

## Lebanon: no let-up in U.S.-Israeli aggression

BY CINDY JAQUITH

In an escalation of the imperialist war against the people of Lebanon, Israel is stepping up its bombing raids against forces opposed to rightist Lebanese Pres. Amin Gemayel. The U.S. government — also determined to restore a stable, proim-

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perialist regime in Lebanon — is keeping up its military pressure on Lebanese rebels and Syrian troops.

Israel rained bombs on Lebanese villages February 21 and sent an armored column to within 12 miles of Beirut in a warning to opposition forces.

It was the second time in a week that Israeli jets bombed towns under the control of Lebanese opposition militias or Syrian troops. Prior to the Israeli assaults, U.S. warships off Lebanon's coast had bombarded Syrian and Druse-held areas, firing off 1,900-pound shells from the *New Jersey* on February 8, in the heaviest U.S. shelling conducted since the Vietnam war.

At a February 22 news conference, Continued on Page 6



Israeli troops in Lebanon. Israel is stepping up attacks on forces opposed to rightist Gemayel government.

## Reagan demands extra aid to Salvador

BY MALIK MIAH

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz announced on February 21 that the Reagan administration is considering sending the regime in El Salvador emergency military aid so its army can increase pressure on the rebel forces prior to the March 25 elections there.

"We're concerned," Shultz told the Senate Budget Committee, "that the Salvadoran armed services will run out of key matériel in the next few months during which they are likely to face increased guerrilla efforts to disrupt the March 25 presidential elections and the runoff."

Shultz explained that "in the election period, they [Salvadoran military] have special responsibilities." The chief "responsibility" Shultz was concerned about was increasing military action against the armed rebels, ostensibly to prevent the insurgents from disrupting the voting.

But insuring fair elections was not uppermost on Shultz's mind. His statements show that Washington is using the elections as a figleaf to cover its escalating intervention in El Salvador on the side of a brutal and unpopular regime.

The administration just requested a four-fold increase in military aid to El Salvador for 1984 alone — a total of \$179 million. For fiscal year 1985, starting October 1, the U.S. government is requesting \$132 million.

Economic aid will climb from about \$199 million to \$333 million in 1984, and to \$341 million for 1985. This aid is used for many military projects which are termed civilian — like building roads to transport troops — and give-aways to businessmen and ruling-class politicians.

This massive escalation of military and economic support is necessary because the U.S.-backed government is losing the civil war — as Shultz's own testimony indicated.

A supporter of the administration's El Salvador policies, Democratic Senator J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, told Shultz: "It seems to me the situation is deteriorating and we are losing the war, and I would suggest that the best explanation I can come up with for why we're losing the war

is because we're losing the war for the hearts and minds of people, which is very regrettable."

The Reagan administration knows this, and clearly doesn't believe the elections — no matter what the outcome — will do much to stabilize the regime. Thus the proposal for extra arms shipments.

The revolutionary forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) do have the "hearts and

minds" of much of Salvador's working class and peasantry. That's why they are making political and military advances. The oligarchy and its military henchmen, on the other hand, are politically more and more isolated.

Furthermore, the Salvadoran economy is in total shambles. The current world economic crisis, which hits all semicolonial countries particularly hard; decades of imperialist domination; and the civil war have

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## Pa. mine deaths caused by company greed

BY KIPP DAWSON

PITTSBURGH — At about 4:30 a.m. on Thursday, February 16, a methane gas explosion took the lives of three miners at the Greenwich Collieries No. 1 near Commerce, Pennsylvania. They were Walter S. Depto, 47; Gary L. Miller, 34; and Stephen M. Parzatka, 31.

Ten of their coworkers who made it out through the 5,000 feet of tunnel to the surface came out hurt, four of them with first and second degree burns on their hands and face.

Depto, Miller, and Parzatka had been working on pumping water out of an area deep in the mine. At this writing the exact source of the ignition of the methane is not yet known.

It is also not yet known exactly how they died. The explosion itself could have killed them, as could have asphyxiation due to oxygen deficiency that results from large amounts of methane or the carbon monoxide build-up during fires, which often follow such explosions.

They were not found for almost 24 hours. The cap lamps they wore on their hard hats had burned out 14 hours before that. They were surrounded by so much methane that it took rescue workers until 12:07 a.m. Saturday to bring their bodies out of the mine.

Our dead brothers and their coworkers were members of District 2 of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1609. Their local union officers rushed to

the scene when they learned of the explosion, and Richard Trumka, international president of the UMWA, investigated the mine the following day.

"It was the third time in less than eight months that I have been to the site of an explosion. This was not an act of God, but an act of man. And it would not have happened if the laws had been strictly enforced," said Trumka.

Many facts are yet to be unraveled, but some critical ones are known.

The Greenwich mine is one of the few still working around here. It is owned by the Pennsylvania Mines Corp., a subsidiary of Pennsylvania Power and Light Co.

A Federal mine-safety official reported that this mine had twice the national accident rate in 1983 and had a "considerable" methane problem in the past. A preliminary federal report showed that for 1983 the accident rate for every 200,000 working hours at the Greenwich Collieries No. 1 was 22 percent, more than twice the national rate of 10 percent.

