitness report: life in Cuba today

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

HAVANA — Celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution here have included messages of solidarity from all over the world. But a message of a different sort was sent to the Cuban people in a special surprise broadcast by Pres. Ronald Reagan.

Speaking January 5 over Voice of America, with a Spanish translation superimposed over his voice, Reagan cynically claimed to have had high hopes for the Cuban revolution when it first occurred. He said it was time the Cuban people knew just how bad things were in their own country and promised that the long-threatened Radio José Martí — a project of his administration — would soon be on the air to tell all.

Reagan said the Cuban revolution had brought nothing but poverty, hardship, and a lack of freedom to the Cuban people — without of course hinting at the real

hardships imposed on Cubans by the U.S. government over the last quarter century. These are the two basic lines of argument that have been used against Cuba by Reagan and his predecessors: first, that the Cuban economy is a "basket case," and secondly, that political rights do not exist on the island. What are the facts?

There are some economic "basket cases" in this part of the world — Washington's ally Honduras is a prime example. Cuba — by contrast — has been able to wipe out unemployment, provide free medical care and education to everyone, and keep down prices of all the basic necessities of life. You would have a hard time convincing a Honduran or Salvadoran worker — to say nothing of a Cuban — that these are signs of a sick economy.

I have been struck by a number of improvements in the quality of life and availability of consumer goods since my last visit to Cuba more than four years ago.

Bus service in Havana is much better, to give one example. There are still complaints. The buses are still full at rush hour. But there seem to be a lot more of them, which means waiting 5 or 10 minutes instead of the hour or more I remember in 1979. And you can still get anywhere in Havana for a nickel.

There are more and better-stocked coffee shops, bars, and restaurants. There is a greater variety of food in the supermarkets — canned meats, fruits, and vegetables, especially from Bulgaria, as well as Cuban products like canned tuna that could be exported for much needed foreign exchange, but are instead partly held back for domestic consumption. A lot more good Cuban beer and rum is available.

Cuban families are enjoying better vacations. Cubans all get a full month off with pay. Over the last few years there has been a big campaign to build new campgrounds and beach cottages for workers and their families and for young people.

Far from being subjected to nothing but demands for greater and greater sacrifice — as Reagan charges — Cubans say their lives are getting better. The Cuban economy has been organized to make more consumer goods available and improve services like transportation that make a big difference in workers' daily lives.

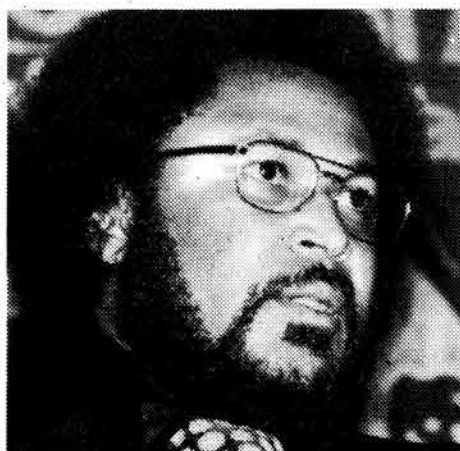
The fact that there are more goods available means workers feel like their paychecks mean something, which has not always been true. Especially in the late 1960s, people sometimes had money, but nothing to buy with it.

One of the solutions has been what is called here the parallel market. This is not a black market, nor is it privately owned. It is the non-subsidized (and therefore very expensive) and non-rationed sale of consumer goods.

There are hundreds of clothing and household goods stores around Havana with a sign saying "Free Sale" (*Venta*)

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Send-off rally for socialist candidate



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason was hailed at Seaside, California, send-off rally.

BY MIESA PATTERSON

SEASIDE, Calif. — Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason began his national campaign with a rousing send-off rally here on January 29 attended by about 100 campaign supporters. Mason is vacating his seat on the Seaside City Council in order to campaign for the presidency.

Seaside is a city of 37,000 on the Monterey Peninsula in central California. Mason is a longtime leader of the Black community here and a union activist.

Mason was elected to the Seaside City Council in 1980 on a program of using the city council to advance the interests of Blacks and the entire working class. Mason has utilized that office to speak out on behalf of unionists, Blacks, women, GIs, the elderly on fixed incomes, and others. He

has helped organize people to fight for their rights.

Community leaders and activists who had worked with Mason in these struggles came together at the rally to pay tribute to Mason and to express their enthusiasm for his decision to run for president on the Socialist Workers ticket.

The rally was chaired by Ken Collins, a 23-year-old Black trade unionist and leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Collins announced he will run for Mason's city council seat on the SWP ticket if a special election is called.

Collins recently won an important victory against the Hyatt Del Monte Hotel, which tried to victimize him for his role as a militant in the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 483. The Hyatt

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY DON MACKLE

NEWARK — New Jersey campaigners for Mel Mason and Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential ticket, have been visiting picket lines throughout Newark and the surrounding cities, expressing support to the striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 464A.

Priscilla Schenk, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New Jersey, has been accompanying campaign supporters to the picket lines to find out first hand about the striking workers' fight against area food chains.

The 7,000 butchers and delicatessen and seafood clerks organized by UFCW at Foodtown, Grand Union, Pathmark, and Shop Rite were forced out on strike when the firms joined together in demanding major concessions from the union during contract negotiations.

Sales of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Young Socialist* have been good at virtually every picket line visited by Schenk and the campaign teams.

"When strikers saw the story in the *Militant* supporting their strike

by telling the truth, they were very excited," said Schenk. "Some of them bought more than one copy." Schenk is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 63 of the New York Joint Board. She said the strikers were glad to hear about a garment worker running for office who promised to use her campaign to publicize the workers' side of the story and build solidarity with the UFCW strikers.

At one picket line, strikers who had been spread out around the parking lot gathered around a young campaign supporter who was explaining that the *Militant* is supporting SWP candidates in the 1984 elections, candidates who call for working people to form their own political party to fight in their class interests. Three people in the crowd got copies of the *Militant* after reading its coverage of the strike.

"It's an important thing you're doing, getting the truth out about these strikes," one older striker told her as she was leaving, "keep it up."

Many of the campaign salespeople reported discussions in which the strikers said they saw

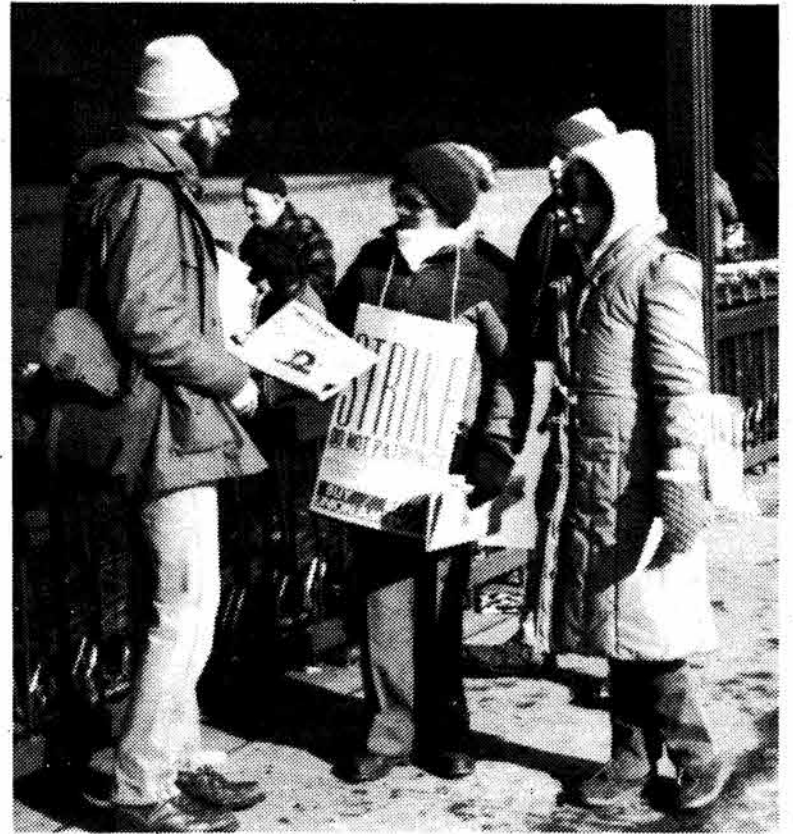
themselves as one more victim of a chain of union-busting attempts that started with the air controllers' union, PATCO.

The companies have joined together to put together a \$60 million fund, brought in a professional union-buster to organize a massive media campaign of lies and slanders against the union, and have even brought in professional meatcutters from out of state to work as scabs.

The firms are demanding that workers give up overtime pay on weekends, accept cuts in vacation and health benefits, and allow new employees to get lower starting salaries and fewer benefits.

To help counter these attacks, the campaign teams have sold *Militants* to people shopping at the stores being picketed and at local plant gates to get out the *Militant*'s coverage of the strike.

In addition socialists have met a number of young part-time workers at the stores, members of UFCW Local 1262, which has not joined in the walkout. These young workers support the strike and quickly bought copies of the *Militant* or *Young Socialist*.



Militant/Phil Norris
New Jersey socialists distributing *Militant* at picket lines of United Food and Commercial Workers, 7,000 of whose members are on strike.

French government escalates war on Chad rebels

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achieve "peace," and that the presence of its troops there will facilitate negotiations between Goukouni and Habré. That was the original justification for dispatching French troops to Chad in August 1983.

But Paris' real aim — then as now — is to maintain a proimperialist regime in power in Ndjamena, the Chadian capital. Habré was originally installed in June 1982 to set up such a regime, following a con-

certed campaign of destabilization by the imperialists — particularly the French and U.S. governments — to topple the previous Goukouni government.

Goukouni had angered Washington and Paris by taking anti-imperialist positions and maintaining close ties with Libya. He also had the support of the largest faction of the Chad National Liberation Front (Frolinat), which has been waging a guerrilla war in the north since the mid-1960s

against French imperialist domination over Chad, a former French colony.

From its inception, the Habré regime has been beholden to its imperialist backers. Besides the direct backing of 3,000 French troops, Habré receives significant economic and military aid from both Washington and Paris. Some 2,300 soldiers have been provided by the U.S.-backed regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaïre. Several U.S. military "advisers" are in Chad as well.

Habré's rule has been brutal. According to a report by Amnesty International issued in October 1983, government troops had killed more than 160 civilians in the previous 15 months, many of them far from the battle zones.

Despite such repression, opposition to Habré's regime remains widespread in Chad. Goukouni heads a broad coalition of political forces, from all parts of the country, including the fertile south.

In an interview in the January 2 issue of the London weekly *West Africa*, Issa Abdallah Mohamed, the secretary general of Frolinat (the largest force in the coalition headed by Goukouni) explained the program that Frolinat is fighting for:

"The programme is a national democratic one aimed at building a non-capitalist society. The ultimate goal is socialism. It stresses the withdrawal of foreign troops from Chad, the breaking up of traditional systems and the building of a new society based on equality, brotherhood and justice. Nationalisation and agrarian reform would take place, and we would lay the foundations for industrialisation. On foreign policy, we would build good relations with all non-aligned countries and peace-loving nations. . . ."

Paris' intervention — fully supported by the Reagan administration — is designed to block these liberation forces from coming to power and seeking to implement their demands.

As in Lebanon, that is the true face of the French "peacekeeping" force in Chad.

Angela Davis, Eddie Carthan back Marroquín

NEW YORK — Angela Davis, former Tchula, Mississippi, Mayor Eddie Carthan, and Rev. Ben Chavis have added their voices to the demand that Mexican-born socialist Héctor Marroquín be granted political asylum in this country.

They and other civil rights figures signed an appeal for political asylum that was circulated among participants in a January 29 benefit sponsored by the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR). Marroquín attended the event, which celebrated the 40th birthday of Angela Davis, the cochair of NAARPR and also the Communist Party (CP) candidate for vice-president in 1984.

In addition to Davis, Carthan, and Chavis, others at the benefit who signed the appeal for Marroquín include Charlene Mitchell, NAARPR executive board member and a central committee member of the

CP; Lennox Hinds, cochair of NAARPR; jazz pianist John Hicks; and Luis Garden, Brooklyn coordinator of the Jesse Jackson campaign.

Marroquín fled Mexico in the 1970s to escape a political frame-up there. He has been fighting Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) efforts to deport him despite the certain persecution he faces in Mexico. The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to rule very soon on his case.

The appeal signed by Davis and others was directed to INS Commissioner Alan Nelson. "Your agency's seven-year effort to deport Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican socialist, is a glaring example of the INS's role in suppressing free speech and opposition to U.S. domestic and foreign policy," it said.

"Increased INS raids on workplaces,

stubborn refusal to admit INS responsibility for the deaths of Salvadorans that you send back to face right-wing death squads, denials of visas to representatives of governments and organizations that disagree with U.S. policy — all of these steps signal a dangerous escalation of your agency's victimization of political activists here and abroad."

The letter demanded asylum for Marroquín and granting of permanent residence to him based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen.

Letters, telegrams, and phone calls urging a halt to Marroquín's deportation should be sent to INS Commissioner Alan Nelson, Washington, D.C. 20536. Telephone: (202) 633-1900. Copies of messages should be sent to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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Latinos hit racist remark by Teamster head

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — Jackie Presser, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has caused an uproar in the Latino community here over his racist statement that one of the biggest problems facing the United States is the large numbers of immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean. The immigrants cause unemployment, he said.

In an interview with United Press International that appeared January 24, Presser said, "There is here an important problem that someone will have to study: Cubans, Haitians, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, that is, citizens of nearly all the revolutionary-type countries in the world, have produced illegal immigrants that come to this country."

"We will have explosive situations if this keeps growing."

Latino union officials were among those who have condemned Presser's statement.

Kathy Andrade, education director of Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union — a local whose membership includes a large number of immigrant workers — told *El Diario-La Prensa* that undocumented workers from South and Central America and the Caribbean are forced to come to the United States because of the "political and economic chaos in their countries."

Andrade pointed to her country, El Salvador, as an example. Washington's military support for the government there, she said, has forced thousands of Salvadorans to flee their homeland.

Kilmer Cabán, a leader of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Local 169, which also represents many Latino and Caribbean immigrants, condemned Presser's statement and rejected the idea that undocumented workers are responsible for high unemployment.

Andrea González, the Socialist Workers

Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, also protested what she called Presser's "scandalous remarks."

"It is the responsibility of the leaders of our unions to promote solidarity among all workers, not to divide us with racism or the reactionary campaign — supported by Democrats and Republicans alike — against our undocumented brothers and sisters," said González.

González said the big problems facing U.S. workers — unemployment, racism, attacks on women's rights, lack of decent education and housing — are "the product of the capitalist system, a system that is organized to create profits for the bosses, not a better life for the majority."

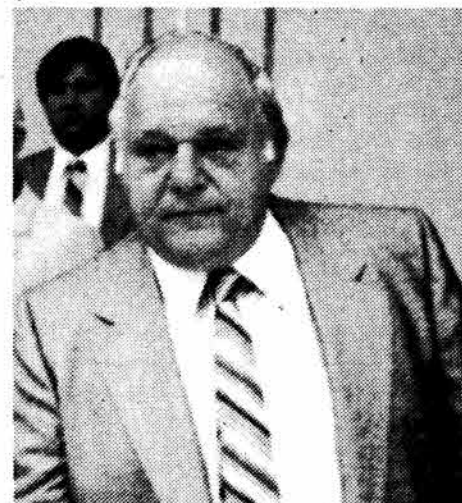
Pointing to Presser's "ignorance" of the fact that Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens because their country is a colony of the United States, González said, "As a Puerto Rican, I know that the only reason I have papers is because in 1917, Washington im-

posed citizenship on us."

González said that the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, and other semicolonial countries that Presser is so fearful of are "the inevitable and legitimate response to the brutal exploitation of countries underdeveloped by the same bankers and monopolists" that bust unions and exploit workers in the United States.

"Puerto Ricans and other Latinos are an important part of the unions in this country and an important part of the international workers movement," said González. Their first-hand experience with U.S. imperialist domination means they can play a leading role in struggles against the employers and their government in this country, said González.

González said the best answer to Presser's reactionary statement is for the union movement to take up the fight for full human, political, and civil rights for all immigrants, especially the undocumented.



International Teamster Jackie Presser, Teamsters president, drew protest for accusing immigrants from Central America and Caribbean of causing unemployment.

5 fired UAW members get backing in fight against political victimization

BY MARY JO VOGEL

SAN DIEGO — In an important attack on seniority rights and the free expression of political views, Teledyne-Ryan Aeronautical has fired five members of United Auto Workers Local 506 from its San Diego plant. The five are Jan Aragon, Tom Barton, Merrill Cohen, Gina March, and Judy White. All had been on layoff since last summer and, despite their seniority, had not been put back to work during a recall this past October.

Now, more than a year after their hiring,

the company has charged the workers with lying on their applications and has discharged them.

Union files grievance

UAW Local 506 had already challenged Teledyne-Ryan's refusal to recall the laid off workers by filing grievances that charged the company with violating seniority provisions of the union's contract. In response to Teledyne-Ryan's new move the UAW is filing an additional grievance that maintains the company is selectively victimizing these UAW activists because of their political ideas and union activity.

The fired workers believe that they may have first come to the attention of the company last spring when they were instrumental in bringing Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara to speak before their UAW local meeting. Molina Lara's message that Salvadoran working people and U.S. unionists have a common interest in stopping Washington's war in Central America was unpopular with the owners of Teledyne-Ryan, a war contractor.

The five were also active builders of the UAW in other ways in the plant. Their opposition to management harassment of all types, particularly that directed against women workers, as well as activity in defense of worker safety on the job also may have put them on the company hit list. Moreover, along with many other UAW members, the fired workers all opposed the new contract imposed by the company last spring. This included a two-tier wage system that lowered the wages of newer workers, thus weakening the union.

At a widely attended news conference here on January 31 the fired workers and some of their supporters spoke out on the issues in the case. Jan Aragon explained that increasing U.S. military intervention abroad is also leading to attacks on democratic rights at home. This is especially true for workers in the war industry such as those at Teledyne-Ryan which, Aragon pointed out, "makes helicopters for the military and spy planes for the CIA."

"Teledyne-Ryan didn't like it when the UAW invited a Salvadoran trade unionist to speak to a local meeting," Aragon asserted. "Teledyne-Ryan didn't like it when workers in the plant protested unsafe working conditions and management harassment of women workers. So the company picked out a few workers that it wanted to get rid of as an example to the rest."

Company interference in union

Greg Akili, vice-president of the Domestic Workers Union in San Diego, pointed to the danger of interference in union affairs. "As an active trade unionist," he said, "I believe that it is imperative to speak out against this attack on democratic rights and specifically the right of a union to have an internal life free from company interference."

There are also ominous signs that it is

not only the company which is taking aim at the rights of UAW members. Teledyne-Ryan did recall four of the five workers but then refused to assign them jobs until their applications were "reinvestigated." This dragged on for months.

Foremen and other company officials floated slanderous rumors about the workers. In the plastics department some workers were asked if the "gals" were trying to sabotage production or if they had stolen materials from the plant. Another false rumor alleged that, because the five are members or supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, perhaps they had sought employment in order to "steal secrets."

Some union officials reported that the FBI was coming around asking questions. One union officer was told the investigation that was under way was "out of the company's hands."

In an attempt to uncover what facts they can of company-government collusion, all five workers are filing under the Freedom of Information Act to obtain their files from the Defense Investigative Service and the FBI.

Merrill Cohen told the *Militant* that most of her coworkers "see right through the company's harassment and excuses to the fact that we were being singled out because of our union activity and our political ideas." Many have signed a petition demanding that Teledyne-Ryan reinstate the fired workers. The petition is being circulated at other plants in California as well.

The January 31 press conference was organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which has pledged its full support to the UAW's effort to fight the grievances and has also promised to help publicize the case to other workers and defenders of democratic rights. San Diego PRDF spokesperson Debra Madden accused the company of using its "investigation" as "a pretext to allow the company to single out these five for victimization."

Chilling effect

Father Leo Davis, Director of the Car-dijn Center, a San Diego church organization, also spoke at the news conference and expressed concern over the chilling effect these firings could have on other workers, especially those opposed to Washington's wars. "That these unionists would be victimized after their activity raises a fearful prospect for any worker in that union or any other who speaks out on the social issues important to all people of social conscience."

On January 25 Fr. Davis joined Cindy Pearson of the feminist health care collective, Womancare, and Larry Schwartz, a past president of the American Federation of Teachers here, in issuing a letter appealing for support for the fired workers. "We believe that an attack against one is an attack against all," their letter stated. "If this attack on trade union rights and free speech succeeds," they warned, "Teledyne-Ryan

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Farm workers win double victory

BY CAROLINE FOWLKES

TOLEDO, Ohio — Farm workers in northwest Ohio won a double victory recently after a four-and-one-half year court battle. The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) received a \$180,000 out-of-court settlement plus court expenses on January 16 as a result of a suit filed by the union and a former staff attorney against Putnam County Sheriff Robert Beutler. FLOC also won an injunction against harassment of union activity. The settlement came just hours before the suit was to be heard in federal court.

In a news conference announcing the victory, FLOC leader Baldemar Velásquez explained that the settlement "serves notice that we expect to be treated with some degree of respect." He added that law enforcement authorities will now be under greater pressure to abide by the Constitution in dealing with the union.

FLOC sued for \$2 million as the result of a September 1979 police raid on a peaceful union demonstration in a tomato field to protest farm labor conditions. Putnam County cops hauled 27 FLOC members off to the county jail. When farm workers' attorney John Kilroy attempted to confer

with his clients, several deputies beat him, fracturing his skull and inflicting permanent injuries. Then Kilroy himself was arrested on a trumped-up traffic charge.

Even after the settlement in favor of FLOC and Kilroy, Sheriff Beutler has not admitted to any wrongdoing.

However, the settlement makes permanent an injunction against police harassment of FLOC. A temporary injunction, issued soon after the incident, ordered a halt to the Putnam County sheriff department's surveillance and intimidation of the farm workers union.

This victory will help the future work of FLOC in rural areas where it had faced a pattern of selective law enforcement of traffic laws, unlawful search, threats of arrest, improper surveillance, and conspiracy with the tomato growers to use the Putnam County sheriff's office against the union.

Summing up the civil rights gains and financial compensation won by FLOC in this long struggle, Velásquez explained that the victory shows farm workers that "We do have the ability to defend our rights."

Unionists struggling for their jobs and rights in this city welcomed the news.

Jersey socialist to run for Senate

NEWARK — Priscilla Schenk will be the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from New Jersey.

Schenk, a garment worker and member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 63 of the New York Joint Board, has already begun campaigning. She has also spoken out in support of the 7,000 striking grocery store workers in the northern New Jersey and southern New York area, visiting many strikers on the picket lines (see article on page 2).

The defense of undocumented workers will be another focus of the Socialist Workers campaign in New Jersey. As a garment worker, Schenk has direct experience with the government's campaign against immigrant workers. She will also be speaking out in defense of her husband, socialist leader Héctor Marroquín, who is fighting for the right to political asylum in the United States.



Priscilla Schenk Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Spirited send-off rally for socialist candidate

Continued from front page

was forced to drop frame-up arson charges against Collins after a vigorous defense campaign was organized.

Barbara Johnson is a member of the California Teachers Association who has been involved in community struggles to defend multi-cultural education, stop cutbacks, and end racist placement tests.

Johnson explained how Mason and other activists in the Socialist Workers Party supported her against harassment and victimization by school administrators. She also stressed her support for Mason "taking the struggle to a higher level" as a presidential candidate.

This theme was echoed by John Briscoe, former president of the Black Student Union at Monterey Peninsula Junior College. In explaining Mason's contribution to the Black Student Union and the significance of his presidential bid, Briscoe said, "What you've done doesn't end here. It's just a beginning. Our dreams and our hopes and what we believe in will just be on a broader scale."

Only politician to support strike

A statement from Julie Brown, chief steward and past president of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 535 said, "I want to thank Mel for helping us out when the Monterey chapter of the SEIU went out on strike in 1980. He is the only politician who paid any attention to our strike. Everybody else hid their heads in the sand as they usually do when public employees strike. Mel walked the picket line and did a press release in support of us. The other thing I have to say is good luck in your presidential campaign."

Ernest Scott, the executive director of the Monterey County chapter of the National Client Council, thanked Mason for

his "concern, compassion, and how you felt about what we felt." Scott described Mason as a "profile of courage."

Other statements of gratitude and solidarity were sent to the rally from Mitra Lujan of the American Indian Movement; Bill Monning, an attorney who just returned from El Salvador; and Shirley Rainer, former cochair of the Seaside National Black Independent Political Party.

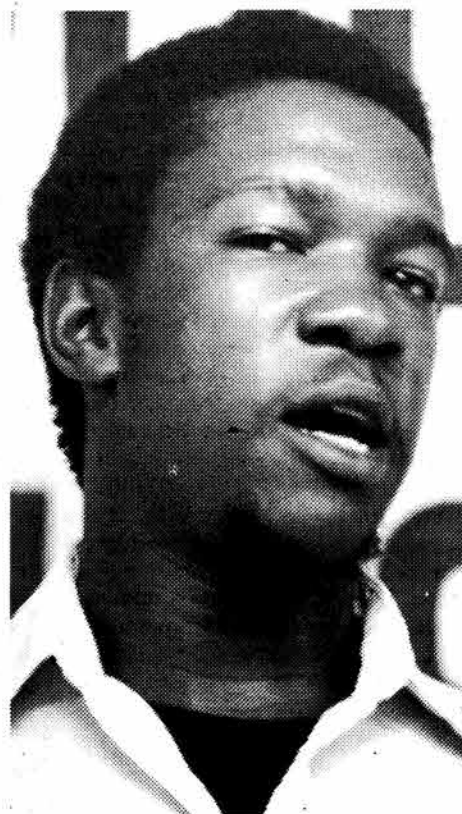
Jan Aragon was there from San Diego representing five United Auto Workers members at Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical who were fired for their antiwar ideas and prounion activity. Aragon thanked Mason for his support.

