

# Stop U.S. bombing of Lebanon! Bring marines, ships home now!

## Navy pounds villages to save hated government

BY CINDY JAQUITH

FEBRUARY 9 — The U.S. battleship *New Jersey* rained death and destruction on Lebanese villages for a solid nine hours February 8. It was the heaviest U.S. military assault on Lebanon since the marines arrived there in 1982, and the most massive bombing operation by Washington since the Vietnam War.

The *New Jersey* fired 250 shells from its 16-inch guns, each shell weighing 1,900 pounds. The U.S. destroyer *Caron* shot off 300 smaller shells. U.S. air strikes were also carried out over Beirut.

The bombardment of Lebanese and Syrian positions was ordered in response to the crumbling of the hated regime of Pres. Amin Gemayel and mass defections from the Lebanese army, as rebel militias took control of West Beirut. Determined to preserve a proimperialist government in Lebanon by brute force, President Reagan issued a statement February 7 authorizing unlimited naval and air strikes against Lebanese rebels and Syrian troops.

The statement released by Reagan also called for "a plan for redeployment of the Marines from Beirut airport to their ships offshore." The proposal was falsely portrayed in the major media as the "withdrawal" of marines from Lebanon. But Washington neither intends to pull out of Lebanon nor end its aggression against the people of that country.

That was clear when the guns of the *New Jersey* opened up. Faced with a setback to their hopes that Gemayel could hold his government together, Washington and its imperialist allies are now escalating the war as they maneuver to establish another regime subservient to them.

Adm. James Watkins, chief of U.S. naval operations, threatened more attacks on Syrian and rebel forces, warning that unidentified aircraft spotted over U.S. warships "will be removed from the sky" and unmarked boats "will be taken out of the water."

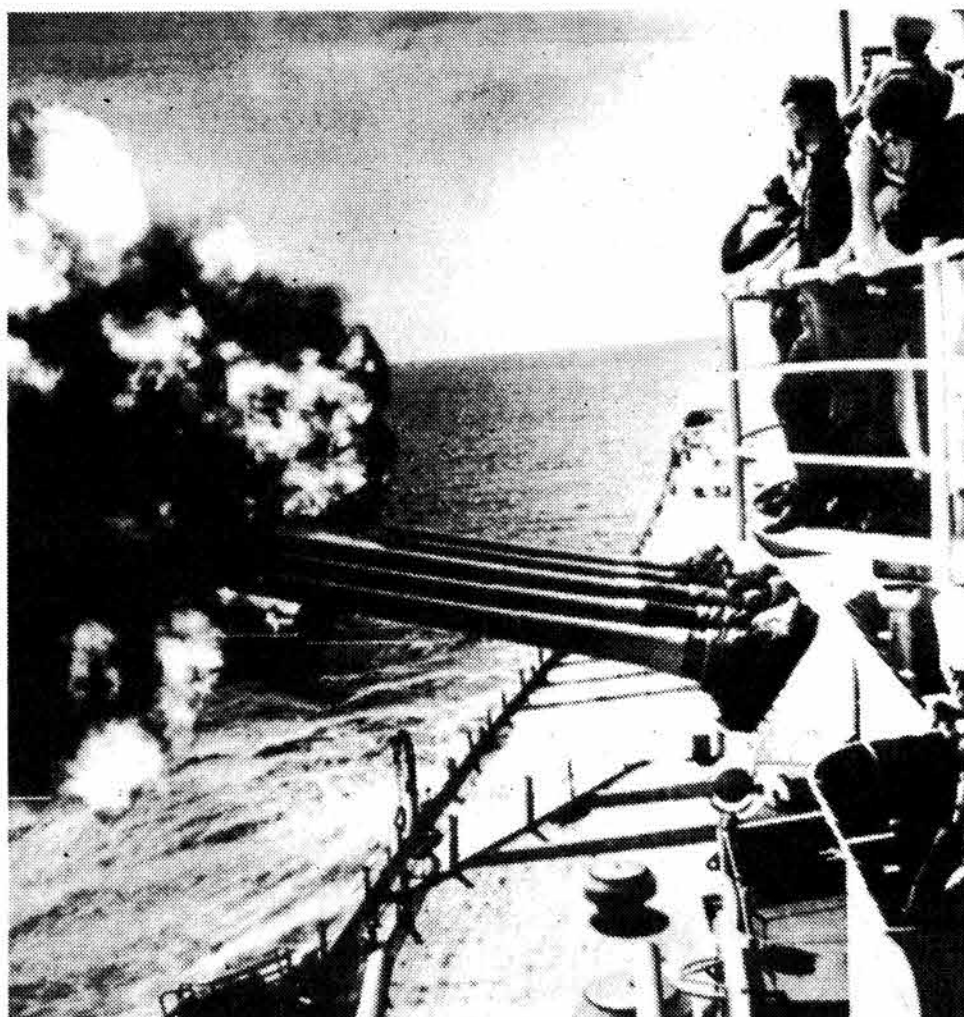
White House and Department of Defense officials clarified what "redeployment" of U.S. marines actually means. They said "they hoped that about 500 marines, or about a third of the force on shore . . . could be withdrawn to the ships within a month," the February 8 *New York Times* reported. This would leave nearly 1,000 U.S. troops in Beirut, and close to 3,000 offshore.

Reagan also pledged in his February 7 statement that the 100 U.S. "advisers" training the army in Lebanon will remain. Once the Lebanese government is reconstituted, he said, Washington "will vigorously accelerate the training, equipping, and support of the Lebanese armed forces." This support, he added, will concentrate on "counterterrorism" training.

It is precisely this "counterterrorism" — a euphemism for brutal suppression of the Lebanese masses — that led to the armed rebellion against the Gemayel government, resulting in the resignation of all but its most right-wing members.

The U.S. capitalist media has portrayed the recent events as the criminal action of

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U.S. battleship *New Jersey* was one of two warships that rained tons of bombs on Lebanese people February 8. For nine hours the *New Jersey's* 16-inch guns indiscriminately fired 250 huge artillery shells at Lebanon, causing untold damage. In total 550 shells were fired in major escalation of U.S. war.

## Socialist hits U.S. terrorism against people of Lebanon

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason denounced President Reagan's February 7 statement on Lebanon and called for "immediate, unconditional withdrawal of every U.S. Marine, 'adviser,' battleship, and jet" from Lebanon and the rest of the Mideast.

"The U.S. government has no right to impose its will on the Lebanese people," Mason said February 8. "The people have clearly rejected the terrorist regime of Lebanese Pres. Amin Gemayel, who was put in power by Washington and Israel. So now Reagan has given orders to bomb the Lebanese people into submission."

Mason said Reagan's proposal to move some marines out of Beirut, while escalating naval bombardments from offshore, was designed to confuse U.S. working people. "As long as there are any marines in Lebanon, or off the coast, those troops will be used for aggression against the Lebanese people. They never were — and cannot be — a 'peacekeeping force.'"

Mason noted that all his Democratic opponents in the presidential race support continued U.S. intervention in the Mideast. "Some have talked about pulling

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## Grenada: Bishop supporters organize

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada, February 6 — I'm awakened after midnight on February 3 by a fuss down on the waterfront. I, like many others roused from their sleep, rush to see what the noise is all about. It's quite an interesting scene.

A jeepload of U.S. troops is being chased along the Carenage waterfront by 40

### On-the-scene-report

or so Grenadian teenagers. "Go home," they're shouting at the GIs. "Go home!"

I'm told later that the troops had stolen some money from a Grenadian fisherman.

Things have changed a great deal since I was here last December. Among a layer of young Grenadians, anger is mounting over the continued U.S. occupation of their country and the lack of jobs. Thousands of Grenadians were made jobless by the U.S. invasion — driving the unemployment rate over 40 percent in this island nation of 110,000.

Women, too, are beginning to protest the presence of the so-called Peacekeeping Force. "People are getting tired of these troops," reports one woman, who was a high-ranking official in the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) headed by murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. "People," she said, "are getting tired of their arrogance, their harassment of Grenadian women."

The situation, however, remains contradictory. There's still widespread confusion regarding the U.S. invasion of the country last October. A large layer of Grenadians continues to view the invasion as a rescue mission that freed them from the

rule of the Revolutionary Military Council (RMC), which overthrew the Bishop-led PRG.

The PRG was overturned October 12 by a clique of government officials and military officers led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. The same gang ordered the murder of Bishop and five other central leaders of the PRG and New Jewel Movement (NJM), which was the governing party, on October 19. Coard's treachery opened the way for the October 25 U.S. invasion. The U.S. intervention was aimed at not only overturning the Coard regime, but stamping out all vestiges of the March 13,

1979, Grenada revolution.

The U.S. government has yet to accomplish this goal. The Reagan administration has successfully dismantled several ministries, such as that of the prime minister, national mobilization, women's affairs, and youth, among others. Supporters of the PRG in other government positions have been fired and otherwise harassed.

In addition, the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA) has been smashed, and the Grenadian masses disarmed. PRG projects, such as the construction of an international airport, have been halted.

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## D.C. rally blasts attempts to deport Hector Marroquin

BY CARLA RIEHLE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A rally here on February 4, attended by well over 100 people, kicked off the spring speaking tour by Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican socialist who has been fighting against the U.S. government's six-year attempt to deport him.

Co-chaired by Priscilla Schenk — Marroquín's wife — and Harold Massey of the United Methodist Church, the rally brought together an impressive array of speakers representing a large number of organizations involved in the fight for democratic rights in the United States.

"This rally here tonight takes on added importance because of the critical stage in which Héctor's case finds itself today,"

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Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
Héctor Marroquín



BY JOE WALTERS

DENVER — Like many other steel towns in the United States, the city of Pueblo, Colorado, was built around the mill. CF&I Steel Corp. visually dominates the city. The north-south interstate runs through the middle of the plant complex and part of the mill can be seen for miles. Of course, CF&I (until recently number 11 in Colorado's top 300 corporations) dominates the city economically

and politically.

When *Militant* salespeople went door to door in Pueblo during the subscription drive last fall, they found every household was in some way directly affected by the company. At that time subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold to retirees, laid-off workers, currently employed workers, and relatives of workers at CF&I.

And like in many other steel towns across the country, CF&I

workers have been hit with closures, layoffs, and concession bargaining. Massive layoffs began in the fall of 1981 with the closing of the Maxwell Mine, owned and operated by CF&I. This process has continued as several sections of the plant have been closed since then.

Of the 5,500 employed in 1981, approximately 1,200 are still working. In December 1983 the company announced that 2,400 of those laid off would not be recalled, as it permanently shut the coke oven, blast furnace, and basic oxygen furnace.

Three times in the past two years, CF&I has imposed concession agreements on United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2102. One consisted of \$5 an hour in wage and benefit givebacks. These events have generated a big discussion.

Last month, *Militant* salespeople from Denver drove down to the CF&I plant to get out copies of the *Militant* and the Pathfinder Press *Steelworkers Under Attack* pamphlet to steelworkers there. We found workers very open to what socialists have to say. Three

separate weekly teams sold 48 *Militants* and 43 pamphlets. Steelworkers in Pueblo are thinking and looking for answers.

Everyone there was interested in what the USWA is doing, and a majority saw the concession bargaining strategy as bankrupt. A woman steelworker (one of only four left in the plant) who bought the *Militant* was very interested in the upcoming special union presidential election in March and appreciated the paper covering it.

Many were interested in what socialists had to say about the copper strike in Arizona. As members of the same USWA district, Pueblo workers knew about the struggle there. Also USWA Local 2102 in Pueblo has a number of Chicano members who feel a strong solidarity with the predominantly Chicano and Mexican strikers in Arizona.

CF&I workers are grappling with how to deal with the situation U.S. workers find themselves in.

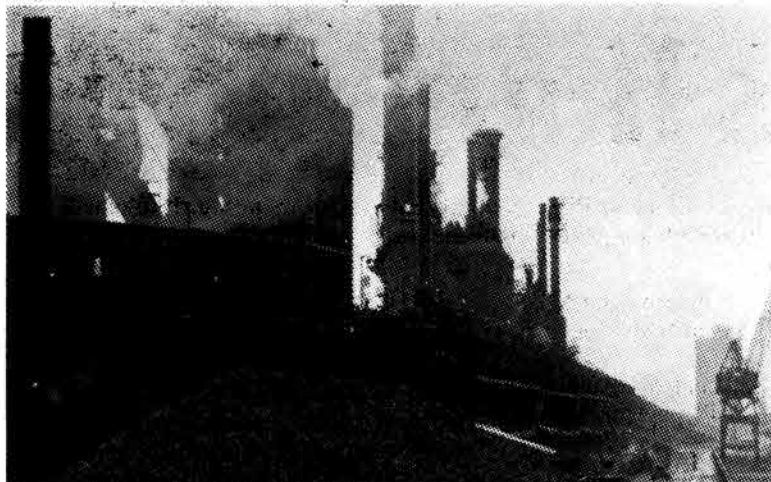
One who had been strongly against concessions all along told the *Militant* salesperson that he also disagreed with the union putting up a sign "barring" foreign

cars from the union parking lot. "Stopping imports won't do a damn thing to save jobs. The things we need to do are, for example, have the whole union movement go on strike, that's what we should have done when they fired PATCO."

Political views are not limited purely to economic questions. One steelworker bought the *Militant* because he agreed with us that the war in El Salvador is an important question facing U.S. workers.

We look forward to continuing to have discussions on a regular basis with steelworkers in Pueblo. And especially we want to bring the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign of Mason and González and the statewide candidates to them. We asked two older workers who had bought *Militants* and pamphlets the week before what they thought about them. One said, "There are a lot of good ideas in there, but how do we do it?"

The other said, "Well, maybe we should start by carrying out the good one that's in there about not supporting the Democrats or Republicans."



Steel mill in Pueblo, Colorado.

*Militant*/Orlando Martinez

## U.S. Navy pounds Lebanon to save government

Continued from front page

Muslim "fanatics" and "terrorists" backed by Syria. Washington, the media argues, is simply trying to restore "law and order."

But the Gemayel regime Washington has been propping up never had the support of the Lebanese masses. It was imposed on them by the brutal Israeli invasion of that country in 1982, during which tens of thousands died, whole cities were bombed to rubble and Palestinian refugees and Lebanese were herded into prison camps. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which had been based in Lebanon, was forced to remove most of its troops.

The Israeli and U.S. governments hand-picked Gemayel to establish a new government. Gemayel heads the ultrarightist Phalangist Party, which is modeled after fascist movements in Europe in the 1930s. It was the Phalangists who massacred hundreds of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps in September 1982.

### Discrimination against Muslims

The Phalangists are part of the privileged Christian minority in Lebanon. The majority of the population is Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims. Some Lebanese adhere to the Druze religion, a combination of Christian and Muslim ideology.

To assure domination over the Muslims, who comprise the bulk of the country's workers and peasants, the Lebanese legal system gives disproportionate weight in the government to Christians. The Lebanese president, for example, must be a Christian by law. This setup was established by France, former colonial ruler of Lebanon.

This discriminatory arrangement has served the imperialists well, keeping Lebanon divided, and the Muslim working people at the bottom of the ladder. Lebanese Muslims have continually rebelled against the oppression and economic exploitation they suffer at the hands of the Christian rulers and their imperialist backers.

Shi'ite Muslims are one-quarter of the Lebanese population and the most downtrodden of the Lebanese people. Inspired by the Iranian revolution of 1979, they have been among the most militant in opposing the Gemayel government.

"The Lebanese Army means the Phalangists, and the Phalangists mean Israel, and Israel means America. They are all against us, the poor," explained one Shi'ite militia leader.

Although Muslim politicians agreed to join Gemayel's government, the regime was shaky from the start. Because of this, the U.S., French, Italian, and British governments sent troops into Lebanon in September 1982 to help keep Gemayel in power. Reagan promised the U.S. Marines were just there as a "peacekeeping force" and would be out by Christmas of that year.

In 1983 Israel decided to move its troops out of Beirut, in response to antiwar pressure from the Israeli people. Muslim and Druze militias came under attack from the Phalangist-run Lebanese Army units and fought back. Washington then ordered U.S. forces to begin firing on Muslim, Druze, and Syrian-held positions. The "peacekeeping" role of the marines began

to be exposed. Opposition in the United States to Washington's intervention increased with the October 1983 bombing of the marine headquarters in Beirut, which killed over 240 GIs.

What finally led to the headlong disintegration of the Lebanese government and its army was a brutal attack on Shi'ite working-class neighborhoods of southern Beirut in late January. The Lebanese army ruthlessly bombed the communities on the pretext of rooting out "terrorists."

One victim of the attack told reporters that rockets crashed into the street at a rate of 40 an hour. Nabih Berri, leader of the Shi'ite Amal militia, charged that dozens of schools, hospitals, and orphanages were demolished.

Outrage over the bloody assault on Shi'ite neighborhoods compelled Muslim politicians in the Gemayel regime to finally resign.

Muslim Prime Minister Shafik el-Wazzan quit the government February 5 along with his cabinet. The resignations came after a call by Amal leader Berri for all "Muslim and patriotic" ministers to leave Gemayel's government.

Meanwhile, Shi'ite, Sunni, and Druze militia forces united to defend the population from the hated army. Muslim youth poured into the streets, taking up weapons, and overrunning army outposts.

### Mass desertion from army

Berri appealed to Muslim soldiers to refuse orders to fire on the people. Thousands of soldiers began deserting the army and reporting to Amal militia offi-

ces. Others in the army fled from the advancing militia fighters. It is estimated that 40 percent of Lebanese soldiers have now left the army.

By February 7, Muslim and Druze forces had taken control of all of West Beirut, expelling Lebanese army units and announcing a cease-fire.

Berri and Druze leader Walid Jumblatt demanded that Gemayel resign from office. The opposition forces also demand repudiation of the agreement Gemayel made with Israel sanctioning continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon. And they call for an end to Christian domination of the government and army.

In the face of these developments the Reagan administration recognized that to immediately regain control would require sending thousands of U.S. marines into battle against the armed masses of West Beirut. Given the GI toll that would result, with over 260 GIs already dead, Reagan decided to opt for greater use of naval and air bombardment of rebel and Syrian positions, where the likelihood of high U.S. casualties is less.

The Israeli government announced it would not attempt to return to Beirut to stamp out the rebellion. Some 40 percent of Israelis, according to a recent poll, favor unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon. Tens of thousands marched in Jerusalem February 4, calling for all Israeli troops to be brought home.

Nevertheless, Israeli officials made quite clear that even if Gemayel goes, Israel will "stand fast" in the territory it occupies in southern Lebanon.

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Why the U.S. invaded Grenada

## Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



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Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

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

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# New Reagan budget: more money for war, cuts for workers

BY HARRY RING

Reagan's 1985 budget is definitely good news for bankers, brokers, generals, and the merchants of death.

For workers, it's strictly bad news.

The budget is designed to advance the two-front war by the government on behalf of the employing class: billions for war against working people in Central America, Lebanon, and other lands, and for new attacks on the living standards of working people at home.

The numbers are astronomical.

A total budget of \$925.5 billion.

For the military, \$305 billion.

An officially estimated deficit of \$180.4 billion. (It "could easily be above \$200 billion," shrugged Budget Director David Stockman.)

The Pentagon is being stuffed like a Christmas goose.

In the past three years, military spending increased 50 percent. The proposal is to hike it 14.5 percent next year.

Over the next 5 years, the administration intends to pour \$1.9 trillion into the war machine.

But while they're keeping their eye on the big picture, they're not losing sight of details. Reagan's budget message to Congress reiterated his proposal to establish a \$2.50 subminimum wage for youth.

Federal funding of scientific research and development will be increased to \$53 billion. Of this, 65 percent would be for directly military purposes.

The military piece of the science pie would increase by 22 percent. Other scientific research, like on cancer for instance, would be cut 3.1 percent after taking inflation into account.

Research work would include development of such items as the MX and Trident II missiles, the Stealth and B-1 bombers, and a Star Wars space-oriented antimissiles system.

The escalated expenditures are not limited to the big-ticket items tailored as the ultimate blackmail threat against the Soviet Union. Far from it.

## Mobile forces

The publicly disclosed items in the military budget underline that the government is moving rapidly to upgrade its capacity for quick invasions in Central America, the Middle East, and any other part of the globe deemed necessary.

They're planning two new "light infantry" divisions. These would include 10,000 troops as compared to the customary division strength of 18,000. But the "foxhole" or fighting component of these divisions would be 31 percent as compared to the usual 16 percent.

It would be possible to move these new divisions overseas in four days, as compared to 11 days now.

And an extra allotment of trucks and helicopters would make them more mobile.

During the year, a third Ranger force of 600 will be activated. It was the Rangers that led the invasion of Grenada.

Added attention will be paid to the Special Forces — the Green Berets notorious from the days of Vietnam.

All of this was outlined in a special report to Congress by Army Chief of Staff Gen. John Wickham.

According to one news account, he explained that such measures were needed so the army "could be inserted into distant crises quickly in an effort to stamp them out before they spread."

These world-class firefighters will be combatting "terrorists, guerrillas, and insurgents," as well as participating in "minor conventional wars."

Or, more precisely, they will be "inserted" wherever people are trying to get imperialism off their backs.

This will mean the lives of more U.S. GIs and the lives of more workers and peasants in the semicolonial world, as well as further cuts in the living standards of U.S. working people.

Reagan delicately suggested to Con-

gress, which seemed to have no objection, that the problem of tax money for these projects not be laid on the table until after the November election.

## Soak the poor

He did suggest efforts "to simplify the entire tax code so everyone is on an equal footing." Translated that means getting rid of the graduated tax structure and making working people pay the same share of their incomes as rich ones.

Also under study are means to "broaden the tax base." That means adding new taxes to the ones we're already paying, plus increasing the number of people who pay by lowering the exemption on the bottom end of the income scale.

The media reported, with a straight face, that Reagan was proposing only "small" cuts in social spending.

Small?

Food and nutrition assistance would be cut \$500 million.

Food stamp expenditures would be reduced by \$400 million.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children would be cut another \$400 million.

Job training and employment programs would be cut \$200 million.

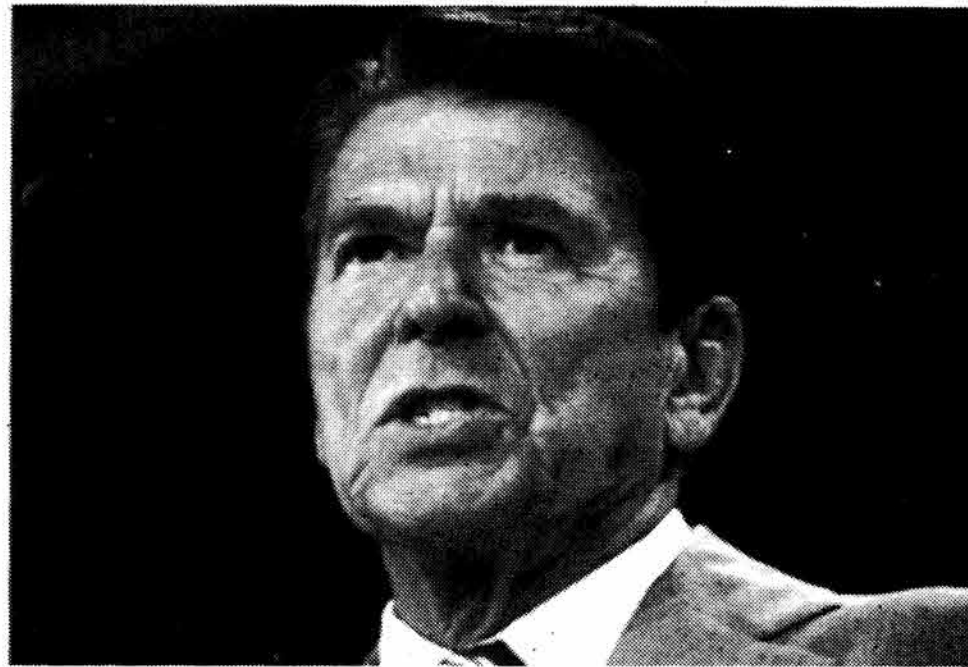
Social services would be trimmed \$200 million.