The Greenwich mine is a "hot" one, meaning methane gas is "liberated" by the mining process in large quantities. Frank O'Gorman, a spokesman for the U.S. Mine Safety and Health Administration, (MSHA), estimates that 2.3 million cubic feet of the gas is released every 24 hours in that mine.

Methane gas is colorless, odorless, and tasteless. But it can be detected and it must

## Nicaragua sets Nov. 4 election date

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaraguans will elect their president, vice-president, and 90-member national assembly this November 4, two days prior to U.S. elections.

Government Coordinator Daniel Ortega made the announcement to more than 100,000 people gathered here February 21 in Managua's Plaza of the Revolution.

Workers, soldiers, students returning from volunteer cotton and coffee picking, old-timers from Sandino's army, delegations from more than 50 countries, and others had come to pay tribute to the country's national hero, Gen. Augusto César Sandino.

Sandino, whose poorly armed troops forced the U.S. Marines to leave Nicaragua in the early 1930s, was assassinated by the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza soon after.

"Here there is a war by those who want to kill Sandino again," Ortega pointed out, referring to the U.S. government. "A war by those who don't want to accept historical changes, by those who invaded Grenada" and are responsible for the bombings of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Vietnam, and the blockade of Cuba.

Since 1982, the U.S. administration has spent \$73 million in order to wound, kidnap, and kill Nicaraguans and destroy their revolution. Some 1,500 Nicaraguans have been killed in the war. "Why not invest that \$73 million on social programs for Blacks, Hispanics, Indians, and the poor?" suggested Ortega to Washington.

Explaining why the Sandinistas reject "democracy" lessons from the United States, he said, "We don't want the kind of democracy that in the 1960s denied the vote to several million U.S. citizens for

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be if explosions are to be prevented. In concentrations of 5 percent to 15 percent of the atmosphere, methane is highly explosive. According to the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, methane has been the cause of more than 10,000 deaths in U.S. mines in the past 60 years.

In Greenwich Collieries MSHA estimates there was 5 percent to 15 percent methane present at the site of the explosion that killed the miners. This is 5 to 15 times the maximum limit defined by federal regulations. Had the legally required ventilation measures been taken by the company they would still be alive.

The coal bosses are using the pressure of the high unemployment rate among coal miners to push for more production, which in a coal mine means proportionately less time spent on crucial safety measures, including preventing methane build-up.

The coal bosses assume some of us will die every year. They work our deaths into their calculations. As the Pittsburgh *Post Gazette* put it on February 17, "Accidents claimed the lives of 70 miners across the nation last year, but the coal industry is calling 1983 its safest, because there were fewer than 100 casualties."

They should have mentioned that 70 miners died despite the depressed state of the industry, which had tens of thousands of miners laid off.

What about the government safety officials? Most miners see their "investiga-

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BY ALAN EPSTEIN

**TOLEDO** — In the last year Jeep Corp. has called back thousands of laid-off workers and hired over 1,000 more to produce its new XJ model — winner of four awards and a super-profit maker for this AMC-Renault subsidiary. "Almost every one that rolls off the line has already been sold," boasts Jeep management.

Jeep's success results from more than good sales: Jeep workers had a concession contract forced on them two years ago. Some workers thought that this would help to save jobs in Toledo. This illusion was dealt a heavy blow when Jeep circulated a letter announcing that they planned to close down some departments and to contract out work. This layoff scheme showed the real intentions of Jeep. Our union, United Auto Workers (UAW) Jeep Unit Local 12, opposed the plan and the company retreated.

In this context, the 1984 Socialist Workers' campaign of

Elizabeth Lariscy for the 9th U.S. Congressional District and Mark Friedman for the State House of Representatives, District 45, was launched. Both are Jeep assembly-line workers.

Toledo campaigners for Lariscy and Friedman are also organizing support for the 1984 socialist ticket of Mel Mason for U.S. president and Andrea González for vice-president. Jeep workers are familiar with the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, from regular weekly sales at the plant gate. Last fall, more than 25 subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold in the plant.

The immediate task confronting the socialist campaign was getting on the ballot. Ohio's election law was recently changed, moving the petitioning period to the dead of winter. Over 4,000 signatures need to be filed by February 23.

Both the short notice given us and the intense cold posed a challenge. Socialist campaign supporters at Jeep set a goal of gathering 300 signatures from coworkers at

the plant.

Socialist auto workers met during their lunch break to go down the assembly line to hand out leaflets about the campaign, to petition, and to sell the *Militant*. We found that campaigning was a natural complement to distributing the socialist press. Our campaign leaflet's headline, "Jobs, Not War," easily initiated political discussions and led to signatures on our petitions and sales of the *Militant*.

Many signed because it was their coworkers running, but many more signed because they were for a different kind of government and against the war drive. Some of our coworkers also volunteered to circulate the petitions.

We did not know what management's reaction to our petitioning would be. A foreman told Mark Friedman that he was "in some kind of trouble with management." The same day the union secretary told Friedman that Jeep management had called the union

demanding to know what they thought about what we were doing and if it was authorized.