Struggle in Seaside not over

The highlight of the evening was Mason's talk. Part of what Mason had to say was devoted to the continuing struggles of working people in Seaside.

Mason explained that his presidential campaign is very much a part of these ongoing struggles. He pointed out that although the right wing in Seaside would like to believe things will be quiet now that he is leaving the city council, the socialist presidential campaign will continue to champion the rights and needs of workers and the oppressed in Seaside. And there are many fighters who remain, said Mason, like Julie Brown, Ken Collins, Barbara Johnson, and Ernest Scott.

"I wasn't able to do all the things people give me credit for by myself," said Mason. "I wasn't by myself in City Hall. If I didn't have a program and was not a part of a movement like the movement represented by the Socialist Workers Party, there's virtually nothing I could have done, because it takes more than a big heart and courage. You don't lead anybody anywhere on a big heart and courage. It helps, but if you don't



Militant/Della Rossa

Ken Collins announced he would be Socialist Workers candidate for Mel Mason's seat on Seaside City Council if election is held. Collins is a unionist and leader of Young Socialist Alliance.

have a program you will not be able to do anything except have a big heart, which will get broken a lot and courage that might be shaken.

"So you have to have a movement and a program. That's what I had and that's what Ken Collins has. That's the reason I have been different from any other elected official."

'State of union' no good for workers

Most of Mason's talk was devoted to answering Pres. Ronald Reagan's 'State of the Union' message.

"Reagan basically said the union is doing good and the union is getting better all the time," he explained. "But when we look at the state of us, meaning working people — Blacks, Latinos, labor, women, Native Americans, family farmers — I think we have to ask ourselves, 'what union is Ronald Reagan talking about?'"

"Is the state of the union good for Blacks whose voting rights are under attack in the South and who are still fighting to desegregate schools in the North? Is this union in

good shape when the infant mortality rate for Blacks is so alarmingly high? Is the state of the union in good shape for Blacks, Latinos, and women whose rights are being violated by the so-called civil rights commission? Is the state of the union good for women whose abortion rights are constantly under attack?"

Mason's running mate, Andrea González, sent a message to the rally, which also hit on Reagan's attack on a woman's right to choose abortion. González was in Minnesota at an educational conference on women's oppression.

Bipartisan war

Mason pointed to the pro-war report of the bipartisan Kissinger commission as an example of how both ruling parties — Democrats and Republicans — are responsible for the war Washington is waging against the peoples of Central America.

When the Reagan administration claims to want peace, Mason said, "the government is talking about 'p-i-e-c-e.' They want a p-i-e-c-e of the Middle East; a p-i-e-c-e of the Caribbean; and they want a p-i-e-c-e of Central America. The Mason-González campaign is clear in its opposition to U.S. intervention anywhere in the world. The attacks on the workers and farmers around the world must stop."

"We demand that not one penny be spent for the U.S. war in Central America and the Middle East. That all the U.S. troops be withdrawn now from Lebanon, Grenada, and Honduras. And that the U.S. war against Nicaragua be halted right now. No draft or draft registration should be imposed on the young people of this country."

The answers to the problems workers face, said Mason, are not to be found in the Republican or Democratic parties. In fact, they work together to enable the ruling capitalist class to stab working people in the back. He pointed to antiunion legislation, unemployment, budget cuts in funds for food stamps and Social Security, and debt crisis plaguing family farmers.

Mason said the road forward lies in breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and forming a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement, a party that could lead the fight for a workers and farmers' government in this country.

Pat Wright, chairperson of the socialists' California state campaign committee, appealed to rally participants for funds to help Mason launch his presidential bid. The response was enthusiastic — more than \$3,000 was donated.

'Let's go all out to help Mel'

BY DON DAVIS

The Socialist Workers Party 1984 campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president has already begun to receive offers of help and donations. Many offers are coming into the campaign headquarters in the form of coupons clipped from the *Militant*.

One coupon came from a worker and college student in Baltimore who attached the following note:

"I have bought your newspaper, the *Militant*, for years at demonstrations and gatherings. I am now a subscriber. As I read the articles and stands written and taken by the SWP, I find myself in strong agreement.

"I would like to know, can I do more than simply subscribe to your newspaper? May I join the SWP and/or YSA?"

An actor rehearsing a play in Syracuse, New York, sent in \$100 with a note referring to Ronald Reagan's "tenure as McCarthyite cop president of the Screen Actors Guild, and his current world cop presidency of the U.S."

He added, "Let's go all out to help Mel Mason's campaign cancel Ronnie's return engagement."

Many of those responding are asking for campaign buttons and literature, as well as sending in donations.

This warm response, in just the first few weeks of the campaign, shows the kind of opportunities that lie ahead for the socialist campaign of Mason and González.

We know there are many more working people disgusted with the Democratic and

Republican parties, and we want to reach them with the socialist alternative.

We need the help of many more *Militant* readers to raise the \$84,000 needed by March 15 to get the Mason-González campaign under way.

You can help by clipping the coupon below and making out a check to "Mason for President" or "González for Vice-President."

Every dollar means more people will get a chance to consider the socialist alternative.

Grenada revolution videotape shown in N.Y.

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

NEW YORK — A majority-Black audience of over 100 attended a January 24 showing of an important new videotape on the revolution in Grenada and the events leading up to the U.S. invasion of that island.

Titled "Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again," the videotape is an interview with Don Rojas, who was press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. It was produced by the National Black United Front (NBUF).

Adeyemi Bandele, vice-chairman of international affairs for NBUF, introduced the videotape at the meeting, held in Brooklyn. He explained he had to travel to Canada to interview Rojas, who has not been allowed to enter the United States although he is married to a U.S. citizen.

In the film, Rojas describes the events that took place between Oct. 12, 1983 — when Bishop was placed under house arrest by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard — and Oct. 19, 1983 — when thousands of Grenadians freed Bishop and marched to Fort Rupert. It was there that Bishop and other leaders of the revolution were murdered by troops loyal to Coard.

Rojas explains the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution for the working masses. He discusses developments inside the New Jewel Movement, the ruling party, and Cuba's aid to the revolution.

He also urges supporters of the revolution to continue solidarity work, not only with the Grenadian people, but with the

people of El Salvador and Nicaragua as well.

The videotape was followed by presentations by Claude Tait, news editor of WLBB, a major Black radio station, and Dr. Margarita Samad-Mathais of City College of New York. Both recently visited Grenada on fact-finding trips.

A Pathfinder literature table at the meeting featured copies of the new book *Maurice Bishop Speaks* and *Intercontinental Press* magazine, containing an interview with Rojas. Two copies of the book and four *IPs* with the Rojas interview were sold, along with pamphlets and books on Grenada and Cuba.



Maurice Bishop Speaks

A collection of more than 20 major interviews with and speeches by the slain leader of the Grenada revolution and New Jewel Movement, including his June 1983 speech in New York City.

Contents also include a major new introduction covering the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the devastating blow dealt to the Grenada revolution by the murder of Prime Minister Bishop and other outstanding leaders of the New Jewel Movement; the October 20 statement by the Cuban government on the killing of Bishop and the other leaders; and the October 25-26 statement by Cuban President Fidel Castro on the U.S. invasion and Cuba's role in Grenada.

400 pp., \$6.95, published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for shipping.

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400 at Montreal rally protest U.S. war in Central America

The following article was adapted from the French-language socialist biweekly published in Montreal, *Lutte Ouvrière*. The translation is by *Socialist Voice*, an English-language biweekly also published in Montreal. Both papers reflect the views of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

MONTREAL — Build a broad antiwar movement in North America against the imminent threat of a U.S. invasion of Central America — that was the central message of an inspiring rally held here January 21.

The meeting, attended by nearly 400 people, was organized by the Coalition Against American Intervention in Grenada. Earlier that day, 175 people braved sub-zero temperatures to demonstrate in front of the U.S. consulate.

For more than two years, the Central America solidarity movement in Montreal has been divided, resulting in few large united demonstrations or rallies and a significant weakening of support in the unions and elsewhere. The January 21 meeting, which brought together key leaders from Central America, the Caribbean, and Quebec, marks a big step forward for the solidarity movement here.

Another united meeting

Just the previous week, another meeting took place in Montreal that showed this deepening unity.

On January 13, 80 people attended a meeting to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Comité de los Amigos de El Salvador (CAS), a group in which supporters of the Salvadoran Communist Party (CP) play a leading role. Special guests at the meeting were members of the Comité Farabundo Martí, in which supporters of the People's Liberation Forces-Farabundo Martí (FPL) play a prominent role. The CP and FPL are two of the five groups that make up the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador.

CAS spokespeople emphasized the importance of unity of all Salvadoran forces. This view was echoed in a message read by the Comité Farabundo Martí. Greetings were also read from the Communist Party of Quebec and the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire.

Broad platform

Speakers at the January 21 rally a week later included Nicaraguan government representative Rodolfo Palacios; Oscar Dada of the FMLN and Revolutionary Democratic Front; and Don Rojas, former press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

They were joined by Louise Harel, Parti Québécois member of the Quebec legislature; Quebec Teacher's Federation Vice-pres. Egide Maltais; and Rev. Donald Pipe of the United Church of Canada. Messages were received from Archbishop Adolphe

Proulx, president of the Council of Canadian Bishops, from the Confederation of National Trade Unions in Quebec, and from the Montreal Labor Council of the Quebec Federation of Labor.

Rodolfo Palacios gave facts and figures on the extent of the U.S. government's not-so-secret war against Nicaragua and its government.

In 1983, he pointed out, Nicaraguan air space was violated 620 times, 200 of those by U.S. planes. It suffered 160 naval violations of Nicaraguan waters, including 100 by U.S. vessels.

Oscar Dada explained that in El Salvador, the revolutionary fighters of the FMLN have created a "real revolutionary army." And one of the most important aspects of the revolutionary process there, he added, "has been the progress we have made in terms of deepening our unity, which has allowed us to create an overall strategic leadership of the FMLN."

U.S. must intervene directly

"The days of the [Salvadoran] regime are numbered," declared Grenadian leader Rojas. "But as we Grenadians are so painfully familiar, the Salvadoran people cannot expect that they will be allowed to win their victory free from an all-out war of aggression by United States imperialism. The Kissinger report . . . makes it utterly clear . . . that the White House has opted for a military solution to the advancing revolution in Central America."

"They have a clear and accurate assessment of what they are faced with in the region: a gathering popular rebellion from Salvador to Guatemala and even Honduras."

Salvador groups hold united meeting in N. Y.

BY ANDRÉS PÉREZ

NEW YORK — Fifty-two years of struggle by the Salvadoran people were celebrated here at a solidarity meeting in a combative, united spirit January 21.

The four organizations that make up the Salvadoran Solidarity Coordinating Committee sponsored the rally to honor the workers and peasants who have given their lives in the struggle to free El Salvador since 1932.

The event took place in the wake of the announcement by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador that the five groups within the FMLN are moving toward fusion into a single party.

The FMLN statement, released in mid-December, solidified with a declaration a week earlier by the People's Liberation Forces-Farabundo Martí (FPL), one of the groups in the FMLN. The FPL statement rejected the factional, antiunity policies of its former central leader, Salvador Cayetano Carpio, and declared it is determined to help bring about unification of the forces within the FMLN.

Divisions within the Salvadoran revolutionary movement have been an obstacle to united solidarity action here in the United States. In the context of the recent statements by the FMLN and FPL, as well as important military victories for the FMLN forces, the rally here was a step forward toward building a united U.S. movement in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

More than 200 people attended the meeting, many of them Salvadorans. The evening commemorated two important dates in the struggle of the Salvadoran people. On Jan. 22, 1932, the workers and peasants rose up in armed insurrection against the dictatorship of Maximiliano Hernández Martínez. Thirty thousand were massacred.

On Jan. 22, 1980, 50,000 Salvadorans poured into the streets of San Salvador to

"Only Nicaragua, through the process of a popular, anti-imperialist revolution led by the Sandinista workers and farmers government, has been able to offer a way forward. . . . The military solution that the United States is now poised to vent upon the region involves not only the likelihood of direct intervention into El Salvador but also war against Nicaragua. . . ."

"What we are faced with today, comrades," said Rojas, "is the catastrophe of a regional war imposed on the Central American people by the United States. . . . Their strategy is in place. Let us not be mistaken; they are headed for war."

"Only a powerful worldwide movement, especially here in North America, can stop this madness. . . . Now is the time for all progressive and genuinely democratic peoples around the world to come together in a broad anti-imperialist united front, transcending factionalism and sectarianism."

International solidarity necessary

This understanding of the importance of international solidarity was shared by the other speakers.

"The Salvadoran people are not alone," declared Dada. "We can count on your support. Those here this evening are an integral part of our process; you are not spectators, but actors. . . . The responsibility for our people's victory and imperialism's defeat is shared by all of us."

Parti Québécois leader Louise Harel called for the formation of a vast movement of the entire Quebec nation against U.S. intervention. "We must broaden our panels. We must build a coalition of all political parties and unions. . . . Such a coalition



Don Rojas, former press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, called for international antiwar movement.

tion is possible here in Quebec," she argued, "because we know very well that large numbers of Québécois believe very strongly in the inalienable right of the peoples of Central America to determine their own future."

The determination of the meeting came through best, perhaps, in the concluding words of the evening by Don Rojas: "The clock of history keeps ticking on. The train of history keeps rolling on. On it are the working people of the world. On it are the suffering masses of the world. And no washed-up cowboy and his neutron gang in Washington can stop that freedom train. Let us with our Nicaraguan comrades say, ¡No pasarán! No pasarán! [The counter-revolutionaries shall not pass!]"

spoke. Tortured by Salvadoran troops for her labor activity, she has been forced to go into exile.

Rivera condemned the fraudulent elections in El Salvador being orchestrated by Washington, as did Guadalupe González, the representative of the FMLN-FDR at the meeting. González also took up the Kissinger commission report on Central America, which she labeled a "message of war."

Speakers said that the mobilization of the Salvadoran masses is what has advanced the unity of the various revolutionary groups. They pointed to the importance of the Jan. 22, 1980, demonstration celebrating the formation of the CRM.

Ronald Flores, of the Roque Dalton Committee, said the movement in El Salvador is advancing from unity in action to broader political unity of the fighting forces.

The speakers also urged a redoubled effort to reach out to the U.S. population and build a broad movement of solidarity.

González pointed to the importance of constructing such a movement, noting the FMLN forces face not only the Salvadoran army, but the threat of U.S. troops as well.

Rivera closed her speech saying, "Only together, the North American people and the people of El Salvador, can we end this murderous intervention that kills more of our people every day."



Socialist Voice/Enza Chiarullo
FMLN-FDR representative Oscar Dada said progress by Salvador revolutionaries in "deepening unity has let us create an overall strategic leadership of FMLN."

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U.S.-Jordanian strike force aimed at Iran revolution

BY HARRY RING

The Reagan administration is asking Congress to finance an 8,000-member special Jordanian military unit to act in cooperation with U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf.

According to the administration, the unit would be used to "protect" Arab states in the Gulf. Coming on the heels of Reagan officials' renewed attacks on Iran, the proposal is a clear threat to the Iranian revolution and Arab peoples in the region as well.

Congress is being asked to appropriate \$220 million for a Joint Logistic Planning Force between Jordan and the United States. The Pentagon would equip the Jordanian troops, and the U.S. Air Force would take responsibility for transporting them to the field of battle.

According to the proposal, the rapid deployment force would be limited to areas within a 1,500-mile radius of Jordan. It's less than 500 miles between the Iranian and Jordanian borders.

Congressional approval was sought for such a project on a secret basis last year. That proposition was shelved mainly because of concern about Israeli opposition. The Tel Aviv regime has generally opposed increased arming of Arab governments.

However, Washington has now apparently persuaded Tel Aviv that the Jordanian strike force will not be used as a defense against some future Israeli aggression, but only against Arab or Iranian forces deemed hostile to imperialist rule of the Mideast.

Following Washington's January 26 disclosure of the strike force plan, King Hussein of Jordan said that the new military unit would be used only for Jordanian self-defense or at the request of another Arab government, not in response to Washington's dictate. In an effort to project an independent image to neighboring Arab nations, he declared:

"These weapons become Jordanian weapons once they are in Jordanian hands. They will be used for legitimate self-defense needs and to honor our Arab obligations, if others ask us to help. Jordan will not act in the area on behalf of the United States..."

But it's impossible to believe that Washington would put weapons in Hussein's hands unless it was convinced they would be used according to U.S. orders.

In addition to the Persian Gulf deployment force, the Reagan administration is notifying Congress it plans to sell Jordan some \$40 million worth of hand-held anti-aircraft missiles.

These, the White House assured, would

be used exclusively to aid friendly Arab regimes to suppress domestic insurrection.

Organization of the Jordanian-U.S. force is related to the Iraqi war of aggression against Iran.

The Iraqi war began back in September 1980, some 19 months after the victory of the Iranian revolution. But in more than three years of fighting, Iraq has proven unable to deal any decisive blows against Iran's forces. Iraq's desperate efforts appear to include use of World War I type mustard gas, according to the British publication, *Jane's Defense Weekly*.

This has forced Washington to drop its initial posture of "neutrality" in the war and make more explicit its support to Iraq.

Last December, U.S. officials made it known to Persian Gulf governments that it would regard an Iranian victory as "contrary to U.S. interests."

This past January 1 the *Washington Post* reported that the decision to openly favor an Iraqi victory was described by an official as prompted by "the disaster for U.S. interests if the Iranian revolution were to spread triumphantly in the strategic region."

The overthrow of the shah of Iran by the revolutionary masses of that country was a historic blow to imperialism in the entire region. The U.S. oil magnates and bankers deeply fear that the Iranian victory could spark similar struggles in other parts of the region. And rightly so.

Washington's determination to crush the Iranian revolution was underlined by a January 23 declaration by the Reagan adminis-



Southern Iranian village devastated by Iraqi bombing. Washington plans to use Jordanian strike force to increase military pressure on Iran.

tration branding Iran a "terrorist" nation.

In Washington's Orwellian double-speak, that means the Iranian people have been targeted for escalated terrorist attacks by U.S. and allied forces.

The label "terrorist" is pinned on all who dare to challenge imperialist domination.

Announcement of the "terrorist" designation was coupled with an ominous declaration by Secretary of State George Shultz that U.S. forces might have to make "preemptive" strikes to prevent "suicide" attacks on their gunboats in the Mideast.

The Iranian government promptly re-

plied that it would respond to any "adventure" by Washington.

U.S. officials were compelled to acknowledge they could produce no serious evidence of any planned "suicide" attack.

Meanwhile, the move to create the Jordanian-U.S. force represents a serious threat to Iran. Equally, it is a menace to all liberation forces in the area.

Pushing ahead with the project will deepen U.S. military involvement in the region. That could also lead to an even greater GI toll than has already occurred among Marine forces garrisoned in Beirut.

200 Miskitos massacred in Honduras

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Two hundred Miskito Indians were killed by the Honduran army when they tried to return to their homes in Nicaragua, Argentine Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel charged in a statement issued in Buenos Aires January 23.

"According to the information we have," Pérez Esquivel said following a fact-finding visit to Honduras, "on the evening of January 6, near the border between Nicaragua and Honduras and about 60 kilometers from the Miskito camp located in Honduras, some 200 Indians were massacred at the hands of the Honduran army."

A spokesman for Pérez Esquivel's organization, Peace and Justice for Latin America, reported January 25 that infor-

mation on the massacre had come from employees of international organizations working in the Miskito camps. Furthermore, the information had been confirmed by a Honduran army officer in the area whose only dispute was over the number that had been killed.

"In Tegucigalpa we put the facts before the [Honduran] government and gave them sufficient time to investigate them," said spokesman Claudio Lovano. "They said nothing, so we decided to make a public announcement January 23 because so many lives were at stake."

Pressed to respond to the charge by the highly respected Argentine organization, the Honduran government has flatly denied the massacre and called Pérez Esquivel a liar.

Nicaragua has urged both the Honduran government and international organizations to carry out a "rigorous and urgent investigation." A formal request has been sent to the UN Security Council, UN High Commission on Refugees, UN Center for Human Rights, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

The massacre of Miskitos comes in the wake of decrees issued by the Nicaraguan government in early December 1983. These decrees declared an amnesty for all Miskito Indians involved in counterrevolutionary activity and offered safe-conduct passes to virtually all Nicaraguans who have joined the *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) but are now willing to lay down their arms. The measures have had a big impact in the contra camps, and there have been numerous reports of contra leaders using violence to prevent Nicaraguans from taking advantage of the amnesty to return home.

"News of the amnesty decrees hit the camps like a bomb," said returned former counterrevolutionary Reyna Isabel Blandón in a January 15 interview. "Everyone talked about it very quietly because it was dangerous to do so."

Blandón, a 27-year-old farmer from the northern city of Jalapa, said that when news of the decrees was heard over the radio, "everyone wanted to know more about it."

The chief of the contra camp called the amnesty a "communist trap," said Blandón. Contra commanders threatened to kill anyone even caught talking about it.

Blandón escaped and returned to Jalapa. After turning himself in to Sandinista authorities, he was questioned, released, and returned to his family. Many others would like to desert, he said, but are afraid to do so.

Despite the terror campaign, many, like Blandón, have decided to return. In the two months since the decrees were issued, more than 300 Nicaraguans — mostly peasants forcibly conscripted or tricked into joining the counterrevolution — have deserted and returned to their farms.

U.S. to sell military parts to Guatemala

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

In a new step aimed at further widening the U.S. war in Central America, Washington has agreed to sell \$2 million in spare helicopter parts to the Guatemalan dictatorship. It will be the first sale of military equipment to Guatemala since 1977. Guatemala's foreign minister said the parts were needed to restore six UH1-H helicopters for use against "leftist rebels."

The Guatemalan regime is one of the most blood-soaked dictatorships in Central America. According to Amnesty International, more than 12,000 unarmed civilians have been killed in Guatemala since 1978. A genocidal campaign of terror has been systematically waged against the native Indian population, as part of the government's attempts to eliminate the opposition to its rule.

From the beginning this war against Guatemalan workers and peasants has had the "made in the USA" stamp on it. One example is Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt. He took power in a March 23, 1982, military coup (and was himself deposed by a similar coup last August). Ríos Montt was trained in counterinsurgency at Ft. Bragg in North

Carolina and served as director of studies at the Pentagon's Inter-American Defense College in 1973.

In 1977 the Carter administration took steps to publicly distance the U.S. government from Guatemala's officially sanctioned death squads and full-scale massacres of the peasant population — while doing nothing to bring them to a halt. At that time Washington cut off military assistance. In 1980, growing worldwide revulsion at the Guatemalan government's repressive policies led the Carter administration to also prohibit commercial military sales to the dictatorship.

But as the popular struggle against the wealthy landowners and military dictatorships in Central America has made new advances, Washington feels compelled to send more direct aid to repressive regimes in the region.

Phony propaganda aimed at establishing the U.S. government as a defender of human rights is simply less important than doing whatever is necessary to stop the liberation struggle.

This is clearly the case in regard to U.S. policy in El Salvador. Reagan administra-

tion "criticism" of the Salvadoran government's death squads is increasingly being exposed for what it is — a charade intended to cover escalating levels of U.S. aid to the murderous government.

A similar pattern is evident in Guatemala, although the level of U.S. aid (at least that which is not secret) is not yet near that being sent to El Salvador. The Reagan administration actually lifted the arms-sale embargo last January. At the time, State Department spokesman John Hughes asserted that the Guatemalan regime "has taken significant steps" in the area of human rights. "Progress has been made," claimed Hughes.

The most recent decision to sell the parts "is just a reiteration of our willingness," said State Department spokesman L. Craig Johnstone.

In August 1983, Ríos Montt was overthrown by Gen. Oscar Mejía Víctores, who has a close relationship with Washington. Americas Watch, another group that monitors human rights, reported this January 24 that killings and disappearances of civilians in Guatemalan cities has increased under the new regime.

300 women attend NOW national lesbian rights conference

BY MARGARET JAYKO

MILWAUKEE — The National Organization for Women (NOW) held its first national conference on the fight for lesbian and gay rights here January 20-22. Three hundred women, from all over the country, attended.

The title of the conference was: "Lesbian Rights Conference: Power and Politics in '84." The focus of the discussion was how to defend and extend the rights of lesbians and gay men, the special role of the women's rights movement in this struggle, and the 1984 elections.

Representatives of Democratic Party candidates Sen. Alan Cranston and Walter Mondale were at the conference, as were supporters of Sonia Johnson, a NOW member who is trying to win the Citizens Party's nomination for president. But the only candidate to actually attend the conference was Andrea González, a NOW member and Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Mel Mason is the SWP candidate for president.

AIDS

Conference workshops and plenary speeches detailed the scope and severity of the discrimination faced by lesbians and gay men.

Nowhere is the stepped-up attack on gay rights more apparent than in the antigay campaign around the outbreak of AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome). In a well-attended workshop on the political impact of AIDS, it was reported that there's been a significant increase in discrimination against gays in housing, education, medical care, and employment since the AIDS crisis began last spring.

Also discussed was the need to get rid of antigay laws. In many states, certain sex acts are illegal. These laws, when enforced, are used overwhelmingly against homosexuals. They give the cops a handle to harass, brutalize, and entrap lesbians and gay men. Cop violence is on the rise according to many at the conference, and perpetrators of antigay violence are seldom punished.

The Democrats and Republicans have refused to pass either federal or state legislation banning discrimination against homosexuals. Wisconsin, in fact, is the only state in the country that has passed such a bill. NOW has projected targeting a state for a pilot project to get gay rights legislation passed.

Harassment in the military

A big topic of discussion at the conference was the harassment and frame-up of gay men and women in the military. The false charge that a woman soldier has had sex with another woman soldier is frequently used to get rid of women the brass

doesn't like and to erode the democratic rights of all GIs.

In the workshop on "Military Rights for Women and Gay People," the panelists included three women who used to be in the military and Joe Schuman from the Gay Horizons Legal Services Program.

The perspective of most of the panelists was to link defense of women and gay soldiers to support for the U.S. military and to argue that discrimination against women and gays harms Washington's ability to build a strong war machine. This echoes NOW's official position.