Retirees on Medicare would take a further shellacking. The present \$14.60 monthly doctor premium would be increased "gradually" at least 10 percent. The present \$75 hospital deductible would be "allowed to rise."

Small potatoes?

The Medicare administration estimates this would save them a billion in '85, \$2 billion in '86, and \$3.5 billion in '87.

Meanwhile, those poor enough to qual-



Reagan's budget gives billions to Pentagon and cuts social spending. Banks will get billions in interest payments on government loans.

ify for Medicaid would begin paying \$1 to \$2 for each day in the hospital and for each visit to the doctor.

That will save Medicaid an estimated \$1.1 billion. (Which will pay for almost eight MX missiles.)

## Bankers' delight

The proposed budget includes \$116.1 billion in interest payments on the national debts.

That's great for the bankers and bondholders. But for workers, especially Blacks and Latinos, it means even more pressure.

Since 1981 there have been heavy cuts in social spending — a total of \$110 billion worth, according to the Congressional Budget Office. But during the same period, interest payments on the national debts increased by \$124 billion.

For 1985 alone, the total "savings" through social cutbacks will be an estimated \$39.6 billion. But the jump in interest payments will be \$47.4 billion over the 1981 figure.

Isn't it obvious that this will mean new and even more cruel cutbacks? More "austerity"?

And it should be equally obvious that as long as working people have no representation in government, the increased "austerity" is going to fall on us.

If you aren't persuaded that working people do not have representation in Washington, simply consider the response of the Democratic Party to the Reagan budget.

Walter Mondale, Democratic front-runner, piously responded that he favors the use of military force "as a last resort, not a first resort."

"Last," or "first," force is definitely part of Mondale's program.

Reagan's proposed military budget, taking inflation into account, would mean a hike of 9.3 percent.

Mondale says he favors holding the real rate of military growth to 4 percent!

If someone asks you — what's the difference between a Republican and a Democrat, you can tell them: At best, 5.3 percent.

Or, a \$290 billion war budget vs. a \$305 billion one.

And, of course, that's the extent of the difference before the election.

# Socialist candidate defends abortion rights

BY DAVID SALNER

VIRGINIA, Minn. — Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Andrea González underscored the importance of the 11-year fight to defend abortion rights in a January 28 visit to northern Minnesota's Iron Range.

González spoke at the Iron Range Militant Forum on "Women's Rights and the 1984 Elections" and gave a two-part class series on the roots of women's oppression.

In the forum, González pointed out that the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion was the result of struggles sparked by the profound social, economic, and political shifts taking place in this country and around the world, including the Vietnam War and the Black liberation struggle.

The women's liberation movement and the fight by women for abortion rights grew out of these struggles, was inspired by them, and in turn, helped push them forward.

González pointed out that Reagan's State of the Union message spent one minute on women — attacking their right to abortion. Reagan had already designated January 22 as "National Sanctity of Human Life Day."

"Reagan, who arms the government in El Salvador that has killed 40,000 workers and peasants; Reagan, who supports Pinochet in Chile, Marcos in the Philippines, and the racist apartheid regime in South Africa — this man knows nothing about the sanctity of life," declared González.

"You can't talk about the sanctity of human life and oppose the rights of women, who make up more than half of humanity," González said.

What about the Democratic Party presidential candidates? At their New Hampshire debate, the issue of women's rights came in for little comment, said González. The main point was a discussion on whether or not the "time had come" for a woman vice-president — something that

González said had little or nothing to do with the fight to advance women's rights.

"The road to women's liberation lies in a different direction," she said. "Women should play a leading role in mobilizing the working class and other oppressed and exploited groups such as farmers, Blacks, and other minorities in the fight for real political power. We need a break with political subordination through the formation of independent labor and Black political parties."

"This perspective will lead to a fight parallel to that of women in Cuba and Nicaragua, who were part of the struggle to form a workers and farmers government that broke the state power of the rich. It leads to allying ourselves with women and men in El Salvador and other countries who are fighting against U.S. domination," concluded González.

González presented a socialist view of independent political action to a wide audience on the Iron Range and in Duluth through two television interviews and an interview in the Duluth News Tribune & Herald.



SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrea González.

# New support for N.J. grocery strike

BY PHIL NORRIS

NEWARK — Support from other unionists is growing for the 7,000 meatcutters and delicatessen workers, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 464A, who are on strike against four large grocery chains in this area.

Ted Kehoe, executive assistant of UFCW Region 1, told the *Militant* over the phone that there were about a dozen strike rallies ranging in size from 15 to 200 people on the weekend of February 3-5.

These picket line rallies were joined by members of the United Auto Workers, International Union of Electrical Workers, National Education Association, American

Federation of Teachers, Communications Workers of America, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Furriers, and several construction unions.

This solidarity has hurt business. The big-business press has substantiated the UFCW's statement that business is off by 50 percent or more.

On February 6 one of the struck chains, Pathmark, filed in New Brunswick for an injunction to limit pickets at 43 stores to six in front of each, plus two at parking lot entrances.

The UFCW also appeared February 6 before the same judge in New Brunswick, asking the court to subpoena documents

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# Tribute paid to socialist city councilman

## Mason used office to defend working people

BY DIANA CANTU

SEASIDE, Calif. — On February 2, Seaside City Council member Mel Mason said good-bye to the city council on which he has served for the last three and a half years. Mason is resigning from the council to run as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States.

During his time in office, Mason has demonstrated what a revolutionary socialist can do when elected to public office. He has used his office to defend the rights of workers, women, Blacks, and Latinos and to speak out against Washington's war drive.

As a city council member he has publicly taken stands against U.S. intervention from Grenada to Lebanon, walked picket lines with striking workers, and opened his office to the community. For this he has earned the respect and gratitude of most of the people in this Monterey Peninsula city.

At the packed city council meeting, Mason was presented with three plaques.

The first was from the Black Student Union (BSU) at Monterey Peninsula College (MPC) where Mason worked. BSU Pres. John Briscoe stated, "On behalf of the Black students at MPC, we are deeply appreciative and very thankful for such quality service as you've rendered in advising and assisting us. We feel that your replacement will be critical. You've shown an outstanding knowledge about Black awareness and culture. I'm proud to be representing such a fine organization and to be presenting this award to such a man of your caliber. Thank you."

Local Client Council representative Asa Fleming presented the next plaque saying, "You helped the community a lot. You did a lot for the poor community. Help people was all you'd do. Midnight you'd call me to place them in homes, to give them homes in Seaside. I really appreciate giving you this. We are going to miss you a lot because after we lose you, we're not going

to get anybody who will sit up here on this board who cares as much as you have cared about us here in this city. I don't know about the rest, but I know you did a job while you were working for Seaside and I appreciate it."

Seaside Mayor Lancelot McClair presented a third plaque on behalf of the city council.

He stated, "I want to say, since I've been in office and since I've witnessed Mr. Mason in office he has performed exemplarily as a council member. I've been very pleased to have him as a working comrade. If you like what's going on in the city of Seaside, if you like the change that is taking place, it could not have taken place without the help and support of Mr. Mason. So I just want to make that clear, that this gentleman here has the respect of the employees, the respect of every council member who sits here. He is a professional, and in that sense I certainly will miss you Mr. Mason. And I echo Mr. Asa Fleming's concern that we hope we can get a councilman of your caliber."

In his final remarks, Mason thanked the citizens of Seaside for giving him the opportunity to serve the city in the highest position possible and urged the other council members to support a proposed city affirmative action plan, address the issue of housing for poor people, repeal a utility user tax, and push for union hiring in city-related projects.

Present in the audience was Ken Collins, a young Black unionist who has submitted his name to the city council for consideration to fill the vacancy left by Mason's resignation. Collins, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee and of the Socialist Workers Party, has Mason's full endorsement.

A special city council meeting was called for February 9 to discuss replacing Mason. A successor will be either appointed by the council or elected by a special election.



At his final Seaside city council meeting, socialist presidential candidate Mel Mason was praised by Black community leaders for efforts on behalf of workers and poor. Above, Mason supporting 1982 hotel strike.

## Funds needed as Mason tours Ariz. copper towns

BY DON DAVIS

Launching his socialist campaign tour, Mel Mason headed for Arizona February 8 for a fact-finding trip through the copper towns where a coalition of unions has been on strike against Phelps Dodge since July 1.

Mason, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president, told the *Militant* that the copper miners have "set an inspiring example for all working people. They have stood up to the strike-breaking tactics of Phelps Dodge and the Democratic and Republican party politicians who have called out the cops and National Guard on them," Mason said.

"Their struggle shows we can't rely on either of the two capitalist political parties and that we need a labor party based on a militant, democratic trade union movement that would defend the interests of working people."

Mason said a labor party, or an independent Black political party, would be "an important step towards the kind of government we need — a workers and farmers government that would defend the needs of working people, who are the vast majority, not the profits of a handful of super-rich capitalists, a government that would fight for a better, socialist world."

Mason and a team of campaign supporters from Arizona and California planned to walk picket lines and hold public meetings in the towns of Clifton and Ajo during Mason's six-day tour. Also scheduled were informal gatherings with strike leaders and with activists in the Women's Auxiliary, which has played an important role in rallying support for the strike.

In advance of Mason's arrival, teams of socialist campaigners traveled through the area, where they have become well-known through their sales of two pro-strike papers: the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

They found people interested to hear that Mason had supported strikes as a city councilman in Seaside, California, from 1980 until his recent resignation to run for president (see article on this page).

Mason planned to end his tour February 13 in Tucson and Phoenix with news conferences to report on what he learned and try to build additional support for the strike.

Mason and his vice-presidential running mate, Andrea González, also plan to use the first-hand information gained from this tour to spread the word about this important union battle as they travel around the country.

With the socialist candidates hitting the campaign trail, a major effort is needed to raise the money needed to pay for their tours as well as to produce socialist campaign literature, field special campaign teams, maintain a national campaign office, and launch a drive to put the socialist ticket on the ballot.

To finance the initial stage of the campaign, an \$84,000 fund drive is under way. As the thermometer on this page indi-

cates, so far we have collected \$16,001 and have an additional \$51,889 pledged.

Our goal is to raise \$84,000 by March 15. This means every local area must move quickly to obtain additional pledges from campaign supporters and organize weekly collection of pledges.

Detroit fund drive organizer Joanne Murphy reports that campaign fundraising has been discussed at weekly meetings since the campaign-launching rally in St. Louis on December 30, with supporters asked each week to make payments on their pledges. She said nearly all supporters have now made pledges, and two-thirds of the pledges have been paid already.

This kind of organization is needed in every area to make our goal in full and on time. The *Militant* will be running reports on the fund each week so readers can follow how we are doing — and make contributions.

Several *Militant* readers have already done so, with contributions totaling about \$400. You can help get out the socialist alternative by clipping the coupon below and sending a contribution today. Please make checks out to "Mason for President."

☐ I am contributing \$\_\_\_\_\_ to the \$84,000 Socialist Workers presidential campaign fund.

☐ I would like to be a campaign volunteer.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City and State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Tel. \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign, 14 Charles Ln., New York, NY 10014 (paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee)

## New 'Young Socialist': tool for Mason-Gonzalez campaigners

BY RICH STUART

The February-March issue of the *Young Socialist* newspaper gives supporters of the 1984 Socialist Workers campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president an important tool to publicize the campaign and win young people to socialism.

The *Young Socialist* is a bimonthly publication that reflects the views of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Starting with this issue, the YSA plans to make the *Young Socialist* the voice of young people organizing support for the 1984 socialist campaign.

The feature article in this issue by YSA National Committee member Laura Garza makes a convincing argument for supporting the socialist ticket. Garza explains, "There are two choices offered working people in this election year. Support the capitalist parties — the Democrats and Republicans — whose policies have brought us war, the possibility of nuclear holocaust, unemployment, union-busting, racism, and sexism — or recognize that the problems we face require fundamental changes in the way society is run."

Mason and González supporters will be selling the *Young Socialist* on the job and at plant gates, high school and college campuses, at protest rallies, demonstrations, picket lines, and in Black, Latino, and other working-class communities.

The February-March *Young Socialist* also includes articles on women in the Arizona copper miners strike, Washington's attempt to deport YSA leader Héctor Marroquín, the death penalty, GIs and the fight against war, Malcolm X, and others.

Of special interest to those attracted to the Mason-González campaign is the reprint of a speech by longtime leader of the


Socialist Workers Party Farrell Dobbs, entitled "Socialism: A future worth fighting for."

This inspiring speech captures the central idea of the socialist campaign — that the only hope for the future of humanity is to fight for a socialist society. In the words of Farrell Dobbs, "There is no other way in which you can find so rich, so rewarding, so fruitful, and so purposeful a life."


To help distribute the *Young Socialist* and get involved in the socialist campaign, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see directory on page 17).

### Young Socialist

**The socialist alternative in the '84 elections**




Mel Mason for president




Andrea Gonzalez for vice-president

Campaigning for socialism

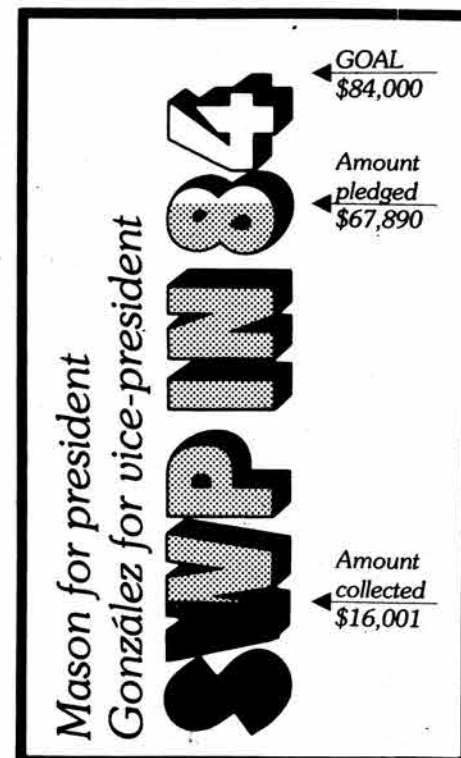


Arizona copper strike: union & women's rights at stake



Dennis Brutus: fighter against apartheid wins political asylum

Malcolm X and Black political action





# Shultz tour, Honduras buildup target Nicaragua, El Salvador

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz added another threatening note to Washington's ongoing campaign against the Nicaraguan revolution February 2. Speaking in Venezuela, Shultz said Sandinista warnings that the White House was readying plans to invade Nicaragua show that "[Commander Daniel] Ortega and his colleagues must be worried, and if I were them I'd be worried, too."

That very same day, the U.S.-backed counterrevolution struck another blow against Nicaragua. Six CIA-supplied Honduran aircraft, taking off from bases inside Honduras, bombed a military camp 60 miles northwest of Managua, destroying fuel storage tanks and killing several soldiers. The next day, more planes attacked a civilian-military radio installation near the Honduran border (see story on this page).

In an effort to justify such attacks against Nicaragua, Shultz used the old ploy of portraying the victim as the criminal. Referring to the Sandinistas, he declared in his Venezuela speech, "They are the people who have harassed the church and the Pope. They're the people who have suppressed the press; they're the people who have built up an armed force that goes beyond anything that anyone could conceivably think is needed for their own self-

defense and internal security."

The secretary of state made his remarks during an eight-day trip to Latin America and the Caribbean that began January 31 with a stop in El Salvador. He concluded his trip with stops in Barbados and U.S.-occupied Grenada.

## \$377 million for El Salvador

Along with the recent Kissinger commission report on Central America, Shultz's tour is part of the White House propaganda campaign to justify mammoth increases in military aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship, new provocations against the Nicaraguan workers and farmers government, and the transformation of Honduras into a permanent staging area for U.S. military aggression against the peoples of both El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Following closely on the heels of the Kissinger report's publication, President Reagan announced February 3 that the administration will seek to supplement this year's \$65 million package of military aid to El Salvador with an additional \$179 million. The request for fiscal year 1985, he said, would total about \$133 million.

In addition to discussing these new aid proposals with Salvadoran officials during his stopover, Shultz took the opportunity to laud the regime for what he called "consid-

erable" progress in ending human rights abuses.

The secretary of state told reporters traveling with him that the Salvadoran regime had "done quite a number of things" to curb death squad activity since Vicepres. George Bush visited El Salvador last December. As part of an effort to polish up the regime's image, Bush had told the Salvadoran government that Washington wanted it to take action on a specific list of purported death squad organizers.

While more needs to be done, Shultz said, "It's basically a pretty good record though, a very good record." In fact, the "progress" Shultz cited has been restricted to a few cosmetic transfers of military officials linked to right-wing terrorist activity.

## Honduran buildup

Shultz's remarks threatening Nicaragua and the administration's huge budget requests for El Salvador are closely tied to a major buildup of U.S. combat forces in Honduras. Beginning in early February 1983 the Pentagon began establishing Honduras as a permanent garrison for U.S. army and naval units in Central America. This was done under the guise of staging military "exercises" in Honduras.

The first major influx of 1,600 U.S. troops took place Feb. 1-6, 1983.

Then in August 1983 the Pentagon followed up these first maneuvers with Big Pine II, lasting an unprecedented seven months and involving 5,000 U.S. troops. A key aspect of this phase of the buildup is a virtual U.S. naval blockade of Nicaragua's east and west coasts by dozens of vessels.

Washington also used Big Pine II as its justification for building a permanent infrastructure of military airfields, radar bases, barracks, field hospitals, roads, and other projects in Honduras. The Pentagon established a training camp for Salvadoran soldiers staffed by U.S. Green Beret advisers and began converting Puerto Castilla on Honduras' Caribbean coast into a major U.S. naval base.

A Senate investigation made public February 1 documented the Pentagon's plans to eventually staff the naval base with a contingent of 1,000 U.S. military person-



nel and send \$32 million to create a permanent training facility for the Salvadoran army troops.

According to the January 29 *Washington Post*, unmarked helicopters carrying CIA agents in charge of the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary operation routinely make use of the new airstrips built by U.S. Army engineers.

## 'Grenadero I'

Any remaining doubt that Washington was using the fiction of "war games" as an excuse for establishing a large-scale, permanent military presence in Honduras was put to rest February 1 by Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger. After the Big Pine II "maneuvers" officially end later in February, he said, the Pentagon plans to leave a force of 700 to 800 soldiers in Honduras.

At the same time, Pentagon sources revealed that planning is already underway for the next stage of the U.S. buildup in Honduras, tentatively dubbed "Grenadero I." Although officials were quick to reassure reporters that "Grenadero" was not meant to refer to Grenada, the Pentagon's message could not have been more clear.

The new U.S. troop concentration is to be in a narrow strip of land that borders both El Salvador and Nicaragua along the Gulf of Fonseca. Less than 20 miles west of the operation's headquarters in the Honduran town of San Lorenzo is El Salvador's La Unión province and beyond that the Salvadoran rebel stronghold of Morazan.

Due east is the border with Nicaragua, an area where contra attacks have been fierce and frequent. Due south is the vital Nicaraguan port city of Corinto.

Over the past year, the Pentagon has built up the military airstrip at San Lorenzo to accommodate giant C-130 military cargo planes, installed a major U.S. radar base on an island in the Gulf of Fonseca, and deployed up to 1,000 U.S. troops to accompany Honduran combat patrols near the Nicaraguan border.

Although exact U.S. strategy during the next phase of the "maneuvers" is not yet known, there is mounting evidence that U.S. combat troops will move against El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Some Pentagon officials with knowledge of Washington's plans have already indicated "that the exercises could embroil U.S. forces in the Salvadoran civil war," according to a report in the February 2 *Washington Post*.

Whatever scenario Washington opts for in the coming months, its overall strategy is pointed unswervingly toward using military force — including U.S. combat troops — to block the advance of the Salvadoran liberation struggle and to attack the workers and farmers of Nicaragua.

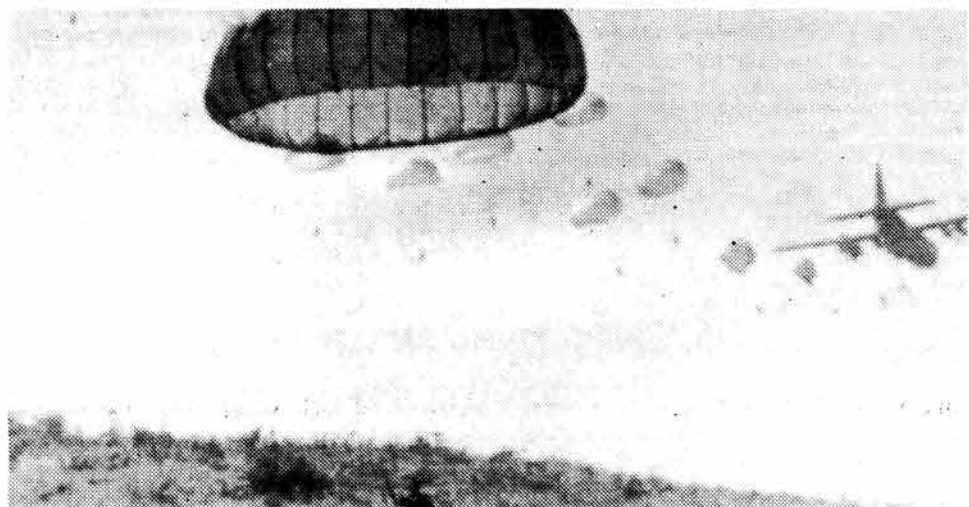
From Intercontinental Press

## Execution ordered for three Tudeh Party prisoners in Iran

In a severe blow to the Iranian workers movement, Iran's Supreme Judicial Council has sentenced to death three military officers convicted on trumped-up charges of treason. The three were among more than 100 supporters of the Tudeh (Communist) Party who were put on trial in Tehran in December 1983.

The December trials all involved Tudeh supporters in the military. They were convicted of spying for the Soviet Union and attempting to overthrow the Iranian government, although no evidence was offered for the charges. The trials were accompanied by stepped-up anticommunist, anti-Soviet propaganda by the government.

Trials of Tudeh Party supporters have now been announced in two other cities, Kerman and Shiraz. Hundreds of defendants are reportedly involved.



Paratroop drop in joint U.S.-Honduras "exercise," Big Pine II. U.S. is engaged in huge troop buildup in Honduras aimed against Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions.

# U.S. escalating war, Nicaragua says

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A "grave escalation" of the U.S.-financed war against Nicaragua is under way, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega told the country in a nationwide TV address February 3.

Within 24 hours, Ortega reported, military aircraft of the type used by the Honduran air force had penetrated as far as 30 miles inside northern Nicaragua and bombed two communications centers. After the raids the planes returned to Honduras.

Four Nicaraguan soldiers were killed in the bombings and at least eight persons were wounded.



Defense Minister Humberto Ortega with coffins of Nicaraguan soldiers killed in raid by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries.

Nicaragua has been bombed before, by CIA-led counterrevolutionaries flying converted civilian aircraft. But this is the first time that military planes have been used in such raids.

Nicaragua convened an emergency session of the United Nations Security Council February 3 to denounce the attack and has sent two messages of protest to the Honduran government.