We assembled a collection of legal decisions upholding workers' constitutional rights. One was from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) affirming the right to free speech and distribution and sales of union-related literature during non-working time. We found that our local union had a record of defending freedom of speech for its membership. The local had taken a similar case to the NLRB and won a ruling against Jeep Corp. Thus, although the union is supporting Democratic Party candidates, the UAW Jeep Committee defended our right to petition inside the plant.

During this campaign we held a Wednesday night forum, showing a Malcolm X film. It drew Jeep workers as well as others who had seen the leaflet.

So far, in three weeks we have collected about 200 signatures inside the plant and sold about 50



**Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for Ohio House of Representatives.**

*Militants.* This is in addition to campaigning among other working people in the city. We found that this has been an excellent way to introduce our campaign to our coworkers.

## Reagan demands increase in arms to Salvador

Continued from front page taken their toll.

The rightist dictatorship in El Salvador is proving too fragile. Counterinsurgency warfare and terror is not enough. Dollars must be spent in an attempt to broaden the narrow base of this pro-U.S. government and make its economy more viable.

The Salvadoran economy would collapse tomorrow without substantial U.S. aid. But this money has not alleviated the

suffering of the workers and peasants.

Just a few examples. Various reports indicate that unemployment ranges from 25 to 40 percent. This does not count the thousands of Salvadorans who have fled the country — to escape the poverty and the war, and in fear of the military and rightist death squads.

About half of El Salvador's industrial capacity is not being used. Imperialist plunder has made its economy a classical basket case. It is in a four year slump. The price of coffee, the country's chief generator of export earnings, is down 60 percent. Sugar and cotton prices are similarly depressed.

Massive U.S. economic aid isn't enough to close the spending deficit. The U.S. now spends about \$1 million a day in economic aid — much of which is stolen by corrupt government and military officials.

### Political crisis deepens

Given the repression and poverty that plague most of the Salvadoran people, it's no wonder that the proimperialist parties have won little support among the workers and peasants. Their tiny base is among the weak native capitalist class, the large landowners, and the military officer caste.

The right-wing parties do have tactical disagreements on how best to defeat the rebels and crush the unfolding revolution. But they all agree on the need to do so as the priority of whomever is elected.

That's why no matter who wins the March 25 presidential elections, it will not bring any fundamental changes in government policies.

Who are the major right-wing parties and their presidential candidates? There are five.

Roberto D'Aubuisson is the presidential candidate and main leader of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA). He is a former major in the armed forces intelligence apparatus. He founded ARENA with the backing of a section of El Salvador's most powerful landowners. In the March 1982 constituent assembly elections, D'Aubuisson's party, in alliance with several other smaller rightist parties, won a majority of delegates. D'Aubuisson is also a central organizer of the country's secret, paramilitary death squads.

José Napoleón Duarte is the candidate of the Christian Democratic Party (PCD). Duarte was previously president of El Salvador. He served in the ruling junta from March 1980 to April 1982. It was during this period that death squad terror reached new heights.

The ARENA and PCD are the two largest parties in the current constituent assembly.

Francisco José Guerrero is the candidate of the National Conciliation Party (PNC), the third largest party. U.S. press reports imply that Guerrero is Washington's preference on the basis that D'Aubuisson is too tied to the death squads and Duarte is too "liberal" for the military. Rumor has it if Duarte wins the military will organize a coup.

The two other major candidates are Francisco Quiñonez of the Salvadoran People's Party and head of the regime's so-called Peace Commission; and Col. Roberto Escobar García, a retired army officer, of the Authentic Salvadoran Institutional Party.

Understanding the connection between

the upcoming presidential elections, the growing crisis of the regime, and imperialism's regional objectives, the revolutionary forces have proposed a step to end the civil war and bring peace and justice to El Salvador.

In a comprehensive peace plan presented at a February news conference in Mexico City, leaders of the FMLN and FDR explained that the elections offer "no solution and will further tend to make more complicated the objective of a political solution" to the civil war.

The real political, economic, and military problems, they explain, can only be solved by taking steps now to form a "provisional government of broad participation" that includes all social and political forces ready to do away with the U.S.-backed oligarchy and its military.

The peace plan calls on Washington and the Salvadoran regime to start a "dialogue without prior conditions." (For more details on the peace plan see last week's *Militant*.)

### Washington says 'no' to negotiations

The U.S. imperialists refuse to discuss or join negotiations, instead escalating their military involvement. This further exposes the fact that Washington is not striving for peace in El Salvador.

Even massive amounts of military and economic aid will not be adequate to defeat a revolution based on popular support. Washington must eventually deploy large numbers of U.S. troops against the armed people of El Salvador.

That's what Washington has in mind with its build-up of neighboring Honduras as a permanent military installation for thousands of U.S. soldiers.



**Roberto D'Aubuisson, one of rightist contenders for president of El Salvador.**

### SPECIAL OFFER TO MILITANT SUBSCRIBERS

"Maurice Bishop Speaks"

This collection of interviews with and speeches by the slain prime minister of Grenada also includes an introduction explaining the events that led to the overthrow of the revolution, Bishop's assassination, and the invasion by U.S. troops.