SWP candidate Andrea González was one of the workshop participants who spoke against this approach. She explained that linking defense of the rights of the oppressed to support for the U.S. military cuts across both the fight against war and the fight for equality. Human rights violations in the military, González said, are simply a microcosm of what the Pentagon carries out on a world scale. The job of the military is to defend the capitalist system, which fosters discrimination and inequality of every kind.

An important case that was widely discussed throughout the conference was that of NOW member and unionist Sally Goodman (see accompanying article). Goodman is being "investigated" at her job at Martin Marietta in Denver on charges that she's a socialist and a lesbian. Goodman participated in the conference and won wide support for her fight to end company and government harassment.

NOW and lesbian rights

A central theme of the conference was the link between the fight for women's rights and the fight for gay rights.

Many women described how lesbian-baiting is used to try to divide and disrupt the women's rights movement in the hopes that feminists will be intimidated if they are threatened with being labeled lesbians. There was a widespread feeling that NOW had fallen prey to this baiting by not actively defending the rights of women who are lesbians.

There was a concern that national NOW leaders downplay "controversial" issues like lesbian rights, abortion rights, and the

need to recruit Black, Latina, Native American, and Asian women to NOW in order to foster a more conservative, acceptable image among the politicians they are trying to convince to support women's rights. Many women were disturbed that no special effort had been made to involve women of oppressed nationalities in the conference, and therefore only a handful were there.

The perspective put forward by the NOW leadership at the conference further fueled this uneasiness.

Defeat Reagan ... at any cost

In a speech at the Saturday evening plenary, NOW Pres. Judy Goldsmith reaffirmed NOW's perspective of focusing the organization's resources on defeating Ronald Reagan in 1984 by campaigning for Mondale, who is the first presidential candidate ever endorsed by the national NOW board. National Gay Task Force head Virginia Apuzzo struck the same note.

In their speeches, they tried to respond to objections raised by many NOW members to NOW limiting its work to supporting Mondale. Goldsmith and Apuzzo explained that while none of the Democrats have strong records on lesbian and gay rights, the overriding issue in this election is to defeat Reagan.

Both said that while past presidential elections might have offered little to choose from, 1984 was dramatically different. Reagan is the main problem facing women and gays, they said, and he must not be allowed to remain in the White House for four more years.

Most women at the conference, though they weren't particularly enthusiastic about any of the Democratic candidates, planned to campaign and vote for one of them. What made many women uneasy was the fact that NOW had endorsed Mondale. This, they felt, could lead to the subordination of NOW's role as an independent women's rights organization to the needs of the Mondale campaign.

Socialist alternative

The dissatisfaction with the NOW leadership's proposals did not translate into



Militant/Nancy Cole
NOW Pres. Judy Goldsmith addressing Milwaukee conference on lesbian rights.

any alternative strategy on the part of conference participants, but there was considerable interest in the proposals put forward by supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Many women who were supporting Democratic Party candidates sought out SWP candidate González and supporters of her campaign to discuss politics.

Socialist campaign supporters distributed greetings from González to the conference, and many women met her at the campaign's literature table, at workshops, and at a socialist reception.

It wasn't simply the visibility of the socialist campaign that made it stand out, but what it was saying. It took a very different approach than that of Mondale and Cranston, who say, "Reagan is the problem and I am the solution."

The socialist campaign's supporters explained that behind the stepped-up attacks on the rights of lesbians and gay men lies the ruling class's need to reinforce reactionary prejudices about women and sexuality. These attacks are linked to attacks on women's rights. In addition, blows against gay rights are part of efforts to restrict the democratic rights of all working people.

The socialists explained that all workers and the oppressed have a stake in combating these attacks. They linked success in this struggle to a broader fight, led by the working class, for a new government and a socialist society.

Women industrial workers

Most of the supporters of the socialist campaign at the conference were industrial workers and members of unions — steelworkers, rail workers, garment workers, and auto workers.

These socialist workers explained how employers use lesbian-baiting to try to intimidate women workers, to divide them from each other, and from male workers. They described discussions with male coworkers about women's rights and gay rights and the growing progressive views on these issues.

They also pointed to new openings to get unions to act in defense of women and other oppressed workers. But, they explained, the unions still have a long way to go. A fundamental change is needed to make them fighting, democratic instruments of the ranks.

It's important, however, they stressed, for feminists and gay rights fighters to look to the unions now, as well as to the Black and Latino communities, to involve them in the fight for equality. This class — the working class — is the only one that has the power and an interest in fighting for the oppressed. The Democrats and Republicans, on the other hand, represent the interests of the ruling rich and can never be vehicles for advancing the civil rights of any oppressed group.

These ideas were carefully listened to and discussed by many conference participants. They were the only clearly presented alternative to the NOW leadership's perspective of focusing everything on getting Mondale elected in 1984.

UAW member gains support

MILWAUKEE — The case of Sally Goodman, a United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 766 member at the Martin Marietta plant in Denver, was widely discussed at the National Organization for Women's (NOW) lesbian rights conference here (see accompanying story).

Goodman is being harassed by the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a little-known secret police agency of the Pentagon. A year ago, DIS told Goodman her "security clearance" was under review because of allegations that she was associated with the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and that she was gay.

Goodman told conference participants that the real reason she was being investigated was because she is a union activist, a socialist, and one of only three women electricians in the entire plant.

Goodman and her supporters distributed more than 200 pieces of literature on her case, and 158 conference participants signed up to support it. It was described and discussed in many workshops, and some women who first heard about the case at the conference helped hand out literature and circulate petitions.

People saw the case as an attack on women and gays and an example of how the government uses lesbian-baiting against any woman who steps out of line. Women were heartened to hear that Goodman's coworkers, all of whom are men, are supporting her and are outraged by this victimization. They were impressed that the UAW has gone to bat for Goodman and saw defense of Goodman as an important activity for NOW chapters.

Among those who signed up to support the case were New York NOW's executive

director, Jennifer Brown; Minnesota state legislator Karen Clark; New Jersey NOW coordinator Christine Carmody-Arey; Milwaukee NOW coordinator Cindy Van Vrede; author Barbara Love; and Nikki Heidepriem, director of women's issues for the Mondale for President campaign.



Militant/Nancy Cole
Sally Goodman (right) won supporters at Milwaukee NOW conference for her fight against company-government harassment.

Reagan's War on Women's Rights



by Margaret Jayko

Reagan's War on Women's Rights

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Black engineer in Texas gets new trial after frame-up ordeal

BY BEVERLY ANDALORA

DALLAS — Lenell Geter, a 26-year-old Black engineer from Greenville, Texas, has received his first bitter taste of the U.S. justice system.

Convicted in October 1982 of robbing a Balch Springs, Texas, Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet of \$615, Geter has consistently maintained his innocence. He considers himself "a victim" of "a judicial system that wasn't very careful."

Geter worked as an engineer at the E-Systems electronics defense plant in Greenville, a small, conservative, majority-white town outside Dallas. It is notorious for a sign at the town border not many years ago that read, "Welcome to Greenville; Blackest Soil, Whitest People."

He was brought to the attention of police by a woman who considered him suspicious because he frequently spent his lunch time reading and feeding ducks in a park near work.

Witnesses to the robbery stated that Geter was not the one who held up the store. Undaunted, Greenville cops passed his picture on to cops in nearby cities where similar holdups had occurred. Witnesses in two of those identified Geter from a driver's license photo that was shown to them several times.

Based on this identification, and the fact that he fit the general description of a Black man in his twenties, Geter was charged with armed robbery.

The court appointed a public defense counsel, Edwin Sigel, to Geter's case. Assuming Geter's guilt, Sigel pushed him to plea-bargain.

Geter was given only four days' notice of his trial date. When his attorney filed for a postponement, he was refused. The judge in the Dallas courtroom, Herbert Line,

stated that "The court will determine whether or not you receive proper representation. And I assure you, you will be properly represented."

Because Geter's attorney was unprepared, witnesses were not found in time to substantiate his claim of innocence. With no physical evidence to link Geter to the robbery, the prosecutor's main evidence was eyewitness testimony from robbery witnesses who couldn't even agree on a description of the robber.

During the sentencing procedure, a Greenville police lieutenant told the jury that Geter's hometown sheriff from South Carolina said Geter was "probably an outlaw." Geter, in fact, has never had a police record anywhere.

Geter was convicted of armed robbery by an all-white jury and sentenced to life in prison. In Texas, this carries a minimum 20-year jail term.

Geter requested a retrial based on affidavits from witnesses who could verify that he was at work at the time of the robbery. The retrial was denied when his attorneys missed the filing date.

In the spring of 1983, the NAACP assigned George Hairston to the case. He has

since become Geter's primary attorney.

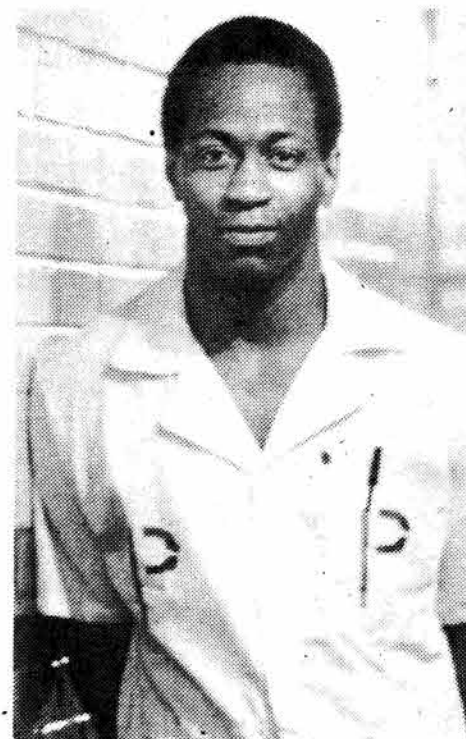
Hairston also worked on the case of Anthony Williams, Geter's roommate. Williams was another Black engineer at E-Systems who graduated from South Carolina State College with Geter. He was charged with the armed robbery of a 7-11 convenience store. He was acquitted in November 1983 after a highly publicized trial.

On Dec. 4, 1983, CBS ran a "60 Minutes" segment on Lenell Geter. The show portrayed Geter as a victim of the U.S. judicial system. The program gave his case national attention.

The negative publicity finally pressured Dallas County District Attorney Henry Wade into taking some action on Geter's case.

This led to a compromise between Wade and Geter's attorneys. Both sides agreed to ask the appeals court to stop the appeal without either dismissing it or ruling on it, and to send it back to the lower court for retrial. This guaranteed a new trial for Geter.

Geter was released from prison Dec. 14, 1983, pending his new trial. He immediately returned to South Carolina where friends and family gave him a hero's welcome.



Lenell Geter: victim of racist "justice."

"This is my emancipation proclamation from the judicial system of Texas," he told reporters.

Geter is only one of many such victims of the courts and cops in the United States. His experiences show the true racist nature of the judicial system; a system in which justice is available only to those who qualify by being rich and white.

Cop's bullet paralyzes Phoenix Black

BY BARBARA GREENWAY

PHOENIX — Another Black youth has fallen victim to a policeman's gun and remains in a Phoenix hospital, permanently paralyzed from the waist down.

Stanley Wesley, 18, a community college student, was shot in the back by a white Phoenix policeman January 16 in

what witnesses call a "cold-blooded" attack against the youth.

Arthur Barber, the victim's uncle, said Wesley told him, "I was shot down for nothing."

Wiley "Gumba" Nelson, a neighbor of Wesley's, described the shooting. "I was sitting by myself. I saw [Phoenix police officer Ed] Patterson drive through an alley in an unmarked car, then up on the sidewalk in front of Stanley Wesley.

"Patterson was pushing Stanley. Then he hit him on the back of the head with his gun. Patterson pushed Stanley a few more times after that: then he shot Stanley in the back."

Police acknowledged that Patterson's gun was cocked before he left his car. They say the shooting was "unnecessary." Although the cops say Patterson was investigating a robbery, one young resident of the neighborhood said, "Every time they do something like this they say there's a robbery. It's just an excuse."

Patterson is well known in the neighborhood for his abusive language and behavior towards residents. Such harassment by Patterson and other policemen is, Nelson said, "common. It happens all the time."

"They come cruising through the projects blaring their radios real loud, playing *Macho Man* through squad car loudspeakers calling us names," said one of the youths. "When they see us sitting together they come up and say negative things about our mothers. Just because we're poor they treat us with no respect."

In an effort to intimidate them, Wiley Nelson and one of Wesley's relatives received threatening cards in the mail four days after the shooting.

Nelson described the card: "It said, 'You're next!' and was signed by the Society of Good Niggers, Phoenix Chapter."

A march of about 100 persons took place the Saturday following the shooting to the downtown police headquarters. These "Marches for Freedom" will occur every Saturday morning until justice is won.

In a related development, several persons in the area have started a petition drive to "ask whatever criminal charges deemed possible to be filed" against Patterson.

Huge U.S.-Korea maneuvers set

BY WILL REISSNER

In early February, U.S. and South Korean troops will begin huge military maneuvers on the Korean peninsula. The "Team Spirit '84" exercise will involve some 207,000 troops, 60,050 of them U.S. military personnel.

A U.S. Air Force representative told a December 29 news conference that one of the objectives of "Team Spirit '84" will be to test the Pentagon's ability to rush troops to Korea from outside the peninsula.

Among the U.S. forces that will be moved into the area during the maneuvers are a Seventh Fleet task force made up of an aircraft carrier battle group, a surface action group, an amphibious task force, two amphibious squadrons, one marine air-ground task force, and other vessels.

The maneuvers will also mark the first extensive use of the U.S. Army's Blackhawk helicopter, which is replacing the Huey used since Vietnam.

During last year's "Team Spirit '83" exercises, which involved 191,000 U.S. and South Korean troops, the armed forces of North Korea were placed on a "semiwar" footing from February 1 to mid-April. "Team Spirit '83" simulated an invasion of North Korea by land, sea, and air.

On Jan. 10, 1984, the North Korean government sent messages to the U.S. Congress and the South Korean authorities calling for three-way talks to ease the

mounting tensions on the Korean peninsula.

The North Korean letter to Washington warned that a "trifling incident" could trigger war between the huge armies facing each other on both sides of the demilitarized zone. "Should a war break out again in Korea," the letter warned, "it would ... inevitably expand into a nuclear war."

The Pentagon is believed to have more than 1,000 nuclear weapons deployed in South Korea. In 1983, U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. Edward Meyer warned that if war broke out in Korea, U.S. forces could use the tactical nuclear weapons stockpiled there.

Jury convicts 2 on contempt charge

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Two more partisans of Puerto Rican independence have been convicted of criminal contempt of court for refusing to testify before a witch-hunting federal grand jury. The claimed purpose of the grand jury probe is some 40 unsolved bombings in the city.

Authorities assert these are the work of the FALN, a group favoring Puerto Rican independence. (FALN are the Spanish initials for Armed Forces for National Liberation.)

The real political purpose of the grand jury victimizations is to intimidate and to try to curb the Puerto Rican independence movement.

The two convicted January 20 were Michelle Miller and Silvia Baraldini. They were not charged with any involvement in bombings, but of refusing to cooperate with the grand jury. There have been no indictments for the bombings.

Last year, seven people were also convicted for declining to testify before the grand jury. Five of them are appealing three-year sentences. The other two have not yet been sentenced.

Miller and Baraldini are slated to be sentenced March 16.

Baraldini also faces up to 20 years on a recent conviction for "racketeering" and

"conspiracy." She is among a number of radical activists targeted under an anti-racketeering statute.

Charges against her included that of being linked with those who helped Joanne Chesimard, a Black activist, escape from a New Jersey prison in 1979.

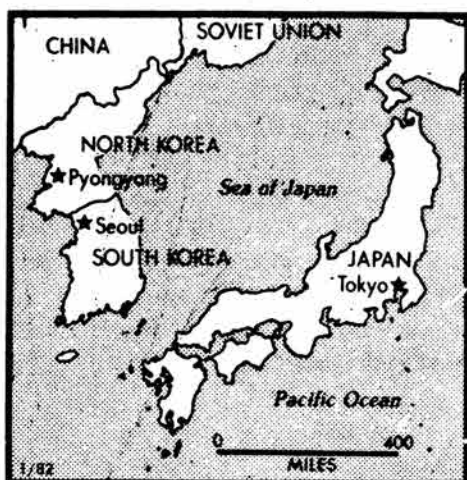
Both Baraldini and Miller had refused to cooperate with the grand jury on the grounds that it is "a political tool" of the government in its drive against the Puerto Rican independence movement.

Condemning the government's propaganda about "terrorism," Miller told reporters, "The terrorism in the world today is the U.S. invasion of Grenada, not the struggle of oppressed people to free themselves."

Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential nominee Andrea González declared, "A public campaign in defense of all Puerto Rican patriots and their supporters in jail is absolutely necessary." González attended the trial of Miller and Baraldini to express solidarity with their fight.

Charles Rose, the prosecutor who obtained the contempt-of-court conviction against Miller and Baraldini assured the jury in the case, "No one is trying to stop anyone from lawfully espousing the Puerto Rican independence movement."

No one except the government.



Five fired UAW members get backing

Continued from Page 3

will escalate its attacks on the UAW and other workers."

The letter urged that messages of protest be sent to the company, that one of the fired workers be invited to speak to unions and other organizations, and that contributions be sent to PRDF to help publicize the case.

Protest messages can be sent to: Teledyne-Ryan, 2701 Harbor Drive, San Diego, Ca. 92138. Copies should be sent to PRDF, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Ca., 92101. Information packets and sample petitions are also available from PRDF.

Mary Jo Vogel works at Teledyne-Ryan as an assembler and is a member of UAW Local 506

Barricada Internacional

Barricada Internacional, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

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The U.S.- Philippines war of 1899-1902

BY FRED MURPHY

Political developments in the Philippines captured worldwide attention in 1983. Hundreds of thousands of Filipinos took to the streets repeatedly in August and September to repudiate the U.S.-backed dictatorship of President Ferdinand Marcos. The upsurge of protest was sparked by the regime's assassination of leading oppositionist Benigno Aquino, but its roots go much deeper. In fact, the current struggles in the Philippines are but the latest chapter in a long history of resistance to U.S. domination that stretches back to the beginning of this century. Together with the Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Hawaiian peoples, the Filipinos were the first victims of U.S. imperialism.

The Philippines War of 1899-1902 has virtually been written out of U.S. history textbooks. Yet it lasted far longer, was far more costly in U.S. lives and treasure, and stirred more opposition at home than did the better-known Spanish-American War that preceded it and led directly to it.

The administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt waged a brutal and bloody war against the Filipino people in order to safeguard those islands as a strategic foothold for U.S. trade, investments, and military might in Asia. The military bases Washington secured by suppressing the independence struggle of the Filipinos have been expanded many times since the turn of the century and are now among the largest such installations in the world. They were key staging points for the U.S. war against Indochina, and they remain a vital link in the Pentagon's strategic planning for new wars in Southeast Asia, Korea, the Indian subcontinent, the Persian Gulf, and the Middle East.

As the Filipino people fight today to get rid of the U.S.-backed tyranny of the Marcos regime, they are also battling against continued U.S. domination of their country's economy and political life. They are resuming the struggle begun by their forebears at the turn of the century.

As working people in this country discuss and mobilize against the "new Vietnams" our rulers are determined to drag us into, studying the forgotten chapters of U.S. history when such wars first began can help us to understand their causes and what it will take to end them once and for all.

The rise of U.S. industry and road to new wars

By defeating the slaveholding planter class of the South in the Civil War, the northern capitalists cleared the way for the unfettered development of U.S. industry. As the Native American peoples of the western territories were decimated and driven off their ancestral lands, European immigrants settled the prairies. They found ready markets in the East and in Europe for their corn and wheat. These family farmers in turn formed a continually expanding market for the wide array of new consumer goods being turned out by Eastern factories.

In the postwar South, failure to complete the social revolution by distributing the defeated planters' land to the Black former slaves limited the emergence of a class of small, independent farmers. Often, Blacks and poor whites were forced into sharecropping or debt peonage; the market for northern industrial goods was less extensive in the South as a result.

Still, up to the 1890s, the industrial capitalists of the United States were for the most part able to satisfy their desire for profits and reinvest their accumulated wealth within the country's continental borders. But big changes came about in that final, crisis-ridden decade of the nineteenth century.

The first turning point came in 1893 when U.S. capitalism entered its most serious and prolonged depression since the Civil War. Overproduction set in — the domestic market was saturated and could no longer expand at the prodigious rate of earlier decades. Unsold goods piled up in eastern warehouses. Factory production slowed, and bankruptcies and layoffs became widespread.

As the depression of the 1890s persisted, radicalization among industrial workers and small farmers deepened. Class polarization sharpened, with the federal and state governments repeatedly using troops and the National Guard to suppress labor and farmer struggles. In the South, racist terror against Blacks became generalized. The system of Jim Crow segregation was imposed, and most of the democratic rights won by Blacks during the



Reconstruction period were wiped out.

Confronted with an economic and social crisis that showed few signs of abating, the most farsighted representatives of the capitalist class began urging a major expansion in the export of U.S. manufactured goods. They also sought new sources for raw materials and arenas for profitable investment. They looked above all to the east, and especially to China, where a lucrative trade in U.S. products had already been flourishing for several decades. A bigger share of the China market would have to be wrested from competitors such as England, France, and Russia. Another area of the globe now viewed as ripe for U.S. commercial penetration was Latin America, where Spain and England were the principal rivals.

Addressing the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1895, U.S. diplomat Charles Emory Smith noted that in the past the domestic United States had "afforded an unrivalled market among ourselves." Therefore, "we have thus far had little concern about foreign commerce." Now, however, "like Alexander we sigh for new worlds to conquer."

Smith predicted that in years to come, "Our spirit, if not our flag, will rule the [Western] hemisphere." The U.S. would build a canal across Central America, he said, linking the Atlantic and Pacific. And then, "New York, wresting the financial sceptre from London, will stand . . . the focus and emporium of the world's wide commerce between the Orient and Occident."¹

Other ruling-class spokesmen stressed the need for a major military buildup. In particular, they called for a strong navy that could protect American commerce and challenge rival capitalist powers for the control of markets. Not only must trade have naval protection, said Massachusetts congressman and textile manufacturer William Draper in 1894, but "a first necessity is the acquisition of bases for its protectors."

If U.S. naval bases were placed on the Pacific island of Samoa, at the Straits of Magellan, and at the mouth of a Central American canal, Draper said, "a properly organized fleet" could "hold the Pacific as an American ocean, dominated by American commercial enterprise for all time."

The U.S. rulers also cast covetous eyes on Hawaii, then an independent kingdom, and on Cuba, still a part of the Spanish colonial empire. Cuba, Secretary of State James G. Blaine had already written in 1881, was "the key to the Gulf of Mexico, and the field for our most extended trade in the Western Hemisphere. . . . If ever ceasing to be Spanish, Cuba must necessarily become American and not fall under any other European domination." Hawaii, Blaine went on, "is the key to the maritime dominion of the Pacific States as Cuba is the key to the Gulf trade."

An initial U.S. attempt in 1893 to annex Hawaii was not carried through. More attractive opportunities arose later in the decade as the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines rose up in arms against their Spanish colonial masters.

Independence struggles in Cuba and the Philippines

Cuban patriots led by José Martí, Máximo Gómez, and Antonio Maceo launched a war against the Spanish crown in February 1895. Despite the dispatch of more than 200,000 Spanish troops to the island and the deaths in combat of Martí and Maceo, the independence fighters scored victory after victory. In March 1898, a U.S. diplomat in Cuba reported to the State Department that "the Cubans continue to dominate the Eastern half of the island, and [their] columns are operating in the Western provinces without the Spaniards being able to stop them."

Spain was fighting a war on two fronts. In August
Continued on next page

1. Quoted by historian Daniel B. Schirmer in *Republic or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972). Schirmer's book is indispensable for anyone wishing to study this period in U.S. and Philippine history. Another work on which I have drawn extensively in preparing this article is *A History of the Philippines: From the Spanish Colonization to the Second World War*, by Filipino historian Renato Constantino (New York: Monthly Review, 1975). For developments in Cuba and the Caribbean during this period, readers may consult the two-volume work by Philip S. Foner, *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism* (New York: Monthly Review, 1972).

Continued from preceding page

1896, the Filipino people had joined the Cubans in anti-colonial rebellion. A series of uprisings had been followed by the emergence of nationalist armies that battled the Spaniards in all parts of the Philippines.

But the Philippine struggle took a more complicated course than the Cuban one. It was repeatedly sabotaged from within by representatives of the islands' propertied elite. A clique headed by Emilio Aguinaldo displaced and executed the plebian revolutionary leader Andres Bonifacio in May 1897. Seven months later, Aguinaldo and his cronies surrendered to the colonialists in exchange for a large sum of money and safe passage into exile. Nonetheless, Filipino patriots continued to wage guerrilla war in many parts of the country.

Spanish-American War

Meanwhile, the U.S. rulers were preparing to take full advantage of their Spanish rival's difficulties in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Not only Cuba but also the Philippines now looked ripe for the plucking. In March 1898 Boston lawyer Thomas Hammond Talbot wrote to Secretary of the Navy John Davis Long that he hoped the United States would seize and hold the Philippines with the further aim of "preventing the closing of portions of China to the world's commerce." The United States, Talbot said, could not "too carefully provide for the great future of these Pacific interests."

It was now no longer simply a question of securing new markets for the goods manufactured by U.S. industry. The years since Charles Emory Smith's call for "new worlds to conquer" had brought a qualitative shift in the structure of U.S. capitalism itself. Out of the wreckage of myriad small firms bankrupted by the depression there had arisen a series of big monopoly corporations (then known as "trusts"). Giants like Standard Oil, United Fruit, and U.S. Rubber now sought not only to market their products around the world but above all to find profitable foreign outlets for investing their mounting wealth.

"The opponents of colonial expansion often discuss the question of foreign markets as if the only question were the absorption of finished goods," economist Charles A. Conant wrote in June 1899. "This is in reality the less important side of the problem. The real opportunity afforded by colonial possessions is for the development of the new countries by fixed investment."