Ambassadors to both Honduras and the United States were recalled to Managua for urgent discussions. In addition, top leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the Sandinista Army, and the Ministry of the Interior met to discuss steps needed to improve defense.

On February 4, president of Nicaragua's Council of State Carlos Nuñez announced that consideration of draft election legislation would have to be postponed until Nicaragua was able to learn the full story of how the bombing raids came about.

Two days later, the Council of State reversed its decision and announced it would go ahead with deliberations on the election law.

The elections are scheduled for 1985. The Nicaraguan government stated that the exact date of the elections will be announced this February 21, as previously planned.

More than 150 North American volunteers who are in northern Nicaragua picking cotton were among the witnesses to the bombing raids. Six planes attacked just after dawn February 2. They bombed an agrarian reform communications center in northern Chinandega province. Five more planes attacked the next day, bombing a military communications center in the same province.

The planes had their identification lettering covered over. But they were described by military observers as A-37 fighter-bombers and "push-and-pull" light bombers.

In all of Central America only the Honduran air force has A-37s, which are manufactured and supplied by the United States. The "push-and-pull" planes are used by both the Honduran and Salvadoran air forces.

The bombing raids are part of the U.S. government's effort to start a war between Nicaragua and Honduras "to justify U.S. intervention against our country," Nicaraguan Ambassador Julio Icaza told the United Nations.

He and other Nicaraguan representatives, in explaining why the raids are so ominous, have also pointed to their timing.

Ambassador Icaza noted that the bombings came just as the Contadora group — made up of the Mexican, Venezuelan, Colombian and Panamanian governments — is drafting an accord for peace in the entire Central American region. Icaza said it is "a peace that neither Honduras nor the United States wants."

Defense Minister Ortega pointed out they followed President Reagan's public endorsement of the recommendations by the Kissinger commission, which Ortega described as calling for "the destruction of the Nicaraguan revolution."

Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry, in its protest to Honduras February 3, called attention to the connection between the raids and the increasing U.S. military presence in Honduras. The so-called U.S. military maneuvers in that country, the ministry said, have now become of "indefinite duration" and amount to "virtual military occupation" of Honduras.



# What it's like to work in a textile plant in the new Nicaragua

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — What is it like to work in a Nicaraguan textile plant?

A group of North American union and solidarity activists — visiting here recently on a *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* Tours Inc. trip — had a chance to find out for themselves. Doors at TEXNCSA, one of the country's largest and oldest textile mills, were thrown open to them.

If anyone had any doubts, it was clear at a glance that this was no "model factory" but rather a good example of conditions in a country long dominated by U.S. profit-squeezers. Work was hard, safety equipment scarce, noise deafening, machinery ancient.

The union leaders we spoke with frankly acknowledged these problems and more. Then they explained what an enormous improvement what we had seen represented over what they had before.

Conditions in U.S. textile mills — we learned — as bad as they are, are light years ahead of what workers faced here under the Somoza dictatorship. And it takes time, money (hard currency), and sacrifice to change them, even after a revolution.

"All our machinery is obsolete," said Lesbia Manzanara, a member of the TEXNCSA union executive board.

This factory was looted, burned, and bombed by the Somoza dictatorship shortly before it was overthrown, she explained. Somoza wanted to destroy as much industry as possible to hamper the new revolutionary government he knew would replace him. After his overthrow, 11 workers began on their own to clean up TEXNCSA. Little by little, production started again.

"Today, with these old machines, we're producing 23,000 yards of cloth a day," Manzanara said proudly. The mill employs 1,100 workers and hopes to double that number in the years ahead. New looms have been ordered from Bulgaria under terms of a long-term, low-interest loan.

"This factory used to belong to Somoza personally," Manzanara said. "Conditions were terrible. The building wasn't really designed to be used as a factory at all. It was originally a sugar warehouse."

They used to make fancy clothes, she told us. "But now that the factory belongs to the people, we make the things we need most — diapers, mosquito netting, denim, and fabric for our soldiers' uniforms."

Four hundred of the mill's workers are women, and a number of steps have been taken to meet their special needs.

One of the few factories in Nicaragua that works three shifts a day, TEXNCSA has a work committee that distributes the tasks to be accomplished on each shift. "Each shift has a woman on the committee," pointed out Favio Mejia, a union official in charge of production.

Women work on all three shifts. But new hires that come into the plant, instead of being immediately placed on the night shift, are given a month or two on days so that they can find someone to take care of their children.

This is a temporary solution, Manzanara said. "What we plan to do is to set up a child-care center right here in the mill, for all three shifts."

Women workers who become pregnant are transferred to light duty (with no cut in pay) and placed on day shift. They receive four months' paid maternity leave.

The factory has its own clinic, staffed by three nurses and two doctors, one of whom is a gynecologist. All medical care is free.

Meals in the factory cafeteria (new since the revolution, replacing a shed with no chairs or tables) are subsidized. Workers pay 40 cents for a meal whose real cost is about \$2.80. Workers' carfare is paid by the mill. And the mill maintains a commis-



Militant/Michael Baumann

Worker at TEXNCSA textile factory in Managua

sary where basic food and household items are sold at cost.

"We don't have that problem," union Organization Secretary Carlos Pérez said with a laugh when one of the visitors mentioned the difficulty U.S. workers often have in finding a union rep when there's a clash with management.

Not because there are never disagreements with the state administrators. But because "all our union officials work right here in the plant."

Union officials and the workers themselves participate directly in making decisions about production, Pérez continued. One worker from each department belongs to the Production Committee. And once a month a factory-wide committee meets to discuss administration, finances, and

longer-range planning.

Base pay averages about \$260 a month, a little more than twice the minimum wage here. Many workers earn more, under a system of incentive pay for increased production.

"We're the spoiled ones of the revolution," Manzanara said, referring to the gains all workers, but especially women, have made at TEXNCSA. And they are determined to defend the revolution that made this possible.

Of the 400 women at TEXNCSA, 186 are members of the militias, 18 are members of reserve battalions, and 198 are members of neighborhood health brigades.

"You've seen the degree of organization we have here," she said. "Maybe that's why Reagan hasn't invaded yet."

## Nicaragua moves to protect environment

BY HARRY MESERVE

SAN JOSE — Last November I was part of a group of North Americans who visited the National University of Nicaragua medical school in León. One of the most interesting stops on our tour of the school was the pharmacology laboratory, where research was being done on drugs and toxic materials.

The head of the laboratory, Ernesto Marina, explained that the students were involved in some very innovative work, developing natural pesticides and discovering the healing properties of certain plants.

Marina explained that when the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) came to power in 1979, it faced a disastrous environmental situation. The pesticide load in the country's agricultural areas was so heavy that it threatened to permanently

cripple crop production.

Under the old Somoza dictatorship, the big landowners, with U.S. encouragement, used massive amounts of pesticides in an effort to increase immediate production for profit. Little or no thought was given to the long-range impact of these insecticides on either agriculture or health.

The big U.S. drug companies, such as Bayer, Monsanto, and Dupont, used Nicaragua to dump pesticides they couldn't get away with selling in the United States. Nicaragua became a testing ground for these chemicals, with devastating results.

By the mid-1960s, heavy use of these pesticides had actually increased the number of insect pests by killing off predators and parasites that were the natural enemies of the insects. Agricultural yield began to fall. Poisoning of farm workers by

the chemicals was on the rise.

After the 1979 revolution, the Sandinistas banned the importation of some of these pesticides and began organizing scientific research to find alternative methods for pest control.

Young people who went out into the rural areas to teach people how to read also conducted health education and studied the environmental situation. The findings of these literacy brigades laid the basis for the research now being done at the National University, Marina told us. The research is basically in two areas.

First, toxic plants from all areas of the country are being collected and analyzed to isolate their active ingredients. The goal is to replace artificially-produced pesticides and insecticides with toxic plants that can either kill or drive off troublesome pests.

At this time, research is centered on replacing the chemicals used on food crops (fruits and vegetables). Only later will a similar effort be made in the coffee and cotton areas. This is because Nicaragua does not have the capacity to replace all chemical pesticides at once and because the health threat of poisons on food crops is greater.

Second, Marina described in detail the efforts to apply the accumulated knowledge of the Nicaraguan people to develop better and cheaper ways of treating diseases. He told how members of the literacy brigades had helped to carry out important research on medicinal plants among rural farm laborers and peasants.

The brigade members first determined what were the most common illnesses in their area. Then the local people were asked to show which plants were used in the traditional treatment of these illnesses. The plants were collected and identified. Finally, a chemical analysis was made to determine their medicinal value.

Both of these research projects are under the guidance of the Ministry of Health and are partially funded by the Swedish government. Marina pointed out that this kind of research work is new since the 1979 revolution and that the Sandinista government is committed to ecologically-sound and resource-saving agricultural policies.

Environmentalists in the United States should look to Nicaragua as one real example of what it is necessary to do in order to save the earth from the ravages of production for profit.

## U.S. unionists print pro-Nicaragua brochure

Several local U.S. trade union officials from around the country who recently visited Nicaragua have printed a report on their visit. This brochure can be used by union activists to get out the truth about the gains Nicaraguan workers have made since the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and about U.S. government intervention against the revolutionary government there.

(The *Militant* reported on their visit in our January 27 issue.)

The U.S. unionists discussed, with

members of a number of Nicaraguan unions, the repression of workers organizations under Somoza, their gains since, and the raids by U.S.-supported counterrevolutionary terrorists based in Honduras and Costa Rica.

All the Nicaraguan unionists they talked with, including leaders of the Council on Trade Union Unification (CUS) which is critical of the new Nicaraguan government and is supported by the AFL-CIO, "want the U.S. to stop trying to turn back the clock in Nicaragua," the report says.

The delegates concluded, "We returned from Nicaragua convinced that we can best protect the jobs and living standards of workers in the U.S. and Nicaragua by opposing our government's attempts to roll back the progress Nicaraguans have made."

The delegation urges unionists to distribute copies of their report "so that our friends, families, and other union members will know what is going on in Nicaragua."

The report also urges unionists to join or establish local labor coalitions opposing U.S. intervention in Central America, and to get their unions "to go on record in opposition to U.S. intervention, and send copies of resolutions to members of Congress, our national unions, and the AFL-CIO."

Members of the delegation to Nicaragua, the report says, are available to speak at union meetings and other gatherings.

The report can be obtained from American Labor Education Center, 1835 Kilbourne Pl., NW, Washington, D.C. 20010. Phone: (202) 387-6780.

Information about existing labor committees against U.S. intervention can be obtained, the report points out, from the National Labor Committee, c/o ACTWU, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 242-0700.

### Visit Nicaragua for May Day!

April 29-May 6 - Visit Managua, Matagalpa, León, Masaya

April 29-May 13 - Visit Managua, Estelí, Matagalpa, León, Masaya, Granada, Bluefields (Atlantic Coast)

8-day tour: \$650 from Miami  
15-day tour: \$950 from Miami

Tour price includes: roundtrip air fare from Miami to Managua, all transfers, three meals daily, hotels, and guide service. A \$150 deposit reserves a space, with full payment due March 28. Each tour is limited to 20 people. Participants must have a passport valid for at least six months after tour dates.

Write to: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc., 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone (212) 929-3486.



# AFL-CIO pushes Kissinger commission report

## Kirkland leadership prettifies escalation of U.S. war in Central America

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The AFL-CIO officialdom, headed by Lane Kirkland, is stepping up its efforts to prettify the prowar Central America policy of the U.S. employers and their government in Washington.

The Kirkland leadership is doing this in the face of opposition to the U.S. war drive in Central America and the Caribbean among rank-and-file workers and some union officials within the AFL-CIO.

Recent issues of the labor federation's newspaper, the *AFL-CIO News*, commit the AFL-CIO to support for the findings of the Kissinger commission on Central America, on which Kirkland served.

The January 14 issue of the *AFL-CIO News* said that the Kissinger commission report "closely parallels American labor's recommendations for protection of workers' rights — as well as U.S. interests — in Central America."

But "protection of workers' rights" has nothing to do with the Kissinger report. The heart of the report is the commission's recommendation for sharply increased military aid to dictatorships and rightist forces in Central America to combat an alleged "Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan threat." This inevitably will lead to a Vietnam-style war in the region — one that is neither in U.S. workers interests nor in the interests of the working people of Central America.

### 'Conditionality'

The AFL-CIO downplays this central conclusion of the Kissinger commission, stressing instead that the report includes "conditionality" — tying increased military aid to social reform, particularly land reform and democratic rights.

But that is sucker bait, designed to divert attention from the report's real purpose — to justify a new escalation of U.S. military involvement in Central America.

The "strings" the report includes on aid were protested by Reagan and Kissinger. But they know Congress will agree to the basic proposal to escalate the war because it has voted to do so every time Reagan — and Carter before him — for more money and more military personnel to be sent to Central America.

## Protests needed to save arrested Salvador unionists

NEW YORK — An urgent appeal has been issued to trade unions to help save the lives of 16 union leaders in El Salvador. They were arrested by the Salvadoran National Police January 19 while participating in an open public meeting that included Catholic clerics, academics, and members of the press.

The appeal was issued by the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

Signed by Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the appeal said, "We are seeking telegrams from trade union officers asking for the physical protection and the immediate release" of the arrested unionists.

Sheinkman, cochair of the labor committee, warned, "Too often, arrest by the National Police is the first step in joining the ranks of the disappeared."

A representative of the labor committee said numerous unionists around the country have responded to the appeal.

Among those reported to have sent telegrams of protest are the AFL-CIO Central Labor Councils of San Francisco, San Mateo, and Santa Clara counties in California.

Wires should be sent to:

Alvaro Magaña, Presidente de la República, Casa Presidencial, San Salvador, El Salvador; Col. Reynaldo López Nuila, Jefe de la Policía Nacional, San Salvador, El Salvador; President Ronald Reagan, White House, Washington, D.C.

Copies should be sent to the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003.



National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador  
Members of U.S. trade union delegation to El Salvador meet with jailed trade unionists and other political prisoners in Mariona Prison during fact-finding visit last June.

The *AFL-CIO News* praises the Kissinger commission's recommendations for economic development programs in Central America. Kirkland says they amount to a "new deal" for the region.

But will such aid programs — if ever implemented — improve the lives of Central America's impoverished majority? No. Their result will be to line the pockets of a few local businessmen and government officials, as well as opening up more of the region to imperialist exploitation.

El Salvador, which has received enormous infusions of U.S. "economic aid" in recent years, is a good example. Last summer a delegation of U.S. trade union leaders organized by the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador visited that country. Their published report on the conditions of workers and peasants there illustrates the opposite of what the *AFL-CIO News* says.

"Unemployment in El Salvador, says the U.S. Embassy, has risen to upwards of 40 percent," the union delegation reported. "Since 1980 wages have been frozen. . . . Workers have essentially no defense against their shrinking, inflation-ridden paychecks."

But not everybody's suffering, the union leaders discovered: "The economic pressure on Salvadoran working people stands in stark contrast to the economic free-ride handed Texas Instruments, Kimberly-Clark, Phelps Dodge, and the other multinational corporations who have located operations in El Salvador. These companies operate in free-trade zones and pay no taxes for products manufactured in or exported out of the country."

In the countryside, the delegation closely examined the much-touted land reform that the AFL-CIO has been deeply involved in organizing. "The administration of the entire agrarian reform effort, incredibly, is now in the hands of those who have opposed the program from the start," the union leaders found.

Few peasants ever received any land, and the government is refusing to carry out most of the reform program, as limited as it is. "The agrarian reform is not working. More significantly, the agrarian reform is structured not to work," the delegation concluded.

### Union rights

The *AFL-CIO News* says the Kissinger commission report guarantees "a clear role for the region's free trade unions." To understand what the paper means by "free" unions, we should look at the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which the AFL-CIO staffs and promotes throughout Latin America.

AIFLD, founded in the 1960s by U.S. corporation heads and AFL-CIO officials, receives money and personnel from the CIA and the Agency for International Development.

The type of unions AIFLD seeks to promote were indicated by its director, William Doherty, in 1969 testimony before the U.S. Senate:

"People like David Rockefeller and

Peter Grace [the shipping magnate] decided we had a lot to gain by collaborating in Latin America, and that we would try to eradicate some of the classic concepts of the labor movement about the entrepreneurs, that is to say, how workers see their bosses and vice versa, and see if we could reach a cooperation agreement."

Included among AIFLD's top officers are officials from the companies most hated for their exploitation of workers and peasants in Central America: United Fruit Co., Anaconda, Pan Am, ITT, and the Rockefeller banks.

The agency has a sordid history of subverting the labor movement in Latin America, playing a major role in the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Guyana, Chile, and elsewhere.

Its role is to set up union federations beholden to local bosses and U.S. corporate heads as a counter to labor organizations in these countries attempting to protect workers' interests. In Grenada, for example, AIFLD sponsored union bureaucrats who tried to block the unions from joining the revolutionary movement that eventually threw out the U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy. The same bureaucrats then worked to undermine the gains of the revolution.

(For a good account of AIFLD, see *Yankee Unions, Go Home!* by Jack Scott, New Star Books, Vancouver, 1978. Available from Pathfinder Press for \$5.95 plus 75 cents shipping costs.)

### Death squads

While it has spoken out against right-wing attacks on moderate unionists in El Salvador, the AFL-CIO agrees with the Kissinger report on granting more aid to the very government carrying out these assaults. Thus the *AFL-CIO News* writes, "On El Salvador, where two AFL-CIO staff members were killed by right-wing death squads three years ago, the commission recommended more military aid to the Magaña government to combat leftist guerrillas." (Emphasis added.)

The paper goes on to approvingly quote the commission report: "Were military aid to be cut off, it would open the way for the triumph of the guerrillas, an eventuality that no one concerned about the well-being of the Salvadoran people can accept with equanimity. Such a development would be unacceptable from the standpoint of both human rights and security."

Whose "security" and "human rights"? Certainly not that of the hundreds of Salvadoran trade unionists in the dictatorship's jails, about whom the AFL-CIO barely says a word. Certainly not that of the union bodies who are unable to meet, organize, or speak out without fear of death.

So why continue aiding such a government? Because the AFL-CIO bureaucracy accepts the U.S. employers' line that "we" — workers and bosses alike — have a common interest in maintaining a government in El Salvador subordinate to Washington. Kirkland agrees with the U.S. rulers that the Salvadoran workers and peasants must be prevented at all costs from taking control of their own country and

reorganizing it to meet the needs of the majority.

U.S. big business is naturally grateful for Kirkland's efforts to promote this prowar line in the name of U.S. labor. And Kirkland is just as delighted to receive their praise. The *AFL-CIO News* even cites one Kissinger commission member who saluted the AFL-CIO head's role on the panel: "Kirkland was like E.F. Hutton. When he talked, people listened."

The U.S. labor movement is far from unanimously behind Kirkland's support for U.S. government policies in Central America and the Caribbean. Many rank-and-file workers, recalling the Vietnam War, oppose Washington's drive toward a similar war in Central America.

Within the officialdom, too, there is significant opposition. The National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, which published the report earlier referred to, includes officials from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, the United Auto Workers, the National Education Association, the International Association of Machinists, and others.

Thousands of U.S. trade unionists have heard Salvadoran trade unionists who have spoken before union meetings and other labor gatherings, telling the truth about their struggle against the U.S.-backed Salvadoran regime. These meetings have occurred in spite of attempts by Kirkland to prevent them.

Debate over the AFL-CIO's proimperialist policies represents a change since the Vietnam War, when then-AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany could ride roughshod over labor opposition to the war.

Today the AFL-CIO officials are having a harder time justifying their collaboration with the employers abroad. They are unable to prevent the ongoing discussion about labor's policy toward Central America, even as they seek to limit it.

That discussion opens up many possibilities to put forward an alternative to Kirkland's foreign policy by getting out the truth about Washington's role in Central America, and by demanding an end to all U.S. aid to the dictatorships there, and the withdrawal of all U.S. military personnel from the region.

## Socialist condemns U.S. attacks

Continued from front page

out the marines — eventually — but none of them defend the right of the Lebanese people — or the Arab masses as a whole — to determine their futures free from U.S. interference," he observed.

The socialist candidate blasted Reagan's charge, echoed by the Democrats, that Muslim, Druse, and Syrian forces in Lebanon are the source of terrorism and violence there. "The terrorism in Lebanon comes from its occupation by U.S., French, Israeli, British, and Italian troops," Mason declared. "These imperialist troops have been propping up the Phalangist forces who carried out the massacres of Palestinian refugees in 1982 and the recent bombing of Shi'ite Muslim communities."

The first step to ending terrorism and bringing peace to Lebanon, he continued, "is to get all the imperialist troops out — now!"

The U.S. government should cut off all aid to the Gemayel regime and to Israel as well, said Mason. "Massive aid is needed in the Mideast, but it should go to the Palestinian people, who have been pushed out of their homeland, and to the Muslim masses in Lebanon, who have been bombed for months by Washington."

U.S. workers are paying with their lives for a war that only benefits the owners of the big U.S. oil corporations, he said. "Our interests lie with our Lebanese and Palestinian sisters and brothers who are fighting to end social injustice and imperialist intervention," he explained. "Every blow they strike against their oppressors is a blow for our own fight at home against the same enemy."



# D.C. rally blasts attempts to deport Hector Marroquin

Continued from front page

said Schenk. The Supreme Court is expected to rule on Marroquin's appeal for political asylum at any time in the next month or two.

"That's why Héctor is geared up for another cross-country tour. He is demanding that the Immigration and Naturalization Service grant him his constitutional right to live and work in this country," declared Schenk.

Schenk explained how the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) continues to discriminate against her husband not only by denying him political asylum, but also by deliberately delaying action on his application for permanent residence based on their marriage.

The INS is refusing to say whether it will grant the permanent residence application, hoping that an adverse decision from the Supreme Court will force Marroquin to leave the United States before any action is taken.

A condemnation of U.S. government policy at home and abroad was the central theme of the rally. Speakers denounced the escalation of U.S. military intervention in Central America and elsewhere in the world; linking it with the growing attacks on democratic rights in the United States — in particular those aimed at immigrant workers and political refugees.

Iván Escobar, a founding member of the El Salvador Human Rights Commission, was one of the featured speakers. He is currently applying for political asylum in the United States. Because of his defense of human rights in El Salvador, he pointed out, the U.S. government has labeled him a "terrorist."

Escobar denounced the absurdity of recent reports that the U.S. government is pushing El Salvador to abolish the death squads. Of the government's list of 25 affiliated with death-squad activity, three have been "punished" by appointments to foreign posts representing El Salvador, and the other 22 aren't being touched because they hold such positions as the head of the treasury police or the national police.

Marroquin told the rally that "the U.S. government's current immigration policy is consciously racist, reactionary, and anti-labor." "Today's immigration policy," he said, "is designed to keep the truth out and to silence those who are opposed to Vietnam-style wars."

Pointing to the INS's refusal to allow Dave Patterson, director of District 6 (Ontario) of the United Steelworkers of America, to enter the United States from Canada, Marroquin emphasized: "This should be a clear reminder that the union movement should oppose the undemocratic actions of the INS, which serve only the interests of the bosses."

Rev. Farris Harvey, director of the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea, told the rally that "to deny asylum to Héctor on the grounds of his presumed ideology is to use the arguments of totalitarianism itself."

Margie O'Rourke explained how her husband Michael, an activist in the struggle for freedom in Northern Ireland, had been arrested five years ago for the "crime" of letting his visa expire. Ever since, he has been kept in prison by the INS, making

## New York cops

Continued from back page

cal Examiner, and Bellevue Hospital." While no action has been forthcoming from the grand jury, the police have used the investigation to harass Stewart's fellow artists, who have been active in trying to expose the truth about his death.