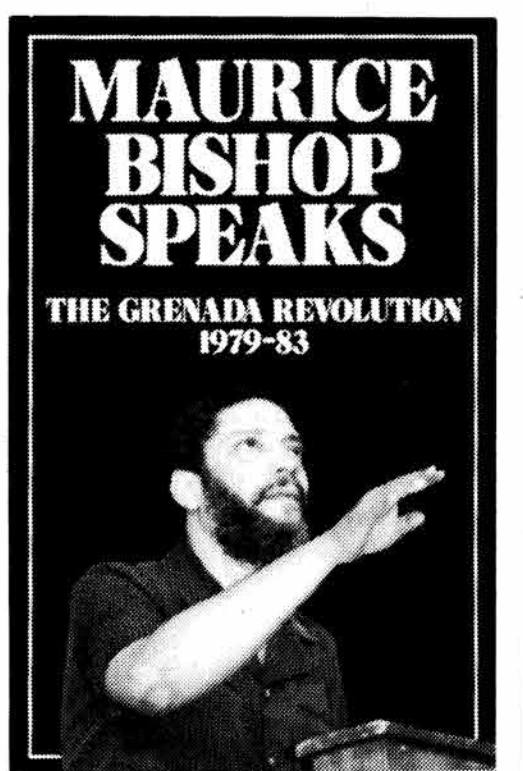
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# Is Reagan responsible for the current economic recovery?

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

Pres. Ronald Reagan, with his eye on the November elections, is taking full credit for the upturn in the U.S. economy. His supporters contend that the upturn proves the Reagan policies of tax cuts for the rich and cuts in social spending for working people are just what the economy needed.

As White House spokesman Larry Speakes put it, "It's clear to us that the nation is set on a strong economic course for 1984. We are poised for economic expansion of the kind that will put people permanently back to work."

What are the facts?

Industrial production in the United States has increased about 15 percent over the last year. In January 1984, according to the Federal Reserve Board, 79.9 percent of total manufacturing capacity was actually utilized. This compares to less than 70 percent in November 1982, the bottom of the downturn.

Housing starts, which had fallen to an annual rate of less than one million a year, rose to a yearly rate of 1.9 million in January. Disposable income rose 1.1 percent in January over the December level, not taking inflation into account.

## Employment up

The rise in production and income has meant an increase in the number of those working. About 4 million new jobs have been created since late 1982. The number of those employed in manufacturing increased by more than 100,000 this January alone.

The Labor Department reports that the official rate of unemployment fell from 10.7 percent at the end of 1982 to 7.9 percent in January 1984.

The rise in production and employment has so far not led to a major increase in the rate of inflation. At the peak of inflation in 1980, consumer prices increased at a double-digit pace. Last year the government consumer price index increased only 3.8 percent.

Interest rates were declining, although

they remained at historically high levels. In the last year, however, interest rates have actually risen slightly.

The pick-up in the economy has nothing to do with the fact that Reagan is in office, however. Nor can any workers hope to be "permanently employed" — despite White House promises.

## Capitalist business cycle

The economic changes that have occurred over the last year are simply those of the capitalist business cycle. Since the rise of modern industry more than a 150 years ago, the capitalist economy has shown a regular alternation of good and bad years. Every upswing has terminated in a new crisis or downturn.

A downturn comes about when more commodities have been produced than can be sold at profitable prices. Unsold commodities pile up in warehouses because they can find no ready buyers. The crisis is a crisis of overproduction — not in the sense that too much is produced relative to human needs, but too much relative to demand backed up by the ability to pay.

How does business get out of these "crises of overproduction"? By producing less. Production is cut and workers are laid off. Factories, mines, and mills are shut down.

The employers use the sudden increase in unemployment to blackmail workers into accepting lower wages and worse working conditions.

After a while the stocks of unsold commodities are considerably reduced. The bosses once again find it profitable to increase production. The downturn gives way to an upturn.

During the upturn phase, production increases rapidly. There is still much idle capacity, and raw materials are abundant and cheap. At first the bosses resist hiring additional workers, instead speeding up and increasing the hours of work of the workers they did not discharge. But as business continues to improve, workers are gradually rehired.

Typical of the upturn phase of the capitalist business cycle is rapid growth of profits. Since the bosses have held down and frequently cut wages during the downturn, and older, less efficient plants have been shut down, production costs have been reduced. As sales revive, the rate of profit increases sharply as can be seen by reading the financial pages of the newspapers these days.

The upturn builds into a boom. The amount of unused industrial capacity finally falls to a level that encourages new major investments. In order not to lose customers to competitors individual capitalists have to increase the productive capacity of their companies. They install new productive machinery and step up the construction of new plants. The machine tool and industrial construction industries now begin to run at a high rate. More workers are hired and unemployment drops further.

## Another downturn

The boom, however, always means the approach of the next downturn. Production begins to outrun the ability of markets to absorb the increasing output profitably. Interest rates begin to climb and loans become difficult to obtain.