It was this need for capital investment outlets overseas that underlay the U.S. drive toward war with Spain in the early months of 1898.

War was declared on April 25, 1898. Within six days the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron, commanded by Adm. George Dewey, destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila harbor in the Philippines. Four days after that, Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, the foremost advocate of U.S. imperial expansion, wrote, "We must on no account let the islands go. . . . The American flag is up and it must stay."

The Spanish-American War ended in a little more than three months. Spain's Caribbean fleet was destroyed at Santiago de Cuba on July 3, and U.S. ground forces occupied that island and Puerto Rico as well.

McKinley also took the opportunity of the war to carry through the annexation of Hawaii. The small island of Guam, which had a good harbor and was strategically placed between Hawaii and the Philippines, was also seized from Spain. (Guam remains a U.S. colony today and is the site of major military installations.)

The outcome was summed up as follows by the U.S. Marxist writer John G. Wright:

"A single glance at a map is sufficient to make clear that here was no accidental colonial grab . . . but a painstaking, fully considered, consciously planned and executed preparation by U.S. imperialism for its struggle to obtain the richest colonial prize in the world — the outlets of the Orient fronting the Pacific Ocean. . . .

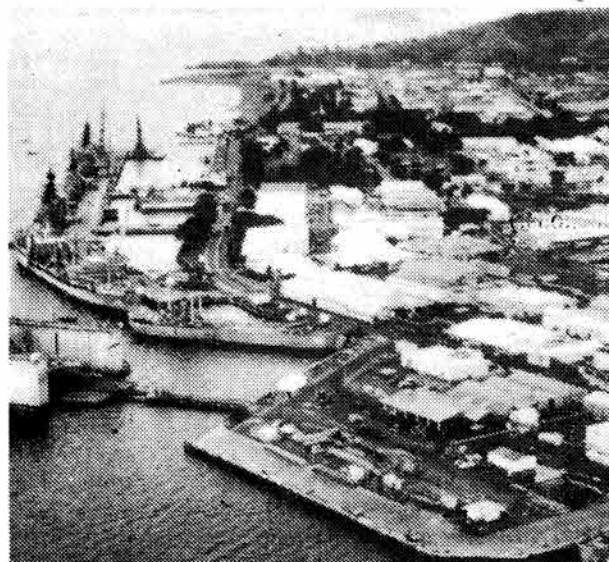
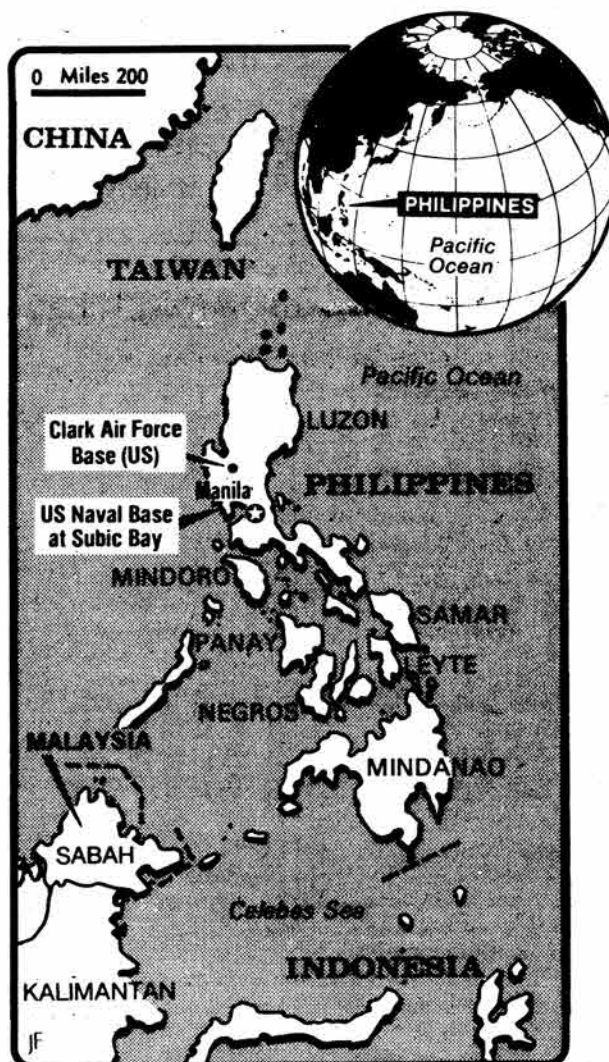
"The Philippines are strategically located in respect to the most developed section of China, its southern section (Canton), just as Japan is located strategically in respect to northern China and Manchuria. . . .

"The Hawaiian Islands are a midway base en route to the Far East of vital naval and military importance. . . .

"Puerto Rico flanks the British and French possessions in the Antilles."

And as for Cuba, Wright quoted historian Archibald C. Coolidge, who pointed out "the unique importance of this island to the United States. Strategically it commands at one end the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico — the outlet to the huge Mississippi Valley — and at the other it fronts on the Caribbean Sea, and any future isthmian canal."

The war against Spain actually enjoyed considerable popular support in the United States. Working people genuinely sympathized with the struggles of the Cuban and Filipino peoples for their liberation from colonial rule. The big-business newspapers took advantage of this



Philippines was big military prize. Subic Bay Naval Base is one of two major U.S. bases in country today.

sentiment and went all out to foster the impression that the U.S. government was intervening to guarantee the independence of Cuba and the Philippines.

Seizure of the Philippines

But nothing could have been further from the minds of McKinley, Roosevelt, Lodge, and company. Already in May 1898, while the war with Spain was still being fought, Henry Cabot Lodge had met with McKinley and argued as follows, as paraphrased by historian Daniel B. Schirmer:

"The home market was no longer sufficient to meet the productive capacity of American industry; foreign markets must be secured such as the Philippines would provide. Annex these islands, and their ten million inhabitants would have to buy American goods, and American manufacturers would have so much additional trade."

Lodge wrote Roosevelt the next day that "the administration is grasping the whole policy" and would shortly send 20,000 troops to the Philippines.

Admiral Dewey had meanwhile persuaded Emilio Aguinaldo to return to the Philippines and put himself once more at the head of a Philippine nationalist army. The U.S. aim was to use these independence fighters as the main force in driving the Spanish out of the island, thus clearing the way for a U.S. takeover. But Aguinaldo was made to believe Washington would recognize and defend Philippine independence once the Spanish were defeated.

Aguinaldo proclaimed his country's independence on June 12, 1898, with a manifesto modeled on the American Declaration of Independence. It said, in part, that "under the protection of the Mighty and Humane North American Nation, we proclaim and solemnly declare, in

the name and by the authority of the inhabitants of all these Philippine Islands, that they are and have the right to be free and independent. . . ."

The Americans bided their time while Aguinaldo's troops defeated one Spanish garrison after another. But once sufficient numbers of U.S. troops arrived on the islands in July, the Filipinos' services were abruptly dispensed with. In August, a U.S.-Spanish agreement was reached — behind Aguinaldo's back — whereby American troops would occupy Manila after a mock battle with the Spaniards and would keep the Filipino troops out of the capital. A U.S. military government was proclaimed on August 14, although Aguinaldo's forces controlled most of the country. Washington's approach was spelled out in a State Department cable to E. Spencer Pratt, one of the diplomats responsible for dealings with Aguinaldo:

"The United States in entering upon the occupation of the islands . . . will expect from the inhabitants, without regard to their former attitude toward the Spanish Government, that obedience which will be lawfully due from them."

Thus the U.S. decision to seize the islands had already been taken long before President McKinley finally made it public at the end of October. McKinley claimed he had spent several sleepless nights praying for divine guidance until word finally came from the Almighty that "there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift them and civilize and Christianize them."

Under the treaty that Washington signed with Spain in December, the Philippines were "sold" to the United States for \$20 million. McKinley then ordered his military commanders on the islands to extend U.S. sovereignty throughout the archipelago, by force if necessary.

Aguinaldo responded with a manifesto bitterly denouncing this "aggressive seizure of a portion of [Philippine] territory by a nation which had arrogated to itself the title, 'champion of oppressed nations.'" Aguinaldo's statement recalled how Dewey had helped him return to the Philippines and how the Filipinos had borne the brunt of the fighting against the Spanish. "It was taken for granted," he complained, "that the American forces would necessarily sympathize with the revolution which they had encouraged and which had saved them much blood and great hardships; and, above all, we entertained absolute confidence in the history and traditions of a people which fought for its independence and for the abolition of slavery; we felt ourselves under the guardianship of a free people."

Aguinaldo proceeded to inaugurate the Philippine Republic on January 23, 1899. Attempts to negotiate a new agreement with Washington proved fruitless. Fighting broke out on February 4, when a U.S. patrol provoked a clash with Filipino nationalist soldiers outside Manila. Gen. Arthur MacArthur counterattacked according to what he later revealed was "a pre-arranged plan." McKinley cabled instructions "to follow up [the] victory over the insurgents and crush the power of Aguinaldo in the Philippines." Aguinaldo's appeals for a ceasefire were brushed aside; the Philippines War was on.

U.S. troops vs. peasant guerrillas

Enjoying overwhelming military superiority, the U.S. forces defeated the Filipinos in many parts of the islands during the opening months of the war. While the peasants joined in the resistance to the new colonizers, wealthy Filipino landowners often welcomed the Americans with open arms. By December 1899, there were 55,000 U.S. troops in the Philippines.

Aguinaldo and his government retreated as the Americans advanced. The Philippine army was dissolved, but guerrilla warfare burgeoned in its stead. The frustration felt by the American officers in face of the stubborn resistance mounted by the independence fighters is evident in this frank report by Gen. Arthur MacArthur, military governor of the Philippines:

"Wherever throughout the Archipelago there is a group of the insurgent army, it is a fact beyond dispute that all the contiguous towns contribute to the maintenance thereof. In other words, the towns regardless of the fact of American occupation and town organization, are the actual bases for all insurgent military activities, and not only so in the sense of furnishing supplies for the so-called flying columns of guerrillas, but as affording secure places of refuge. Indeed, it is now the most important maxim of Filipino tactics to disband when closely pressed, and seek safety in the nearest barrio — a maneuver quickly accomplished by reason of the assistance of the people, and the ease with which the Filipino soldier is transformed into the appearance of a peaceful native. *The success of this unique system of war depends upon almost complete unity of action of the entire native population. That such unity is a fact is too obvious to admit of discussion. . . .*"⁴

2. "The Spanish-American War," in Novack, ed., *America's Revolutionary Heritage* (New York: Pathfinder, 1976), pp. 332-33.

3. *Republic or Empire*, p. 72.

4. Quoted by Constantino in *A History of the Philippines*, p. 228. (Emphasis added.)

The U.S. military increasingly resorted to wholesale assaults on the civilian population in order to suppress such tenacious resistance. Filipino historian Renato Constantino quotes excerpts from U.S. soldiers' letters that were published by the Anti-Imperialist League in Boston in 1899:

"Guy Williams of the Iowa Regiment: The soldiers made short work of the whole thing. They looted every house, and found almost everything, from a pair of shoes up to a piano, and they carried everything off or destroyed it.

"Anthony Michea, of the Third Artillery: We bombarded a place called Malabon, and then we went in and killed every native we met, men, women, and children.

"Captain Elliot, of the Kansas Regiment: Caloocan was supposed to contain seventeen thousand inhabitants. The Twentieth Kansas swept through it, and now Caloocan contains not one living native. Of the buildings, the battered walls of the great church and dismal prison alone remain. The village of Maypajo, where our first fight occurred... had five thousand people in it that day — now not one stone remains on top of another. You can only faintly imagine this terrible scene of desolation. War is worse than hell."⁵

The anti-imperialist movement

Even before Washington launched this new and bloody war against the Filipino people, opposition to expansionism abroad was building inside the United States. The McKinley administration's foreign policy was being widely described as "imperialist." (Supporters of the expansionist turn also largely accepted this designation, and many even bore it with pride.)

Debate over Senate ratification of the treaty with Spain helped to galvanize the opposition. Public meetings were held and petitions circulated to oppose annexation of the Philippines. While the first initiatives were taken by middle-class intellectuals and merchants in Massachusetts — where the New England Anti-Imperialist League was founded in November 1898 — the movement gained wide adherence among trade unionists, farmers, and Blacks.

According to labor historian Philip S. Foner, the Anti-Imperialist League "grew into a national organization of one-half million members. The national and local leagues held conferences and public meetings, published thousands of manifestos, pamphlets, poems, speeches, and magazine articles.... The anti-imperialists won the support of America's outstanding writers — Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Edgar Lee Masters, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Finley Peter Dunne, and others — who contributed poems, essays and short stories to the literature of the anti-imperialist movement."⁶

Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs declared that in the Philippines, the U.S. rulers were seeking markets "at the expense of the lives of a people whose only offense has been their love of freedom and self-control."

"We are opposed to war," Debs said, "but if it ever becomes necessary for us to enlist in the murderous business, it will be to wipe out capitalism, the common enemy of the oppressed and downtrodden of all nations."⁷

At the other end of the political spectrum in the turn-of-the-century labor movement stood Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). He too spoke out against the Philippines War at the beginning.

At an antiwar rally in Boston in March 1899, Gompers denounced U.S. aggression "against the only Asiatic country that has ever made an attempt to establish a republican form of government." Gompers said that "if peace cannot be secured in any other way, the time is coming when federated labor will refuse to make implements that are intended to strike down their fellow men."

The AFL's 1898 convention endorsed an anti-imperialist manifesto that read, in part:

"As citizens we protest against forcing our system of government upon an unwilling people; against the maintenance of a large standing army, that has no place in a republic such as ours; we protest against the manifold dangers attendant upon European and Asiatic entanglements, and as workingmen emphatically protest against the unfair competition of the wretched people who would

become, without voice or vote, our fellow citizens. We therefore urge upon workingmen to awake to a full realization of the dangers that confront them, and call upon their representatives with no uncertain voice to save them from the dangers of imperialism."

While the phrase about "unfair competition" reflected a political weakness that the U.S. labor movement has still not overcome, the resolution also showed the sentiment that existed among working people against McKinley's war.

War at home and abroad

The Philippines War came at a time when the U.S. rulers were also resorting more and more to armed force against labor struggles at home. In May 1899 federal troops crushed a strike by miners in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Strikers were herded into bull pens, the right of habeas corpus was suspended, and the union was effectively destroyed.

"Could Imperialism go farther than this?" asked Andrew Furuseth, secretary of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific after Coeur d'Alene. "Militarism in Philippines and Cuba and militarism to suppress the right of organization and take away the right of Habeas Corpus at home. We are certainly moving with striking directness toward the death of the Republic."

A Chicago machinist made the same point in his union's *Monthly Journal*: "Because men such as Roosevelt of New York declare [the Filipinos] savages and that they ought to be repressed... does not make it so, for if such men as he had it in their power they would repress you and me from becoming members of the International Association of Machinists."

Black leaders likewise spoke out against the Philippines War, drawing parallels between the suppression of the Philippine independence struggle and the growing terror against Blacks in the Jim Crow South. When Black clergymen in Boston sponsored a gathering to protest anti-Black violence in the South, the meeting's chairman declared that the United States could not afford to crusade for democracy in the Philippines "while the blood of citizens, who came here... before the Mayflower, is crying out to God against her from the gutters of Wilmington." (Armed mobs of whites in Wilmington, North Carolina, had recently murdered a dozen Blacks, burned down a Black newspaper, and driven elected Black officials out of town during the November 1898 elections.)

At a May 1899 rally of the New England Anti-Imperialist League, A.E. Pillsbury denounced the burning at the stake of a Black farmhand in Newnan, Georgia, the previous month. Pillsbury called for U.S. troops to be brought home from the Philippines and sent into the South to "repress this rebellion against humanity."

The big-business proponents of expansionism put forward openly racist arguments to justify their course. "Supremacy in the world appears to be the destiny of the race to which we belong," the July 1898 issue of the *Textile Record*, a leading trade journal, declared. As "the most competent governor of inferior races," the duty of the United States was "to bring to the people of the Spanish islands in the Pacific and the Atlantic an opportunity to rise from misery and hopelessness to a promise of just government and commercial success."

Such views dovetailed with and reinforced the campaign by southern racist politicians to deprive Blacks of

voting rights. In 1898 the liberal weekly *Nation*, commenting on a U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding such moves in the South, called the decision "an interesting coincidence... rendered at a time when we are considering the idea of taking in a varied assortment of inferior races in different parts of the world which, of course, could not be allowed to vote."

Opposition to the Philippines War became widespread among farmers in the Western states and in parts of the South. It was from these areas that the bulk of the 12,000 "volunteer" troops fighting in the Philippines came. State-based volunteer regiments had been mobilized for the Spanish-American War and then kept in the Philippines to suppress the independence struggle. As casualties mounted, there was a growing clamor for the volunteers to be brought home.

In April 1899 Herbert Myrick, the publisher of a chain of farm newspapers and a leader of the anti-imperialist movement in Massachusetts, was quoted in the Boston press as reporting "an utter absence of imperialist spirit among the rank and file of the people throughout the West and South... the unpopularity of the war increases with each Western boy who is killed or wounded."

Not only were public meetings held, editorials written, and messages from parents sent to Washington calling for the return of the volunteers, but the troops themselves began demanding to be brought home. The Tenth Pennsylvania volunteer regiment voted unanimously against serving beyond the expiration of their original enlistment. The Thirteenth Minnesota telegraphed the state's governor demanding that "the regiment must be ordered home and mustered out of the service at once."

The McKinley administration was able to defuse much of this discontent, however, by replacing the volunteer units with regular troops and pursuing the war. It also threatened to prosecute for sedition anti-imperialist figures who it claimed were calling on the volunteers to commit insubordination.

Elections of 1900

As the presidential elections of 1900 approached, the organized anti-imperialist movement more and more subordinated itself to the campaign of the Democratic Party. The latter had nominated the midwestern populist William Jennings Bryan to run against the incumbent Republican McKinley. Bryan had supported the Spanish-American War and had urged Democratic senators to vote for the treaty with Spain that sanctioned seizure of the Philippines. But he now saw that anti-imperialism would make a good platform plank for his second attempt to defeat McKinley for the presidency.

At its August 1900 convention the Anti-Imperialist League formally endorsed Bryan. Days later, its leaders established direct ties to the Democratic National Committee, which financed much of the league's propaganda work during the campaign.

The movement was thereby tied to one of the country's two big capitalist parties, and, moreover, to the one that was most closely identified with white supremacy and anti-Black violence. Liberal Republicans in the North made the most of this during the campaign. As historian Daniel Schirmer points out, Republican Sen. George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts launched "a particularly keen attack on the Democrats, hitting their anti-imperialist protestations at the weakest point: the militant

Continued on ISR/6



Anti-Imperialist League organized opposition to Washington's war in Philippines. Above, Boston headquarters of New England league.

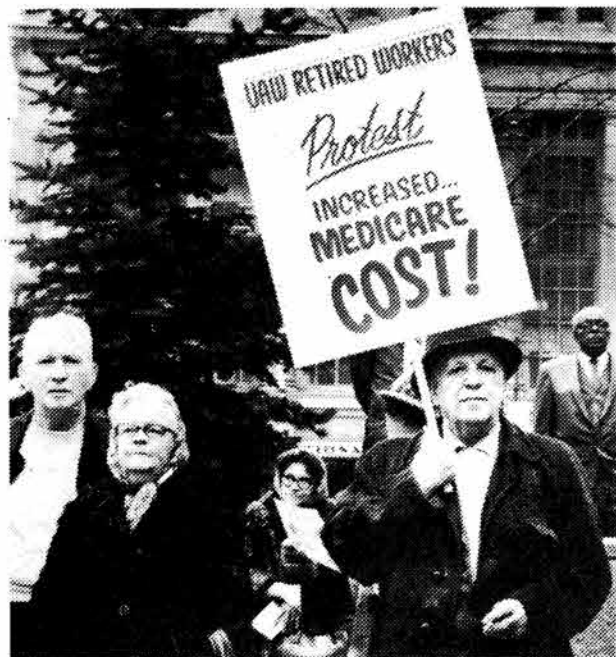
5. *A History of the Philippines*, pp. 242-43.

6. *A History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Volume 2 (New York: International, 1975), p. 426.

7. Quoted by Ray Ginger in *The Bending Cross* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1949), p. 203. It should be noted, however, that Debs supported the annexation of Hawaii in 1898, saying that this "was entirely proper and in perfect keeping with the constitution of the United States. In the first place it was the desire of the natives of Hawaii to become citizens of the United States through annexation. They are composed in a degree of Caucasians, and they already have a government established. Then Honolulu is a coaling station for the United States, and this government must protect itself in this regard." (Quoted by Nick Salvatore in *Eugene V. Debs, Citizen and Socialist* [Urbana: University of Illinois, 1982], pp. 226-27.)

Cuba vs U.S.: what it means to take

Health care in the private market place



Retirees on Medicare pay 40 percent of their medical bills out of their own pockets.

BY HARRY RING

Maybe you didn't realize it, but the health of the people of this country is "better than ever."

"We are living longer, we are living healthier, and we are providing the benefits of our unparalleled health care system more widely and more equitably."

That assessment was offered January 17 by Margaret Heckler, President Reagan's secretary of health and human services.

It would be hard to cram more lies into a comparable number of words.

True, Heckler did concede a "distressing" continuing toll of death and disease among Blacks and other victimized nationalities. But that reality is so widely known that it's hard, even for inveterate liars, to simply blink it away.

(For an indication of the health plight of Black people, see the facts and figures offered by Rep. John Conyers on this page.)

But while Blacks and Latinos are the hardest hit by this country's scandalous health care system, they are far from the only victims.

According to a recent study, one out of every eight people in the United States has "serious trouble" getting medical care.

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, a health care body, issued a report on this December 18, a full month before the government's. It found:

"One million families have at least one member who was refused care during 1982 for financial reasons."

One white person in 11 was denied care for lack of money. For Blacks it was 1 of every 6.5. For Latinos it was 1 out of 5.

The federal report boasts that in two decades the infant mortality rate has been cut in half. It is now 12.6 deaths for every thousand live births.

That's the "average." For whites, it is 11 out of a thousand. For Blacks, 21.4 per thousand.

16th place

But even the 12 per thousand is nothing to brag about. The fact is that the United States, the richest country on earth, has one of the highest infant mortality rates among industrialized nations. There are 15 countries with lower rates.

Health care benefits are being made available "more widely and more equitably?"

The Children's Defense Fund made a study of prenatal care in 33 states.

It found that in 26 of these states a rising percentage of pregnant women receive either late prenatal care, or none at all.

This is confirmed by the government's own figures. It found that in 1981, only 62.4 percent of expectant Black mothers received early prenatal care. This helps explain why the Black infant mortality rate is virtually double that of whites.

The Children's Defense Fund charged that the growing lack of prenatal care was the result of federal cutbacks in health care and other support programs, and warned the situation could get even worse.

Health care is "better than ever?"

Then how explain the fact that in the past 25 years the

number of babies born with physical and mental defects has doubled?

Dr. Barbara Starfield, pediatrician and professor at Johns Hopkins University, said this increase is all the more startling because "the 1950s were a terrible time for children because of polio and other diseases. With new vaccines and improvements in medical care one might expect real improvements, not the other way around."

And, it can be added, the problem certainly isn't that the cost of medical care isn't high enough.

From 1980 to 1982, the cost of a hospital room jumped 51 percent.

In 1982, the cost of medical care increased by 12.5 percent, about double the overall inflation rate.

The total 1982 cost of health care was \$322 billion. Considering what we get in return, that's a lot of dollars.

What to do?

Nobody really denies that medical costs are astronomical. The questions are why, and what to do about it.

Reagan, and all the others who want to cut back even further on public and private health insurance benefits, argue that the cost of health care has spiraled because people don't have to pay for it, so they go to the doctor more than they need to. And they check into hospitals just to get a rest.

The way to make medical care cost less, says Reagan, is to "privatize" it. Let the "miracle of the marketplace" do the job.

According to government figures, 58.3 million workers have some kind of job-related medical insurance. With their families, according to the figures, they constitute 78 percent of the population.

Another 13 percent of the population, the elderly and disabled, are reported to be covered by Medicare.

So, 91 percent of the population has nothing to worry about, right?

Not by a long shot.

In 1982, individuals paid 33 percent of their medical bills directly out of their own pocket. And that's in addition to payroll deductions and insurance premium payments.

For those on Medicare, who generally have less income and more medical problems, the situation was even more outrageous. People on Medicare paid 40 percent of their medical bills directly out of pocket.

And while millions are paying through the nose, a relative handful of fast buck artists in the medical industry are piling up profits.

Increasingly, what Reagan advocates is being realized. Health care is being privatized.

The number of privately owned hospitals is now increasing at a faster rate than the so-called nonprofit and public ones.

Already, in some areas of the country, investor-owned hospitals are dominant.

In addition, the big hospital corporations are operating a growing number of public and nonprofit hospitals under contract. The justification being they have the know-how and incentive to make the hospitals more cost efficient.

No corner grocery

Not surprisingly, the privately owned hospitals are not a mom and pop operation.

Five corporations control two-thirds of the country's investor-operated hospitals. Last year, the gross take of these five companies was \$8.3 billion, and they're still expanding.

How do they do it?

Partly by capitalist rationalization. One fast-growing conglomerate, National Medical Enterprises, establishes "campuses" with doctors' offices, hospital, psychiatric center, and nursing home on one site. (Maybe it's a sense of delicacy that inhibits them from including mortuaries and burial plots.)

Corporate hospital know-how includes effective use of the ripoff factor.

Does privatized medical care cut costs?

According to the *New England Journal of Medicine*, privately owned hospitals charge up to 24 percent more than nonprofit ones.

The chain hospitals, a study by the magazine found, order 10 percent more lab tests for patients and administer 50 percent more medicine.

Being a doctor is certainly a socially useful and necessary profession. And, unquestionably, there are a minority of doctors who see it and try to practice it that way.

But, in this country at least, it's an unusually lucrative occupation.