"Having observed the criminal justice process in the case of Michael Stewart," family attorneys noted, "it is not surprising that only one policeman in the past 25 years has been indicted for the murder of a civilian in the city of New York and that only one conviction for a fatal shooting of a civilian has been obtained in 53 years."

him the longest-held INS prisoner.

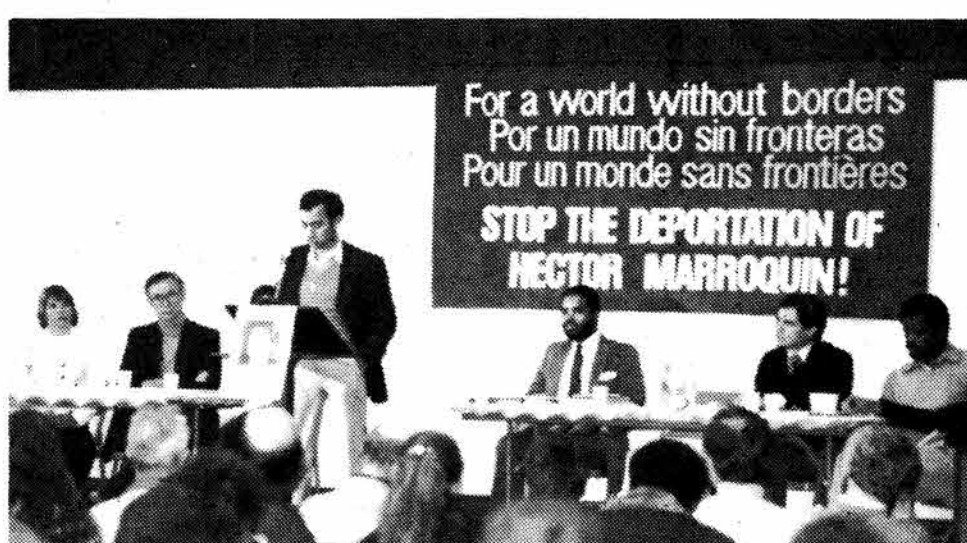
Farouk Hammouie from the Arab American Anti-discrimination League denounced the deportation of Palestinian activists to Israel where they are framed up on terrorist charges and cruelly punished. "When the people of Palestine, the Philippines, Haiti, and Chile are free, the people of the United States will be free," he declared.

A representative of the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines explained that the "case of Héctor Marroquin has numerous counterparts in the Philippines. Thousands of Filipino activists working in the labor sector, among the peasantry, student leaders, professors and intellectuals, writers and journalists, and even priests have been similarly victimized because they have taken the cause of the poor and the oppressed and have openly and actively opposed the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos.

"We who are working for human rights and justice in the Philippines fully understand the cases of the Héctor Marroquins of this world. We would like to express our strong protest at the unjust treatment they get.

"We demand, with all others, a stop to the deportation of Héctor Marroquin," he said.

Also speaking was Amit Pandya, an at-



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

At D.C. rally to halt deportation of Héctor Marroquin were (from left): Margie O'Rourke, Farris Harvey, Iván Escobar (at podium), Harold Massey, Marroquin, and Fritz Longchamp.

torney for the American Civil Liberties Union Immigration Project.

Fritz Longchamp, from the Haitian Refugee Project, wrapped up the meeting.

He denounced the racism and political discrimination against Haitian refugees. "We are on the side of democracy," he said, "and we are trying to let the people know what is being committed in the name of the people of this country."

On February 1 Marroquin, accompanied by Harold Massey and other supporters, went to the offices of INS Commissioner Alan Nelson and presented over 3,000 signatures on petitions that demanded that he stop the deportation of Marroquin and grant him political asylum.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is sponsoring Marroquin's case, asks that supporters of his right to re-

main in the United States continue to urge the INS to grant his application for permanent residence. Messages should be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536. Please send copies to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone calls to the INS should be directed to (202) 633-1900.

## Hector Marroquin tour schedule

The following is the itinerary of the first leg of Héctor Marroquin's national speaking tour.

Indianapolis	Feb. 11-14
Charleston, W. Va.	15-17
Louisville	18-21
Greensboro, N.C.	25-28
Newport News, Va.	Feb. 26-March 3

# Support grows for N.J. grocery strike

Continued from Page 3

from the companies that prove the chains had agreed to stall negotiations with the union.

The union also wants a document dated December 2 that shows that the companies, which also include Shop Rite, Grand Union, and Foodtown, agreed to pay penalties of \$25,000 or more if they negotiated separately with the union.

Kehoe said the supermarket chains have brought in scab meatcutters from as far away as Chicago, paying them union wages plus room and board.

The companies are demanding major concessions, including no overtime pay for weekends, cuts in vacations and health benefits, and less restrictive work rules for new hires.

A Militant Labor Forum was held February 3 in Newark to support the strike. One of six striking meatcutters in attendance explained from the floor how the companies' propaganda — which claims that butchers average \$39,000 yearly — is affecting support for the strike.

Her daughter, she said, was told by her teacher that the strike was wrong "because the meatcutters make so much money." But her daughter pointed out that she knew her mother made much less than the companies' full-page ads claim; she'd seen her mother's checks.

After a discussion in class, the teacher was convinced and wrote her mother an apology.

The union has countered the companies' claims by running radio spots, newspaper ads, and passing out leaflets that explain how the companies' demands for takebacks — particularly from part-time workers and new hires — would weaken the union and harm all workers. One of the four union panelists who addressed the forum was Chuck Hollowell, who was president of a local of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) when that union was busted by the government in 1981. He is now a member of UFCW Local 1262 at one of the struck stores, where he is honoring his sister local's picket line.

Hollowell linked the UFCW strike with those by Greyhound workers and PATCO, terming them examples of responses to union-busting attempts.

"Union-busting," he said, "is going on every month, all over the place. Unions are being pushed down; working people are

being pushed back. Every gain they have won in the past 25 years, the companies are trying to take away."

Awareness of this, he said, is "much greater now than it was in 1981," when PATCO was on strike.

Hollowell said that many members of his local struck in solidarity with Local 464A at first "out of union loyalty" but have gone back in the absence of a clear call by the local's leadership for everyone to stay out.

Hollowell ended by thanking the meatcutters and the Greyhound workers: "What they're doing is not only for themselves, it's for everybody. What they're doing will affect everyone here who has to deal with companies and contracts."

Also speaking was Tressy Taylor, an administrative aide with the American Postal Workers Union in North Jersey and president of the North Jersey chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). After the forum, three striking women

meatcutters joined CLUW.

Berna Romero, N.Y. boycott coordinator for the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), which is boycotting Campbell Soup Company products, explained the difficult working conditions faced by farm workers and expressed solidarity with the UFCW strike.

Also speaking was Paul Eidsvik, representing the Socialist Workers Party. He is also a member of Teamsters Local 877 and works at Exxon's Bayway refinery.

Eidsvik said there is strong support for the UFCW strike among his coworkers, whose union contract is up this month.

He said the unions should become a social movement once again, "like in the 1930s." He also said the unions would be stronger if they ran "one of their own," such as a meatcutter, for public office, rather than supporting Democrats and Republicans.

## Boudin fights for fair trial

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

NEW YORK — Leonard Weinglass, a lawyer representing Kathy Boudin in the Brink's trial, demanded on February 6 the removal of the "paraphernalia of a security circus" from the Westchester County courthouse in White Plains, New York.

The massive "security" measures, he charged, would prejudice jurors against Boudin. It is the court's responsibility, Weinglass noted, "to protect the presumed innocence of the defendants."

Boudin faces 13 counts of robbery and murder stemming from the 1981 Brink's armored car holdup. The "security measures" insure that Boudin will not get a fair trial.

Boudin had earlier won a change of trial site from Orange County because pretrial publicity there had created a prejudicial atmosphere. Authorities had built up a massive display of police force around the trial, as they did in Manhattan in previous Brink's proceedings.

The same atmosphere of intimidation has been recreated in White Plains.

The courthouse has what the *New York Times* described as "a fortresslike appearance." Concrete barriers surround it. Police cars are stationed on the plaza. Total-evacuation "fire drills" have been

held. "Bomb-threat checklists" are glued to all telephones in the courthouse and the county office building connected to it.

On February 6, hundreds of county employees and others waited as long as 40 minutes outside in the cold to pass through two metal detectors.

The cops also plan to have bomb-sniffing dogs on hand for the trial.

Boudin has been denied bail while spending over two years in prison without having been convicted of anything.

Presiding Judge David Ritter — who sentenced other Brink's defendants to 75-years-to-life terms — has also refused so far to separate Boudin's trial from informer Samuel Brown's.

The government is using this case to attempt to set new precedents to deny constitutional rights to defendants and prisoners, especially to political activists. The "security measures" are designed to convince people that it's okay to take away Boudin's constitutional right to a fair trial because she's a "dangerous criminal." Once that's established, it's that much easier for the government to violate the rights of all working people who are victims of this system.

Thus, this case is important for all supporters of democratic rights.



# Bishop supporters organize

Continued from front page

The Reagan administration has begun other moves against advances made by the PRG in the areas of agriculture, industry, health care, education, and housing.

It should be noted that these U.S. moves have been protested. The majority of Grenadians support the accomplishments of the PRG under Bishop, and want to see the programs continued.

Bishop, who was the central leader of the revolution, is identified with the PRG's achievements. The memory of this revolutionary Marxist leader is deeply etched in the minds of the Grenadian people, posing a big problem for the U.S. rulers. For in Bishop's ideas, young rebels can find a program to fight back against the reimposition of imperialist domination of the island.

That's why the U.S. government has launched a propaganda campaign to try to bury the legacy of Bishop beneath a pile of lies and slanders. And just as this drive is picking up steam, the U.S. ruling class is faced with a new challenge — organized opposition.

## Bishop Foundation

On January 21 the "Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation" was launched. The foundation opened an office near the market in St. George's, the capital, and sponsored a march and rally to commemorate the 10th anniversary of Rupert Bishop's death.

Rupert Bishop, father of Maurice Bishop, was murdered by the police of U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy on what Grenadians call "Bloody Monday" — Jan. 21, 1974. Ironically, Gairy returned to Grenada on the same day the "Bloody Monday" commemoration took place.

Following the opening of the foundation's office on Grenville Street, NJM leaders George Louison and Kenrick Radix, and former PRG member Lyden Ramdhanny led a march to Rupert Bishop's grave site, where they spoke about the struggle against the Gairy dictatorship and the achievements and overthrow of the Grenada revolution.

"There were around 200 people in the march," said Benny Langaigne, a member of the foundation's secretariat. Langaigne was the permanent secretary in the prime minister's office under Bishop.

"We didn't expect that many people to turn out since we had made no major effort

## New Bishop book is well received on Barbados

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

BRIDGETOWN, Barbados — Interest in the new book, *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution, 1979-1983* by Pathfinder Press, is very high here. Just going through customs at Grantley Adams airport, I had to give two copies to people who worked there.

This book contains the best possible record of the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution — the words of its central political leader, Maurice Bishop. It's a powerful indictment of the U.S. government policy toward the Grenada revolution, and it explains its accomplishments. It's an important tool in answering Washington's slanders against Bishop and the Cuban government, and it gives a clear explanation of the events leading up to the overthrow of the Bishop government, which opened the door to the U.S. invasion.

Several bookstore managers here said they would order the collection of Bishop's speeches right away. One placed an initial order for 150 copies of the book. The bookstore at the University of the West Indies campus ordered 25 copies.

Promotion for the book was considered a newsworthy item. I was interviewed by the *Advocate*, one of the country's biggest newspapers. In addition, a senior editor agreed to review the book for the daily.

Another major Barbadian newspaper, the *Nation*, will also carry a review.

More time spent here would probably have netted radio and television interviews, but I was anxious to get to Grenada.

to publicize the march — but it shows the support the foundation has among the masses," he said.

"This foundation," Langaigne continued, "has been established to honor and preserve the memory of Maurice Bishop. It will also honor the memory of the government ministers, trade union leaders, workers, and students murdered on October 19, 1983."

Aren't people afraid that the occupation force and the U.S.-installed interim government will crack down on the new organization?

"The Yankee troops and the interim government, or advisory council, haven't attempted to stop us as yet," said Langaigne. "We are a legal body. We are a charity organization collecting funds locally and from overseas to further the foundation's objectives."

The main goals of the foundation, reports Langaigne, are to collect funds for building a monument in honor of Bishop and the other October 19 martyrs, operating a center to collect and distribute literature and other materials about the life and work of each of the martyrs, and helping to support those in need as a result of the October 19 killings and subsequent U.S. invasion.

## Bustling office

The foundation's office was bustling with activity the day I was there. Several people were folding leaflets to make brochures explaining the purpose of the group. Packets were being made up for distribution around the island and on the smaller island of Carriacou.

Many people came in to look at the picture display about the four and a half years of the PRG. They also bought T-shirts with Bishop's picture and the inscription, "Maurice Bishop — his spirit lives," or "Remember Maurice and those we lost on October 19, 1983."

Also on sale were books and pamphlets such as *Grenada: The Peaceful Revolution*; *Maurice Bishop: Selected Speeches 1979-1981*, published in Cuba by Casa De Las Americas; and other revolutionary literature.

"We've had a real good response," said Langaigne. "Last week more than 200 people came here. We sold over \$600 worth of jerseys. They're selling better than that 'America: Thank you for liberating Grenada' shirt." Sales teams were dispatched from the St. George's office to villages across the island.

Despite these sales, not many of the Bishop T-shirts are seen in the streets. "People," Langaigne believes, "are afraid to wear them." There has been some harassment of foundation activists. One, who had been a PRG official, was called in to the Commissioner of Police's office. The commissioner, a Barbadian cop by the name of Mervyn Holder, told the foundation activist that on "the first sign of subversive activity I'll crack down on you!"

Meanwhile, organizing for the foundation continues. "Four out of the six

parishes have functioning committees," said Langaigne. "We hope to have parish committees in all the parishes soon in order to carry out the foundation's work throughout the nation." The group also plans to open offices in Grenville and on Carriacou.

## Seek international support

The foundation hasn't limited itself to Grenada, explained Langaigne. "The Grenada revolution," he said, "had broad support in many countries, especially in this region. We've found that many of those who supported the revolution have expressed support for the foundation. Branches of the foundation will be established in countries in the Caribbean, North America, Europe, and elsewhere."

The policy-making body of the foundation is its Board of Trustees, among the members of which are Louison, Radix, and Langaigne.

The martyrs' foundation, however, isn't the only thing being organized. Gairy's paid goons have been at work. Since the fallen dictator's return, the remaining revolutionary slogans on walls throughout this city have been painted over. Many of them now say, "We want Gairy."

As for Gairy's base here, said Langaigne, "I'd say 15 to 20 percent of the Grenadian people support him — mostly



Leonor Kuser

"No way Coard" reads sign painted when slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was under house arrest. While many Grenadians view U.S. invasion as liberation from Coard regime, identification with Bishop-led revolution runs deep and is obstacle to U.S. efforts to stabilize proimperialist regime.

among the elderly and the peasantry."

Hatred for Gairy, however, is the sentiment of most Grenadians. On January 31 Gairy attempted to give a speech outside the National Museum on Monckton Street. A crowd of about 100 chased him away.

Many Grenadians feel Gairy is a criminal. As one young sister told me, "I don't think we should kill him. No, he should get a fair trial for his crimes against the Grenadian people."

## Grenadian students in Cuba send letter to Rojas on coup

The following letter was sent in early January to Don Rojas, former press secretary to Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, by Terry Marryshow, the newly elected chairperson of the Grenada Students Movement in Havana, Cuba. At the time of the overthrow of the Grenadian workers and farmers government and the U.S. invasion of the island in October 1983, there were approximately 250 Grenadian students studying at universities in Cuba, and most have remained there.

The Cuban government has guaranteed these students that it will cover the full costs of completing their education, as well as their living expenses. Upon their graduation or at any time prior to that, the Cuban government has ensured them that it will find them employment in Cuba if they wish to remain there, pay the air fare for their return to Grenada, or to any other country of their choice.

Marryshow learned of Rojas's whereabouts in early January from another Grenadian who visited Cuba for several weeks. He was able to read the interview with Rojas that appeared in the Dec. 26, 1983, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. In the letter, Marryshow explains that the majority of the Grenadian students living in Cuba immediately condemned the actions of the clique led by Bernard

Coard, which overthrew the revolutionary government, murdered Maurice Bishop and other central leaders of the New Jewel Movement, and set up the short-lived "Revolutionary Military Council." These students have now replaced the minority of Coard supporters who previously served as leaders of the Grenada Students Movement in Cuba.

It was a pleasure to get the news that you are alive and well. As Maurice's former press secretary, you are a wealth of information, and it is good to know that your life has been preserved, that you can give a genuine and truthful account of what went on in Grenada during the period that eventually led up to the sell-out of the Grenada revolution!

Here in Cuba, we the Grenadian students have been totally shocked and bewildered by those events, but more than that, we have been very hurt and disappointed by the dramatic turn of events that left us without a leader, without a revolution, and our country invaded by Yankee imperialism.

In the aftermath of the most tragic and devastating events in our country, we had a very unique situation developing here among our students.

On the one hand, there was the majority of students, who from the very initial stages have openly condemned the events that had taken place; on the other hand, the party members who, in loyalty to the party, continued to support the party line and who — in spite of all the information that has come to light exposing all the lies and misinformation of the Revolutionary Military Council and Central Committee (CC) — still continue to adopt an arrogant attitude, and in fact up to now have not openly condemned the CC for the puerile and unrealistic decisions that they have taken, in total disregard of the wishes and aspirations of the Grenadian people.

We all have a lot to learn from the demise of our revolution, and it is something that is going to be the topic of discussion and debate for many more years to come.

Here among the students in Cuba, we have seen it fit to reorganize ourselves as a new student movement carrying the banner of Maurice Bishop, and we will continue to follow his ideas, thoughts, and revolutionary principles.

We are trying to establish links with progressive organizations and we will appreciate any kind of help you or anyone can give us in this respect, also with regard to receiving news information and any literature that might be pertinent. Please try and keep in touch with us so that we can keep you informed about what is going on.

Terry A. Marryshow



## 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 and November 14 statements 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.



# Kampuchea's progress 5 years after Pol Pot

## Washington keeps up pressure against Indochinese revolutions

BY WILL REISSNER

The celebration of the fifth anniversary of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on January 7 marked an important milestone for the workers and peasants of that country in recovering from their terrible ordeal during the 1970s.

The 1970s in Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) was one of the most trying decades endured by any people in world history. Between 1970 and 1973, the country was pounded by U.S. warplanes. With the end of a five-year civil war in April 1975, the Kampuchean people came under the rule of a murderous government headed by Pol Pot, which lasted until January 1979, when it was overthrown by Kampuchean insurgents and Vietnamese troops.

### Overthrow of Prince Sihanouk

Kampuchea's agony began soon after the U.S.-sponsored overthrow of Prince Norodom Sihanouk's government in March 1970. Sihanouk's landlord-capitalist regime had steered clear of direct collusion with Washington's war efforts in neighboring South Vietnam, and Sihanouk tolerated the presence of forces of Vietnam's National Liberation Front (NLF) in Kampuchea's eastern border provinces.

The new, U.S.-installed regime headed by Gen. Lon Nol reversed this policy. Lon Nol invited Washington and the Thieu regime in South Vietnam to send in troops to wipe out NLF base camps and hospitals.

U.S. troops launched an invasion of Kampuchea in May 1970. Although massive protests in the United States forced the withdrawal of ground troops the following month, the Nixon administration stepped up the war from the air. Between 1970 and 1973, U.S. warplanes dropped more than 400,000 tons of bombs on Kampuchea, systematically destroying communications, transport, and irrigation systems; and killing hundreds of thousands of draft animals and livestock.

The actions of the Lon Nol regime put wind in the sails of a guerrilla movement that had begun in 1967. Although the Khmer Rouge\* guerrillas had only about 4,000 fighters when Sihanouk was overthrown, this force grew rapidly after 1970. Sihanouk threw his support behind the Khmer Rouge, and the Vietnamese NLF began providing arms and training.

By 1975 the Khmer Rouge had built an army, overwhelmingly peasant in composition, of 50,000 or more fighters and controlled most of the countryside.

Despite massive U.S. military aid and support, the Lon Nol regime was overthrown in April 1975. But Lon Nol's repression and the U.S. bombing had taken a terrible toll: about 600,000 of the approximately 7 million Kampucheans were killed. A similar number were wounded in the fighting. Millions of refugees had fled to the cities seeking escape from U.S. bombing. The population of the capital, Phnom Penh, had swollen from 600,000 to nearly 3 million.

Most city-dwellers eked out a meager existence on the proceeds of U.S. food aid programs. When it became apparent to Washington that Lon Nol's days were numbered, the U.S. government cut off rice shipments. Several thousand people starved to death in the final months of the war.

### Joy turns to horror

When the first contingents of Khmer Rouge fighters entered Phnom Penh, they were enthusiastically greeted by workers, students, refugees from the countryside, and rank-and-file Lon Nol troops. The population celebrated an end to the half-decade of warfare and hoped that a new era of social justice and independence from imperialist domination had opened.

An Associated Press dispatch on April

\*Red Khmer. Khmer is the name of the majority nationality and language group in Kampuchea. Although Prince Sihanouk originated the term to refer to his opponents, Pol Pot's forces soon adopted it as their own.



Child's drawing of life under Pol Pot

18, 1975, reported that "three hours after the surrender [of Lon Nol's government], thousands of students paraded along the main boulevards, waving banners to greet the Communist forces. Communist troops reportedly embraced Government soldiers and lifted them aboard personnel carriers for a victory parade along the waterfront."

Patrice de Beer, writing in the Paris daily *Le Monde*, reported "the popular enthusiasm is evident. Groups form around the insurgents, who often carry American weapons. They are young, happy, surprised by their easy success. . . . Processions form in the streets and the refugees are starting to go home."

But the middle-class leaders of the Pol Pot group in the Khmer Rouge, having come to power on the crest of a revolutionary peasant upsurge in the countryside, were deeply hostile to the urban population.

Within hours, joy turned to horror in Phnom Penh. When the main units of the Khmer Rouge entered the city, they forced, at gunpoint, all inhabitants to leave immediately.

*New York Times* reporter Sydney H. Schanberg, who was in Phnom Penh when the Khmer Rouge entered, described the scene.

"Using loudspeakers, or simply shouting and brandishing weapons, they swept through the streets, ordering people out of their houses. At first we thought the order applied only to the rich in villas, but we quickly saw that it was for everyone as the streets became clogged with a sorrowful exodus."

"In Phnom Penh two million people suddenly moved out of the city en masse in stunned silence — walking, bicycling, pushing cars that had run out of fuel, covering the roads like a human carpet, bent under sacks of belongings hastily thrown together when the heavily armed peasant soldiers came and told them to leave immediately. . . .

"Hospitals jammed with wounded were emptied, right down to the last patient. They went — limping, crawling, on crutches, carried on relatives' backs, wheeled on their hospital beds."

Within hours the capital city was a ghost town. Similar scenes took place in other major cities.

Workers and other urban residents were not the only ones subjected to such brutal treatment. Poor peasants, too, were forcibly relocated to agricultural labor camps throughout the country.

But by making the former city-dwellers into a pariah layer, called the "new people," the Khmer Rouge were able to further weaken and divide any resistance to their rule.