Sometimes the government tries to postpone the downturn by increasing the money supply rapidly. This, however, triggers severe inflation like we saw in 1980. In any event the downturn cannot be held off indefinitely. Soon unsold commodities start piling up in manufacturers' hands and the rate of profit declines. Production is again cut back, unemployment rises, and a new recession is on.

The improvement in the economy that we have been witnessing is simply a normal cyclical rebound after almost four years of stagnation and recession. No doubt a similar improvement would have occurred if the Carter-Mondale administration had been reelected.

If past experience is any guide, the current upturn will build into a boom over the next couple of years, perhaps in Reagan's second term, if he is reelected.

Unemployment will edge down. Then interest rates will again go up and probably will reach new highs since they will start out from such a high base. If the government tries to stave off the downturn by increasing the money supply, the rate of inflation will soar again. No matter what policy the capitalist government follows, unemployment will climb sharply.

## Inevitable result of capitalism

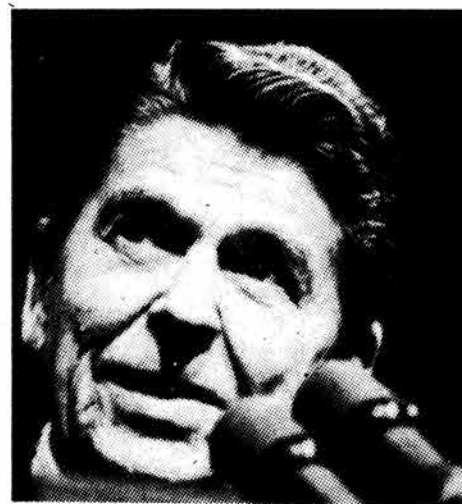
This is the outlook whether the Democrats or the Republicans win the 1984 elections. It is the inevitable result of the capitalist economic system.

The inevitability of a new economic downturn within the next few years is not the only flaw in the current "prosperity" as far as working people are concerned. The "recovery" is not as extensive as Reagan so cheerfully claims and it affects different layers of the population unevenly.

Unemployment is still officially at 8 percent. This does not take into account those who are forced to work part-time. Nor does the 8 percent figure include those who have become discouraged and stopped looking for work. Even taking the government figures at face value, 8 percent unemployment means more than 9 million unemployed. Overall manufacturing employment is still more than 1.8 million below the record level of 21.1 million reached in 1979.

The weight of this continuing mass unemployment falls disproportionately on oppressed nationalities, especially Blacks. In January government unemployment statistics showed that 6.9 percent of white workers are unemployed. For Latino workers the rate was 11.2 percent. For Blacks, the figure was 16.7 percent — more than twice the rate for whites.

At the bottom of the downturn, Black unemployment reached a peak of 20.6 percent officially. It has declined since then, but not in a straight line. In November 1983, the Black jobless rate was 16.8 percent. In December it rose again to 17.8 percent, declining by 1.1 percent in January.



Reagan: claiming credit for normal fluctuations of capitalist business cycle.

For Black teenagers, the official unemployment rate is 47.9 percent. It has not dropped significantly since the upturn began. The National Urban League estimates that youth unemployment among Blacks is almost 70 percent when those who have given up looking or are working only part-time are taken into account.

## Steel layoffs

Nor has the cyclical upswing affected industry evenly. Despite a rise in steel production, U.S. Steel in December announced plans to reduce its steel-making capacity by 20 percent. This will eliminate permanently some 15,400 jobs.

Jerry Jasinowski, chief economist for the National Association of Manufacturers, predicts more of the same. "The restructuring of America, which began in 1980, will continue for at least the next two years," Jasinowski declared. "Restructuring," he explained, means "shutting down plants, reducing the amount of employment." He's not talking about what will happen in the next big recession, but what will occur now during the "Reagan recovery."

Those who are lucky enough to have a job face growing speed-up as part of the employers' drive to squeeze more profits out of workers' labor.

There is also plenty of forced overtime. In January the average factory workweek rose to 40.9 hours, the longest in 10 years.

Workers have not regained what they lost since the last recession began in 1979. According to the AFL-CIO, real weekly earnings calculated in 1977 dollars dropped from \$180.77 in December 1979 to \$174.40 in December 1983.

The bosses are pushing ahead with concession contracts. In addition to wage freezes or outright wage cuts, concession contracts include provisions for more forced overtime, lower pay for new hires, weakened or eliminated cost-of-living clauses, job combinations, and overall reduction of union control of working conditions.

While the bosses remain on the offensive, the upturn in the economy is creating some opportunities for workers to fight back. Workers see that profits are rising rapidly. And while unemployment remains high, an increasing number of factories are hiring new workers.

Company pleas of poverty carry less weight when profits are skyrocketing. The bosses, for their part, are more anxious to avoid long strikes as a result of the upturn. They want to make profits while business is good before a downturn again closes in. This potentially strengthens the hands of the unions.

## Budget deficit

One of the bosses' big concerns is the size of the federal budget deficit. The deficit is caused by the huge military build-up and the tax cuts for the rich. Wall Street is concerned that continued federal deficits in the hundreds of billions per year, combined with the continued massive indebtedness of many underdeveloped countries, could create an explosive financial crisis when the next economic downturn occurs.