According to the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, the 1980 median income of all "unincorporated" doctors of medicine was \$63,800. For surgeons, the figure was \$83,300. (Median means half earned more than that amount, and half less.)

For "incorporated" doctors — that is, patient-care doctors who are members of medical corporations — the median income was \$95,100. For incorporated surgeons, it was \$101,800. (Feature doctors with that income making house calls.)

Health care a right

Over the past decades, millions of people in this country have come to regard health care as a right, not a privilege to be restricted to those who can afford it.

But that right will not become a reality until the profits are taken out of medicine. The present situation confirms that dollars and decent, comprehensive care simply don't mix.

The entire medical system should be organized and financed on a planned, national basis. A generation of doctors should be trained to be oriented to serving the need of people, not making a bundle. The profit-bloated drug industry should be nationalized and administered by publicly elected board. The hospital corporations should be put out of business.

The entire medical care system — medical centers, polyclinics, hospitals, nursing homes — should be organized according to a national plan designed to meet the health care needs of the country. Local communities should have a voice in administering them. Service should be available to all, without charge.

But, could we possibly afford this?

Take out the profits and we can. Particularly if we took some of the annual bill for weapons of death and reallocated it for health care.

It's really astonishing how little *nonprofit* medical can cost.

A report in the *New England Journal of Medicine* (see article on ISR page 5) describes socialized medicine in Cuba as one of the best health care systems anywhere. And all of it is provided without charge.

For a small country faced with the legacy of years of imperialist oppression, a medical system of such scope means a substantial allocation of very limited resources.

But consider the comparison.

Here, the annual cost of medical care per person is now \$1,365.

In Cuba, the current annual cost of medical care is 55 pesos per person. At an official exchange rate of 86.75 cents per peso, that comes out to less than \$48 per year, or just about 3.5 percent of the cost here.

And that doesn't take into account how very much more the Cuban people get for each medical dollar spent.

True, Britain and numerous other capitalist countries also have government-financed national medical programs. But from the available reports, Cuba's does better because it doesn't have to coexist with privatized medicine. Its doctors don't have to withstand the pressures that develop from functioning with one foot in each of the private and public sectors.

And — most decisive — since the Cuban people abolished capitalism and set socialism as their goal, they have a government that represents their interests. It is a government whose social priorities are the opposite of those of capitalist governments. That's really the basic explanation for why Cuba can provide first-class comprehensive medical care for all.

'Black cancer rate

Charging the government and medical establishment with a racist lack of concern for the health needs of Black people, Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) wrote an article on the subject for the Dec. 28, 1983, *New York Times*. The following are extracts.

The overall rate of increase in the incidence of cancer among Blacks is twice that of whites; the rate is as much as fifteen-fold with some of the more dangerous cancers, including cancer of the colon and rectum. Hypertension kills Blacks 15 times more frequently than whites.

In the workplace, Blacks have a 37 percent higher risk of occupationally induced disease and a 20 percent higher death rate from occupationally related diseases.

Blacks are the target of a disproportionate threat from toxins, both in the workplace, where they are assigned the dirtiest and most hazardous jobs, and in their homes, which tend to be situated in the most polluted communities.

The data on environmental and occupational dangers are chilling. Black children suffer from lead poisoning at

ie profits out of medical care



A modern children's hospital in Cuba, which has instituted health-care measures equal to those of many industrialized countries. Cubatimes

'Good medical care for all at no charge'

The *New England Journal of Medicine* is regarded as one of the most authoritative medical journals in the country, and is one of the most widely circulated.

In its issue of Dec. 8, 1983, the magazine featured a study of health care in Cuba.

Entitled, "Special Report: High-tech Medicine in the Caribbean; 25 Years of Cuban Health Care," the article was written by Robert Ubell of New York City. The following are excerpts from his report.

When Cuban guerrilla bands fought in remote mountain villages more than a quarter of a century ago, one of their first promises was to provide Cubans with medical care equal to any in the world. Today, on the eve of the silver anniversary of the "triumph of the revolution," even Cuba's detractors admit that the new government has made good on that commitment. . . .

Today, life expectancy in Cuba is close to that in the United States. And since the 1970's, the nation's infant mortality rate has been reduced by more than half — from 38.0 to 17.3 per 1,000 live births. In the United States the rate is 11.2, but among black Americans it is 21.1.

By the mid-1970s, polio had been entirely eliminated in Cuba. The last death caused by diphtheria occurred more than a decade ago. Cases of tuberculosis were down to well under 100 by last year. Nearly 5,000 cases of tuberculosis were reported annually just before the revolution;

today, deaths from the disease have all but disappeared. Deaths from other infectious diseases, including malaria and gastroenteritis, which were leading causes of mortality before the revolution, are negligible.

The new government provides medical care for all Cubans at no charge. The bill for these services comes to more than 15 per cent of the nation's gross national product. The figure is 10 per cent in the United States and 8 per cent in Canada. By most standards, Cuba is enormously generous in its health care. . . .

The physician-dominated system has come up against patient dissatisfaction, and doctors have responded by meeting certain community demands. For example, the patient is no longer seen by whatever physician happens to be on duty but is treated by his or her own doctor, who is responsible for all families within a defined neighborhood.

The doctor is usually familiar with the patient's medical history and family. What's more, patients need no longer wait while their clinical records are retrieved from a central file. Instead, physicians can easily locate the records on open shelves in consulting rooms. Polyclinics are the principle facility for ambulatory care. . . .

In the pediatric department of Polyclinic Plaza, located on the ground floor, the children appear to feel at home as they dash in and out of the waiting room, which is open to the street. Surprisingly, neither the staff nor the mothers, who chat while waiting to be called, seem to mind the noise or the frisky playroom atmosphere.

Healthy babies under one year of age are scheduled to see their pediatrician twice a month, and at least once in the first year, the doctor, often accompanied by a nurse, visits the baby at home. . . .

Of the dozen or so physicians on duty during my visit to Polyclinic Plaza, all were women (except for one male internist), and most were black. The presence of large numbers of black physicians — and notably, black women doctors — throughout the Cuban medical-care system is striking to a U.S. observer. . . .

Although most of the drugs (83 per cent) used in Cuba are manufactured by its own pharmaceutical industry, certain substances remain in short supply. The shortage is related in part to the U.S. embargo, since a few key drugs are available primarily in the United States. . . .

The families of patients in intensive care are given reports by physicians at appointed hours three times a day, and a day-and-night telephone service also reports on patient status. Patients on regular wards may be attended by one family member 24 hours a day. . . . The hospitals provide free meals for these visitors. . . .

Most students enter medical school at about 18 years of age, right after they complete secondary school, without passing through four years of liberal arts college, as students in the United States do. No examination is re-

quired to gain admission, but students must have achieved a 92 per cent grade average in high school.

"Grades are not the only criteria for entrance," noted Manuel Peña, chief of research at Havana's medical school. "You must also want to be a doctor. You must have the right moral characteristics for a medical career, and you must have revolutionary feelings." . . .

"Women are invading the medical school," Peña observed, reporting that 52 per cent of the students now enrolled at Havana's medical school are women. This represents the continuation of a steady increase that began in the early days after the revolution. . . . Cuban women were largely excluded from medicine under Batista and earlier.

From 1728, when it was founded, until 1959, the medical school at the University of Havana graduated only 496 women physicians. Today women account for 38 per cent of all registered doctors in Cuba, but more than half of them practice general medicine, with few found in the specialties. . . .

Large numbers of foreign students, principally from other Latin American countries, Arab nations, and Africa, are enrolled in Cuban medical schools. At Havana's medical school, some 200 of the 2,800 students come from abroad. In all, there are 1,743 foreign medical students in Cuba. Cuban and foreign students alike receive free medical education; some are offered stipends. . . .

All graduates, upon earning their degrees, are required to perform rural service, practicing community medicine in the countryside. Soon after the revolution, young doctors were sent to the mountains and to the farms for 14 months. But as the number of physicians increased, so did the period of rural duty. In 1968 it was increased to two years, and the current three-year period of service was introduced in 1974. . . .

Salaries for Cuban doctors range from as little as \$250 a month for residents to as much as \$718 for full professors. The professors who are at the highest level of their profession are among the highest paid of all Cubans, often receiving salaries equal to or exceeding those paid to government ministers. The average salary for all Cuban workers is about \$200 a month. . . .

Today Cuba claims more than 17 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants, or 1 for every 750 people, as compared with 1 for every 540 people in the United States and 1 for every 1,750 people in Brazil (one of the more developed countries in the Americas). . . .

Many new graduates are headed for foreign service, following contingents that have served in the Third World since 1963, when the first medical brigades arrived in Algeria. Today, 3,044 Cuban health workers, including 1,743 physicians, serve abroad. In Angola, for example, there are 847 Cuban doctors, nurses, and other health personnel. Cuban physicians are also stationed in 26 other countries, including Nicaragua, Vietnam, and Ethiopia.

Dispatched for one or two years and often working under hardship, young Cuban doctors commonly provide routine community health care to people with few or no other medical resources. In some countries, Cuban physicians represent a large fraction of the medical work force. Most nations receive the medical aid at no cost; a few however, pay for it. . . .

Cubans also provide training, biomedical research, and other services overseas. In South Yemen, for instance, they have helped the new government establish its first medical school. . . .

Having instituted health-care measures equal to those in many industrialized nations, Cuba may now be able to focus its attention on putting its people to work more productively and creatively. A nation hobbled by disease and poverty cannot accomplish much. And in the long run, Cuba may be able to export more than its doctors and nurses. Its medical-support industries (pharmaceuticals, computers, and other services) may follow sugar into the world market in the next decades.

Cuba has engineered a national medical apparatus that is the envy of many developing nations. For some of these nations, it is not Boston, Massachusetts, but Havana, Cuba, that is the center of the medical world. . . .

"The commitment to health of this country's leadership is truly remarkable," said Halfdan Mahler, director-general of the World Health Organization, speaking in Havana in early July. "As for Cuba's self-reliance in health matters . . . it has become legendary."

Mahler's assessment echoes the reports of dramatic reversals in Cuban medical care that have been widely and prominently published in scholarly periodicals outside Cuba. In the United States, much of this news has been received with skepticism or, worse, has been ignored. But in view of recent events in Central America and the Caribbean, this may be the right moment to recognize what Cuba has achieved.

wice that of whites'

a rate three times that of white children.

DDT contamination of Black Americans is three times greater than in white Americans. Last June the Government Accounting Office found that 75 percent of hazardous-waste sites studied were situated in predominantly Black communities.

In the laundry and dry cleaning industries, Blacks' death rate from all causes is double that of whites. Steel industry studies have shown that Black coke-plant workers have twice the expected cancer-death rate of whites, and eight times the lung-cancer rate. This disparity is explainable by job patterns: 89 percent of Black workers labor at coke ovens — the most dangerous part of the industry; only 32 percent of their white co-workers do.

Coupled with the disproportionate exposure to toxic substances, in the workplace and environment is a significantly lower survival rate from cancer among Black Americans, as would be expected by the generally inferior health care available to ethnic minorities in the United States.

Continued from ISR/3

white supremacy of the Southern Democrats, who were conducting, at the very moment, an aggressive campaign to disfranchise the blacks in many states. Senator [Benjamin] Tillman, who read the Democratic platform at the convention, enthusiastically urging independence for the Filipinos, had, only the winter before, made a virulent speech on the Senate floor, threatening Southern blacks with violence and death should they dare to vote.⁸

But the main issue on which McKinley and the Republicans appealed for votes was the new economic prosperity fueled by war. The "full dinner pail" became McKinley's campaign symbol, and his supporters pointed to the dark days of depression working people had faced under the previous administration of Democrat Grover Cleveland.

With the exception of the socialist propaganda campaign waged by Eugene V. Debs and the Social Democratic Party, the workers movement remained on the sidelines during the 1900 campaign. Samuel Gompers took the AFL further down the road toward pro-imperialist class-collaboration by upholding the federation's policy of not "meddling in politics" and by ceasing to speak out against the Philippines War. Nor did the socialists campaign aggressively against the war; they held that "the real issue of the campaign was not imperialism, it was socialism versus capitalism."

'Kill and burn'

McKinley won the election. The next day, his cabinet issued orders to General MacArthur to "start a vigorous campaign at once, pressing the remnants of the Philippine army to the last extremity." The U.S. Army's scorched-earth drive against the Filipino people was redoubled, and a new tactic called "reconcentration" was introduced. Filipino historian Renato Constantino explains:

"The strategic hamlets of Vietnam were preceded by the reconcentration camps in the Philippines. General Franklin Bell believed that, barring a few sympathisers, the entire population in his area of operations in Batangas and Laguna was hostile to the Americans and actively aided the guerrilla forces of General Miguel Malvar. Accordingly, he decided to employ tactics calculated to cause so much general 'anxiety and apprehension' as to make the state of war intolerable to the population. . . .

"Bell directed his commanders to set up the outer limits of an area around each town chosen as a zone of reconcentration and to inform the people that . . . they must move into this zone with all the food supplies they could bring in such as rice, poultry, livestock, etc. All property found outside the zone . . . would be confiscated or destroyed. . . . Any man found outside the reconcentration area would be arrested and imprisoned if he could not produce a pass, or would be shot if he attempted to run away."⁹

On the island of Samar, Brig. Gen. Jacob H. Smith ordered that every Filipino be treated as an enemy unless he actively collaborated with the Americans. Samar was to be turned into a "howling wilderness," Smith ordered; "I want no prisoners. I wish you to kill and burn; the more you kill and burn the better you will please me."

Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the Filipino independence movement, was captured by U.S. troops on March 23, 1901. Nine days later he took an oath of allegiance to the United States and on April 19 issued a proclamation calling for an end to resistance and once again declaring his faith in "the magnanimity of the great American nation."

Guerrilla resistance to U.S. occupation continued sporadically until about 1911, but the war was effectively over by mid-1902. The Filipino landowners and capitalists represented by Aguinaldo readily entered into collaboration with the new foreign oppressors of their nation.

Policy shift — 'neocolonialism'

Such collaboration was facilitated by a shift in policy by the U.S. rulers in 1901 away from outright annexation or colonization of their foreign conquests toward a more subtle and disguised form of domination. Some of the countries dominated by U.S. imperialism were promised their formal political independence so long as U.S. economic domination was unhindered and the local ruling classes went along with the subordinate role assigned to them.

This approach, often termed "neocolonialism," was inaugurated with the recognition of Cuban independence by Washington in 1902 following the imposition of a treaty that subordinated the new republic's foreign and military policy to the United States (the treaty was not repealed until 1934). Eventual independence was pledged for the Philippines as well, but this was not carried through until 1946. Hawaii was annexed to the United States as a state in 1958, and Puerto Rico still remains a colony.

8. *Republic or Empire*, p. 199.

9. *A History of the Philippines*, p. 244.



Emilio Aguinaldo, a leader of Philippines independence struggle.

With the winding down of the U.S. war in the Philippines and the shift to a policy of promising eventual independence, the anti-imperialist movement waned. Many of its middle-class leaders accepted the new policy. In Constantino's view, "Most anti-imperialists then were in reality neo-colonialists. The only difference between the imperialists and many anti-imperialists of that time was that the former believed in territorial annexation while the latter were for economic expansion without seizure of territory."¹⁰

Daniel Schirmer views the antiwar campaigners of the turn of the century more generously. "In an age of chauvinism and greedy materialism," he says, "the anti-imperialists took a principled and internationalist stand against an unjust war of conquest." He continues:

"It is true that they criticized [imperialism] most often from the viewpoint of the past, of a petty bourgeois society of merchants, farmers and small manufacturers, of free trade and individualism. But if, for the most part, they did not clearly see the future, or the way out of the problems imperialism presented, they saw those problems incisively and boldly. (They were the first, for example, to point to a connection between the struggle against imperialist foreign policy and the fight for black rights at home.) That is why the anti-imperialist movement, though of brief duration, has an enduring importance; it was like a flare in the night, lasting only a min-

10. *A History of the Philippines*, p. 287.

ute, but laying bare the battlefield."¹¹

The central shortcoming of the early anti-imperialists was their failure to grasp that imperialism is not a policy to be adopted or set aside according to governmental decisions at a particular time, but rather a *system* rooted in the development of capitalism itself.

We have seen how imperialism arose in the United States in the last decade of the nineteenth century and how it was accompanied from birth by wars of conquest abroad and attacks on the rights of working people at home. The same process unfolded in a handful of other capitalist countries; Britain had started down the imperialist road somewhat earlier, to be joined shortly by France, Germany, Japan, and Russia.

The basic features of this new system were analyzed by the Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin in his classic work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Lenin summed up imperialism's distinguishing traits as follows:

"1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; 2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital," of a financial oligarchy; 3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; 4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist combines which share the world among themselves; and 5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed."¹²

Referring to the U.S. "anti-imperialists" of 1898-1902, Lenin called them "the last of the Mohicans of bourgeois democracy." They denounced the wars against Spain and the Philippines as criminal and despotic, and Lenin recognized this and hailed it. "But," he added, "so long as all this criticism shrank from recognizing the inseparable bond between imperialism and the trusts, and, therefore, between imperialism and the foundations of capitalism, so long as it shrank from joining the forces engendered by large-scale capitalism and its development — it remained a pious wish."¹³

The anti-imperialist fight today

In the Philippines today, the descendants of the peasants who fought for independence against both Spanish colonialism and U.S. imperialism have mobilized in unprecedented numbers against the neocolonial regime of dictator Ferdinand Marcos. They are also fighting for the removal of the Pentagon's huge military bases from their territory and for an end to U.S. economic domination of their country.

Here in the United States, the allies of the Filipinos — and of all peoples engaged in similar struggles in Central America, the Middle East, Africa and Asia — are the workers and farmers who have totally contrary interests to those of big business. As working people discuss Washington's new wars in their unions and other organizations and mobilize to oppose them, they will be open to Marxist explanations of the nature of imperialism and what is required to end it once and for all: the bringing to power of a workers and farmers government that can proceed to replace capitalism with a system based on planned production for human needs, not on private profit and exploitation.

11. *Republic or Empire*, p. 259.

12. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works, Volume 22* (Moscow: Progress, 1977), pp. 266-67.

13. *CW, Vol. 22*, p. 287.

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'El Norte': a unique film on undocumented workers

El Norte (The North), directed by Gregory Nava, starring Zaide Silva Gutiérrez and David Villalpando. Screenplay by Gregory Nava and Anna Thomas. An Independent Productions Film in association with American Playhouse. A Cinecom International/Island Alive release.

BY HÉCTOR MARROQUÍN

"A remarkable accomplishment ... with solid sympathetic performances ... a visual style of astonishing vibrancy ... so brilliantly colored and so filled with startling imagery that it approaches the 'hallucinogenic realism' of modern Latin American fiction," says Janet Maslin about this movie in a *New York Times* review headlined "'El Norte,' Promised Land for Guatemalans."

While Maslin praises the film, the title of her review reveals her approach to it. According to her the story is supposed to be that of two Indians on their journey "from

FILM REVIEW

their native Guatemala to the promised land" to which they had decided to migrate because they had "heard grand tales of flush toilets, and had seen visions of lawn sprinklers."

Once in the United States, the review continues, "they take an adult education course in English and learn to say, 'It is usually very smoggy.'" Later they become friends with "a shrewd older woman named Nacha who has perfected the art of smiling blankly and idiotically to reassure the gringos."

Unique, original, artistic

When I went to see *El Norte* I was very impressed by the stature of the film, those who made it, and the actors. It is, in my opinion, a unique, original, and gigantic artistic work with immense cultural, social, and political content.

As an undocumented worker myself, I closely identified with the fate of the two Guatemalan refugees in the film's story and was disappointed by the approach of the *Times* review. I wasn't surprised though since the newspaper has been running editorials against refugees and the foreign born who live in the United States.

The Maslin review deals with the story as the individual problem of two Guatemalan Indians — Rosa and Enrique — when in reality they represent hundreds of thousands of other Guatemalan and Central American refugees who today go through the same ordeal. Furthermore, the realistic portrayal of the Guatemalan dictatorship's brutality, shown clearly in the film, is not "hallucinogenic Latin American fiction." Nor is the persecution and deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of Central Americans like Rosa and Enrique. This is a central feature of the story even though the Maslin review doesn't include a single word on it.

The film is conducted almost entirely in Spanish and Mayan with English subtitles. Most of the actors are Mexican and Guatemalans and for the two young leads it is their film debut. The director, Gregory Nava, is a Chicano artist from San Diego, California. The film was shot in Chiapas, a Mexican state located on Guatemala's northern border, at the U.S.-Mexico border in California, and in the Latino *barrios* of Los Angeles. Most of the musical background is well-selected, native Indian folklorical songs of Latin America. Therefore, the richness of the insights into aspects of the Mayan, Guatemalan, Mexican, and Chicano cultures is impressive.

The producer had a hard time raising funds for the film. Due to objections raised by film corporations on the nature of the movie, it took two years to obtain alternate financial support.

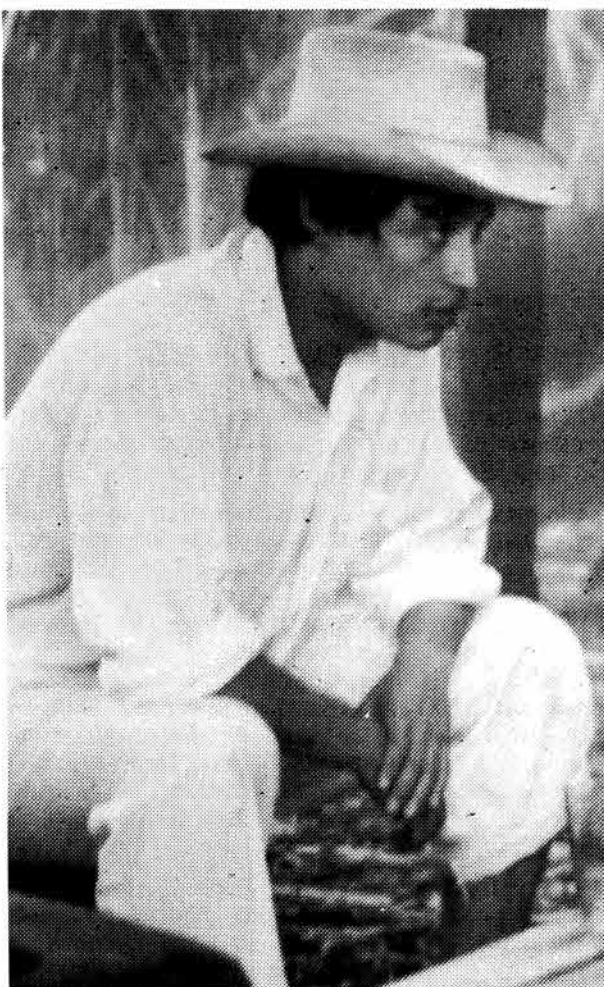
Nava pointed out in a press interview that one problem raised was language. "This particular film cannot be all in English," he said, "because the point is the lack of understanding when Rosa and Enrique come to the States. And what has been the accepted way for such people to speak in films? Broken English with an accent that makes them seem stupid, when in fact they speak their own language fluently. I love the variations of the Spanish language — the differences between how Guatemalans, Mexicans, and Chicanos speak."

No North American stars

Another point of contention in Hollywood was that the leading parts should be cast with North American stars. "It was suggested that *El Norte* could be made with Brooke Shields and Robby Benson, or someone like that," producer Anna Thomas recalled in an interview. "But I didn't find that appropriate. The whole point of the



Rosa (Zaide Silvia Gutierrez) at lakeside of Guatemalan village she is forced to flee.



Enrique (David Villalpando), Rosa's brother.

film is to make people understand someone coming from another culture."

Consequently, the producer and director worked outside the Hollywood structure in making the movie.

The story of Enrique and Rosa, who are brother and sister, begins in an Indian village in Guatemala. Enrique and his father work as coffee pickers for a landlord. They, like many Indian peasants, have been robbed of their land and subject to semi-feudal conditions of exploitation.

Enrique's father becomes a leader in an effort to organize the peasants to defend their rights. He and others had to meet clandestinely, given the terrible oppressive conditions under the dictatorship.

On the way to what was to be his last meeting, the father explains to Enrique, "We are tired, they treat us worse than animals, they look at us as if we were just a pair of arms." Later that night all the peasant leaders are ambushed and massacred by the army after a tip from a fink.

Enrique's father is gunned down and decapitated. Next day, his mother is kidnapped along with many other Indians and disappears.

These terrifying incidents profoundly affect Enrique and Rosa. They decide to leave Guatemala and go up north to save their lives.

Before they leave, an older Indian peasant warns them, "Remember, the border between Mexico and the U.S. is like a war zone."

Restrictions in Chiapas

During their journey through Mexico not much is shown in the film about Chiapas where some of the filming took place. The producers said they had to make a deal with the Mexican authorities that they would not show the military in any scenes in Chiapas. However, "In its landscape, cultural and social problems, Chiapas is like Guatemala, it's ready to blow," Nava observed.

In regard to the U.S.-Mexico border area the movie gives a good idea of the massive unemployment and miserable living conditions in northern Mexico.

Nava, who grew up in San Diego, contrasting conditions that exist in the United States and Mexico, said, "The border is unique — the only place in the world where an industrialized first-world nation shares the border with a third-world country. In California, it's just a fence: on one side are the Tijuana slums, on the other side — San Diego. It's so graphic! This was the germ of the story."

When Enrique and Rosa reach the border and prepare to cross over to the United States, the warning they received from the Indian peasant back in Guatemala becomes a reality. The film shows the ordeal and inhuman situations undocumented workers face in coming to the United States and in trying to avoid arrest and deportation. Among other things Enrique and Rosa have to walk long distances in the dark and then go through a sewer drain where they are attacked by rats. Later they are harassed by the INS.

Part of U.S. work force

Once in the United States they become part of the 300,000 to 400,000 Central American refugees living in the Los Angeles area alone. Their experience as undocumented workers is that of millions of others: they have no rights, live in constant fear, are super-exploited and are victims of racist discrimination.