### Not building socialism

The regime established by Pol Pot used the vocabulary of socialism, but the reality was far different. A government cannot begin building socialism unless it imple-

standards, decreed an end to personal stocks of food under the guise of introducing "communal dining." Subsequently, all inhabitants were given a skimpy daily ration in communal dining halls and were not allowed to keep any food stores for their own use. Cooking and eating utensils were confiscated.

### Circulation of money curtailed

Another drastic step in this enforced impoverishment of the population was the restriction on the circulation of money. Although prices continued to be calculated in terms of the former currency, and accounts between enterprises were balanced in monetary terms, the regime declared an end to private circulation of paper money and coins. The Pol Pot leadership claimed these steps represented an advance beyond capitalist commodity circulation.

In the context of the world capitalist market and Kampuchea's low level of economic development, of course, it was impossible to suppress commodity circulation. But the Khmer Rouge's measures did deprive the majority of the population from access to money, thereby furthering the regime's goal of reducing personal consumption to the barest minimum and maximizing the accumulation of wealth in its own hands.

As time went on, the Khmer Rouge fostered a limited revival of urban life and industry. By the end of 1978, the Pol Pot regime claimed that there were 200,000 residents in Phnom Penh. Reporters who visited the city in late 1978, shortly before the overthrow of the regime, found that a number of factories had been reopened, and makeshift schools and hospitals had been established in some areas to provide a more skilled work force.

But the labor force in the reopened factories was made up of Khmer Rouge soldiers, peasants fresh from the countryside, and children. This relatively inexperienced working class was viewed as more readily adaptable to militarized discipline and intensive exploitation.

In order to maintain their rule under these brutal circumstances, the Khmer Rouge leaders instituted a permanent reign of terror. Although all Kampucheans suffered from this all-pervasive totalitarianism, special targets of Pol Pot's

ments policies that benefit the workers and peasants and mobilizes them to carry out democratic, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist measures. Pol Pot's course led in the opposite direction.

The fundamental economic strategy of those who led the Khmer Rouge was to maximize the exploitation of the working people and minimize their personal consumption in order to accumulate large agricultural surpluses that could be sold on the world market. The proceeds, they theorized, could be used to begin underwriting industrialization later on.

To that end, living conditions were reduced to the bare minimum necessary for the survival of the fittest, most productive members of the work force. In addition, the Khmer Rouge apparatus eliminated most public education; nearly abolished professional health care and hospitals; closed libraries and other cultural institutions; ended telephone and mail service; stopped publishing books or newspapers; and slashed recreational outlets and entertainment.

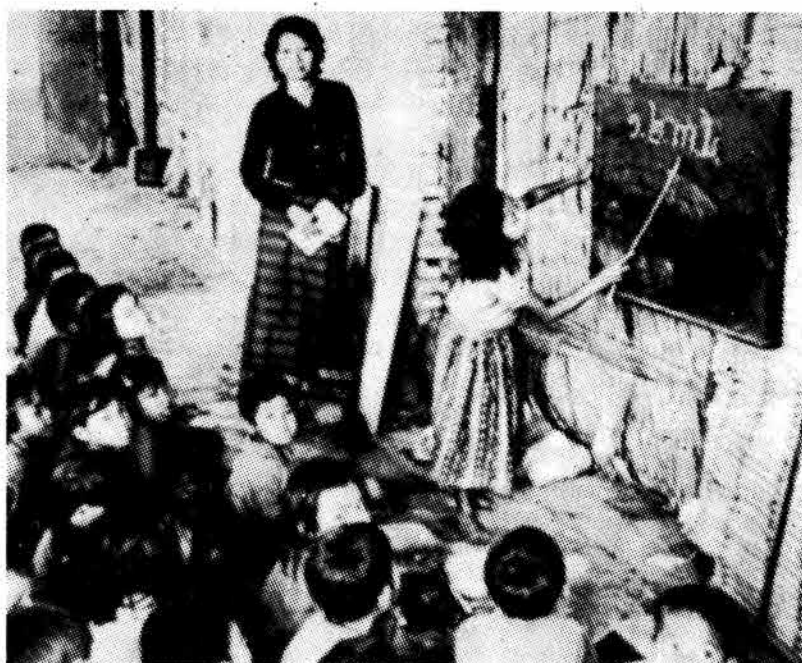
A 12-hour day and 7-day workweek became the norm. Child labor became universal.

In January 1976, the Khmer Rouge leadership, in its drive to minimize living



For Kampucheans, 1970s were some of worst years in their history. Decade began photo was taken on 80th consecutive day of U.S. air raids, May 25, 1973.





Above, schools reopen in Kampuchean countryside after 1979 liberation from Pol Pot's reign. Kampuchean people have long way to go to rebuild, but Vietnamese people have shared their meager resources in act of solidarity. At left, Kampuchean refugees escape to Vietnam in 1978.

murder apparatus were former city dwellers, anyone with education, national minorities, and Buddhist monks.

It is impossible to determine with any certainty how many people died under the Khmer Rouge regime. But most estimates agree that several million perished through execution, starvation, or disease.

#### Washington's attitude

When the Khmer Rouge defeated the Lon Nol government in April 1975, Washington initially adopted a stance of extreme hostility to the new government. It exploited the exposés of the barbarities committed by Pol Pot to stoke the fires of its anti-communist propaganda aimed at justifying continued economic and military pressure against the entire Indochinese revolution.

Washington never reconciled itself to the defeats it suffered in Indochina, and the Vietnamese revolution was the special target of its hostility. When the Vietnamese freedom fighters won on April 30, 1975, the U.S. government slapped an economic embargo on Vietnam and sought to isolate it diplomatically and economically.

But Washington's military options in Indochina were limited. The U.S. population was strongly opposed to further use of U.S. troops, and the continuing political shocks from the 1974-75 depression and the Watergate revelations made the political price for any direct military action by the Pentagon prohibitively high.



After three years of U.S. bombing. Above

Washington therefore looked for others to wield the stick. It stepped up military aid to the Thai dictatorship, which had been a faithful neocolonial ally throughout the Indochina war. U.S. imperialism also stepped up overtures for collaboration with the counterrevolutionary caste of bureaucrats who govern the Chinese workers state.

Peking had already proven more than willing to sacrifice the Vietnamese revolution in return for diplomatic and economic favors from the U.S. capitalists.

In its hostility to the Vietnamese revolution, Washington also found an ally in an unexpected quarter — the Pol Pot regime.

Within weeks after taking power, the Khmer Rouge regime began launching attacks against Vietnam, hoping to seize Vietnamese territory that had once been part of the ancient Khmer empire. The first attacks took place just after the National Liberation Front liberated Saigon.

These clashes escalated into large-scale fighting in 1977, when Pol Pot's troops mounted several invasions of Vietnam's Mekong Delta provinces. The Kampuchean regime broke off diplomatic relations with Vietnam on Dec. 31, 1977.

#### Mending fences with imperialism

In that same period, the Khmer Rouge were cementing better relations with reactionary capitalist regimes in the region. Incidents along the border with Thailand receded as Pol Pot's troops stepped up their attacks on Vietnam. Trade and diplomatic relations were established with Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. There were also moves toward establishing diplomatic relations with Australia, and the Japanese government announced plans to begin providing economic aid to Pol Pot.

All the while, the imperialist and neocolonial regimes in the area maintained their hostility to Vietnam, despite Hanoi's efforts to establish normal relations with all these governments.

As Pol Pot's forces stepped up their military attacks against Vietnam, the U.S. government and big-business media began to soft-pedal publicity regarding the atrocities in Kampuchea. The fire of the U.S. propaganda machine was now turned almost exclusively on alleged human rights violations in South Vietnam and the threat of "Vietnamese expansionism" in Southeast Asia.

As U.S. imperialism and its neocolonial allies in the region were giving indirect encouragement to Pol Pot's anti-Vietnam course, China's misleaders were directly encouraging and aiding the Khmer Rouge attacks on Vietnam. Peking was anxious to hasten diplomatic and trade relations with Washington by demonstrating to the Carter administration that China could be useful as a regional partner.

To that end, the Peking regime had urged the National Liberation Front of Vietnam not to finish off the Thieu regime in 1975. When its advice went unheeded, Peking began actively aiding Washington's policy of bleeding and punishing Vietnam.

The Vietnamese government sought to ease the mounting tensions. Anxious to concentrate on reconstructing their country

after three decades of war, and with no desire to interfere in Kampuchea's internal affairs, Vietnam sent several delegations to Kampuchea and to China in 1975 and 1976 to seek a peaceful solution.

But as the situation deteriorated inside Kampuchea, and as the Pol Pot regime's military attacks against Vietnam increased, the Vietnamese government stepped up its own political and military efforts of self-defense.

In late 1977 Vietnam began allowing refugees from Kampuchea to remain in the country. Soon, 150,000 Kampuchean refugees were on Vietnamese soil.

#### Kampuchean exiles organize

When revolts against Pol Pot's rule were put down in 1977 and 1978, leaders of these uprisings also made their way to Vietnam. There they organized the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation (FUNKSN).

As 1978 progressed, the Chinese and Kampuchean regimes increased their pressures on Vietnam's northern and western borders. Peking opened a slander campaign against Vietnam, falsely charging that the 1978 measures expropriating the holdings of capitalist merchants and traders in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) were actually racist attacks on the Hoa, as the Chinese population of Vietnam is called.

Peking began threatening to intervene militarily in defense of the Hoa. It also called on them to flee to China, but closed its border with Vietnam in July 1978.

This propaganda barrage caused panic among the Hoa and fed the exodus of so-called "boat people" from Vietnam, 85 percent of whom were ethnic Chinese.

In December 1978, with the aid and encouragement of Peking, Pol Pot threw 19 of the 23 divisions in his army into an invasion of southern Vietnam. The Vietnamese saw this move as the opening gambit in a two-sided pincer attack against them from China in the north and Kampuchea in the southwest.

Vietnam's fears were heightened by the escalating hostile acts by the Carter administration and the growing signs of its direct collusion with Peking in tightening military pressures against Vietnam. On Dec. 15, 1978, President Carter announced that Washington was finally recognizing the People's Republic of China, almost 30 years after its establishment.

In that speech Carter also announced that Chinese Vice-premier Deng Xiaoping would visit Washington in January.

The Vietnamese responded to the invasion by Pol Pot's forces with a counterattack on Dec. 25, 1978. The Vietnamese army quickly surrounded the 19 divisions that had taken part, leaving only 4 Pol Pot divisions at large inside Kampuchea.

By Jan. 7, 1979, units of the Vietnamese army and Kampuchean opponents of the Pol Pot regime had entered Phnom Penh. From there they moved rapidly toward the Thai-Kampuchean border, driving the remaining Khmer Rouge forces out of the country.

A new Kampuchean government was established, headed by Heng Samrin, a

former Khmer Rouge military commander who had fled Kampuchea in 1977.

Despite the defeat of the Pol Pot regime, the counterrevolutionary Chinese bureaucracy remained intent on proving its usefulness to Washington.

#### Chinese invasion of Vietnam

On Feb. 17, 1979, some 600,000 Chinese troops crossed the border into Vietnam. For four weeks they remained in northern Vietnam, destroying roads, rail lines, bridges, and other facilities in what Chinese government officials described as an effort to "punish" Vietnam.

Although Washington issued "for the record" denials of involvement, it did nothing to hide what was obvious to the entire world — that it had instigated the renewed aggression against revolutionary Vietnam. Not only did the U.S. government admit some months later that it had known of Peking's invasion plans in advance, but during the four-week invasion the Carter administration went out of its way to publicly embrace the Chinese regime. The ceremonies establishing full U.S.-Chinese diplomatic relations went on as scheduled in Peking, as did high-level negotiations of trade and economic agreements there.

On the diplomatic level, while Washington had demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, it now linked Chinese withdrawal from Vietnam to a reciprocal Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea.

Despite the extensive damage inflicted by the Chinese invaders, however, Vietnam did not have to go to the negotiating table to force a pull-back by Peking. As they had done repeatedly throughout the previous half century, Vietnamese troops resisted the new aggression heroically. By the time Peking withdrew in March, 20,000 Chinese troops had been killed or wounded.

(Ironically, as the people of Phnom Penh were celebrating the fifth anniversary of their liberation, another top Chinese government delegation — the first since 1979 — was on its way to Washington to cement its relations with the Reagan administration. In greeting China's Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang on January 10, Reagan said that Zhao's visit symbolized "the growing trust and cooperation" between them and their shared "common ground" in foreign policy.)

(Actually, since Peking's humiliation at the hands of Vietnam in 1979, U.S.-China relations have been far from smooth sailing.)

Incensed by the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime and Vietnam's success in repelling the Chinese invasion, Washington responded by trying to tighten the military, economic, and diplomatic pressure against Vietnam and the new Kampuchean government.

The U.S. rulers stepped up military aid to the Thai government, which allows the remnants of Pol Pot's forces to operate from bases along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

In addition, under the guise of refugee

Continued on Page 14



# The left and Jesse Jackson

## SWP is only voice for socialism in '84 elections

BY DOUG JENNESS

One of the striking features of the 1984 presidential race is that most organizations and publications that consider themselves socialist or communist are backing Jesse Jackson, one of the eight candidates contesting for the Democratic Party nomination. This is being done at the expense of presenting clear socialist answers to the burning questions facing working people today.

The Socialist Workers Party, which launched its presidential campaign in December, stands virtually alone in putting independent working-class political action and socialism at the center of its perspectives in the elections.

The range of views in support of Jackson can be seen by examining five groups and publications — the Communist Party (CP), Workers World Party (WWP), Communist Workers Party (CWP), the *Guardian* newspaper, and Line of March.

### Communist Party

The CP's orientation to the elections is centered around defeating President Reagan.

The January 26 *Daily World*, reporting on a recent CP Central Committee meeting, quoted CP leader Simon Gerson as saying that the party's electoral policy is "to defeat Reaganism, Reagan, and the Reaganites in Congress and help unite an All People's Front to reverse the present course of nuclear holocaust and disaster for our people and the world."

The CP's own ticket — Gus Hall for president and Angela Davis for vice-president — was announced in January and will campaign in support of this pro-Democratic Party perspective. The January 19 *Daily World* cited Sam Webb, Michigan party organizer, as declaring that the CP ticket "will help to pressure all the anti-Reagan candidates to speak to the issue of jobs, peace and equality."

Within this framework, the CP has welcomed Jackson's campaign. According to a November 4 *Daily World* editorial, "We feel [Jackson's candidacy] will strengthen, not detract from, the anti-Reagan front. Jackson, whatever weaknesses he may have, brings to the campaign an independence reflected in advanced positions on the central issues, not shared by any of the other declared candidates."

Gerson told the CP Central Committee that "the only Democratic candidate offering a bold, rounded-out program is Jesse Jackson."

Following the January 15 national TV debate of the eight Democratic candidates, the January 20 *Daily World* pointed to what it considered to be a verification of its line on Jackson. The debate showed, according to the CP daily, "that the campaigns of some of the stronger anti-Reagan candidates — Jesse Jackson, Gary Hart and George McGovern — have resulted in pressure on front-runner Walter F. Mon-

dale to take stronger positions on some of the critical issues facing the nation."

### Workers World Party

The WWP is also enthusiastically promoting the Jackson campaign. Its own presidential ticket — Larry Holmes for president and Gloria La Riva for vice-president — is making support to the Black Democratic contender a central focus of its campaign.

Unlike the CP, which has been supporting Democratic Party candidates for nearly 50 years, the WWP has not traditionally endorsed Democratic Party candidates. Their first departure came last spring when they supported Harold Washington for mayor of Chicago. A few months later they backed Democratic candidate Mel King for mayor of Boston.

The WWP states that its reasons for backing Jackson are substantially the same as those for supporting Washington and King — fighting racism and supporting the rights of oppressed peoples.

Party leader Monica Moorehead, in a speech quoted in the December 8 *Workers World*, the WWP's weekly newspaper, said, "We recognize that Jackson at this moment expresses the aspirations and the movement for democratic rights of Black people. It is the duty of all progressives, but especially of white workers, not to obstruct the use of these rights, but to facilitate it."

Sam Marcy, another WWP leader, argued in a February 2 article in the *Workers World* that, "It cannot be stressed too frequently that the Jesse Jackson movement is a movement against national oppression, the oppression of a whole people, and it is this which makes it a qualitatively different struggle. Viewed from this perspective, his campaign is objectively directed against the capitalist establishment."

The WWP contends that it is necessary to support Jackson in spite of his liberal, procapitalist program and his running in the Democratic Party primary.

Moorehead put it this way in her speech quoted earlier, "While the content of this movement is wholly progressive, the form is not. Thus we have a situation in which the political content of the movement is progressive, but the form of it — participation in the capitalist party primaries — is regressive."

WWP spokespersons concede that Jackson's program does not distinguish him from other liberal Democrats, and that his views may, as Moorehead predicts, "become even more bourgeois as the contest becomes heated."

But, Marcy states, "what a howling blunder it would be to use programmatic criteria as a measure for assessing the nature of the Jackson candidacy. . . . What is decisive are the social, class, and racial relationships which govern the struggle."

The WWP's plunge into supporting Democrats has led to some revealing state-

ments about the Democratic and Republican parties. While their election material insists that the WWP candidates "intend to expose the big-business system and its Republican-Democratic Party election hoax," Marcy's February 2 article presents some muddle-headed notions on this question.

"Probably more than any other party in the history of the U.S.," he writes, the Democratic Party "encompasses within its fold the sharpest class contradictions. On the one hand, it derives its basic support from the working class and oppressed people. On the other hand, it is controlled by the bourgeoisie."

This party, which "has virtually the entire organized labor movement, with the exception of the Teamsters" is the "ideal of imperialist democracy."

"It is the bourgeois coalition, the umbrella group par excellence of the capitalist class," he writes. "When that instrumentality, however, does not suffice, the bourgeoisie quickly veers to its very own alternative, the Republican Party, which unlike the Democratic Party is the party of the bourgeoisie, whereas the Democratic Party is the party for the bourgeoisie desperately trying to be of it" (emphasis in original).

### Communist Workers Party

The CWP, an early supporter of Jackson, has been beating the drums for him in their paper, *Workers Viewpoint*, and through a national speaking tour.

An article in the November 23-29 *Workers Viewpoint* explains that the CWP supports the Black Democratic contender on the grounds that the African-American national movement is a "national liberation movement with a multi-class character." The central thrust of Jackson's campaign "is the struggle for Black political power."

The article indicates that the campaign "will arouse — indeed has already aroused — hundreds of thousands of people to enter political life."

Another article, in the October 19-25 issue, states that Jackson "has posed the possibility of using a presidential campaign as the focus and stimulus for a nationwide grassroots movement."

### The 'Guardian'

The *Guardian*, an independent radical weekly published in New York, editorialized in its November 23 issue that the Jackson campaign "gives the 1984 campaign real meaning for the politically 'rejected' of this country."

It "can be a powerful vehicle for putting progressive issues forward and mobilizing the oppressed."

"Won't Jackson's candidacy just help the Democrats?" the *Guardian* asks rhetorically. "It's a possibility, but it could also hasten the day when a majority of Blacks and other oppressed groups see their interests outside the 2-party monopoly."

Jackson, the *Guardian* declares, "has seized the time and is saying the right things."

### Line of March

The Line of March, which publishes the biweekly *Frontline*, takes a similar view. An article in the November 14 issue of *Frontline* says that Jackson's "broadly progressive and specifically anti-racist platform" can be projected "right into the center of national political debate."

Furthermore, the civil rights leader's bid "can serve as a mobilizing force, bringing millions of Blacks and other disenfranchised sectors of the population into political motion in general and the voting booth in particular."

Jackson, the paper affirms, "has hewed to a consistently progressive course."

### Campaigning for socialism

The SWP candidates — Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president — are campaigning around an entirely different axis. Their starting point is the need to build a mass revolutionary workers party that can overturn the

capitalist rulers and establish a workers and farmers government, thus laying the basis for socialism.

They point out that a political party capable of leading tens of millions of workers and their allies to power can only be forged through irreconcilable conflict with the capitalist employers, their political parties, and their government. Tactical decisions regarding elections should be made according to whether or not they advance or hinder this perspective.

The working class in the United States — which established a massive union organization in the 1930s — still doesn't have its own party to struggle for its interests and prepare a struggle for power. Thus, the central political question facing the working class is the need to break from capitalist politics, particularly the Democratic-Republican monopoly. For class-conscious workers this means continually explaining the class character of the Democratic and Republican parties, exposing their policies and actions, and trying to win coworkers to the perspective of breaking from them.

The SWP participates in struggles that challenge the capitalist rulers and their parties and that help give workers confidence in their own strength. It points out that the multi-million-member union movement provides the organizational base for a mass, independent labor party.

The greater militancy of Blacks — due to the especially oppressive conditions in which they live and work and the confidence and political understanding won during the civil rights movement — means they might make the first break from the capitalist parties. If Blacks, who in their vast majority are workers, were to establish an independent Black party, it would provide a big spur to the formation of a labor party.

### Democrats and Republicans

Advancing this perspective of independent working-class political action requires telling the truth about the Democratic and Republican parties. Clarity on this is essential to determining the proper orientation to the Jackson campaign.

Marcy's assertion that the Republican Party, which unlike the Democratic Party, is "the party of the bourgeoisie, whereas the Democratic Party is the party for the bourgeoisie" obfuscates the true character of these parties.

It's true that these two parties are not identical twins and have different functions as part of the capitalists' two-party con game.

However, both are financially and politically controlled by a tiny number of ruling families.

In the 1930s Ferdinand Lundberg wrote a book entitled *America's 60 Families* that named these ruling families. He documented how they dominated not only all the big banking and industrial monopolies, but both the Democratic and

## Mason & Gonzalez Speeches on Tape

Hear the socialist candidates. Speeches from the December 30, 1983, kick-off rally of the 1984 Socialist Workers Party campaign. Mel Mason, SWP candidate for president, discusses a class-struggle perspective for working people. Andrea González, SWP candidate for vice-president, speaks out against U.S. foreign policy. González's speech is also available in Spanish. Tapes include brief introduction.

☐ Please send me \_\_\_ copies of Mason & González: Speeches (Side One: Mason on Working-Class Solutions to the Capitalist Crisis, 30 min.; Side Two: González Speaks Out Against U.S. Foreign Policy, 30 min.)

☐ Please send me \_\_\_ copies of Andrea González Speaks Out Against U.S. Foreign Policy (Side One in Spanish, 30 min.; Side Two in English, 30 min.)

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_ (\$6 per tape including postage and handling). Pre-paid orders only.

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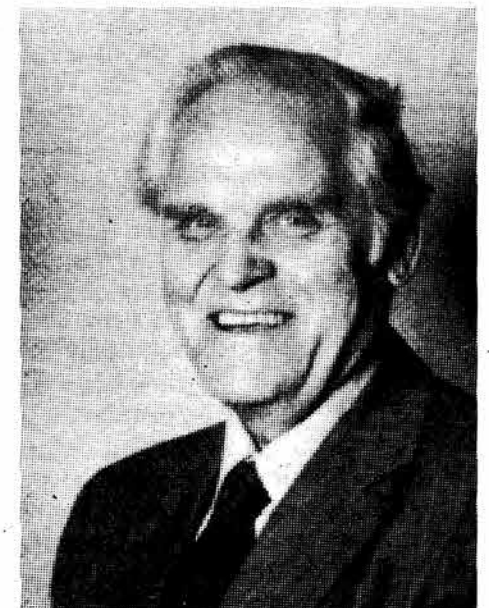
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Paid for by Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee.



Gus Hall, Communist Party presidential candidate: campaigning for "lesser evil" Democrat.