Big business is now stepping up its pressure on the Reagan administration and the Democrats and Republicans in Congress to take steps to slash the federal deficit — at the expense of working people of course. Among measures talked about are major cuts in social security and Medicare and new taxes on "consumption" — all directed against workers. All this means that the drive against the standard of living of the U.S. working class is going to intensify, even as the economic upturn continues.

# Grenada revolution leader Radix speaks in New York

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG

NEW YORK — Kenrick Radix, a founding leader of the Grenadian New Jewel Movement (NJM) is in the United States building support for the recently formed "Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation."

As a member of the foundation's Board of Trustees, Radix has been on an international tour to encourage supporters of the Grenada revolution to aid the foundation's efforts.

Radix, speaking on February 21 at a Brooklyn meeting commemorating the 19th anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X, explained that "all is not lost — we have established a foundation to build a monument to the glory time of the Grenadian people."

He stated that the foundation hopes to find the bodies of murdered Prime Minister

Maurice Bishop and the other martyrs killed on October 19, 1983. Radix believes the U.S. occupation forces in Grenada have found the bodies. But, he says, they seek to keep their location a secret to avoid a mass turnout at Bishop's funeral because Washington is trying to paint him as a dictator.

Among the other aims of the foundation, Radix mentioned solidarity with international struggles and support for Grenadian children's education.

Radix's Brooklyn meeting was sponsored by the East Organization. He spoke to an audience of about 150 people, overwhelmingly Black, many of them Grenadian. On behalf of the foundation, he also accepted a posthumous award for Bishop from the East Organization.

Radix took the occasion to lash out at the U.S. occupation forces in Grenada and their Grenadian stooges. He attacked their attempts to dismantle many institutions won through the revolution and vowed that "the necessary measures" would be taken by Grenadians against backward steps.

Radix also spoke highly of the Cuban aid to Grenada during its four and a half years of workers and farmers rule. He singled out the health and educational efforts among others.

In explaining the events that led to the occupation of Grenada by U.S. imperialist forces, Radix scored the "counterrevolutionary deceit" of the group led by Bernard Coard in the NJM and the People's Revolutionary Army. The Coard group was responsible for the overthrow of the People's Revolutionary Government and the murder of Bishop and other NJM leaders.

Radix is speaking at Medgar Evers College gymnasium in Brooklyn on Sunday, February 26, at 4:00 pm.



Kenrick Radix



# Miami cop on trial for killing Black

BY JACKIE FLOYD

MIAMI — Fourteen months after Miami cop Luis Alvarez murdered a 20-year-old Black county worker, Nevell Johnson, city politics is in turmoil.

Nevell Johnson was one of at least 12 Black men shot down by Miami city and Dade County cops in the two years after they beat to death Black salesman Arthur McDuffie in 1980. The Liberty City rebellion that year was in protest of the acquittal of the cops who killed McDuffie.

This police terror is backed up by the openly racist criminal "justice" system:

- Not a single cop has gone to jail for any of the killings.

- Only five of the killer-cop cases have even gone to trial — and in all those the cops were given a lesser charge — manslaughter, not murder.

- Only one cop has been found guilty, and he is still out on appeal and may never spend a day in jail.

- Not one Black person has been allowed to sit on a jury in any of these cases.

In the trial now going on, Alvarez is charged with manslaughter. In December 1982, Alvarez left the area he was assigned to, went into a video arcade in the Overtown Black community, walked up behind Nevell Johnson, who was playing Pac Man, pointed a gun to his head, and pulled the trigger.

Once again, all the Blacks were rejected from the jury hearing the case. This is in a county where at least 20 percent of the registered voters — which is the jury pool — are Black.

When Johnson was killed, there was a three-day rebellion in the Overtown community. The grand jury subsequently decided to charge Alvarez.

In the rebellion, the cops shot and killed another young Black man, 17-year-old Alonzo Singleton. The cop who shot Singleton in the back with an automatic weapon was never charged at all.

When Alvarez was indicted a year ago, the police jumped to his defense. Cops and police associations around the country contributed money. Miami Police Chief Kenneth Harms participated in a cop rally where some carried signs reading "Alvarez for Mayor." The rally was outside the building of the Miami News and Herald. The two dailies were charged with not being pro-cop enough.

## Company greed leads to Pa. miners' deaths

Continued from front page

tions" as a joke. As an article in the March 1983 UMWA's *Journal* put it, "'Look for no violations, see no violations, find no violations' seems to be the order MSHA inspectors have been given by the Reagan administration."

"The operators are violating the law, and MSHA is letting them get away with it."

The UMWA has different standards. As Richard Trumka put it in Feb. 22, 1983, testimony before the Congressional Subcommittee on Health and Safety: "The United Mine Workers of America insists that every death in coal mining is a tragedy, every injury a calamity, and every occupationally induced disease a disgrace. Each death, injury, and disease is avoidable. It could be avoided if the intent of Congress, repeatedly expressed in coal-mine legislation, were not being subverted."