Enrique gets a job as a busboy — just like the first job I got when I came to the United States. Rosa gets hired at a sweatshop in the garment district. She becomes friends with another undocumented worker from Mexico — Nacha, who proves to be a great comrade in the most difficult circumstances.

In addition to expressions of working-class and human solidarity, the movie addresses the competition and divisions which exist even among the most oppressed. These are fostered by the racist and anti-immigrant policies of the INS. For example, when Enrique is promoted at his job, a Chicano coworker denounces him to *la migra*, which later raids his workplace.

The fear of deportation is portrayed very dramatically and realistically.

Rosa, as a result of the rat bites she suffered when crossing the border, gets typhus fever. She vehemently refuses to go to a hospital because of fear of the INS; but Nacha finally convinces her.

Although Rosa is very sick, the hospital requests a green card, social security number, etc., before accepting her. However, a young doctor volunteers to attend to her.

At the hospital Rosa expresses her disillusionment with the "promised land" to her brother.

"We are not free," she tells Enrique.

"We can't live in Guatemala because they want to kill us."

Continued on next page

Labor aristocracy and labor bureaucracy

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

What explains the gap between the advance of the socialist revolution in Central America and the Caribbean and the continuing lag in the level of class struggle and political consciousness in the United States and other imperialist countries? Why do the union officials who sit on top of the U.S. labor movement make up a privileged caste with interests separate and apart from the working class? How does this labor bureaucracy maintain its hold on the unions and prevent them from acting decisively in workers' interests?

The winter 1983-84 issue of *New Internationalist*, *A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory*, makes an important and thought-provoking contribution to the discus-

IN REVIEW

sion of these issues. (The *NI* is a quarterly publication initiated by leaders of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada and the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.)

In an article entitled "The Development of the Marxist Position on the Aristocracy of Labor," *NI* editorial board member Steve Clark traces the continuity of revolutionary thinking on this subject beginning with Marx and Engels, continuing through Lenin, the Bolshevik Party, the Communist International, and Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International. In doing so, the article also applies the lessons of these Marxist leaders to today's situation.

Clark's article is a companion piece to a valuable article written by Bolshevik leader Gregory Zinoviev, entitled, "The Social Roots of Opportunism." Long out of print, the Zinoviev article, written in 1915 while he was in close collaboration with Lenin, traces the degeneration of the German Social-Democratic Party.

The German party was the largest and leading party in the Second International. With the outbreak of World War I, the leadership of German social democracy broke with revolutionary Marxism to support its own bourgeoisie in the war effort. Other European social democratic parties did the same, lining up in opposite camps in the first interimperialist war.

Zinoviev explains that this betrayal of the real interests of the working class was possible, in large part, because German social democracy by that time was composed mostly of more privileged sectors of the working class who identified their own interests with those of their bosses. Moreover, Zinoviev explains, large sections of the German party and its leadership were made up of individuals who were not part of the working class at all. These middle-class elements included an important section of the bureaucracy of the German labor movement.

Clark quotes from a resolution adopted by the founding congress of the Communist International in 1919:

"From the leaders of the peaceable parliamentary labour movement, the heads of the trade unions, the secretaries, editors and officials of social democracy there developed a caste — a labour bureaucracy with its own selfish group interests, essentially hostile to socialism."

Clark argues that today's U.S. labor bureaucracy also



Militant/Barry Chann

Garment workers in New York's Chinatown. A revolutionary party with a base among the most oppressed workers can most effectively lead entire working class.

steers a course of outright class collaboration. It sacrifices the interests of the working class, seeking to cooperate in protecting the profits and political interests of the employers and their government. This explains both the wave of concession contracts imposed on workers with the support of union officials, and AFL-CIO support for imperialist foreign policy in Central America, the Caribbean, the Mideast, and elsewhere.

But Clark also explains the intimate relationship, outlined by Zinoviev, between the labor bureaucracy and the existence of a *labor aristocracy*.

What is this labor aristocracy? In *NI*'s opening feature, "In This Issue," the editors quote from a talk presented by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes at the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, in August 1983. Barnes explained that over a period of years, "a layer of the working class in the imperialist countries that had the most steady employment and received the best wages," became convinced, "that to one degree or another their future and the future of their families lay with tying themselves to their bosses, not to other workers — especially the colonial peoples."

In some industries this was connected to job trusts which virtually excluded Blacks, Latinos, and women workers from employment.

NI's editors explain that this led to a "political retreat of U.S. labor in the 1950s and 1960s [that] was grounded in the prolonged period of economic expansion made possible by the predominant position of U.S. imperialism. . . . The resulting margin for concessions by the employing class to substantial layers of the working class facilitated the institutionalization of class-collaborationist methods on a broad scale in the labor movement."

As a consequence large sections of the industrial working class made real wage gains and won other benefits including medical insurance, better pensions, etc. Even these gains, of course, were not won without struggle. Nevertheless, the labor bureaucrats chose to pursue these gains for individual unions at the expense of fighting for adequate nationwide government-funded health, retirement, and unemployment programs that would have benefited the entire working class and all the oppressed and exploited.

With today's deep new attacks by the employers, including on unions whose members had enjoyed some of these privileges relative to the working class as a whole, the bankruptcy of this policy is becoming clearer. Not only are tens of thousands of unemployed workers left without decent unemployment benefits or medical coverage, but more importantly their unions have been politically disarmed and are incapable of mounting a fightback without a reverse in political course.

While a revolutionary party must be based in the most oppressed and exploited layers that make up the majority of the working class, Clark explains that those workers who make up the aristocracy of labor should not be written off. By identifying with the interests of their employers they confuse what they perceive as their short-term interests with their long-term interests. Moreover, even in the short term, this misidentification of interests hurts them and all workers. Divisions in the working class aid the employers in dragging down the wages of all workers towards the level of those who are more poorly paid.

The third *NI* article, "The Working-Class Road to Peace," is based on a talk presented by Brian Grogan to the August Oberlin conference. Grogan is a British member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. This article is a comprehensive explanation of the centrality of the fight against imperialist war and the defense of the Central American and Caribbean revolutions. It shows how this fight helps advance working-class consciousness and the creation of mass revolutionary workers parties around the world. Grogan offers some valuable insights into where the fight against nuclear weapons and war fits into this process, including the importance of defending the Soviet workers state against imperialist threats and propaganda.

'El Norte': a unique, artistic film

Continued from preceding page

"We can't live in Mexico because there is only poverty."

"And here, in the North, they don't want us."

At work, on a construction site, Enrique angrily looks at the foreman and memories come to his mind of the armed guard at the plantation he worked at in Guatemala. He realizes that exploitation knows no borders. Enrique is furious. He wants to fight because "we are not free."

The question is posed of whether to stay in the United States or go back to the homeland and fight against a common exploitation and oppression. I leave open the answer for viewers to see for themselves.

I and others are already answering it.

"Americans are peripheral to the action" in the film, says Annette Insdorf in another review of the movie also published in the *New York Times*. "And the United States is a foreign and exotic locale — traditional land of promise rather than the center and the point of reference."

Nothing is further from the truth.

What are Rosa and Enrique if not Americans?

And — although indirectly — the film does make the United States the center and the point of reference. The story in *El Norte* is, in fact, a denunciation of U.S. government policy in Central America and at home. This policy is designed to maintain the terrible conditions of misery and oppression abroad while hounding their vic-

tims — immigrants and refugees — in the United States as part of the attacks on the labor movement.

Those U.S. workers, Blacks, and Latinos, that get an opportunity to see the movie can only come out of it with a stronger sentiment against war and for the need of unity and solidarity in the labor movement in this country, one that includes American workers like Enrique and Rosa.

The movie is also a condemnation of the social, economic, and political situation in Mexico. That's why the Mexican police did everything they could to shut down the movie.

While they were in Chiapas, the film crew was harassed by armed thugs. The cops also kidnapped the production manager and — at gunpoint — stole the exposed negative of the film from the cinematographer. The producers were able to get it back after they were forced to come up with 1.3 million pesos — about U.S. \$17,000 at the time. Finally, the film crew was forced to leave Mexico within 24 hours even though they had another week of shooting there.

The film was completed in California. After the premiere of *El Norte* at the Teluride Film Festival over Labor Day weekend, the film makers were gratified not only by the standing ovations but by offers of distribution — "from some of the very people," Anna Thomas said, "who told us *El Norte* would never get made."

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GM workers reject overtime giveback

BY JANICE SAMS

DETROIT — Members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Locals 599 and 581 in Flint, Michigan, have rejected a General Motors proposal that they give up all time-and-a-half pay for overtime, a demand that would have cost the average worker \$200 a week.

GM had gone on a massive propaganda campaign, stating that if Flint workers rejected the demand, GM would not put on third shifts at a Buick assembly plant and a Fisher Body plant.

GM said adding a third (swing) shift would recall 1,700 laid-off workers. But the price was elimination of overtime pay.

GM sought to put the blame on working UAW members for continuing massive unemployment of auto workers in Flint, where, as in many other places, auto workers face many long hours of forced overtime while thousands remain jobless.

GM's clever propaganda campaign was reflected in the big-business press. An example was the *Detroit Free Press*, which stated: "The ghosts of unemployment past, present and future loom over members of a UAW local who will decide Monday whether they are their brothers' and sisters' keepers."

GM's proposal was to put on a third shift to build Buick Regals if workers would agree to work four 10-hour days, giving up all overtime premium pay after eight hours and on weekends. GM wasn't going to eliminate overtime, of course — only paying for it.

Stan Marshall, UAW Region 1C director, pointed out, Buick isn't trying to add the 1,700 new jobs "out of the good of their heart — they're behind 35,000 cars." He noted that at other Buick plants, "people are working six to seven days a week, 10 to 12 hours a day. And the assembly-line people are saying, 'Hey, why us?'"

In recent years, Flint, GM's birthplace, has been one of the most economically depressed areas of the country. In the midst of the current "recovery," 9,000 workers are still on layoff.

There has been much discussion among auto workers and in the community about the future of the auto industry in Flint. Many working auto workers have been or will be facing future threats of layoffs and concessions demands.

In fact, GM plans to close both the Buick and Fisher Body plants where it had demanded an end to overtime pay. When it shuts down the two plants, 3,600 jobs will be lost.

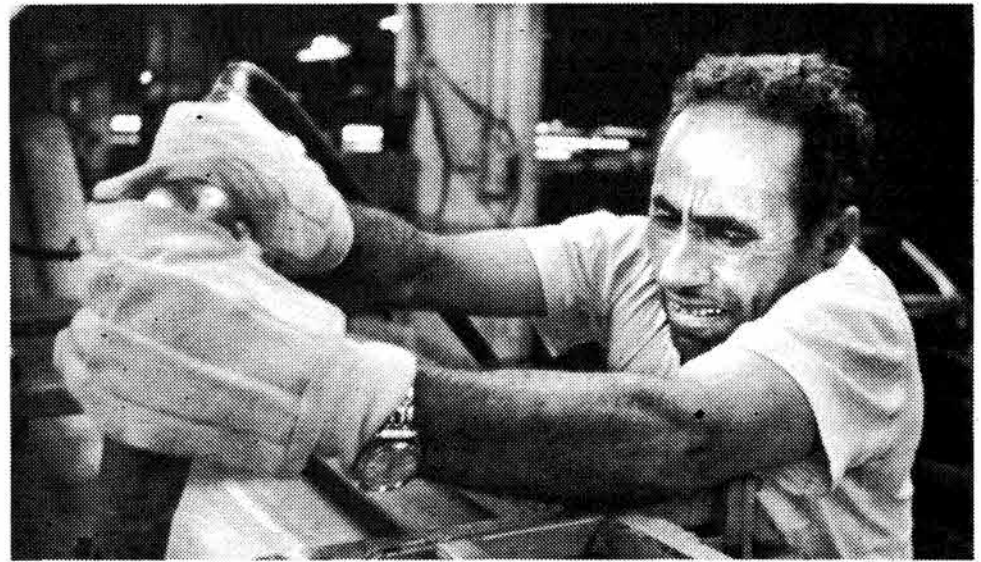
GM's proposal to end overtime pay got only 28 votes from Local 599 members at the Buick assembly plant. An alternative

"four-day" proposal by the union leadership, retaining time-and-a-half after eight hours but eliminating it for the first eight hours on Saturday and Sunday, got 440 votes to 567 against.

Many workers stated that GM's attempt to eliminate overtime premiums was just another concession, of which they'd had enough. "They were real adamant about it," Marshall said. "They wanted no part of working 10 hours a day for straight time and working Saturdays and Sundays for straight time."

Despite record profits and booming car sales, GM is driving full speed ahead in its efforts to weaken the UAW. If GM could pay straight-time wages for overtime work, the company would have enormous incentive for more forced overtime and more layoffs.

Many Flint workers saw that GM's proposals amounted to yet another abuse of overtime, which promises to be a major issue in contract negotiations this fall.



Earl Dotter

Auto bosses' attacks on workers include forcing them to work more overtime. General Motors now is trying to take away premium pay for overtime. Flint unionists rejected this.

Communist Party announces 1984 ticket

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The Communist Party has nominated Gus Hall for president and Angela Davis for vice-president.

Hall, 73, has been the party's general secretary since 1959. Davis, 39, won acquittal in 1972 of racist, frame-up murder and kidnap charges in California. She is currently an instructor at San Francisco State University.

Hall and Davis were chosen by a party nominating convention held here January 23, according to an Associated Press story.

The party held its regular national convention in Cleveland in mid-November but did not decide on a ticket at that time.

The political heart of the Communist Party campaign was summed in a banner headline in the January 24 issue of the *Daily World*, which reflects the party's views.

The headline declared, "Gus Hall and Angela Davis: 'WE'RE RUNNING TO DEFEAT REAGAN.'" Since the Communist Party recognizes it has no realistic prospect of winning, this translates, "Vote Democratic."

In their campaign efforts, Hall and Davis can be expected to hammer at this theme of the overriding need to defeat Reagan, with the unmistakable inference of doing so by voting for the Democratic nominee.

So far, the *Daily World* has taken a sympathetic approach to Jesse Jackson's bid for the Democratic nomination. While the paper has voiced some criticism of Walter Mondale's domestic and foreign policy stands, it's a sure thing that if he's nominated, the party will promote him as a lesser evil to Reagan.

This was signaled by Hall in his report to the party's Cleveland convention.

"The candidacy of Jesse Jackson, the decision of the AFL-CIO convention, the actions of some of the women's organizations

and others all add up to a new level of political independence," declared Hall.

The *Daily World* reported, "an important component of this new political independence, said Hall, will be the presence of Communist Party candidates on the ballot in 1984."

What kind of "independence" is Hall talking about? The national convention of the AFL-CIO and the national board of the National Organization for Women endorsed Mondale.

The same thinly veiled signal to get behind the Democrats was offered in the Jan-

uary 19 *Daily World*. It cited Sam Webb, Michigan party organizer, as declaring that Communist Party participation in the elections "will help to pressure all the anti-Reagan candidates to speak to the issue of jobs, peace and equality."

Webb added, "Our campaign can generate the kind of enthusiasm beyond the primaries necessary to translate the broad anti-Reagan sentiment into anti-Reagan votes on Election day."

The Hall-Davis ticket will simply be a vehicle for this back-handed garnering of votes for the Democrats.

Indianapolis groups protest attack on abortion clinic

BY KEVIN DWIRE

INDIANAPOLIS — Abortion rights activists held a news conference in Indianapolis January 21 to blast attempts by antiabortion groups and the Indiana state legislature to attack women's right to abortion.

Speakers focused on a group called "Citizens For Life," which takes credit for the closing of one abortion clinic in the city and is targeting others for harassment.

"If the abortion clinics in Indianapolis are closed down, then a woman's constitutional right to choose abortion is an illusory right," said Susan Labaj, a representative of the Indianapolis Network for Reproductive Rights (INRR).

INRR has organized over 40 volunteers to escort patients into the Clinic for Women, which has been targeted for Saturday mobilizations by the right wingers. Only two clinics offer Saturday abortion services, a time convenient for working women and students.

Labaj said the "activities of the picketers have escalated from free speech to physical overbearing and verbal intimidation." At least one patient has been struck, and another grabbed by the pickets. "One of the pickets, who claims to be a minister, accuses the escorts of being 'Satan,' 'sodomites,' and 'whores.'"

Labaj said the pickets have trespassed on clinic property and demanded entrance to the building. They carry large signs saying "Babies Killed Here" and "Hey Aborters, You Will Burn In Hell."

The actions of the pickets show that they are not gathering to "protest," but to attempt to prevent women from obtaining abortions through intimidation and bullying.

Clinic administrator Audrey Aradi told reporters many patients feel that "facing the pickets is more emotionally devastating than the abortion itself, and rather than helping them change their minds about having an abortion, it firms their resolve to have control over their lives."

Aradi explained that the clinic decided to fight back through the courts. A judge ordered the pickets not to block access to the clinic, to stay off clinic property, and to

only approach patients on a one-on-one basis.

However, the women's rights opponents regularly violate the court order. Earlier that morning, they had again besieged the clinic. One of them placed a home-made coffin containing a mutilated toy doll covered with red paint in front of the clinic's doors. In direct violation of the court order, three of them surrounded a patient's car, pressing their literature and pictures against the windows. They taunted the escorts, daring them to call the police or take them back to court.

At the news conference, Planned Parenthood representative William Rosenbaum attacked legislation sailing through both houses of the Indiana legislature that would force minors to receive parental consent before obtaining an abortion.

Also speaking at the news conference were Indianapolis National Organization for Women Pres. Bonnie Fishman; State Rep. Louis Mahern; and Rev. Garnett Day of the Disciples of Christ.

Earlier that day, about 200 opponents of women's rights had gathered to rally against abortion in downtown Indianapolis. The mostly male, all-white audience applauded an announcement that Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut had proclaimed January 21 "Sanctity of Life Day" in the city. They also cheered the legislature for its drive to limit abortion rights. Many of those attending the rally had been attacking the clinic that morning.



Fidel Castro Speeches

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

"Cuba in Angola" by Gabriel García Márquez, a noted Latin American author, is included as an appendix. It is the most complete account yet written of the Cuban role in Angola.

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Toledo oil workers continue picketing

BY TOMMYE WIESE

TOLEDO — About 120 employees of the Sun Oil refinery here held another informational picket line January 18 to protest the company's bargaining stance.

Members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-912 have been working under a 24-hour rolling extension of their contract. The extensions have been granted at the company's request.

So far, Sun has refused to meet the National Bargaining Policy, which covers wages and insurance benefits and also contains a "no retrogression" clause.

On local issues, Sun still insists on several proposals that are intolerable to the local's membership. According to the latest *Negotiations Update* newsletter, these include wage cuts in several departments, elimination of bidding rights, and language that would allow recall of laid-off workers based on whether an individual's qualifications were deemed acceptable to management.

Speech by Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge

Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution

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Eyewitness report: life in Cuba today

Continued from front page

Libre) in the window. This is where you find the \$40 blue jeans and \$10 cans of coffee and \$100 electric fans that U.S. journalists sometimes report on with horror. How can the average Cuban family, whose income is about \$266 a month, ever buy an \$8-dollar-a-pound pork roast, or even a \$4.50-a-pound chicken? Yet Cubans have been buying them like crazy for the holidays.

The answer is that many things workers in the United States spend money on are free here. There are no taxes on wages, no medical costs or health insurance premiums, no interest payments on loans, no need to put money aside in case you get laid off. Even sports events are all free. Transportation and phone calls are almost free. Rent cannot exceed 10 percent of one's wages.

Many basic foodstuffs like rice, beans, eggs, milk, bread, cooking oil, sugar, and flour are available at extremely low prices, some in rationed and some in unlimited amounts. (The amount of coffee, meat, and tobacco that can be bought at the cheap prices is very small.)

Complaints

The fact that progress has been made in terms of consumer goods does not mean Cuban workers have everything they want, of course, or that there are no complaints. It seems like everybody would appreciate more coffee and meat. Young people wish they could get imported running shoes or records or designer jeans — although they also know that the blockade that makes it impossible for them to buy these things is enforced by Reagan, not Fidel Castro.

Most of the buildings in Havana need a paint job, and some of them are actually crumbling. Cuba is still a poor country, in spite of the tremendous gains made over the last 25 years.

What about Reagan's charge that there is no political freedom in Cuba? There happen to be several different sets of meetings and assemblies going on right now that illustrate how Cubans participate in the political process at every level.

This April there will be elections to choose over 10,000 delegates to the "People's Power" councils that exist at the municipal, provincial, and national level. From now until then there will be "accountability" mass meetings in every town and city to evaluate how well the councils have worked since the last election two and a half years ago. (In a sense, even regular



Members of Pioneers, Cuban children's organization, talk on Havana street.

meetings are accountability sessions, since the delegates have to report on their progress in resolving the different problems and complaints expressed by their constituents.)

The town of Ciego de Avila has been chosen for the first accountability session since the People's Power body there has a good performance record, with 54.9 percent of the townspeople's demands satisfied over the last two and a half years.

People I have talked to have credited People's Power with improvements in things like the frequency and routes of city buses and the quality of service at pizza parlors. Pizza parlors are cheap and popular places to eat, and apparently a few years ago a lot of the complaints at neighborhood People's Power meetings had to do with the long lines, poor service, and sometimes not-that-great pizza at pizza parlors.

Political discussions

In addition to the regular People's Power meetings (weekly at the most grassroots level) and the special pre-election sessions now beginning, there are also meetings going on right now all over the island to discuss the country's social and economic

performance in 1983 and projections for 1984.

These meetings have been called to discuss a report issued by the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party just before the anniversary celebration. The report is very detailed — its projections for 1984 range from better fire protection and radio and TV transmission to recruiting even more women to the Territorial Troop Militias.

The report was printed in full in the daily newspapers, and a discussion of it is being organized in every workplace. It will also be discussed by farmers groups, student organizations, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, Federation of Cuban Women, and other mass organizations.

There are banners up on various buildings and workplaces around Havana saluting the "balance sheet" assemblies of the Cuban Communist Party. This is yet another series of meetings going on. All the party members in a given factory, government agency, mass organization, or military unit will meet together to hash out problems and projections and discuss how they as communists can set an example for other workers.

There is no shortage of ways for Cubans to participate in discussions and decisions that affect their daily lives, including — but not limited to — voting in elections.

Discussion on women

There is always discussion going on, for example, about the role of women in revolutionary Cuba. Both men and women have told me that the massive incorporation of women into the Territorial Troop Militias (MTT) over the last couple years has had a very positive impact — and not just on the country's defense. A total of 1.8 million women have volunteered for the MTT — nearly the entire adult female population in this country of less than 10 million.

When the subject of women's rights

comes up, Cubans often mention a television series called "A Woman Named Malú" that was shown here last year. The 12-part Brazilian series dealt with subjects like abortion, separation, employment, and self-confidence. Individuals here have told me they didn't miss a single episode — in one case even switching shifts with a co-worker in order to be home the night of the program. Neighbors got together to watch the show and talk about it.

The star of the program, Brazilian actress Regina Duarte, is visiting Cuba now and getting a warm reception. She recently spent a morning at a garment factory talking to the women workers there about their feelings about Malú.

It is hard to be in Cuba more than a few hours and believe Reagan's charge that this is a totalitarian country where people are afraid to speak their minds. (Maybe that is why he has made it almost impossible for most U.S. citizens to come here.)

The real reason Reagan hates the Cuban revolution has nothing to do with concern for the economic well-being or political rights of the Cuban people — except insofar as big accomplishments in these two areas inspire people in the rest of Latin America and the world. He hates the Cuban revolution for the example it sets and for its internationalism — which is much in evidence these days.

Everywhere there is discussion about international issues and especially about the invasion of Grenada. Even children bring up the question of Grenada with me.

Cubans loved and identified with Grenada, a revolution on another Caribbean island, with an African heritage that a big percentage of Cubans share. The smashing of the revolution was a crushing blow. "It happened so fast," is what everyone says to me. Cubans still seem to be overwhelmed by the barbarism and racism of the U.S. invasion of the tiny island.

Proud of role in Grenada

At the same time, Cubans are proud of their role in Grenada, and of the fact that they were the only people in the world who were really kept informed about what was happening during the invasion. They listened to or read about U.S. news coverage, and have pointed out to me by way of contrast the very specific and accurate broadcasts they got from their own government.

It is obvious that many people here are analyzing what happened in Grenada and trying to draw out all the lessons. But it is also clear that they are thinking about the present and future as well as the past. People are following the progress that revolutionary forces are making in El Salvador, for example. And there is a lot of talk about the new situation presented by the upsurge in struggle against dictatorships in South America.

The Cuban construction workers who served in Grenada are of course big heroes here. The daily papers report that the survivors of the construction brigade have been allowed to stay together and have been given the assignment of building another airport — this time in Cuba, near the beach resort of Varadero about a hundred miles from Havana. The articles don't point it out, but it is safe to say that if the marines try to land at this airport, they are going to be in serious trouble.

How the average Cuban lives

U.S. workers interested in learning more about life in Cuba will find the February 6 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, an international biweekly news magazine, especially helpful. This issue of *IP* contains excerpts from a special supplement printed in the English-language weekly *Granma*, newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party.

The supplement is devoted to explaining to non-Cuban readers — especially those in the United States — how the average Cuban lives and why living standards have improved dramatically through the revolution.

The *Granma* article is packed with statistics on health care, education, housing, wages, and food prices in Cuba. It notes in regard to medical care, for example, that each member of an average Cuban family "visits the doctor five times a year and the dentist once, services which are free of charge. When a person is hospitalized, even his medicines are free."

These advances in a poor country like Cuba stand in stark contrast to the living conditions in imperialist countries like the United States. The article notes that, "The attainment of these goals is made possible by the social ownership of the means of production, the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, a view of work as a creative activity and as a right and duty of all, and the development of the national economy according to a single plan governed by the socioeconomic law of socialism."

The new *IP* also carries an article by Ernest Harsch on gains registered by the Cuban economy in the last year. While a

growth rate of 2.5 percent had been projected for 1983, it actually reached 5 percent.