Jesse Jackson (above) wants to reform Democratic Party. SWP ticket of Mel Mason (right) and Andrea González (left) is campaigning for independent working-class political action and socialism.



Militant/Dave Wulp

Republican parties.

In the 1960s he updated his description in *The Rich and the Super-Rich*. In this book Lundberg describes the control of the DuPonts, Fords, Rockefellers, Mellons, etc., over the two parties. He then aptly notes, "The parties are opposite sides of the same coin. Instead of saying that the United States has a two-party system, it would be more nearly correct to say it has a dual-party system."

The Democratic and Republican parties originated as bourgeois parties in the 19th century and have remained so to this day. Marcy notwithstanding, the Democratic Party is as much the ruling class's own alternative as the Republican Party. It is as much a party of the bourgeoisie.

Marcy's assertion that the Democratic Party is full of class contradictions and that the entire organized labor movement is part of the party is, at best, misleading.

#### Democratic Party voters, not members

Neither the Democratic nor Republican parties are really parties in the sense of being membership organizations formed around an ideological outlook as parties in Europe tend to be.

When the mass of workers and Blacks are included in the term "Democratic Party coalition," what is being referred to is not party membership or control, but party votes — electoral weight. The average white or Black worker, who once every four years votes Democratic, is a voter, not a party member. He or she plays no role, takes no regular part in, and knows little about the Democratic Party.

The party's policy is not determined by who pulls the lever for its candidates, and it does not serve the interests of most who pull the lever. The class the party serves, not the class that votes for the party, is what determines the nature of any party. In this sense, there is a contradiction — a contradiction between what workers do on election day and their own class interests.

When Marcy says that the entire organized labor movement (except for the Teamsters) is part of the Democratic Party, he doesn't mean the union members, millions of whom vote Republican in every election. He means the union bureaucrats.

They are part of the Democratic Party in the sense that they are in a coalition with the owners of U.S. industry and finance and the professional ward heelers who keep the party machinery oiled. The role of the trade union bureaucrats, along with Black Democratic leaders and leaders of groups like the National Organization for Women, is to bring out the ranks of the voting bloc on election day to guarantee the continued role of the Democratic Party.

A small minority, who, through the coalition, manages to maintain its rule and run this country, is the sole beneficiary. The ruling families need allies; they are desperate for allies. If they alone voted for themselves, they would be a tiny minority, unable to put anyone in office.

#### Reagan as bogeyman

The CP's campaign to dump Reagan totally obscures the class character of the Democratic Party, the role of the two-party system, and what working people must do to break from it.

By projecting Reagan as a bogeyman, on the verge of leading us to nuclear disaster, they fail to distinguish the political ser-

vant from the class that he serves. It's not Reagan who determines whether the U.S. goes to war or not; it's America's 60 families. And they make the decisive governmental decisions whether Democrats or Republicans are in the administration.

The CP's line that a Mondale administration would be better than Reagan's evades the essential fact that the same ruling families will be at the helm. And as four years of the Carter-Mondale administration showed, Mondale can be counted on to carry out cutbacks in social services, launch antilabor attacks, and defend U.S. imperialist interests abroad.

The CP's support for Jackson rests on the hope that he will pressure Mondale and other Democratic contenders to say a few better things, thus enhancing their appeal to Black and other working-class voters in November. But the job of those who consider themselves socialist or communist is not to get Mondale, etc., to improve their campaign posture, but to expose them — their program, their record, and their masters.

#### Breaking from two-party system

The *Guardian* and *Line of March* advance the view that supporting Jackson's campaign and participating in it can help lead a break from the two-party system.

The *Guardian* suggests that by proposing the Democratic Party "renegotiate" its relationship with Blacks, Jackson is making an impossible demand on the Democratic Party. If this course is stuck to, it will lead to more people seeing "their objectives can best be pursued outside the Democratic Party."

It's doubtlessly true that there are many Jackson supporters who will be disillusioned if his campaign fails to strengthen the role of Blacks in the Democratic Party or if he urges them to get behind Mondale, or whoever, after the Democratic Party convention.

But the best way to get a hearing for the perspective of breaking from the Democrats is not by going along with Jackson's campaign in the Democratic Party. Rather it is by telling the truth about the Democratic Party.

There's no question that the Jackson candidacy has helped stimulate a big discussion in the Black community and among politically-minded people throughout the country. And it would be foolish to stand aside from this discussion. It provides an excellent opportunity for socialist workers to get a hearing for their views.

But the question remains: what do class-conscious workers say in these discussions? Do we say that Jackson is "saying the right things" as the *Guardian* proposes; that he is offering "a bold, rounded out program" as the CP suggests; or that he "has hewed to a consistently progressive course" as the CWP states?

#### Jackson: reform capitalism

The problem is that Jackson isn't saying the right things. If he were, he wouldn't be running in the Democratic Party primaries and talking about "renegotiating" the relationship of Blacks in the Democratic Party. He would be explaining the need to break from both the Democratic and Republican parties and chart an independent course.

That Jackson is running in the Democratic primaries isn't strange. It's totally

consistent with his capitalist reform perspective. In fact, he isn't saying anything substantially different than other liberal contenders such as Hart and McGovern in the Democratic Party contest.

He supports the basic framework of imperialist foreign policy, including its military apparatus. He says that the U.S. needs an "adequate defense" and "if the American conventional forces were to pull out of Europe that wall would begin to walk. The Iron Curtain would begin to shift."

He makes no proposal for Washington to take any unilateral initiatives toward disarmament. Rather he supports a "bilateral, verifiable arms freeze," much the same as that advocated by many other Democratic politicians.

Rather than calling for eliminating the entire war budget and using the funds for a massive public works program, he proposes trimming just the "waste" out of it.

His main theme in regard to the economic situation is to emphasize the need to make U.S. business competitive — that is more profitable — on the world market.

He told the South Carolina state legislature on January 25 that we must move from "inter-racial competition to international competition." According to the January 26 *Washington Post*, "Jackson used the RCA trademark, a dog sitting by a Victrola horn talking to 'His master's voice,' to symbolize America's industrial competitiveness."

"We've not heard much from that dog lately," Jackson said, "because that dog was an English-trained dog and his master is now speaking Japanese. He's speaking Panasonic and Sony and Suzuki and Mitsubishi and Honda and Toyota."

Rather than calling on U.S. workers to join with Japanese workers in a struggle against their common enemy, the employing class in both countries, he echoes the employers' reactionary anti-Japanese propaganda. Jackson's "rainbow coalition" appears to stop at the California border.

In adjusting his campaign to the different audiences he is appealing to, Jackson, like all bourgeois politicians, has altered some of his stands — some becoming more progressive, others more regressive. But there has been no change in his overall outlook. Even if he developed more progressive positions on many more questions, it wouldn't fundamentally change anything unless he also proposed a break from the Democratic Party and the entire bourgeois political framework.

In supporting Jackson most groups on the left are retreating from presenting basic socialist positions on the war budget, im-

perialist foreign policy, and other issues. There is a tendency to selectively choose the most minimally progressive stands of Jackson and blow them up, while ignoring the more backward, even reactionary, positions. If there is one thing Jackson has not been, it is "consistently progressive."

Another reason given for supporting Jackson is that his campaign serves as a stimulus for "a nationwide grassroots movement."

So far, however, there's no evidence that such a movement has developed. There is wide interest in Jackson and what he has to say, and he is attracting large audiences to his meetings. He has also established campaign committees in a number of cities to circulate literature and raise funds. But this doesn't constitute a "movement." It's primarily a get-out-the-vote-for-Jesse-Jackson operation.

#### Vote against racism?

Unlike many others on the left, the WWP admits that Jackson is promoting a liberal capitalist program. But they contend that this doesn't make a whit of difference. What's key is that supporting Jackson is a way to fight racism and support the democratic rights of Blacks.

It's true that Blacks are oppressed as a people and that the struggle against this national oppression includes the fight for the democratic right to participate in the country's political life — to be able to vote, run for and hold office, and to join and participate in the political party of one's choice.

While important gains have been achieved, Blacks remain underrepresented in Congress and in state and local government. The struggle against this inequality is one that the entire labor movement, particularly its communist vanguard, should unconditionally support.

But to defend the democratic right of Blacks to vote and hold office doesn't say anything about who Blacks should be encouraged to support. Winning the right to vote is a step forward for democratic rights; voting for Democrats, Black or white, is not.

The WWP, however, argues that the Jackson campaign, because it represents the democratic struggle of Blacks, is progressive and "objectively directed against the capitalist establishment," even though it is being conducted through the Democratic Party. They support the "progressive content," while rejecting the "regressive form."

Continued on Page 19

## Reading on the Black struggle

### Independent Black Political Action: 1954-78

The struggle to break with the Democratic and Republican parties

Edited by Mac Warren, this Education for Socialists publication includes articles on the Freedom Now Party, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Black Panther Party, National Black Assembly, and more. 8½ x 11 format, 72 pages, \$3.50.

### The National Black Independent Political Party

An Important Step Forward for Blacks and Other American Workers

Education for Socialists publication by Nan Bailey, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren. 32 pages, \$1.25.

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



# Kampuchea's gains 5 years after Pol Pot

Continued from Page 11

relief, Washington began shipping huge quantities of food and medicines to Pol Pot's forces, who had retreated into Thailand.

The Carter administration also pressured its allies and international relief agencies to cut off humanitarian aid to Vietnam and to the new government in Kampuchea, despite the emergency situation in Kampuchea following Pol Pot's ouster, which reached the point of widespread famine in 1979 and 1980.

Washington has also led the effort in the United Nations to leave Kampuchea's seat in the hands of a Pol Pot representative.

## Emergence from nightmare

When Kampuchea emerged from the Khmer Rouge nightmare, it was a shattered country. The structures of the national economy had been destroyed. The educational and medical systems had been dismantled. All aspects of social life had been dislocated. Many fields and remaining roads, buildings, and factories were destroyed by the retreating Pol Pot forces.

Following the 1979 liberation, an exhausted, malnourished, traumatized people took to the roads on foot to try to make their way back to their native areas in hopes of finding surviving family members.

Hunger stalked the country. Although considerable amounts of international aid arrived in Kampuchea, hunger remained the general rule until September 1980, nearly two years after the fall of Pol Pot.

Distribution of the aid that was received was hampered by the destruction of the road and river transportation systems. Huge amounts of the aid supposedly destined for the relief of Kampuchea were actually sent to the Khmer Rouge bases in Thailand.

The physical exhaustion following years of hard labor and malnutrition led to the spread of epidemics, which took many lives because of the weakened state of the populace and the destruction of the medical system.

## Aid from Vietnam

Initial efforts to revive society were handicapped by the lack of trained personnel, who had been a special target for execution during Pol Pot's rule.

In those difficult first years, aid from Vietnam was crucial to the survival of the

## Castration sentence: dangerous precedent for barbaric penalties

In an unprecedented decision last November, a circuit court judge in South Carolina offered three Black prisoners convicted of rape the choice of prison or castration.

Now that same reactionary approach has been picked up by another judge. On January 30, in Kalamazoo, Michigan, a county judge ordered a man to submit to "chemical castration" as part of his sentence. The prisoner had pleaded no-contest to sexually assaulting his step-daughter from the time she was seven until she was 14.

The defendant, Roger Gauntlett, was given five years probation and ordered to undergo treatment with Depo-Provera, an experimental birth-control drug used on women, which reportedly has the side effect of diminishing a person's sex drive.

Gauntlett is heir to the Upjohn pharmaceutical fortune. Upjohn manufactures Depo-Provera.

If Gauntlett's sentence is permitted to stand, it will extend a dangerous precedent for the legal use of castration. And it will bolster the drive by the ruling class toward more barbaric punishments, like the death penalty, which are designed to terrorize workers and the oppressed.

It also bolsters the reactionary notion that rape is not the product of a society which keeps women in second-class status and foments every kind of violence, but rather the result of individuals being "over-sexed."

Castration — whether committed by lynch gangs or ordered by judges — is part of the problem, not the solution.



Rightist leader and former prime minister Son Sann (left). Former Prince Sihanouk (far right). Second from left is Khieu Samphan, assistant to Kampuchean butcher Pol Pot (bottom right). All are now united, with U.S. and Chinese backing, against Vietnam and Kampuchean government.

Kampuchean people. Although Vietnam itself was suffering the effects of disastrous weather that had ruined much of the 1977 and 1978 harvests, it provided large amounts of food aid to the people of Kampuchea. A program was established whereby Vietnamese provinces were twinned with counterparts in Kampuchea to provide food and technical, educational, and medical aid to the Kampuchean people.

By 1981, the situation in Kampuchea had improved greatly. Although reconstruction efforts had barely begun, at least the emergency was over.

In the countryside, the rural population was organized into "solidarity-for-production" teams composed of 12 to 15 peasant households to begin to reorganize the shattered society and economy.

These solidarity teams are the basic economic unit of the countryside, providing mutual assistance in irrigation and plowing. This cooperation is vital to production due to the widespread destruction of draft animals.

The teams also help individual families to rebuild housing. They look after the aged and orphans, provide aid to widows with young children, and carry out rural hygiene and literacy programs.

Through the solidarity teams, agricultural production has developed rapidly and Kampuchea is again basically self-sufficient in food. In 1979 Kampuchea produced only 556,000 tons of rice. By 1982 production had increased to 1,915,000 tons, and the 1983 harvest was expected to be 2,100,000 tons (660 pounds per capita).

But rice production is still below the levels reached in the 1960s, before the beginning of the civil war and U.S. bombing of the countryside. During that decade, when rice was a major export crop, harvests ranged from a low of 2.2 million tons to a high of 3.5 million tons.

The catch of fish, traditionally the main source of protein in Kampuchea, has also increased dramatically. During the Pol Pot years the fish harvest had plummeted. Historically, the fishing population had been largely made up of members of the Cham and Vietnamese ethnic groups, both of which were singled out for extermination by the Khmer Rouge.

In the first year after the overthrow of Pol Pot, the catch of fish was barely 20,000 tons, compared to 105,000 tons in 1960.

Solidarity-for-production fishing teams were established to revive the industry. The government provided these teams with rice, materials to rebuild boats and nets, and loans. Significant progress has already been made, as seen by the fact that 72,000 tons of fish were caught in 1982.

The number of water buffalo and cows has more than doubled since 1979, although the current number (almost 1.5 million) is still woefully inadequate given the importance of water buffaloes in Kampuchean agriculture.

There has also been a revival in industry, which has never been a significant part of the Kampuchean economy. Fifty-nine factories have been rebuilt, and in Phnom Penh there are now 50 functioning factories and 1,500 handicraft workshops producing goods for the domestic market.

## Rebuilding social services

The revival of the educational system had to contend not only with the legacy of underdevelopment and colonialism, but

with the fact that most schools had been closed during the nearly four years of Khmer Rouge rule. Many children who had begun school before 1975 had reverted to illiteracy.

Today more than 1.7 million Kampuchians are attending primary and secondary schools, although the schools suffer from shortages of teachers and supplies. Literacy campaigns are also being carried out among adults; 480,000 of whom had learned to read and write by 1983.

Medical care has been extended to virtually the entire population, with 94 percent of the local administrative areas having health care stations. In 1982 there were 11,820,000 visits to hospitals and clinics. Preventive medicine is being stressed in local clinics, which carry out vaccination programs and urge the population to boil water, build sanitary latrines, and sleep under mosquito nets to avoid the endemic malaria.

The prevention program is having a big impact. In 1980, 614,789 people were treated for malaria. By 1982 the number had fallen to 225,217.

In late 1979 the College of Medicine and Pharmacy was reopened with an enrollment of 700 students.

Considerable progress has also been made in reconstituting the political and administrative structures. Elections were held in all 1,373 local administrative units, with People's Committees elected to three year terms. A National Assembly of 117 members (including 21 women) was also elected in 1981.

Mass organizations have been established. The Youth Union has grown to 220,000 members, the Women's Union to 150,000 members, and there are 49,000 people in trade unions.

Urban life is being revived. Phnom Penh now has a registered population of 480,000, and it is estimated that another 50,000 people live in the city unofficially.

## Breaking international isolation

Despite Washington's efforts to isolate the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the new government is recognized by 32 countries and national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

At the time of the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea five years ago, many organizations and prominent individuals who had previously opposed Washington's war policies in Indochina fell victim to its propaganda barrage and joined in the call for the immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. Many organizations and political currents in the workers movement in the imperialist countries condemned Vietnam and echoed the false charge that the Kampuchean people's right to independence and self-determination was being trampled under foot.

But as the facts about the horror of Pol Pot's regime and its attacks on Vietnam have become known, some of these organizations and individuals have acknowledged that their original view was mistaken.

At the United Nations, however, the Pol Pot forces still retain Kampuchea's seat with the support of Washington, the neo-colonialist regimes of Southeast Asia, and Peking. It is particularly ironic that the government of the Chinese workers state, which was itself denied China's UN seat by a U.S.-organized effort between 1949 and 1971, is now taking part in this reactionary charade.



The progress Kampuchea has made in emerging from the hell of the Pol Pot years has been possible because Vietnamese troops provide a shield against the return of the Khmer Rouge forces now based along the border with Thailand. The vast majority of Kampuchians view the Vietnamese troops not as occupiers but as protectors and want them to remain in the country as long as the danger of a Pol Pot return to power exists. The prevalence of this view has even been acknowledged by visitors to Kampuchea who can hardly be described as friends of Vietnam or of the new Kampuchean government.

The Khmer Rouge's international backers are now trying to improve its image. To that end they have put together a "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea" to provide a more palatable facade to Pol Pot's supporters.

This shotgun wedding has joined former Prince Sihanouk, Lon Nol's former prime minister Son Sann, and Pol Pot's assistant Khieu Samphan — all of whom openly express their mutual loathing. The union was consummated in June 1982 at the insistence of their respective foreign patrons.

Pol Pot's forces and the other rightist guerrillas could not survive without foreign backing. It has been estimated that since 1979 the Thai army's Task Force 80 has delivered one-half million tons of supplies from China, the United States, and elsewhere to the rightist border camps.

Despite the military and political backing that the Khmer Rouge and its new partners receive, it has been unable to seriously disrupt the reconstruction of Kampuchea. The improving security situation in the country has made it possible for Vietnam to withdraw contingents of its troops from Kampuchea in 1982 and 1983.

Hanoi has pledged it will withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea if outside aid to Pol Pot's forces is halted.

The Kampuchean people have much to celebrate in their five years of liberation and reconstruction. But they would have been able to accomplish far more if they had not been forced to contend with Washington's unremitting hostility.

Working people and all opponents of U.S. war policies should demand that the U.S. government:

- End its campaign of military, economic, and diplomatic pressure against the Kampuchean and Vietnamese governments;
- Halt all military aid to the Pol Pot forces and other rightists based along the Thai-Kampuchean border;
- Provide massive reconstruction aid to help the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples rebuild their war-torn countries.

From Intercontinental Press



# U.S. worker, visiting Soviet Union, sees economic progress

Sick in Kiev, she pays \$2 for doctors' visit

BY MIMI PICHEY

"You're Americans? Tell the American people that we want peace. We know there's a difference between the American people and the United States government. And we hold your government responsible for the threat of war today."

The woman had stopped to give us directions in the Central Asian capital of Tashkent. Within a few minutes she had forcefully impressed upon us the urgency and importance of the war question to the Soviet people. This antiwar sentiment was expressed many times during the five-week journey through the Soviet Union last summer that I and a friend made.

The Soviet people have had firsthand experience with the devastation of war. Nothing in my U.S. education had prepared me to understand the impact of World War II on the Soviet Union. Twenty million Soviet people were killed — one in every 10. Seventeen hundred major cities were heavily damaged and 70,000 towns and villages were destroyed.

## Effects of war still felt

The memory of the war permeates Soviet thinking, and the blows to the economy and standard of living are still felt today.

Housing is perhaps the most obvious problem. After the war, 25 million people were homeless; one estimate put the post-World War II housing stock at 1918 levels.

Today everybody has housing, but a common complaint is of overcrowding. A dramatic example was the young man we visited in Odessa who lived in a two-room apartment with his current wife, his former wife, and his former mother-in-law!

It is clear, however, that significant resources are being devoted to solving the housing crunch. In every republic — from Armenia to Russia, from the Ukraine to Georgia to Uzbekistan — we saw huge apartment complexes, both completed and under construction. In the five-year period from 1976 to 1980, it is estimated that over 50 million people moved to new or improved housing.

The Soviet standard of living was higher than I had expected. My impression was that people in the cities of the USSR live as well as many New Yorkers and that basic needs — housing, food, health care, education — are met better than in most of the world.

The homes I saw had hot and cold running water, indoor plumbing, electricity, a refrigerator, and telephone. Rent is about 5 percent of income, which generally covers a third of housing costs. The rest is paid by the state. Ninety percent of all Soviet households have televisions, and I saw many color models.

Our very first day in the USSR, an old man in a park told us, "I make enough in one day to buy bread for six months." Most food prices have remained the same since 1962 due to state subsidies, while wages have increased 250 percent. We found food to be plentiful, although often not too varied.

## Free health care

Free health care is a guaranteed right. In 1980 the USSR spent as much on health care as on military defense. The two-tier system of clinics and hospitals, along with attention to public health, clean water, and adequate nutrition, has meant an increase in life expectancy from 32 in 1917 to over 70 today.

I had a brief encounter with the health care system when I became ill in Kiev. Within 20 minutes of calling, a doctor and three interns arrived at the hotel room, did an examination, and wrote a prescription. The charge: \$2 for medication.

Similarly, all education is free through the college level. There are scholarships to cover living expenses. Workers attending

evening school receive one paid free day per week and additional paid leave for exams.

The annual expenditure for child care and education is twice what is spent on defense. In 1917, when the workers and peasants overturned capitalist rule, literacy in parts of Central Asia was less than 1 percent. Today a 10-year secondary education is compulsory.

The U.S. government and news media paint a picture of the Soviet people as faceless masses who live gray, dull lives, with no chance for happiness. All they supposedly do is work and stand in lines for commodities that don't exist.

While it is true that many consumer goods are in short supply, the rest of this portrait is part of a carefully spun myth to blind U.S. workers to what can be accomplished when the capitalist profit motive no longer prevails.

An important cornerstone of Soviet society and a prerequisite to happiness anywhere is the right to a job, secure retirement, and adequate leisure time. These are not only guaranteed in the USSR; they have come to be taken for granted.

## Guaranteed right to a job

For instance, many people we met were shocked to hear about the high unemployment in the United States. They had great difficulty conceiving what that meant in social terms: loss of homes, increase in malnutrition, decreased medical care, etc. These are not issues for most Soviet workers.

Everyone has the right to guaranteed em-

# USSR's growth in 1983 impressive

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The growth rate of the Soviet economy in 1983 increased considerably over 1982. According to the Soviet government, industrial production rose 4 percent in 1983 compared to the 2.8 percent rise recorded for 1982. This exceeded the planned rate of increase in industrial production of 3.2 percent. The star performer was the natural gas industry, which is very important for the Soviet export trade and for bringing in badly-needed revenue for exchange.