The coal operators, backed by a bipartisan Democratic-Republican alliance in the federal and state governments, have made known their intentions to continue to subvert coal-mine safety. As the current UMWA contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association nears its September 30 expiration date, the union's commitment to the safety of its members faces continued and growing tests.

This is not an unimportant confrontation. This week, three more miners died.

Kipp Dawson is a member of UMWA Local 1197 at Cokeburg, Pennsylvania.

While he was demonstrating for Alvarez, Police Chief Harms denounced Blacks protesting Johnson's murder as "hoodlums." And he ordered the cops to make sweeps through the streets of Overtown. Police beat people, spread barrages of tear gas, and tried to intimidate the entire community.

Demands were raised throughout the Black community that Harms be fired.

Finally, more than a year after Johnson was killed and only days after the Alvarez trial started, Harms was fired by his boss, Miami City Manager Howard Gary.

About 100 cops and other right-wingers from the University of Miami and Cuban groups held a rally at City Hall to support Harms. The all-white crowd denounced Gary, who is Black, saying he was acting like a "communist dictator." A radio talk show called for people to wear yellow arm bands to support Harms. But the racist campaign is not catching on.

In the Black community, Harms' firing is very popular. At the same time, there is outrage against the exclusion of Blacks from the jury.

Meanwhile, in the Metro Dade Justice Building, the trial of Luis Alvarez is following the same script as previous trials of killer cops. The prosecution is putting on an incompetent, half-hearted case. They said and did nothing to get Blacks on the



Three-day Overtown rebellion followed Nevell Johnson's 1982 death at hands of Miami cop.

jury.

The defense is putting the dead Nevell Johnson, his family, and the entire Black community on trial.

Alvarez's lawyer argues that the cop cannot get a fair trial in Miami. He claims jurors fear another rebellion or violence against themselves. In what was undoubtedly a set-up, one juror, a Cuban who owns two Burger King restaurants in Liberty City, claimed he received threats that Alvarez better be convicted.

The defense is putting Johnson's whole life on trial to make him appear as a criminal. Johnson's parents have been listed as witnesses, which means they are not even allowed to attend the trial until, and if, they are called to the stand. Eleventh and 12th grade students who witnessed the killing

have been harassed by cops for more than a year. The defense lawyer hounds them on the witness stand, calling them liars and blaming them for starting the rebellion.

One aspect of the Alvarez trial that differs from some of the other cop trials is the involvement of the Black community group People United to Lead the Struggle for Equality. PULSE is mainly a coalition of Black churches. People active in PULSE picketed the courthouse demanding Blacks be put on the jury, and PULSE is attending the trial.

In another new development, the executive board of the Dade County chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) voted to protest the all-white jury. PULSE members attended the NOW meeting where this was discussed.

## Contribute money now to socialist campaign

BY DON DAVIS

Shortly after Socialist Workers presidential candidate Mel Mason returned from his Arizona tour, an envelope arrived at the national campaign headquarters in New York. It contained a coupon clipped from the *Militant*, a \$20 bill, and a piece of a Tucson newspaper.

Handwritten on the newspaper was the notation, "Republican & Democratic Parties." This was followed by part of an advertisement which said, "The Public Be Damned."

The contributor obviously saw a difference between the Democratic and Republican parties and the Socialist Workers campaign of Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president and felt strongly enough about it to send \$20.

The Democrats and Republicans, far from acting in the interests of the "public" — a majority of whom are working people — instead are beholden to the tiny handful of ruling rich families.

Mason and González, on the other hand, put forward a program that represents the interests of the working class. They favor a new kind of government and social system — a workers and farmers government that would lead the process of building a socialist society where the human needs of the majority would be the top priority.

Given the depth of the crisis facing working people, the socialist campaign is being taken more seriously, by more people.

This campaign will be financed by working people.

But since workers, by definition, don't have as much money as the ruling class, it is always a challenge to come up with enough money to run a working-class campaign, especially when you are trying to raise a lot of money in a short period of

time.

But raising a lot of money rapidly is precisely what the Mason-González campaign must do.

That's why it set a goal of collecting \$84,000 between December 30 and March 15.

To working people that seems like a lot of money.

And it is a lot.

Combined with the efforts of well-organized and enthusiastic campaign supporters around the country, \$84,000 will enable the socialist campaign to do a lot.

It will send the socialist candidates to dozens of states to talk to working people about socialism.

It will pay for materials that explain the socialist position on how to win women's rights, fight racism, and solve the crisis facing working farmers.

It will help pay the costs of collecting the hundreds of thousands of signatures needed to put the Mason-González ticket on the ballot in more than 25 states, and the political and legal fights frequently needed to win ballot status for socialists even after they meet the undemocratic requirements.

It won't be easy to meet this goal. It means digging deep, like four members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Houston decided to do.

They each agreed to contribute a week's pay to the socialist campaign. For these workers, that came to a total \$1,500.

Not everyone can match their contributions in dollars, but everyone can match their spirit.