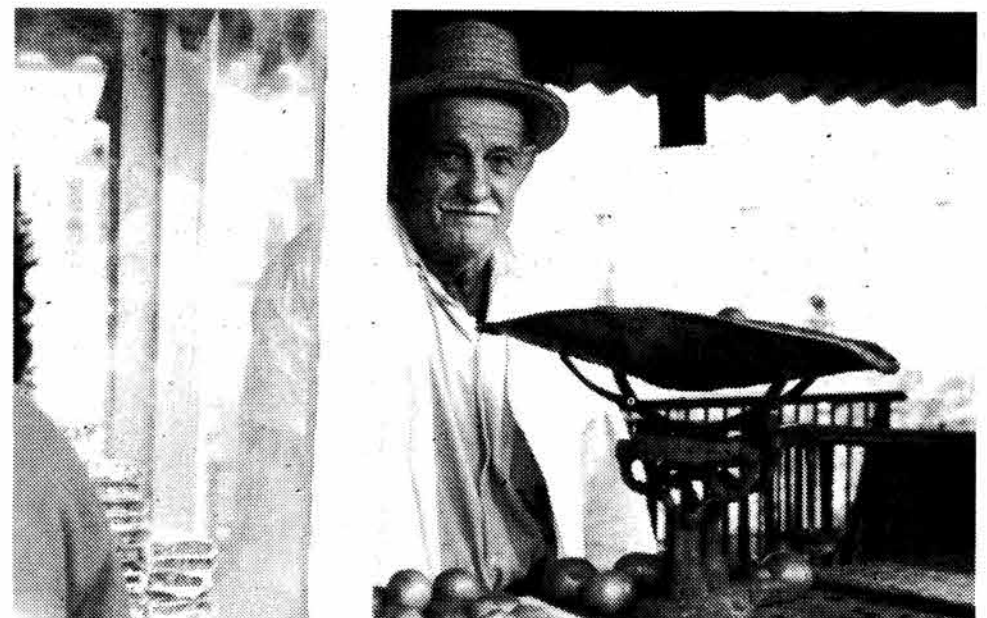
A major article by *IP* staff writer Will Reissner reports on the November 1983 national convention of Sinn Féin, the largest political organization involved in the struggle for Irish independence and reunification.

"The gathering focused on the need for Sinn Féin to increase its participation in social, political, and economic struggles in order to provide an alternative to all facets of British rule in the north and neocolonialist capitalist rule in the south," writes Reissner. "In order to do that, declared Sinn Féin's newly elected president, Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin had to reorient its policies 'towards the radical roots of our republican ideology.'"

Adams' election, Reissner says, "reflected the emergence of a new generation of leaders, many of whom are committed socialists. . . ." Equally symbolic was the convention's decision to eliminate the declaration that Sinn Féin bases its objectives on "Christian principles." That phrase was changed to "Irish republican socialist principles."

The convention decided to step up work in southern Ireland, increase participation in elections, expand the group's activity in the labor movement, and deepen the role of women in the liberation struggle.

A single copy of *IP* is available for \$1.25. Six-month subscriptions are \$12.50 and a one-year subscription is \$25. To order, write to Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



Free farmers market in La Palma, on outskirts of Havana.

Reagan offers talk but no action on acid rain

BY MORRIS STARKSKY

CINCINNATI — In his January 25 "State of the Union" address, President Reagan announced he was proposing to double the funds for research related to the effects of acid rain. He indicated that "additional action" will be taken "to restore our lakes and develop new technology to reduce pollution that causes acid rain."

This sudden concern with the problem of acid rain reflects the Reagan administration's attempt to polish its badly tarnished public image in regard to environmental matters. But it has little to do with taking any action about the problem of acid rain.

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) officials have stated that the president's proposal would increase the budget for research into the causes and effects of acid rain and methods to control it from \$27 million to \$55 million. But no recommendation for measures to control the pollution that causes acid rain is being made.

While more research is undoubtedly needed, a great deal of study has already been done that clearly links sulfur dioxide emissions from industrial smokestacks with the death of aquatic life in lakes and streams of the United States and Canada. The National Academy of Sciences (NAS) issued a report with this conclusion last June.

Furthermore, procedures have already been developed for controlling sulfur dioxide emissions.

The Reagan administration has a consistent record of opposing implementation of steps to control acid rain.

When William Ruckelshaus left a vice-presidency at Weyerhaeuser, the giant timber and paper corporation, to become head of the EPA last spring, he said he would recommend a plan to control acid rain by the end of September. By mid-October, Ruckelshaus had put off a recommendation on acid rain indefinitely. According to the *New York Times* this was "because of opposition from high-level members of the Administration."

Acid precipitation continues

Meanwhile, acid precipitation (a better term since it includes not only acid rain, but also acid snow, sleet, hail, fog, frost, dew, and even dry particles) continues to fall, causing a decline of fish populations, decreased forest growth, increased plant diseases, and accelerated damage to building materials. The NAS report estimated environmental damage from acid precipitation at \$5 billion a year.

Acid precipitation is caused by the enormous quantities of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides spewed into the atmosphere by power-plants, factories, and automobiles. In the air, the sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides are transformed into sulfuric and nitric acids. These potent acids are carried by air currents hundreds, sometimes

Army: women must accept rape as inherent risk of military service

The Army is refusing to pay damages to a woman who was raped and beaten in a barracks at Fort Ord, California, by two other soldiers. The brass says that such an assault is one of the risks of serving in the military. The two soldiers were sentenced to 20 years and 40 years in prison for the rape and beating, which occurred in November 1982.

Betty Ann Buckmiller, the victim, wants the Army to pay for humiliation and injuries she suffered. She filed a claim seeking \$80,000 in damages. The Army rejected her request, citing a 1950 ruling by the Supreme Court that the military cannot pay claims to GIs who suffer injuries "incident to service."

Replied Buckmiller: "There's no job I've ever heard of where rape is incident to any type of working conditions."

thousands, of miles from their source. When they come down as acid precipitation, their effects on the environment are devastating.

The Office of Technology Assessment of the Congress reported that 18 percent of the lakes and 21 percent of the stream miles in the eastern United States have been altered by acidity, some irreversibly. Also, an additional 37 percent of lakes and 21 percent of streams are vulnerable to permanent change.

As a result of acid rain falling on Canada, the salmon in Nova Scotia can no longer reproduce, and all the fish in 4,000 Canadian lakes have been killed. It is estimated that 48,500 more Canadian lakes will become sterile within the next 20 years if acid rain continues at the present rate.

In the Adirondack Mountains area of New York, 212 lakes have already become unfit for fish. In parts of the Adirondacks, the bass have disappeared from mountain lakes.

Acid precipitation is stunting forest growth. Spruces are dying throughout the Green Mountains. Half the spruce trees at Camel's Hump in Vermont's Green Mountains are withered and denuded. The density of sugar maple trees has dropped 32 percent between 1965 and 1979.

Acid precipitation is harmful to crops. The acids damage soil microorganisms, including those essential to nitrogen fixation. The increased soil acidity from acid precipitation has harmed soybean production. There is evidence that alfalfa, rye, and oats are vulnerable to high ground acidity. According to one study, "current acid levels in rainfall over the Northeast have the potential of causing a \$129 million-a-year loss to farmers, based on the 1979 market price."

Although it has not yet been determined whether acid rain is a direct threat to human health, it has been established that the acids poison water-supply systems by releasing aluminum, mercury, and cadmium from the bedrock and soil. Further, they corrode the lead and copper pipes used in water-supply systems, and leach these toxic metals into drinking water.

Although the northeastern United States and eastern Canada have been affected most by acid precipitation, other regions in the United States are not immune. There is acid rain in the southeastern states from Kentucky to Florida. The rain that falls on Raleigh, North Carolina, is sometimes more acid than white vinegar. Acid precipitation is also falling on Colorado, Idaho, New Mexico, Montana, and Washington.

Cause well established

The connection between acid rain and smokestack emissions is now well established.

Writing in the November 1982 *Natural History* magazine, Professor Herbert Vogelmann reports, "Frozen deep within the Greenland icecaps are annual layers of precipitation spanning thousands of years. Studies of samples of this frozen rain have revealed that the rain now falling in the northeastern United States is at least thirty to forty times more acidic than preindustrial rain."

The NAS predicted in 1981 that the number of acidified lakes would double by 1990 unless there was a "prompt tightening of restrictions on emissions from power plants and other large sources." Last June, a second NAS report asserted that there is a "linear" relationship between emission sources and deposition areas.

In 1980, Canada and the United States signed a "Memorandum of Intent" in which both countries agreed "to combat transboundary air pollution." The Canadian government has taken some steps to curb smokestack emissions, but two-thirds of the sulfuric acid that falls on Canada originates in the United States. The U.S. government has done nothing to curb sulfur dioxide emissions since requiring "scrub-



Nearly half the spruces on Camel's Hump in Vermont have died since 1965. Suspected cause is acid rain.

bers" on power plants built after September 1978. Thousands of pre-1978 coal burning power plants, however, continue to spew tons of sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere.

At this time, U.S. sources dump 26 million tons of sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere every year.

According to Ronald Irwin, chair of a parliamentary subcommittee on acid rain in Canada, "The total sulfur dioxide emissions in the eastern United States have doubled from 1950 to 1978."

Nearly 25 percent of the sulfur dioxide comes from just three states: Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Two-thirds of it comes from coal and oil-fired power plants. Another 26 percent comes from industrial boilers, smelters and refineries. Commercial institutions, homes, and transportation (buses, trucks, cars) amount to 8 percent of the total.

U.S. sources now also dump 23 million tons of nitrogen oxides into the atmosphere every year. This is three times the amount dumped 30 years ago. Transportation is the source of 40 percent of it, and industrial sources account for 25 percent.

The June 1983 NAS report, cited above, pointed in the direction of a partial solution to the problem of acid rain. It asserted that a 50 percent reduction in sulfur emissions from eastern U.S. sources would cut the acidity of rain by 50 percent. This assertion directly undercuts the long-standing energy-industry claim that acid rain is a natural phenomenon.

However, the technology exists to remove about 90 percent of the sulfur dioxide from the emissions of coal-fired power plants using high-sulfur coal.

The "scrubbers" required in new power plants inject a limestone and water mixture into the plant's smokestack. The mixture reacts with the sulfur dioxide, transforming it into an easily disposed of solid waste. Requiring the 50 largest coal-burning power plants to be "retrofitted" with scrubbers would eliminate 5 million tons of sulfur dioxide. The price-tag of \$5 billion for the scrubbers and a 5 percent to 8 percent energy output loss for their operation has put the energy industry squarely against such a requirement.

There is a more advanced solution to the problem of sulfur dioxide emissions than scrubbing. It is called "fluidized-bed combustion," and it burns coal more cleanly and efficiently. The reduction of sulfur dioxide emission is the same as scrubbing, with the advantage that the new boilers can burn any grade of coal as well as a variety of solid wastes.

Bills in Congress

There are a number of bills in Congress dealing with sulfur dioxide emissions. None of them provides for the elimination or the reduction of the amount of nitrogen

oxides dumped into the atmosphere. Also, none of them requires the replacement of present boilers with the new "fluidized-bed combustion" boilers. Finally, all of them make working people foot the bill for reducing the amount of sulfur dioxide emissions either by paying more for electricity or by subsidizing the industry for the cost of scrubbers.

The major Senate bill, sponsored by Sen. Robert Stafford (R-Vt.), mandates a reduction of sulfur dioxide emissions by 12 million tons a year — that is about one-half the present emissions. The bill requires power plants in all 31 states affected by acid precipitation to cut emissions according to how much sulfur dioxide a state's power plants produce per unit of electricity generated. Governors would allocate the reductions among the state's power plants. The power plants themselves would decide how to reduce their sulfur dioxide emission to the required level.

The Stafford bill has virtually no chance of surviving. It is opposed by power companies in the Ohio Valley, since they would have to buy scrubbers or switch to low-sulfur, nonunion coal from the western United States. Western coal is cheaper than Ohio Valley coal, but shipping it adds about \$25 a ton. It has a lower heating value, so more of it has to be burned to generate the same amount of power. Also, boilers designed for burning high-sulfur coal have to be modified to handle the low-sulfur variety.

From different standpoints

The coal mining companies in the Ohio Valley and the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) leadership also oppose the Stafford bill. The companies fear the potential loss of their market for high-sulfur coal. UMWA officials believe 5,000 to 80,000 jobs could be lost if there is an industry switch to western coal.

If any legislation on acid rain control is passed by Congress before the 1984 elections, it will most likely be a version of the National Acid Deposition Control Act of 1983 (H.R. 3400). It was introduced by Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Cal.) and Rep. Gerry Sikorski (D-Minn.) and has more than 80 cosponsors.

The Waxman-Sikorski bill would mandate a reduction of the amount of sulfur dioxide emissions by a modest 10 million tons in 10 years. A 5 million ton reduction would be accomplished by requiring scrubbers on 50 of the most polluting power plants. The remaining 5 million ton reduction would be left to negotiations between the EPA and the governor of each state.

The bill would also establish a .1 cent fee per kilowatt-hour of electricity produced by non-nuclear plants in the continental United States to pay for the scrubbers. The fee would be passed on to customers, raising even more our monthly electric bill.

Oh — "The FBI could not even locate some of the people on the list because all the bureau was



Harry Ring

given were common Hispanic names with no addresses, passport or visa numbers, or other forms of identification," said one federal cop. "It is more of a phantom crackdown than a real one," added

another, explaining a lag in the announced administration crackdown on Salvadoran death squad activists resident here.

A cold deck — New York State funds to aid low-income people with their heating bills will run out in mid-February and an anticipated 100,000 people will be left in the cold. But there are reasons for this, it's explained. It's been a cold winter. There are more eligible poor. The feds gave less. The state diverted some of the funds for other purposes. "We know it's going to create hardships," an official grieved.

Land of opportunity — Remember James Watt, ex-secretary of the interior? (He's the fellow who boasted he had two Jews, a cripple, and a Black on his staff.) Well, if you've been concerned how he's getting by since he lost his job, not to worry. He's been busy on the lecture circuit, averaging \$1,500 per rap.

Better check this guy — When Watt took over the interior, his keen political eye quickly noted that the department's official seal included a buffalo facing left. That was promptly reversed. But now with William Clark in there, the

buffalo's been flipped again.

Wheels of justice dep't — Ignorance of the law, we're told, is no legal justification for violating it. But Florida's attorney general says he won't prosecute U.S. Information Agency director Charles Wick for secretly taping phone conversations from Florida, in violation of a state statute, because he's sure Wick was ignorant of the statute. Besides, he added, the people Wick secretly taped knew he did it to others.

Call my travel agent — We

were frustrated on reading a *New York Times* feature about a new French-inspired trend in Japanese desserts and a glowing description of the Pâtisserie de la Table, a bake shop specializing in the exquisite little goodies. No address was given. But this was cleared up in a later "Corrections" column which advised that the shop is at 25-26 2-Chome in Tokyo.

Thought for the week — "James Bond is a man of honor. Maybe it sounds old-fashioned, but I believe he's a symbol of real value to the free world." — Ronald Reagan.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Fight for Women's Rights. Speakers: representative from Feminist Women's Health Center; member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; and others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Libreria Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (213) 380-9640.

Fighting Company Attacks at McDonnell Douglas and Union 76. Panel discussion of United Auto Workers and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers activists and strikers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

Eyewitness Report: Celebration in Havana of the 25th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member recently returned from visit to Cuba. Fri., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

What's U.S. Imperialism's Real Role in Lebanon? Speakers: George Mahdi, Palestinian; Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

San Jose

Eyewitness Report of Celebration in Cuba of 25th Anniversary of Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, recently returned from Cuba. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Revolutionary Unity in Central America: A Panel Discussion on Unity Discussion in the Advancing Course of Liberation Struggles in Central America and the Caribbean. Speakers: representatives from Central America solidarity organizations; Holly Harkness, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 4, 7 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Hear Héctor Marroquín: "My Fight For Political Asylum." Other speakers: Reja-e Busailah, Palestinian poet and activist; Bill Scanlon, trustee, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-706; J. Paul O'Brien, S.J., Committee for Peace in El Salvador. Sat., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. St. Thomas Aquinas Church, 46th and Illinois. Admission free. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund, Committee for Peace in El Salvador. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

Steelworkers Under Attack How to fight back and defend jobs

By Geoff Mirelowitz, 95 cents, 40 pp.

U.S. Steel's plant closings point to the urgent need for a discussion of strategy and perspectives in the Steelworkers union. How can the union defend itself? Why won't the top officials mount a fight? What kind of leadership will it take to do the job?

Steelworkers will be discussing these questions as the union's March 29 presidential election ap-

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Women In Cuba: 25 Years of Revolutionary Gains. Speakers: Jane Roland and Ellen Levine, visited Cuba. Sun., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

Film: Malcolm X — Struggle for Freedom. Speaker: Bob Roberts, member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Defend Affirmative Action. Speakers: Osric Wilson, president of Phoenix (Black firefighters association); Janice Sams, member of United Auto Workers Local 1200 and Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Chile Today. A slide show by Mark Day, trend and review editor of the *National Catholic Reporter*, visited Chile in August and September 1983. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Feb. 5, 7 p.m. 4715 A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

How Labor Can Fightback in '84: A Socialist View. Speakers: Kim Kleinman, Socialist Workers Party; Bob Allen, member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2295 and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 5, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, room 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Black History Month Forum Series: Apartheid's War on Black Majority Rule in Southern Africa. Speakers: David Ndaba, African National Congress; Stuart Crome, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 10, dinner, 6:30 p.m., forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner of Raymond). Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Black History Month Forum Series: El-Haji Malik El-Shabazz. Film on life of Malcolm X. Fri., Feb. 17, dinner, 6:30 p.m., forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner of Raymond). Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Black History Month Forum Series: Black Political Perspectives in 1984 — Which Way Forward? Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 24, dinner, 6:30 p.m., forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner of

Raymond). Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Roots of the Mideast Crisis. Speakers: Jim Najar, American Druze Society, recently visited Lebanon; Walid Bouhamdan, vice-president, Arab Student Association at University of New Mexico; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 1417 Central Ave. NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

Black History Month: A Tribute to Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. 2 Films: *Martin Luther King from Montgomery to Memphis* and *Tribute to Malcolm X*. Discussion to follow. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 1417 Central Ave. NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK

Albany

Karen Silkwood and the Fight for Safety on the Job. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 10, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Brooklyn

A Response to the Kissinger Commission Report: Stop U.S. War in Central America. Speakers: representative of Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

Manhattan

Marines in Lebanon: What They're Doing There & Why They Should Get Out. Speaker: Fred Murphy, staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal, off Broadway). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro de Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Casa Nicaragua Benefit Dance Party. Music by Antonio de Colombia and his Latin group "Sabor y Ritmo." Nicaraguan food. Sat., Feb. 4, 9:30 p.m. 19 W 21 St, 2nd floor. Donation: \$8. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 243-2678.

Film: Letter From Morazán. Film on the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador produced by Radio Venceremos and shot in provinces of Morazán and San Miguel. Sat., Feb. 11, 7 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W 14 St. Donation: \$3.

The Soviet Economy Today: How It Works And Why. Speaker: Bill Gottlieb, writer for the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 10, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal, off Broadway). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro de Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

¡Sandino Vive! Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Assassination of Sandino. A Central American film festival with *Alsino and the Condor*, *Letter From Morazán*, others. Sat., Feb. 25, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Casa Nicaragua, 19 W 21, 2nd floor. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador, Casa El Salvador — Comité Farabundo Martí, Committee in Solidarity With the People of Guatemala, others. For more information call (212) 243-2678.

OHIO

Cincinnati

AIFLD, U.S. Labor and Latin America. Speakers: Betty Jean Carroll, senior vice-president, American Federation of Government Employees Local 1138; Ove Aspoy, member, International Association of Machinists Lodge 912, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. (in Bond Hill). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For

more information call (513) 242-7161.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Affirmative Action Under Attack. Speakers: Kipp Dawson, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Mine Workers of America Local 1197; Bob Pitts, president, Wilkesburg NAACP. Fri., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland, 3rd floor (E Liberty). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Malcolm X: The Man And His Ideas. Speakers: Al Duncan, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Mine Workers of America Local 2350; others. Sat., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland, 3rd floor (E Liberty). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

The U.S. War in Lebanon: The Next Vietnam? Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 7th E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Who Killed Karen Silkwood? Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Film: Labor's Turning Point. Documentary on the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters organizing drive. Sun., Feb. 5, dinner, 6:30 p.m., film, 8 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

New attacks on copper strikers

Continued from back page

pany-owned hospital, workers are being laid-off and the company surgeon who recently quit is not being replaced. Phelps Dodge is asking for volunteers to replace trained personnel.

This hospital was an important gain for miners. Mining and smelting copper is dangerous and the existence of the hospital in Ajo has saved many lives. If it is closed workers would have to travel more than 100 miles for similar medical care.

Strikers who are eking out an existence on strike benefits of some \$30 to \$50 a week would find such a trip next to impossible. But even after the strike is over the lack of a hospital in Ajo would pose a grave medical danger.

Nevertheless, the initial victory for O'Leary and the clinic has assured continued medical care for strikers and their families in Clifton and Morenci. It has also boosted their morale and confidence.

A preliminary hearing has been scheduled for February 9 to hear arguments to stay the injunction closing the clinic, which could go into effect on February 10. Messages of protest can be sent to: Arizona Attorney General Robert Corbin, 1275 W. Washington St., Phoenix, Ariz., 85005. Copies of these messages can be sent to: Dr. Jorge O'Leary Legal Defense Fund, c/o Angela Alvililar, 1211 Rancho Dr., Phoenix, Ariz.

Florida postal union publicizes case of Salvadoran mailman

The following column on repression against labor in El Salvador appeared in the January 1984 issue of *Tropical Letter Carrier*, official publication of Branch 1071 of the South Florida Letter Carriers, affiliated to the National Association of Letter Carriers. Bill Rayson is associate editor of the newspaper.

BY BILL RAYSON

Letter carriers are used to management harassment, particularly if one is considered "a troublemaker." But to have a carrier kidnapped off the streets in broad daylight, in uniform, blindfolded and tortured by government forces is unbelievable — unless you live in El Salvador.

Letter carriers across the country are being asked to support the case of Bernabe Hernández-Soriano, a letter carrier for 27 years in San Salvador, the capital city of El Salvador. As a carrier, Bernabe has belonged since 1955 to the Society of Postmen, a mutual aid society which serves as the postal workers' only representation under the limits of military rule.

In his May 5, 1983, Declaration, Bernabe tells his story:

In the latter part of December 1982, Colonel Roberto Fernando Martínez, General Director of the Post Office in El Salvador, publicly accused all the postmen of being drunkards and thieves. These accusations appeared in the newspapers. All of us in the Society of Postmen protested to the constituent assembly about these accusations. The assembly heard all our complaints and conducted an investigation.

This investigation later revealed that Colonel Roberto Fernando Martínez and some of his closest associates were stealing and hiding some of the mail, including money orders. These findings appeared in the newspapers around the end of December 1982. By making those false accusations in the newspapers, Colonel Martínez was trying to divert public opinion and blame us, the postmen, for his wrongdoings. As a result of our protest and the assembly's investigation, Colonel Martínez was asked to resign his post as General Director of the Post Office in El Salvador.

After our protest, rumors spread among the postmen that Colonel Martínez's bodyguards were going to take revenge on our society and that postmen would start disappearing. Rumors were also spread that there were some subversive elements with-

in our society who had fueled our protest. In El Salvador these kinds of rumors are generally followed by disappearances, torture and killings of those singled out as being in any manner "subversive" or sympathetic to any group outside of the government.

On Wednesday, January 19, 1983, I was returning home from work at about 4:30 p.m. I was walking with two friends on Calle Oriente when an unmarked car with no license plates pulled up next to us and stopped. Two men dressed in civilian clothes got out of the car and one of them ordered us at gunpoint to stand still and put our hands on the wall. When I showed them my postal identification, they ordered my friends to leave and one of the men told the other to tie me up with my thumbs behind my back. Then they covered my eyes with a blindfold and threw me in the back seat of their car.

They drove for about 15 minutes and then stopped and asked me where José Ramírez lived and for his address. Since I did not know anybody by that name, I could not answer them. One of them got angry and hit me with a piece of metal in my chest, and they then said that I was going to another place where I would "sing." They took me to a room where they began interrogating me regarding my participation with political and community organizations and regarding various people whom I did not know. Since I was blindfolded I could not tell where I was, but I think I was at the headquarters of the Treasury Police.

When I could not answer their questions, they hung me from both hands and feet and started to give me electric shocks in the back. One of them was also beating me in the stomach with his knee and fist. They covered my face with canvas so that I could not breathe and didn't remove the canvas until I was almost asphyxiated.

The next morning, Thursday, January 20, 1983, they asked me for the addresses of all my relatives: mother, father, brothers, sisters and all of my children. I was sure that I wouldn't survive another torture session, so I answered their questions. They asked me specifically about my son Salvador. I explained that I thought he had been helping to nurse the injured and sick at a safe-house. They were not satisfied with my answers and began torturing me again, for several hours.

Finally, they left me on the floor of the same room, still blindfolded with my hands bound. During that day, I was not allowed to go to the bathroom. I had to take care of



my physiological needs right where I was and with my clothes on.

The following day, Friday, January 21, 1983, I was taken out early in the morning handcuffed to the other two prisoners. I was sure that we were going to be killed. One of the men asked where we were being taken and another answered, "We are going to drop them in the Sumpul River." They drove for about two hours and made two stops. At the second stop, I was transferred to another car and the blindfold was finally taken from my eyes. I could hardly see, but I recognized that we were on our way back to the headquarters of the Treasury Police.

We returned to the headquarters around 1 or 2 p.m. The Secretary there began talking to me and asking me about some postmen he knew. He asked me how I was and I told him I wasn't feeling too good. He said I was lucky to be alive. I was given the first food since my arrest. The Secretary told me that I was free now but would have to talk to some reporters before I left. They let me take a shower.