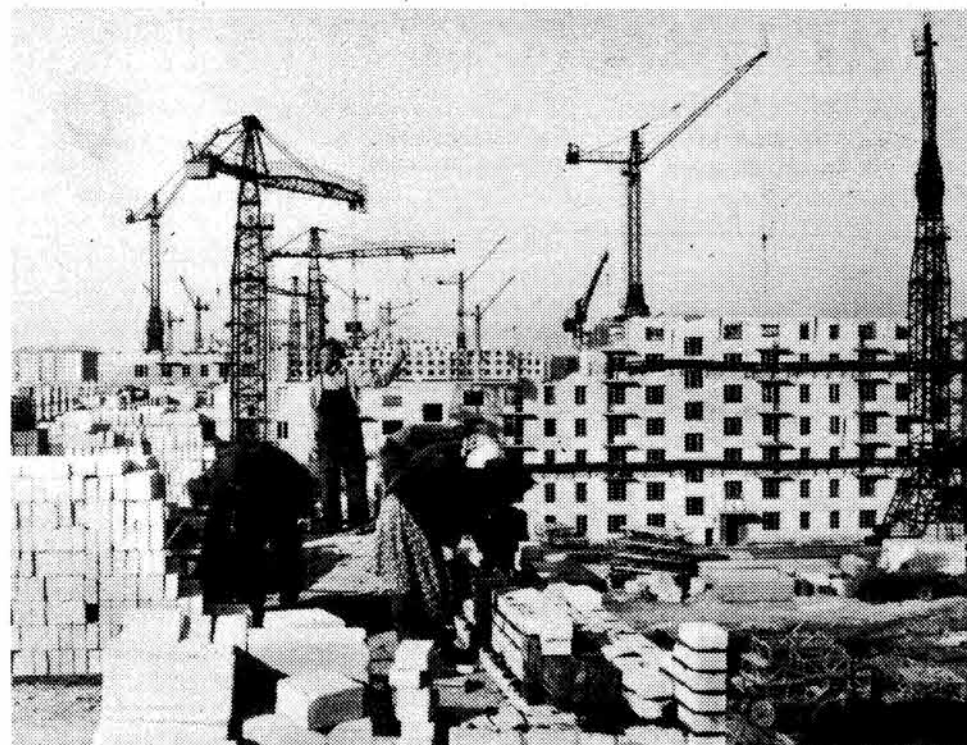
This progress was made despite claims in the capitalist press last year that the Soviet economy is racked by crisis.

The key to the improved Soviet economic performance in 1983 was the 3.5 percent gain in labor productivity. This is almost double the rate of growth in productivity achieved in 1982.

Unlike the United States and most other capitalist countries, the Soviet Union does not have a problem of large-scale unemployment. The Soviet Union, in fact, has a labor shortage, the result of decades of recession-free economic growth made possible by eliminating the capitalist system based on profits and establishing in its place a nationalized, planned economy. This means that Soviet planners don't have extra workers who can be deployed to advance economic growth. Rather they must rely on increasing labor productivity through more efficient use of labor and utilization of new technology.

Ninety percent of the increase in industrial production in 1983 was due to the rise in the productivity of labor. Whether the improved growth rate is maintained will depend on what happens on the labor productivity front.

According to Soviet reports, agricultural output also improved in 1983. Soviet grain, cotton, vegetable, fruit, potato, grape, and tea production was the best since 1978. There is not enough information to determine to what extent this was due to improved weather and to what extent it reflects the efforts of the Soviet gov-



Author found housing going up everywhere. World War II left 25 million Soviet people homeless.

ployment and pay. Retirement age is 55 for women and 60 for men. A social security system provides maintenance in old age, in sickness, in the event of disability, or loss of the family breadwinner. The workweek is 41 hours or less, and paid vacations are a month or more.

I often found myself surprised to see people relaxing and enjoying themselves on the beach, in amusement parks, on picnics, at the theater and movies, among family and friends. This pleasurable side of life is not included in the U.S. propaganda with which we are bombarded.

The most negative aspect of Soviet life was the profound political demoralization I encountered. It was apparent, too, that the bureaucratic caste hampers the workers state from advancing as fast and as far as it could. This was visible everywhere, from the problems of distribution and quality of goods, to the mounds of unwarranted red tape and paperwork required to accomplish the simplest tasks.

ernment to improve agricultural performance.

To millions of Soviet citizens, the economic gains, especially those in agriculture, will mean greater availability of reasonable quality food and more choice in clothes and consumer goods.

A problem that is drawing the attention of the Soviet government is the need to improve the quality of consumer goods and, in general, make production more sensitive to consumer demand.

In a message to the December plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Soviet Pres. Yuri Andropov

The Soviet bureaucracy has been criminally effective in demobilizing the population from democratic participation in running the country. The Soviet citizens I met didn't feel that their opinions counted or that they could make a difference in how things were done. They spent more energy trying to get around the system than trying to change it.

This demobilization and political demoralization contrasts with the early days of the Soviet revolution, when the revolutionary workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, actively participated in political life.

I returned from the USSR with tremendous respect for the Soviet workers and farmers who instituted an economic system that has overcome feudal backwardness, withstood two imperialist invasions, world isolation, and the devastation of war. This system, geared to providing for basic human needs, has alleviated the most miserable suffering of the past.

took up this problem. He noted, "At the wholesale fair of recreational and household goods intended for sale in 1984, trade organizations refused to purchase 500,000 TV sets, 115,000 radio sets, almost 250,000 photographic cameras, 1.5 million watches and clocks, 160,000 refrigerators and a number of other products because of the disparity between the quality and assortment of these goods and the demands made by the buyers."

These goods are unsaleable not because there is insufficient buying power in the Soviet Union but because the Soviet people are increasingly refusing to accept shoddy merchandise.

# Steel merger threatens union

Continued from Page 20

nationalized!" Mason and González urged the labor movement to campaign for a government takeover of the entire steel industry in order that it be run as a public service.

Noting that Big Steel had "found" \$1 billion for the merger after months of non-stop poor-mouthing, the socialists demanded the books of the steel corporations be opened so that all working people can learn the truth about the financial wheeling and dealing that has done so much harm to working-class communities. To force all such decisions out in the open, Mason and González proposed that a nationalized steel industry be run by a publicly elected board.

"Instead of closing plants and throwing thousands of steelworkers on the streets, new schools, bridges, and factories could be built," said the socialists. They also urged the labor movement to demand that the government send massive amounts of steel to Vietnam and Nicaragua where it is needed. This would create jobs at home and help working people abroad.

The socialists' statement on the merger

was picked up by UPI, and the February 8 *New York Times* carried an article on it in their "Campaign Notes" column titled "Nationalize U.S. Steel, Socialist Candidate Says."

## Chicago-Gary Militant Labor Forum Steelworkers Under Attack: How Can We Fight Back?

**Speakers:** Alice Peurla, Grievance Committee member, United Steelworkers of America Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works; Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, laid off from U.S. Steel South Works; others

**Time:** Sunday, February 19, 2 p.m.  
**Place:** Holiday Inn, Hammond, Indiana (Calumet Ave. off I-94)

**Sponsor:** Chicago Militant Labor Forum, Gary Militant Labor Forum  
**Donation:** \$2 (unemployed free)  
**For more information:** (312) 326-5853 or (219) 884-9509



**Expert info** — "Medical science doctors confirm that when the lives of the unborn are snuffed out, they often feel pain — pain



**Harry Ring**

that is long and agonizing," declared Reagan January 30. "We are unaware of any evidence of that kind," responded an official of the American College of

Obstetricians and Gynecologists. Where did Reagan get his "facts"? From an antiabortion article by John Noonan, a law professor.

**See, we're all doing fine** — Getty Oil enjoyed an "earnings" increase of 38.3 percent in the fourth quarter of last year. Exxon was up 10.1 percent for the quarter and 19.1 percent for the year. The take for Philip Morris increased 15.6 percent for the year while its subsidiary, Miller Brewing, chugged down a gain of 43.1 percent. Union wages in 1983 increased 2.6 percent.

**Must be demeaning** — If

Texaco is successful in its \$10 billion takeover of Getty Oil, four investment banking firms will split \$47.1 million in fees for negotiating the deal. One of the bankers noted that the fees total less than .5 percent of the takeover price. "You can consider the fees in this deal as tips," he shrugged.

**Socialism, anyone?** — "Graphic evidence for the harm a boss can do comes from a study of 357 Defense Department employees. . . . The single workplace element that correlated with a higher level of blood serum cholesterol, a major risk factor for heart disease, was having a boss who was too

bossy." — *New York Times*, January 31.

**A little here, a little there** — Reagan's proposed budget includes what are described as "small cuts" in social spending. Like, people would get less food stamps. Impoverished people would begin paying \$1 to \$2 a day for hospital stays and doctor's visits. The present \$14.60 monthly Medicare premium would rise, over a period, by about 40 percent. Plus, the present \$75 medical deductible would go up.

**Plain talk dep't** — Ruling in a

discrimination suit that charged a New York landlord with taking a dim view of lawyer tenants, a state supreme court judge held, "There is nothing illegal in a landlord discriminating against lawyers as a group, or trying to keep out of his building intelligent persons, aware of their rights, who may give him trouble in the future."

**Really?** — A study by New York City's consumer agency established that people tend to comparison shop more often when they buy an item costing over \$500 than when they buy one for under \$25.

## —CALENDAR—

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Crisis in the Steel Industry: How Steelworkers Can Fight Back.** Speaker: Tom Moriarty, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**What Strategy in '84? U.S. Left Debates the Elections.** Speaker: Andy Rose, Socialist

Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### 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.

### MICHIGAN

#### Ann Arbor

**Hear Magda Enriquez.** Member of Nicaraguan Council of State, founder of the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE). Mon., Feb. 13, 8 p.m. Anderson Rm., Michigan Union, University of Michigan. Ausp: Latin American Solidarity Committee.

#### Detroit

**Forced Overtime, Layoffs, Unemployment: How Can Labor Fight Back?** Speakers: Elizabeth Lariscy, member, United Auto Workers Local 12; John Keiler, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Legacy of a Dream and I Have a Dream.** Two films on civil rights movement featuring contributions of Martin Luther King, Jr. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

#### Virginia

**Black Rights Under Attack: The Need for Labor Solidarity.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 17, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### NEW MEXICO

#### Albuquerque

**Roots of the Mideast Crisis.** Speakers: Jim Najar, American Druse 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.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**After 50 Years of Struggle . . . Sandino Lives!**

## Forums commemorating Malcolm X

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**19th Anniversary of the Assassination of Malcolm X: His Contributions and Legacy.** Speakers: Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

### LOUISIANA

#### New Orleans

**Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom.** Film followed by panel discussion on Blacks and politics in 1984. Speakers: Carol Schweitzer, Socialist Workers Party, member of Glass Workers Local 936; others. Fri., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**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

**Malcolm X Speaks.** Film showing. Sat., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom and Tribute to Malcolm X.** Two films on Malcolm X's views and perspective for Black liberation. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Black History Month Forum Series: El-Hajj 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

**Black History Month: A Tribute to Mal-**

**colm 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

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas.** Speakers: Tim Holmes; Mike Stevens; George Kontanis, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

#### Manhattan

**Commemoration of Malcolm X.** Speakers and film to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks below Canal). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**A Tribute to Malcolm X.** Film, *Malcolm X Speaks* and discussion to follow. Sun., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. (Bond Hill). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

#### Toledo

**Film: Malcolm X Speaks.** Wed., Feb. 15, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**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

**Commemoration of Assassination of Malcolm X.** Taped speeches of Malcolm X. Speaker: Linall Lewis, Jamaican activist against U.S. invasion of Grenada; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Morgantown

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas.** Speaker: Al Duncan, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Mine Workers Local 2350. Sun., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

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Don Rojas was the last living New Jewel Movement leader to speak with Maurice Bishop on the day Bishop and other top leaders of Grenada's revolutionary government were assassinated at Fort Rupert. Rojas, press secretary to Bishop and former editor of Grenada's *Free West Indian* newspaper, narrowly escaped death himself and was forced into hiding.

In the first in-depth interview since he left Grenada four days after the U.S. invasion, Rojas explains what lay behind the events that led to the tragedy. He describes in detail the evolution and character of the faction led by Bernard Coard and examines the circumstances surrounding the arrest of Bishop and the overthrow of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government.

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**Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014**



# Immigration cops raid New York garment shop

BY SELVA NEBBIA

I work in a garment shop organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) Local 23-25 in Queens, New York. On Thursday, January 19, at about 9 a.m., 10 agents from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raided the factory.

The agents blocked all the exits and went by each machine and work area questioning the workers. They

## UNION TALK

spoke only English. They asked everyone if they were U.S. citizens and demanded to see proof of legal residence or citizenship. They came by surprise, without notice. The whole shop was in a state of shock and anger. Some of my coworkers tried to hide from them, but were caught and handcuffed.

A few of the women protested to the agents the treatment that they and others were subject to: "They are not criminals, why do you have to handcuff them?"

The union shop steward went around telling people not to answer any questions, but workers were so terrified and intimidated that they complied with the INS officers. The shop steward told the agents they had no legal right to raid a union shop.

The agents were arrogant: "We're not afraid of your union." They rounded up a dozen or so workers, four of them in handcuffs, and took them to the boss's office. There they made some calls to check on their immigra-

tion status and released some of them. They took five workers away to the immigration detention center in Brooklyn.

Many discussions began when the agents left. Workers exchanged stories of similar incidents they or their relatives had been victims of. One Salvadoran woman was particularly upset. She had told the agents she was a legal resident, but they began pulling her away as she was reaching for her bag to take out her proof. She was terrified because, as she later told coworkers, she had been rounded-up several times before, the last time at gun point during a raid at her previous job. "When they see my face and hear my accent, they right away try to grab me and take me away," she said.

The East European floorman was not asked for his papers, nor the Italian woman who works next to me. The agents took their word for it when they told them they were U.S. citizens.

Shortly after the raid, four union representatives were at the shop. Among them were union lawyers and the head of the ILGWU 23-25 Immigration Project. They questioned those closest to those detained and told people that if they had any problems with the INS to come to the union for help. From there they went to the detention center.

We were all relieved and glad to see that the union acted quickly. The atmosphere in the shop remained quite agitated, but not as hopeless. That same day, three of those detained were released: a young Mexican woman, a Chinese woman, and a Salvadoran man. We applauded when we heard that they were released.

The following day, the discussions around the raid continued. The word was that the Haitian man and a Salvadoran woman were waiting to have bail set for them. A collection was taken, and even though most of us had just gotten back from a two-week layoff, over \$800 was collected from about 100 workers.

Most of the workers in the shop are Hispanic women, and those closest to the Salvadoran woman initiated the collection. A group of these women went to the only other Haitian in the shop and, with the help of a translator, made the point that this collection money was for both detainees. "Even though I am a close friend of the Salvadoran, I would not think of contributing money if it did not go to help both. It would not be fair to help only one, they are both our coworkers," said a Colombian worker.

That Friday, the Haitian man was released. It was not until Monday of the following week that the Salvadoran woman was out. She spent four days in detention.

We later found out that the union had repeatedly informed the employer that the INS had no right to carry out such raids. The boss could have refused to let them in and thus prevented the raid. According to the union, these raids are against the law.

The deportation hearing for two Salvadorans and the Haitian is February 9. The union is representing them. In the meantime, the union distributed literature to the workers in the shop explaining our rights. The literature was met with a lot of interest, and it stimulated further discussions. We all felt more secure knowing the union is defending our rights against the INS.

# Washington rally defends women's right to abortion

Continued from back page

bration to energize ourselves to take the offensive in gaining back what we have lost — federal funding for abortions for poor women — and to maintain the freedoms we still hold.

Rick Sawyer, president of Service Employees International Union Local 120,

pointed out that the "forces that fire-bombed the clinic are the same forces that are responsible for union-busting."

Sawyer then read a resolution that the Whatcom County Central Labor Council unanimously adopted on January 18, which stated in part: "The Whatcom County Central Labor Council supports the right of women to a safe and affordable, legal abortion and deplores the bombing of the Everett Women's Health Center on December 3." (Resolution is reprinted on this page.)

Sue Moyer, representing the Coalition of Labor Union Women said, "CLUW stands behind this struggle and calls on the whole labor movement to do the same."

The National Organization for Women sent statements from the Seattle and Everett chapters and from the state organization. They pledged to continue their support to the clinic and the fight to make abortion safe, legal, and accessible.

Rev. Vincent Smith from the United Methodist Church in Monroe, Washington, received an exceptionally warm response. The audience acknowledged the importance of a local religious leader speaking out, since the "right-to-life" groups pretend that they represent all religious people.

Margaret Brady, speaking on behalf of Concerned Citizens for Choice on Abor-

tion in British Columbia, Canada, pointed out that thousands of women from English Canada are forced to go to the United States or Quebec to receive an abortion.

She also spoke about the trial of Dr. Henry Morgentaler. Morgentaler was put on trial November 21 in Toronto, Canada, for setting up clinics in Toronto and Win-

nipeg that would provide women with abortions. This directly violates Canada's reactionary antiabortion laws, which make such clinics illegal.

Representatives also spoke from the National Lawyers Guild, Seattle Reproductive Rights Alliance, Alliance Against Women's Oppression, and others.

## Labor council abortion resolution

The following resolution in support of abortion rights was passed unanimously by the Whatcom County, Washington, Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, on January 18. Whatcom County is in northeast Washington state. The resolution was submitted by Service Employees International Union Local 120.

WHEREAS approximately 52 percent of the total work force is comprised of women, and some 74 percent of the fully employed women earn less than \$15,000 compared to 32 percent of the rest of the work force; and

WHEREAS many women who are single providers and desire a job are unemployed or earn poverty wages, and cannot procure decent medical coverage; and

WHEREAS to have a job women should have total right over their well-being and

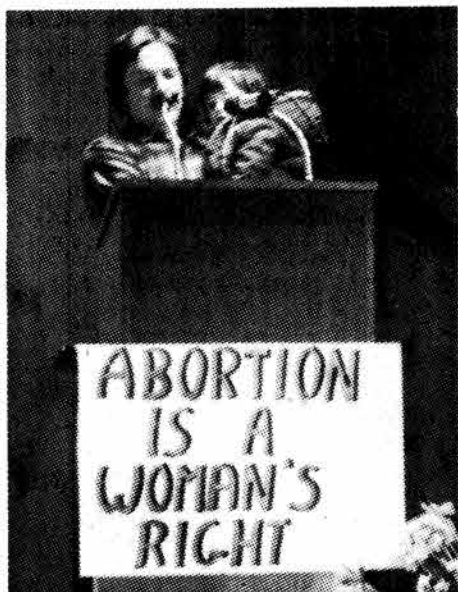
physical person; and

WHEREAS the labor movement believes in peaceful, democratic rights for all; and

WHEREAS the same forces which support the philosophy of union-busting and the use of violent force do not support these principles;

NOW THEREFORE LET IT BE RESOLVED, that the Whatcom County Central Labor Council supports the right of women to a safe and affordable, legal abortion and deplores the bombing of the Everett Women's Health Center on December 3, 1983;

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that the Whatcom County Central Labor Council demands that the Everett mayor's office and police department coordinate a speedy and thorough investigation of that violent act of destruction.



Militant/Mark Manning  
SEIU leader Rick Sawyer speaking at Washington abortion rights rally.

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# Salvadoran certification charade

"It's almost a rare thing to die a natural death in this country."

That dim view was voiced this past Christmas by Msgr. Gregorio Rosa Chávez, a bishop of the Catholic church in El Salvador.

He said that in the year 1983, 4,736 people had been killed by the Army and right-wing death squads.

In the past four years, human rights groups in that country estimate, some 40,000 civilians have died at the hands of the death squads — more than double the number killed in combat between government troops and liberation forces.

Extermination on that scale is not simply the work of deranged killers.

An extensive study by the *Los Angeles Times* last year confirmed that the principal death squads are directed by some 25 to 50 army officers and powerful businessmen.

The targets are union activists, peasant leaders, clerics, students, teachers, and all other suspected "subversives." The death squads offer grim testimony to the fact that the Salvadoran oligarchy is without popular support and is driven to such bloodletting to stave off its overthrow.

At the same time, the death-squad issue is a costly political embarrassment for Washington as it steadily deepens its intervention in the Salvadoran civil war. It hardly lends credence to the demagogic U.S. claim of combating "totalitarianism."

To help cover over this contradiction, Congress enacted a law in early 1982, running through September 1983, requiring that aid to El Salvador be conditioned on governmental certification every six months that the Sal-

vadoran regime was making improvements in the area of human rights.

The law was such a transparent hoax that it sailed through both houses of Congress without a single dissenting vote.

And, dutifully, each six months the administration did "certify" human rights progress. Meanwhile, nearly 5,000 people were murdered in 1983, with a higher number in the second half of the year than the first. (That, despite the fact, as one official noted, that the killings tend to drop off during the holidays.)

Yet even this pretense was too much for the White House, and when the law expired in 1983, Reagan pocket vetoed legislation to renew it.

Now, on February 7, the House again approved a bill to make Salvadoran aid conditional on human rights certification. Reportedly, the Senate will go along and, according to Henry Kissinger, Reagan is amenable to "compromise" on the issue.

A principal supporter of the House measure was Michael Barnes (D-Md.), chairman of the Subcommittee on Central America. Barnes assured that the measure would not be so restrictive as to require that "the ultimate Jeffersonian democracy" be achieved to keep the weapons and dollars flowing into El Salvador.

That's for sure.

The move to renew the certification charade could easily be shrugged off as one more cynical move by the Democrats and Republicans. But there is purpose behind it. They are planning on escalated support to their beleaguered client regime, including the direct involvement of U.S. troops in the fighting. "Certification" is a figleaf for the mounting aggression.

# Malcolm X: a revolutionary, an internationalist

Born May 19, 1925, as Malcolm Little, Malcolm X was assassinated February 21, 1965. There is a certain symbolism in the fact that his death came in what is now Black History Month. Surely he was one of the major historical figures to come out of the struggle for Black liberation.

On March 5, 1965, the New York Militant Labor Forum held a meeting in tribute to Malcolm X, with Jack Barnes as the principal speaker. Now national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Barnes was then national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The following are excerpts from his speech. The full text is available in the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. To get this and other titles by and about Malcolm X, consult the ad on the facing page.

Malcolm was a leader of the struggle for Black liberation. . . . To his people he first and foremost belongs. But he was also the teacher, inspirer, and leader of a much smaller group, the revolutionary socialist youth of America. He was to us the face and the authentic voice of the forces of the American revolution. And above all, he spoke the truth for our generation of revolutionists.

What attracted revolutionary youth to Malcolm X? More important, what often made youth — including white youth — who listened to him, revolutionists? . . .

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

First, he spoke the simple truth, unadorned, unvarnished, and uncompromising. Second was the evolution and content of Malcolm's political thought. . . .

Malcolm's truth was so explosive because it stemmed from a careful study of how the Afro-American was enslaved and dehumanized. He publicized the facts that have been suppressed from the regular history books and kept out of the schools. . . .

Malcolm asked the Black American: Who taught you to hate yourself? Who taught you to be a pacifist? . . . Who said Black people cannot defend themselves? . . . Who taught you not to go too far and too fast in your fight for freedom? — Did he stand to lose something by the speed of your victory? Who taught you to vote for the fox to escape the wolf? . . .

Secondly, he spoke of self-defense and the real meaning of violence. . . . Malcolm told us, at the first Militant Labor Forum at which he spoke, that, "If George Washington didn't get independence in this country nonviolently, and if Patrick Henry didn't come up with a non-violent statement, and you taught me to look on them as patriots and heroes, then it's time for you to realize that I have studied your books well. . . ."

Thirdly, unlike any other Black leader, and unlike any other mass leader in my lifetime, he continually exposed the real role of the Democratic Party, and pointed to the mistake in believing the federal government of this country would free the Afro-American. . . .

The final point in his political development, which was so important for the education of those young people who followed him, looked to him, and in many ways were educated by him, was his revolutionary internationalism. . . .