I was given a typewritten declaration which said that I had been well treated by the police and that I had not been tortured or mistreated by them. Some newsmen arrived to interview me and take my picture. I think I said that the declaration was correct. I was terrified because the Treasury Police are known to be among the most frequent users of torture and are like a small army. Their jurisdiction covers anything and everything in El Salvador. After the newsmen were through interviewing me, I was released.

The story of my arrest appeared in the press with my picture. Some of the stories mentioned that my son worked with clandestine groups. After my release, many friends and relatives recommended that I leave the country because they feared for my life. It is well-known in El Salvador that when a person is tortured and released,

that person is not going to be alive for very long.

Bernabe Hernández was lucky. At the time of his detention and torture, a visiting U.S. commission, including M.A.S.H. co-star Mike Farrell, became aware of his disappearance and brought pressure on the authorities, who then released him after a staged press conference. Were it not for that quirk of fate, his body would surely have been mutilated and dumped like thousands of other union members before him.

Bernabe Hernández-Soriano is asking our support for his request for political asylum in the U.S. Although his case is well documented, it will be hard to win. On the heels of the Grenada invasion, the Reagan administration is trying to prepare public opinion to accept a massive U.S. military move in both El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Granting political asylum to Salvadoran refugees runs counter to Reagan's claim that there is human rights "progress" in El Salvador. That is why Bernabe needs our help. His life and the lives of his family are at stake. They are asking letter carriers to do the following:

- 1) Endorse his case and publicize it among postal workers nationwide.
- 2) Send contributions — checks or money orders made out to NCIR, Inc. (National Center for Immigrants Rights) earmarked Hernández-Soriano — to 1544 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90017. Contributions are tax deductible.

In addition, we should join the many other unions which have called for an end to U.S. support of the Salvadoran military dictatorship — a dictatorship which has murdered over 30,000 of its citizens and suppressed all labor activity.

Are we so busy with overtime and grievances that we cannot hear this tortured brother's call for help?

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369. Tucson: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4094.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 839-5316. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S. Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand. #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box

80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 464-8933.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 23 Central Ave. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York, City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

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

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

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

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

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

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

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

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

U.S. out of Lebanon now!

In his State of the Union message, President Reagan reaffirmed his administration's commitment to keep the U.S. Marines in Lebanon. He said they were necessary "to give peace a chance." This pledge was made in defiance of the growing sentiment in this country in favor of withdrawing U.S. forces.

A January *Washington Post*-ABC poll, for example, showed 58 percent of the people in the United States think U.S. troops should be pulled out of Lebanon. And as the number of U.S. men — now 262 — who come home in coffins continues to mount, the proportion of Americans who favor withdrawal can be expected to increase.

This widespread opposition is being taken into account in the halls of Congress and the campaign speeches of the Democratic Party presidential hopefuls. All 435 seats in the House of Representatives and one-third of those in the Senate are up for election in November. And many of the Democratic candidates are trying to cash in on the mounting opposition to Reagan's Lebanon policy in order to snare votes.

House Democratic leaders have agreed on a resolution they plan to put before Congress soon that would urge President Reagan to begin "the prompt and orderly withdrawal" of the marine contingent in Lebanon.

For dozens of Democratic legislators, supporting this resolution will mean a turnabout from their votes last September giving Reagan a free hand to leave marines in Lebanon until March 1985 under provisions of the War Powers Act.

But the resolution, if adopted, will not be binding on the president. It only urges him to issue a report within 30 days detailing a plan for removal of the marines. And that plan, the Democrats suggest, should include the replacement of U.S. troops with forces from other nations.

Furthermore, the inclusion of a specific deadline for withdrawal was rejected by the Democratic leaders. Such a timetable would "do an injustice to our marines," Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill argued. Others

contended it would impinge on the traditional right of the president to make foreign policy.

Some Democrats favored reducing the amount of time the marines should stay in Lebanon from the 18 months now specified in the War Powers Act to 3 months. Others favored transferring them from Beirut to naval vessels off shore and keeping the Sixth Fleet in the area as a show of force.

Despite their criticisms of the president's policy in Lebanon, the Democratic legislators accept the same basic framework — that the U.S. government has a right to militarily intervene in Lebanon.

Reagan sent the marines as part of a four-nation "neutral, peacekeeping force" in September 1982. But this force has been neither "neutral" nor "peaceful." It has openly sided with the current regime — dominated by the Phalangists — the most right-wing, antiworking-class element in the country.

In order to help prop up this reactionary and shaky regime, Washington has conducted air raids and the heaviest naval bombardments since Vietnam, killing many civilians and soldiers and inflicting serious damage in the Druse and Muslim communities.

In contrast to the Republican administration and the congressional Democrats, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, Mel Mason and Andrea González, are campaigning for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all the imperialist troops in Lebanon and all the warships off shore.

By immediate they mean the amount of time required for the marines to get on the ships in the U.S. armada and steam across the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar, and directly home.

Mason and González demand that the U.S. government immediately halt all military aid to the expansionist Israeli government. They support the right of the Palestinians to establish an independent Palestine in their homeland.

When U.S. troops were sent to Russia

BY CHESTER NELSON

It's standard for President Reagan to disregard historical accuracy when it suits his purposes.

A case in point is found in his January 25 State of the Union speech. In that address, Reagan said, "I want to speak to the people of the Soviet Union to tell them: It's true that our governments have had serious differences. But our sons and daughters have never fought each other in a war." Nine days earlier, in his speech on Soviet-American relations, Reagan stated, "Our two countries have never fought each other."

This assertion is false. U.S. troops were sent to Russia in 1918. There they intervened in a civil war on the side of the counterrevolutionaries who were attempting to

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

overturn the Bolshevik-led revolution. The U.S. invasion forces were among troops from over a dozen capitalist countries, including Britain, France, Japan, and Czechoslovakia, that participated in the war against the revolutionary workers and peasants regime.

U.S. soldiers were engaged primarily in two areas. Three U.S. battalions, under British command, arrived in Archangel in northern Russia in early September 1918. The city, which had recently been taken by French and British units, was under siege from revolutionary troops.

Historian George Kennan, in his book *Russia and the West After Lenin and Stalin*, writes that the U.S. soldiers "were mostly young Polish American boys from Michigan and Wisconsin. They had very little training and were of course quite without combat experience."

He says the day they arrived two of the three battalions were immediately shipped directly to the front. "Some of them," he writes, "found themselves the following morning occupying front positions deep in the interior, in the vast swampy forests of North Russia, confronting an adversary whose identity and nature were as much a mystery to them as were the reasons why they were fighting at all. The adversary was, of course, the Soviet Red army. . . ."

The U.S. troops stayed in northern Russia through the winter and didn't leave until June and July of 1919. According to Kennan, 139 U.S. soldiers died in the conflict in that region.

The other major arena where U.S. forces were involved was Siberia. More than 7,000 U.S. soldiers were shipped from U.S. bases in the Philippines to Vladivostok, where they arrived in August and September 1918. They remained in Siberia until April 1920.

Their principal role was to guard sections of the Trans-Siberian Railway that were in the hands of the counter-revolutionary White armies. This activity necessarily drew them into conflict with the Red Army that was attempting to retake the railroad.

Sylvain Kindall, who served as a lieutenant in the 27th infantry in Siberia, later wrote an account, *American Soldiers in Siberia*. He recalled that, "During the years 1919 and 1920 they [U.S. troops] became involved, in one way or another, with many serious situations in Siberia that were only distantly, if at all, connected with the World War. Many were killed and many others wounded."

The U.S. soldiers who were sent to help crush the world's first workers state were lied to about their mission. In most cases they were told that it was part of the war effort against Germany. But this lie fell apart when U.S. troops remained in Russia long after the November 1918 armistice was signed ending World War I.

The soldiers were never clearly told why they had to stay in Russia, and as they learned the reasons they became increasingly discontented. Kennan, referring to the troops in the Archangel area, says that "morale began to disintegrate. Disciplinary troubles, bordering in some instances on mutiny, occurred in a number of the Allied units. It was only with the greatest of difficulty that the troops could be kept in hand and induced to carry on."

Reagan acts like this chapter of U.S. history never occurred, because it contradicts the notion that the USSR is the world's main threat to peace, and the U.S. government is a nonaggressive and consistent defender of democracy.

But the fact is that ever since their 1918 invasion of Russia, Washington, along with the other imperialist countries, have waged a campaign of military threats and economic reprisals against the USSR. Germany, in fact launched another imperialist invasion against Russia in 1941 — one that was to cost more than 20 million Russian lives before it was rolled back.

The imperialists have never forgiven the workers and peasants of Russia, who overturned capitalist rule in one-sixth of the world.

Another U.S. curb on Cuba

In his broadcast in early January to the Cuban people, Pres. Reagan said his government would soon be setting up "Radio Marti" to beam propaganda there because the Cuban people were being denied free access to the news. "We want you to know what you haven't been told" by the Cuban government, Reagan said.

But on January 30, the U.S. State Department announced that the lone reporter covering the United States for the Cuban press service Prensa Latina has been ordered to leave the United States.

Robert Rutka, a Canadian national, was assigned here by Prensa Latina Ltd., which has a Prensa Latina contract to cover U.S. news developments. Two other Prensa Latina reporters are in this country, but are allowed only to cover United Nations-related news.

Rutka was informed that he cannot function as a reporter here without registering for a special license, since Cuba is officially characterized by Washington as an "enemy nation."

He was also told that such a special license would not be issued "under the present conditions."

A spokesman for the State Department claimed that one reason for denying a license is that Cuba does not extend comparable news-gathering opportunities for U.S.

news agencies. But Cuba regularly issues short-term visas to U.S. journalists and permits agencies from other countries, including Reuters and Agence France-Presse, to maintain bureaus there. During the U.S. invasion of Grenada, much to Washington's chagrin, the Cuban government invited numerous U.S. news agencies to send reporters to the island, where they freely interviewed whomever they pleased.

The refusal to permit Cuba to have even a single reporter here to cover U.S. news is an outrage. It is cut from the same cloth as Washington's travel ban, which denies people from this country the right to see and judge Cuba for themselves.

Banning Rutka is part of the escalating efforts of the Reagan administration to attempt to isolate Cuba and limit as much as possible its right to function freely on diplomatic, political, cultural, and trade levels. It fits into the pattern of expelling Cuban diplomats from this country and denying visas to Cuban officials and other representatives who wish to travel here.

These moves are all part of Washington's deepening military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. Each and every one of these steps to restrict the rights of Cuba should be loudly protested.

Media smears Jesse Jackson

A racist move to discredit Jesse Jackson, contender for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, is being pressed by the media.

A front-page story in the January 19, Sunday *New York Times* was headlined, "Questions Arise on Jackson Group's Finances." The article's principal "revelation" was that over a three-year period, the PUSH Foundation, associated with Jackson, has received \$100,000 in contributions from the Arab League, a confederation of 21 Arab governments.

The day after the *Times* story appeared, John Bustamante, a PUSH attorney, said that during this same period, the Arab League had contributed an additional \$100,000.

Those who read carefully through the *Times* article found that the Arab League contributions were in fact perfectly legal.

Cloviss Maksoud, the Arab League representative in this country, said the contributions were given to aid PUSH efforts in shipping food and medicine to drought-stricken African nations and for educational and welfare services.

Like many other Black organizations concerned with civil and human rights, PUSH has been the target of special financial scrutiny virtually since its inception in 1972.

But it drew even closer government and media atten-

tion when its principal leader, Jesse Jackson, joined with other civil rights figures four years ago in holding meetings with various Arab leaders including Yassir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Civil rights leaders, the media angrily advised, should stick to civil rights and keep their noses out of foreign affairs.

Responding to the current *Times* smear attack, Jackson said the focus on the totally legal Arab League contributions to PUSH was a form of harassment in which a "double standard" was being applied.

The contender for the Democratic presidential nomination noted that other politicians received money from pro-Israel sources without criticism. He observed, for example, that politicians, candidates, members of Congress, and newspaper editors made trips to Israel at government expense and no issue is made of this.

PUSH attorney Bustamante said the accounts of the Arab League contributions were part of an ongoing attempt to persuade people that Arab contributions are "somehow more different and more questionable than gifts from other sources."

The hatchet job being done on Jackson in relation to the Arab League contributions is designed for a single purpose — to smear him as anti-Semitic.

The charge is, of course, a frame-up designed to stifle growing opposition to the reactionary role of the Israeli regime and U.S. support for it.

Unraveling the truth

I am only 20 years old — a newcomer to the political scene. But I can proudly say I consider myself

I am proud to be a communist and will do my best to spread the word of truth through your publication.

David Alan Johnson
Kansas City, Missouri

While she is not a Marxist or a revolutionary, Gough is extremely sympathetic and supportive of the political process in that country. Based on her former studies in India, she presents the contrasts between these two oppressed nations and shows that the accomplishments and gains won by the Vietnamese were possible only as a result of a social revolution.

The strongest and most fascinating sections in her book focus on the participation by women in the revolutionary war and their leadership in Vietnamese politics today. At a Hanoi textile plant, several women told the author they had been awarded honors for "fighting while working" — that is, they

Reading the book, Gough leads you page by page through emotions of sorrow, intense anger, and finally optimism that these heroic people will surely win. Throughout her tour, the author was told by her Vietnamese friends how valuable and important the antiwar movement in the West was to the success of their struggle against U.S. aggression. A director of a camp for the injured during the war told the author, "We Vietnamese know who is our enemy and who is our friend. Be assured we never confuse them."

Unfortunately the book is not available for sale in the states but can be ordered through New Star Books, 2504 York Ave., Vancouver, B.C. V6K 1E3 Canada. Send \$6.30 (includes postage and handling).
Craig McKissic
Newport News, Virginia

Mimi Pichey
Jersey City, New Jersey

Through an editorial error, the Jan. 27, 1984, *Militant* mistakenly listed Safford, Arizona, as the location of a Phelps Dodge Corp. mine being struck by copper workers. While some strikers live in Safford, there is no Phelps Dodge mine there.

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.



Continued from front page

The outcome of Local 148's strike will affect important upcoming aerospace contracts at Rockwell, General Dynamics, Rohr, Hughes Aircraft, United Technologies, and at McDonnell Douglas' St. Louis operations, among others.

February 1 marks the 107th day of UAW Local 148's strike. In addition to fighting the two-tier wage scale, the union is carrying out a hard-fought battle against com-

In an attempt to break the strike, the company sent letters to the workers giving them a deadline of Friday, January 27, to come back to work. Workers were told if they didn't come back their jobs would be given to others. The company followed this up with "help wanted" ads in newspapers, advertising the jobs of the strikers. By the afternoon of January 30, hundreds had applied for the jobs.

Upon arriving on the plant grounds, in a tense situation, workers attempted to enter the building. A line of company security cops blocked their way. It was the strikers' intention to enter the plant en masse and retrieve their tools, since they were being "replaced." Unable to enter, they marched around the company parking lot, yelling at the scabs the company was busing in to avoid contact with the strikers. Reportedly, half the scabs did not show up for work that

The International did not recommend a "yes" or "no" vote before the balloting. Regional Director Bruce Lee, however, pledged the International's continued sup-

In the face of these corporate attacks, Local 148 is saying no. The union is correctly pointing out that if the standard of living of all the workers is to be protected and the unions are to be defended, unions have to oppose this "divide-and-rule" onslaught by the companies.

Ollie Bivins is a striking member of UAW Local 148 at McDonnell Douglas.



Striking McDonnell Douglas workers jeer scab crossing UAW picket line

New attack on Arizona copper strike: state tries to shut People's Clinic

BY JILL FEIN
AND BARBARA KINGSOLVER

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — The wealthy owners of Phelps Dodge Corp. and their errand boys in state government are offering further proof that no move is too low in their effort to break the seven-month-long strike by copper workers. Steps are now under way aimed at revoking the medical license of Dr. Jorge O'Leary and closing down the People's Clinic he runs here.

Phelps Dodge forced the strike last July 1 when it refused to sign a contract patterned on one agreed to by other copper companies earlier in the spring. Instead, Phelps Dodge insisted on concessions in wages, benefits, and union rights. Today nothing less than the very existence of the unions at Phelps Dodge is at stake.

Dr. O'Leary has become something of a hero to the striking copper miners. After 12 years of service as the Phelps Dodge company doctor, O'Leary was fired for his support to the strike. He opened the People's Clinic to guarantee free medical care to strikers and their families. He is a familiar figure on the picket lines and often speaks at strike support rallies. He has become one of the symbols of the strikers' determination and willingness to sacrifice in order to save their unions and force Phelps Dodge to sign a decent contract.

On January 25, O'Leary learned that the state Board of Medical Examiners had revoked his license. The pretext for this action is that seven years earlier O'Leary passed an oral examination instead of a written one. The order also threatens the licenses of 14 other doctors. But O'Leary is convinced that the move is aimed at keeping him from treating strikers, in another effort to force them back to work on Phelps Dodge's terms.

"This is all a matter of politics," he said. "It has nothing to do with my professional life. They're just trying to do anything they can to hurt the strike. But we will hit them back," he promised. "We are organizing a food co-op, a newspaper, a radio station — a whole labor movement here. We're fighting against management, and they're just pulling their dirty tricks. But we will win."

The company immediately rejected the contention that O'Leary was being singled out. Tom McWilliams, assistant director of labor relations at Phelps Dodge, said, "It's got to be apparent that Phelps Dodge is not in control of the attorney general or of licensing doctors."

But the history of the strike makes such a conclusion anything but apparent. Phelps Dodge has ordered strikers evicted from company-owned housing, and state troopers have been sent to enforce the evictions. Department of Public Safety spies infiltrate the picket lines. In August Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt ordered out hundreds

of heavily armed national guardsmen to help the company break the strike and herd in scabs. In light of this many workers rightly assume that Phelps Dodge also pulls the strings in the attorney general's office.

"He worked for the company for 12 years," a nurse at O'Leary's clinic told the *Militant*, "and they never questioned his license then. It's no coincidence that they're trying to get him out now. Anyone can put one and one together."

Patients interviewed by the *Militant* in the waiting room at the clinic also expressed their support for O'Leary. "There are lots of doctors around here, but I've never met one who cared for his patients as well as Dr. O'Leary," said one person.

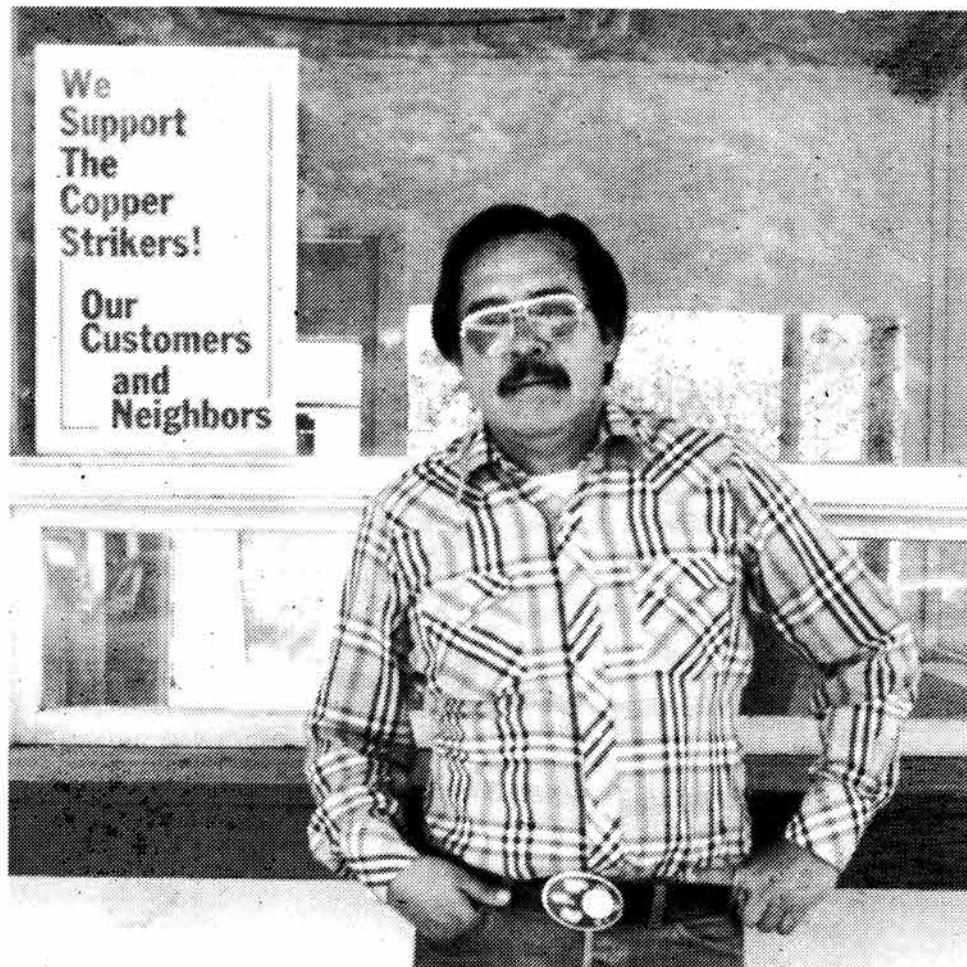
Another said, "He's doing a lot for the strikers. None of the other company doctors would do what he is doing for us."

On January 30, the day the clinic was to be closed, supporters who gathered outside heard the news that O'Leary's medical license was extended for 10 days. On the same day, a bill was introduced in the state legislature to extend the doctors' licenses for two years, after which they would have to take an examination.

However, other legislation is aimed at busting the strike. On January 29 a bill was introduced that would stiffen penalties for "illegal picketing" and insure a one-and-a-half-year prison term for any striker "using force" on the picket line.

Meanwhile, in Ajo, Arizona, Phelps Dodge is also taking steps to make medical care inaccessible to strikers. At the com-

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Dr. Jorge O'Leary (above) has been threatened with loss of his medical license on phony pretext. O'Leary was fired months ago by Phelps Dodge for support to copper strike. Since then he has opened People's Clinic to serve strikers and families.

Militant/Karen Kopperud

California Union Oil strike settled

BY SAM MANUEL

RODEO, Calif. — A settlement was reached January 28 between Union Oil and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), ending a strike at Union Oil refineries here and in Wilmington, near Los Angeles.

Initial reports indicated that Union Oil had backed down from its demands for a two-tier wage system, under which new hires would have been paid significantly less. Some freezing of entry-level wages was reportedly agreed to, however.

Workers at the Rodeo refinery here in the San Francisco Bay Area voted 245-14 to accept the contract. Those in Wilmington voted it up 240-17.

The contract reportedly follows the pact reached with Gulf earlier, under which workers are to get a 20-cent hourly raise the first year of the 24-month contract and 35 cents the second. The hourly rate under the old contract was about \$13 an hour.

The settlement was reached following a January 25 march in Rodeo by 400 members and supporters of OCAW Local 1-326. The march was held to protest the death of a striker on the picket line outside the Union Oil refinery.

Two days after the Union Oil strike began, 20-year-old Greg Goobic was struck and killed by an 18-wheel truck attempting to make a pickup at the Rodeo refinery. Though the strikers were unable to stop trucks entering the plant, they had obtained an agreement from the company and cops that all trucks would stop at the gate before entering.

Strikers who witnessed the death said the truck failed to stop for a red light and even sped up as it approached the gate. Though the driver of the truck has been charged with vehicular manslaughter, he has been released on \$3,000 bail.

Tony Cannatta, secretary-treasurer of the Contra Costa County Central Labor

Council, condemned this brand of justice and demanded that the driver be charged and tried for murder.

Many Blacks, Latinos, women, and young workers were in the January 25 Rodeo march. Rev. Laymon Nunnally, a Black minister and a member of OCAW Local 1-5 from nearby Martinez, compared Goobic's death with that of an Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) striker killed by a scab driver during the Greyhound strike. To angry applause, he shouted, "We've got to let the big oil companies know we won't stand for this kind of practice."

Rev. Nunnally told the *Militant* that attacks on the labor movement were directly related to the attacks on civil rights. "If they can get away with these attacks upon

labor, they will go the civil rights movement also. Blacks and other minorities must hook up with the labor movement, or we may be pushed back 100 years."

Russel McKindley, a Black member of the executive board of Local 1-5, said, "We are out here today because we have a common enemy. The oil companies are trying to use the economic situation to pit organized labor against the unorganized. We have to make a stand or the labor movement will lose all its rights."

Locals of several other unions joined the march, including from the Teamsters, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, ATU, International Typographical Union, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Steel union candidate Weisen says he qualifies for March 29 ballot

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

Ron Weisen, reform candidate in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) presidential contest, has received enough nominations of USWA locals to qualify for a ballot spot in the March 29 special union election. Weisen's campaign office confirms that Weisen has received the nomination of 135 local unions, more than the 111 needed to achieve ballot status.

A volunteer in the Weisen office cautioned that this is an unofficial count and that final confirmation will have to come from USWA international headquarters in Pittsburgh. However the Weisen forces are confident that their count is accurate.

When contacted by phone the USWA international communications office said it was unable to confirm which candidates will be on the ballot. It offered no definite date when such an announcement would be

made. The Weisen campaign office expects the announcement by February 10.

Weisen, the president of USWA Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works, is challenging two long-time international officers for the union's top spot. Both Secretary (and acting president) Lynn Williams and Treasurer Frank McKee claimed enough nominations to assure ballot status two weeks ago.

Weisen is running on a platform that centers on the need for the USWA to begin to fight back against the steel companies. He maintains that attempts to cooperate with the owners of U.S. Steel and the other industry giants have been a dead end for the union.

Steelworkers interested in the Weisen campaign can contact: Save Our Union, 711 E. Eighth Ave., Homestead, Pa. 15120. The phone number is (412) 461-6521.

Socialist candidates blast antilabor move

Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Mel Mason and Andrea González sent the following protest to Arizona Attorney General Robert Corbin on January 27:

"We strongly protest the efforts by your office to revoke the license of Dr. Jorge O'Leary. This move is one more effort by the State of Arizona, in collaboration with the owners of Phelps Dodge, to break the spirit of the striking copper miners and to take revenge on their supporters.

"We demand that O'Leary's right to practice medicine be preserved and that his clinic remain open to continue serving his community."