Though Malcolm X came from the American ghetto, spoke for the American ghetto, and directed his message to the American ghetto first of all, he is a figure of world importance, and developed his ideas in relation to the great events of world history in his time. If Malcolm is to be compared with any international figure, the most striking parallel is with Fidel Castro. . . .

Each started from the struggle of his own oppressed people for liberation. Each embraced the nationalism of his people as necessary to mobilize them to struggle for their freedom. Each stressed the importance of the solidarity of the oppressed all over the world in their struggle against a common oppressor. . . .

Fidel Castro's dedication to political independence and to economic development for Cuba led him eventually to opposition to capitalism. So, also, Malcolm's uncompromising stand against racism brought him to identify with the revolutions of the colonial people who were turning against capitalism, and finally to conclude that the elimination of capitalism in this country was necessary for freedom. . . .

Fidel stood 90 miles away from the most powerful imperialism in the world and thumbed his nose and showed us, "See it can be done. They can't go on controlling the world forever. . . ." Malcolm challenged American capitalism from right inside. He was the living proof for our generation of revolutionists that it can and will happen here.

# Human rights improve in Haiti?

State Department "human rights" certification of such puppet dictatorships as the one in El Salvador have become a mounting obscenity. The January 30 certification of the dictatorship of Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier in Haiti certainly fits into that category.

U.S. aid to Haiti is conditioned on periodic certification that it is improving its human rights record; "cooperating" with the U.S. aid program; and helping to stem the flow of refugees seeking political asylum here.

The State Department gave Duvalier passing marks on all three.

It shamelessly asserted that "on balance" the Duvalier regime is "making a concerted effort to improve the human rights situation in that country."

Recognizing what a whopper that is, the report added that "serious human rights abuses" do remain.

Indeed.

While the formalities have varied from direct U.S. rule (1915-30) to massive "aid," Haiti has been dominated by U.S. imperialism since at least 1905.

"President for life," Duvalier rules by grace of the Ton-tons Macoutes, the island's dread secret police.

"Baby Doc" inherited his lifetime title in 1971 when his father, "Papa Doc," passed on. The elder Duvalier had bestowed the title on himself in 1964.

The Duvalier party is the only legal one in the country and holds 57 of the 58 seats in the National Assembly.

Unionists, opposition figures, human rights activists, and journalists have been exiled, jailed, tortured, and

murdered. *There are no human rights in Haiti.*

Admittedly, Duvalier has "cooperated" with the U.S. aid program, which is no petty sum.

From 1983 through 1985 it will have totalled over \$142 million.

But it does zero to alleviate the suffering of the Haitian people. With a population of over five million, 77 percent survive on less than \$150 a year.

In the capital city, Port-au-Prince, 50 percent are jobless.

Some 200 U.S. corporations are doing nicely in Haiti, with government union-busting helping to assure starvation wages.

Certainly, U.S. aid has been beneficial to the Duvaliers. The family fortune has been estimated as more than \$600 million. The tab for "Baby Doc's" 1980 wedding was put at up to \$5 million.

And there's no question that Duvalier has cooperated in stemming immigration to this country.

At the end of 1980, Kern Grand-Pierre was among a group of Haitian journalists thrown into exile. He told the *Militant* at the time that the government was curbing unauthorized emigration by making it known it would kill anyone caught trying to leave.

As for Haitians who do manage to escape from Duvalier's clutches and end up here, they face imprisonment in detention camps, racism, poverty, and the ever-present danger that they will be sent back to Haiti, where they face almost certain persecution or murder.

# Chi. trial: gov't violates rights

Four supporters of Puerto Rican independence are on trial in a Chicago federal court. The government alleges that they are members of the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional — Armed Forces of National Liberation) and has charged them with "seditious conspiracy to seek the independence of Puerto Rico."

In the name of "combating terrorism" the U.S. government is seeking to further undermine democratic rights. The tipoff is the charge itself. Originally the government charged the four with being members of the FALN and planning terrorist actions for July 4 last year. But it could not make this charge stand up because it had no proof. Thus the new charge, "seditious conspiracy," one that requires little proof.

All that the government can prove is that the four favor independence for Puerto Rico. In the government's view this is "seditious" because it includes getting rid of Puerto Rico's colonial government controlled by Washington.

The four — Alberto Rodríguez, Edwin Cortés, José Luís Rodríguez, and Alejandrina Torres — face up to 20 years in jail for advocating the independence of their homeland.

The government had no case so it had to fabricate some "evidence." Because the defendants are alleged "terrorists" — and are Puerto Ricans — the government believes it can put aside the Bill of Rights.

The FBI hid cameras in two of the defendants' apartments. The cameras were activated whenever anyone came into one of the apartments. The defense attorney accurately described this spying as a "Big Brother" destruction of privacy. Through this subversion of constitutional rights the government allegedly obtained "evidence" of "bomb-making" and "weapons stockpiling."

The FBI won court permission for this outrage by demonstrating "probable cause" that illegal activity would occur. What was this based on? The testimony of an informer who had already been convicted.

A federal court judge banned the secret videotapes as an "unreasonable search and seizure." The government has appealed this ruling.

The feds have pursued this case because they believe the defendants have little public support. As with other alleged "terrorists" they attempt to create a climate in which "exceptions" to the Constitution are made and democratic rights denied.

But "an injury to one is an injury to all," is not an abstract slogan. It is an undeniable truth. Whatever the government can get away with against Puerto Rican independence fighters, it will use against Black rights supporters, antiwar activists, women struggling against discrimination, and trade unionists. That is why this trial is important to all who value democratic rights.



# LETTERS

## Grenada I

Below is a letter the Los Angeles U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society received in mid-January from Grenada. It is from a brother of about 30 years of age who is self-employed as a street vendor. In December he was harassed and busted by the police and "Peace Keeping Forces" for questionable reasons. We hope you can include his letter in the next issue of *The Militant* since the information and appeal is so urgently needed at this time.

The latest account of conditions on the island was received on January 21. It was reported that the struggle and resistance to the occupation forces is growing due to the repressive nature of the paramilitary forces occupying Grenada. Specifically, street vendors and Rastafarians are the focus of the latest attacks, being that many were supporters of former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

It is very important that those who were in solidarity with the revolution continue to educate their coworkers, neighbors, friends, and families about what is really happening in Grenada, because only with increased awareness of the situation will people in North America unite and organize to demand an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. personnel from Grenada.

Much like the freedom fighters in El Salvador, Guatemala, and South Africa need the support of progressive working people around the world, the Grenadian people, struggling to free their country once again from imperialism and oppression, also need this support during this difficult time.

Leonor Kuser  
Los Angeles, California

## Grenada II

I must make it clear to the world the intention of all the countries

like Barbados and Dominica and the others which are nothing more than the servants of the colonial masters and who badly wanted to see Grenada return back to colonialism.

It is rather a shame to see all our factories now lying in waste. The Western powers have no intention of developing any country in the Caribbean for the benefit of its people.

Right now the present government is taking back all the old pre-revolution police who are looking for revenge. They make sure that the people are disarmed now that our leader is dead. They are bringing us back to the [former dictator Eric] Gairy-type rule once more that would eventually lead back to where the people would march again.

Their attitude is showing clearly that they never wanted Grenada to have an international airport. They are taking long decision over whether they must continue the project.

Christmas was one without money for the Grenadian masses, where as for the last three to four years it was not so.

The American army destroyed all our vehicles from the German Democratic Republic. The revolution had brought so many social benefits to the Grenadian people, so much of everything that a people could have wanted. Now it has all been destroyed and come to a standstill.

Grenadians are seeing themselves back to the former colonial times. The youth are clearly seeing it. The only thing that can save us is the continuation of the revolution in the Grenadian image, in the Maurice Bishop sense. The Grenadian people are willing to follow a true leader, especially the youth, right now.

The Caribbean forces are prostituting the young sisters and even some of our grown-up women.



Please help us and make the world know that Grenada has returned to colonialism, we have lost our rights as human beings, and we are subject to police search and harassment once more.

We are calling on all the world to get all foreign forces out, all peace keeping forces out of Grenada so that Grenadian people can decide their own government and leaders.

A Grenadian  
Grenada

## Sentiment is there

I have been an active supporter of the Socialist Workers Party for several years. Last February my wife and I moved to Toms River, New Jersey.

Over the past year I have been getting letters printed by the Asbury Park Evening Press covering topics of interest to working people. I just sent one in concerning the strike by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 464A.

Also, last week I sold 4 *Militants* to UFCW strikers on the picket line. One guy, after I had rapped to him for several minutes about the paper, called out to his co-striker, "Hey, how about a labor party?"

He also said he would take the paper home and read it that night, because he's "a militant." I've encountered this time and again when selling the *Militant*. You guys are definitely right; the sentiment is out there among a layer of workers. The problem, of course,

is how to close the gap.  
Kevin McGuire  
Toms River, New Jersey

## Correction

The article "Nicaragua discusses 1985 election plans" (*Militant*, Feb. 3, 1984, page 8) gives an incorrect figure for the amount of money the government is allocating to finance the campaigns and functioning of Nicaraguan political parties. The actual figure is more than \$1 million.

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.

# The left and the Jesse Jackson election campaign

Continued from Page 13

The fallacy in this is that they misrepresent the real political content of the Jackson campaign, and therefore fail to see that the form and content are in harmony with each other. While one element of Jackson's campaign is advancing the democratic right to vote and seek office, the predominant content is the demand to "renegotiate" the position of Blacks in relation to the Democratic Party. The form which Jackson has chosen, running as a candidate in

the Democratic Party presidential primaries, is in accord with this goal.

"Renegotiating" the position of Blacks in the Democratic Party is nothing new. Ever since the rise of the civil rights movement, the Democratic Party has been "negotiating" and "renegotiating" its relationship to Blacks. Under pressure from the Black struggle, the super-rich who dominate the Democratic Party have grudgingly permitted more and more Blacks to seek office on the Democratic

ticket.

However, new advances won by Blacks inside the Democratic Party — another Black congressman, another Black mayor, and so on — have not meant that Blacks have won more control over the party. The Democratic Party remains today what it has been for decades, one of the instruments America's 60 families use to maintain their rule. As the record shows, from Atlanta to Newark, and from Chicago to Los Angeles, electing Black mayors has not meant any improvement in the lives of the big majority of Blacks. Black mayors and other elected Black officials have joined their white counterparts as political servants of the ruling rich. They have proven their reliability in carrying out the employers' attacks on Blacks and working people as a whole.

Jackson's striving to gain more influence for Blacks in the Democratic Party does not help lead Blacks toward breaking from capitalist politics. It's a diversion from, and therefore an obstacle to, this goal. Socialists who support Jackson's campaign do a disservice to Black activists and worker militants who are seeking political clarity.

The WWP tends to identify the entire Black struggle with the Jackson campaign. The class character of the Democratic Party then is dissolved into an abstract "struggle against racism." Exposing the nature of the Democratic and Republican parties becomes irrelevant and political program is not essential. This leads to relying heavily on moralism to push their approach and to presenting a patronizing view of both Black and white workers.

The WWP is patronizing to Black workers because they don't have confidence that Blacks can grasp a class view of politics. The WWP seems to think that white workers are so backward that they especially must rally around Jackson in order to prove

that they aren't racist.

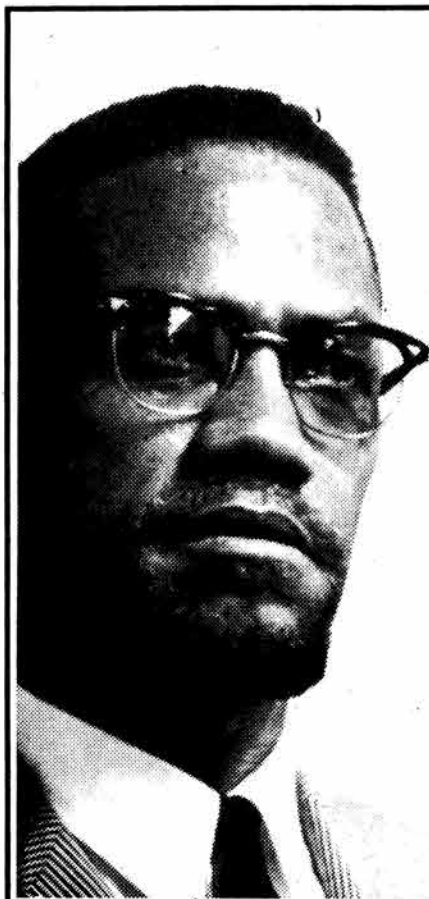
By getting behind the Jackson campaign, for whatever reason, most of the left is creating confusion precisely where the greatest clarity is needed — on the class character of the Democratic and Republican parties and the need to project an independent working-class course independent from them.

As the elections draw nearer and the Democratic and Republican conventions are behind us, the stampede to elect the "lesser evil" Democrat will become a deafening roar. Even greater pressures will bear down on the left. Those groups that are now fuzzy-headed on the weight to place on Jackson's relationship to the Democratic Party will be politically ill-equipped to counter this pressure.

The field for presenting a socialist alternative in the 1984 elections has been turned over to Mason and González. They report that in the few weeks they have been campaigning they are getting an excellent response to their views.

## Candidate Weisen denied ballot spot in steel union election

FEBRUARY 9 — Election tellers for the United Steelworkers of America deny that reform candidate Ron Weisen received enough nominations from local unions to qualify for a ballot spot in the union's March 29 presidential election. The tellers' report, released February 8 in Pittsburgh, claims that acting President Lynn Williams received nominations from 2,001 local unions, Treasurer Frank McKee, 985, and Weisen, president of Local 1397, 75. Nominations from 111 local unions are required. Earlier, Weisen asserted he had received 135 nominations.



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## U.S. Steel merger: new threat to union

### Danger of more plant closings, takeback demands on steelworkers

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The United States Steel Corp. announced February 1 that it will spend almost \$1 billion to buy National Steel, the nation's seventh largest steel producer.

When U.S. Steel announced a new wave of plant shutdowns and over 15,000 permanent layoffs last December, corporate officer Thomas Graham explained, "Our overall objective is to make money in steel." The motivation for the merger is the same.

Both are part of the program of radical measures the wealthy owners of the steel industry are taking to improve their competitive position and increase their profits. The merger announcement signals new attacks on the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the wages, working conditions, and union rights of its members.

#### No end to shutdowns

Big Steel's shutdowns cut some six million tons of yearly steelmaking capacity. Buying National will essentially restore that. But National's mills are considered more modern, efficient, and therefore more profitable.

Last December U.S. Steel Chairman David Roderick warned, "You can never say it's the end of shutdowns." Today it's clear that Roderick was not just stating a general truth about the way the capitalist economic system works.

The merger will result in "operating efficiencies" for U.S. Steel's owners. This means they will likely close more plants, fire more workers, and cause more grief in working-class communities. Targets will include older mills that are not as profitable as those they are now buying. The Fairless Hills Works outside Philadelphia is cited as one on U.S. Steel's hit list.

Last fall the third and fourth largest steel producers, LTV Corp. (owners of J&L Steel) and Republic Steel began to merge. This will create the nation's second largest producer, dropping Bethlehem Steel into third place. Speculation has begun that Bethlehem too will seek a merger partner. Sixth-ranked Armco Steel is mentioned as a possibility.

As the number of major domestic steel producers goes down, the tiny handful of wealthy owners of the remaining steel corporations concentrate further power and control over the steel industry in their hands. The two announced mergers will place control over more than half the steel shipped in this country in the hands of the three largest steel corporations. Thus these enormously wealthy steel barons will exert even greater influence in setting prices and other industry standards on everything from wages to pollution controls.

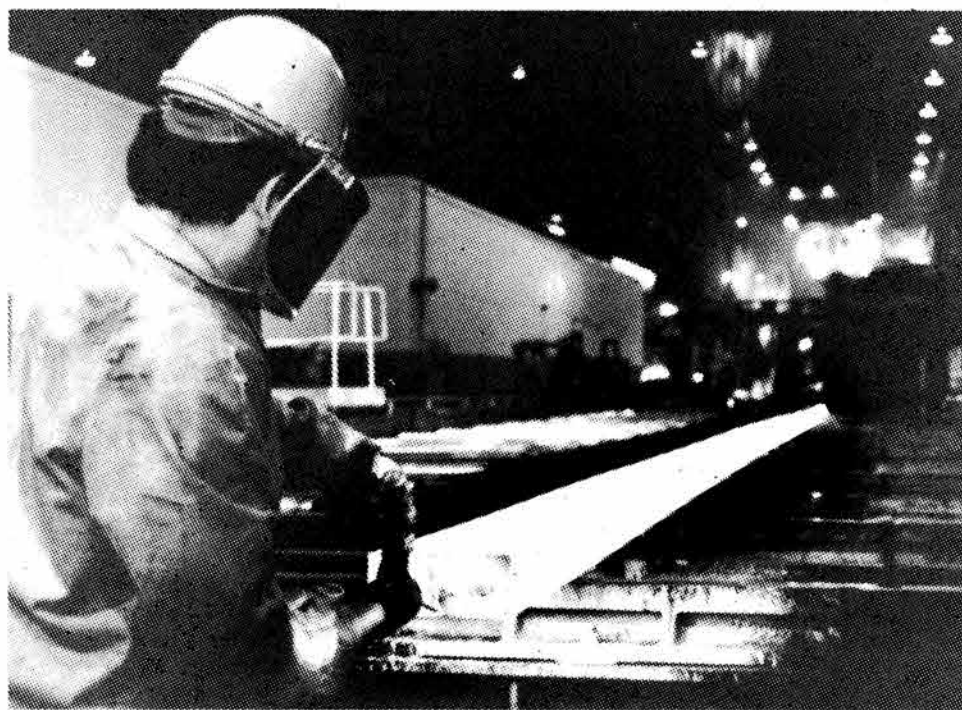
## Wash. rally defends abortion clinic

BY KAREN RAY

EVERETT, Wash. — On January 22, about 300 supporters of abortion rights gathered here at a broadly-sponsored rally to mark the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion and to protest attempts to cut off state funding for abortions. It was also a protest against the four-month campaign of rightist harassment and violence against the Feminist Women's Health Center, which culminated in the December 3 fire-bombing of the clinic.

The speakers' platform reflected the overwhelming support for the right to abortion, including in the ranks of the union movement. A cross-section of leaders from the women's rights movement, labor officials, church figures, and community activists emphasized the fight that needs to be waged in order for women to maintain the right to control their own bodies.

The Feminist Women's Health Center,



Three thousand more workers at U.S. Steel's South Works face layoffs as company spends \$1 billion on merger with National Steel.

They will use this monopoly control to improve their competitive position against rival steelmakers at home and abroad. This includes continuing their campaign for more import restrictions, which the steel barons hypocritically claim will help save jobs.

However, saving jobs is the furthest thing from their minds. Wall Street steel industry analysts predict tens of thousands more permanent job cuts as the steel corporations compete for profits.

#### 'Minimills'

The giant steel corporation owners are not only competing with steelmakers overseas. They are also losing business to steel "minimills" in the United States. In fact,

while steel imports account for 22 percent of steel shipments sold in this country, the minimills have captured 25 to 30 percent of the market.

These smaller plants do not make steel from scratch as the big integrated steel producers do. They market a more limited number of products. Most are nonunion. Poor, nonunion working conditions give the minimill owners a competitive edge.

Last December Roderick pointed to the lower labor costs at the minimills as a prime reason why the USWA must agree to even greater concessions especially on union work rules.

The steel barons are using the growth of the nonunion sector of the industry to pressure the USWA to give up hard-fought gains on crew sizes, health and safety pro-

tection, and other union rights. The scope of these takebacks and opposition by rank-and-file steelworkers forced the USWA officials to turn down U.S. Steel's demands.

#### USWA officials respond

Following Big Steel's merger announcement, acting USWA Pres. Lynn Williams responded, "We deplore this trend and have real concern for the jobs of workers of U.S. Steel and National Steel, which might be affected by this acquisition."

The concern is well founded. However, rank-and-file steelworkers may also be concerned that this somewhat less than hard-hitting statement is a danger sign that top USWA officials have no plans to fight against any new job cuts.

When U.S. Steel brought the ax down on over 15,000 jobs last December, Williams and other top union officials also expressed "concern" and even outrage. However, that was all they did. No top USWA official evidenced any intention of organizing a stand-up fight against U.S. Steel.

A further response came on January 24 when the USWA joined Bethlehem Steel in filing a major trade petition with the federal government aimed at further limiting imports.

This approach is a dead end. Steelworkers won't save jobs by helping their bosses compete more effectively. That's what U.S. Steel asked for when it demanded new concessions. Many steelworkers then correctly decided that such "cooperation" only benefits the employers.

#### Nationalize U.S. Steel

The Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González responded immediately to U.S. Steel's merger announcement. "Steelworkers should not be blackmailed into paying for Big Steel's profit drive," the socialist candidates asserted. "U.S. Steel should be

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## City covers up racist N.Y. cop murder

BY PAT HAYES

Manhattan Supreme Court Justice Andrew Tyler has ordered a hearing to determine whether city Medical Examiner Dr. Elliot Gross should be forced to turn over microscope slides and organs from the body of police brutality victim Michael Stewart to his parents.

Stewart's father, a retired transit worker, has charged Gross with destroying crucial evidence in the case by removing Stewart's

eyes. Stewart's family believes that an examination of the organs could prove that Stewart was murdered by city cops.

Michael Stewart, a 25-year-old Black artist, was arrested Sept. 25, 1983, for allegedly spraying graffiti in a Manhattan subway station. Hours later he was admitted to Bellevue Hospital, handcuffed, his legs bound with tape, and in a deep coma. Stewart died September 28 without regaining consciousness.

Transit Authority cops claim that Stewart tried to flee when arrested and that force was needed to restrain him in the squad car on the way to the police station. Eleven cops, all white, were involved in "restraining" the 135-pound Stewart. Three witnesses, including an auxiliary Transit Police officer, have told attorneys for the Stewart family that they saw the young artist being thrown to the ground and beaten during the arrest.

Gross, who has a long history of covering up police crimes, said in his preliminary report that Stewart died of "cardiac arrest" and pneumonia and that the body showed "no evidence of physical injury." Over a month later Gross issued a second report stating that "physical injury" to the spinal cord led to the cardiac arrest. The report still did not list the death as homicide.

Doctors for the Stewart family charged that Gross "misled" the public by failing to characterize the death as homicide. "The neck injury, along with other evidence, are not consistent with accident or self-infliction," said Dr. John Grauerholz, who witnessed the autopsy. "The neck was com-

pressed by applied pressure . . . from the front or side . . . by another person and therefore should have been classified as a homicide."

A family physician, Dr. Robert Wolf, said that the victim's body had "over 60" bruises on it and concluded that "Stewart was beaten."

Attorneys for the family have charged Gross with breeching an agreement that stipulated that family doctors would be present at each stage of the autopsy.

The attorneys told Judge Tyler that "Dr. Gross, without benefit of a complete autopsy, has already stated the cause of death as heart failure. . . . It is common knowledge that hemorrhaging of the eyes co-exists with anoxia — a cut-off of oxygen to the brain — and that a probable cause of anoxia is strangulation." Stewart's family is concerned that the eyes be examined by an independent autopsy.

Dr. Gross has been accused of mishandling crucial physical evidence in past cases that involved charges of police brutality.

A grand jury was convened Oct. 25, 1983, to look into the death. To date it has not issued any indictments or a report.

In a Nov. 10, 1983, letter to New York Gov. Mario Cuomo the family's attorneys charged that a special prosecutor was needed to get to the bottom of the case due to a "systematic pattern of deception, lies, and secrecy, and collusion on the part of Robert Morgenthau, the Manhattan District Attorney, Dr. Elliot Gross, the Medi-

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