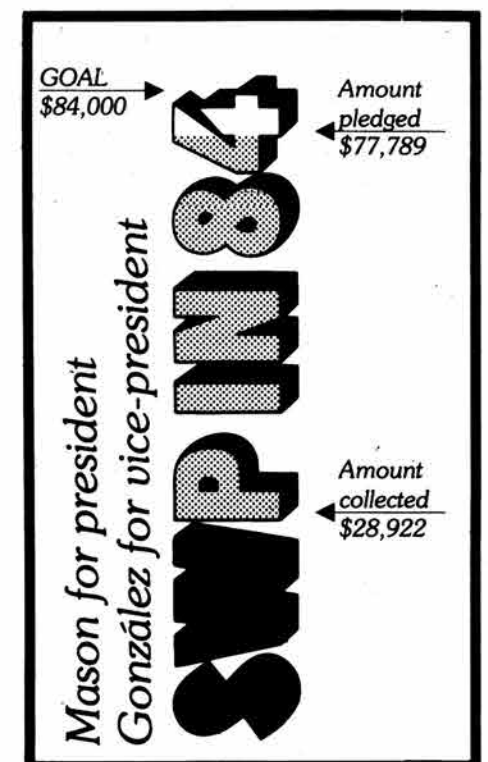
Supporters in Louisville have recently organized to double the pledges they made at the campaign's December kick-off rally in St. Louis.

"We knew people could and would give more," supporter Gale Shangold

explained. She said some supporters had been reserving money to contribute to the upcoming local Socialist Workers campaigns for Congress and Senate. "We explained to people that this was the only socialist fund we were organizing through March, so people should give everything they can now," Shangold said.

As the chart below shows, we are still short of having \$84,000 pledged to the socialist campaign fund, and a very long way from having \$84,000 collected.

A big effort is needed to close the gap. But we're confident that supporters are ready, willing, and able to make the effort.



## Mason and Gonzalez on national tour

Mel Mason and Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidates for U.S. president and vice-president, have started their national campaign tours.

Mason's tour began with a fact-finding trip to the Arizona towns where copper miners have been on strike against Phelps Dodge for eight months. Mason extended his solidarity to the striking miners, talking with them on the picket lines, at meetings of the women's auxiliaries, and in individual discussions.

Mason will be in Miami from February 29 to March 2. Following that he will be in

Atlanta from March 3-7 and in Montgomery, Alabama, March 8. Mason will then travel to Indianapolis, where he will campaign March 14-16.

González will travel to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for a February 23 and 24 campaign stop and then on to Pittsburgh February 26-28. She will appear in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., March 1-4. González will campaign in the Rio Grande Valley March 7-9. She will be in the San Antonio and Houston area March 10-14 and will be in Chicago and Gary, Indiana, March 16-19.

☐ 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)



# Indiana labor supports deportation fight



Labor Beacon

Héctor Marroquín

## Members of Congress back Marroquin

The following letter was sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), by 26 members of Congress.

The signers included William Clay, Missouri; John Conyers, Michigan; George Crockett, Michigan; Ronald Dellums, California; Ron deLugo, Virgin Islands; Julian Dixon, California; Mervyn Dymally, California; and Don Edwards, California.

Also signing were: Walter Fauntroy, Washington, D.C.; Robert García, New York; William Gray, Pennsylvania; Frank Guarini, New Jersey; Katie Hall, Indiana; Augustus Hawkins, California; Charles Hayes, Illinois; Mickey Leland, Texas; and Matthew Martínez, California.

Also: Parren Mitchell, Maryland; Solomon Ortiz, Texas; Major Owens, New York; William Richardson, New Mexico; Edward Roybal, California; Patricia Schroeder, Colorado; Esteban Torres, California; Edolphus Towns, New York; and Morris Udall, Arizona.

Recently it was called to our attention that Héctor Marroquín-Manríquez filed a visa application on June 30, 1983, for permanent residence in the United States. This application was filed as a result of his marriage to Priscilla Schenk, an American citizen.

We understand that the Immigration and Naturalization Service gave preliminary approval to Mr. Marroquín's application. The INS has since refused to indicate whether he will be granted permanent residence status.

Mr. Marroquín, seeking political asylum, also has filed a petition for a writ of certiorari before the U.S. Supreme Court. When the Court resumes, it is expected a decision will be forthcoming on his petition. If the Court's decision is unfavorable, Mr. Marroquín will have two days to voluntarily depart from the country. In light of this possibility, we urge you to allow Mr. Marroquín to remain in the United States until his permanent residence visa interview is held.

We would appreciate your efforts in expediting this case and providing Mr. Marroquín with a favorable decision. Thank you for your kind consideration. We look forward to hearing from you on this important matter.

## Hector Marroquin tour schedule

The following is the February and March itinerary of Héctor Marroquín's national speaking tour:

Greensboro, N.C.	Feb. 25-28
Newport News, Va.	Feb. 29-March 3
Los Angeles	6-9
San Diego	10-12
Seaside and San Jose, Calif.	13-18
Northern California	March 28-April 3

BY JOHN LEMON

INDIANAPOLIS — "The labor movement of this country needs to protect the rights of all workers — both citizen and non-citizen. Héctor's case is clearly a fight for the right of working people to express their political views without fear of repression."

These greetings from John Fry, business representative of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 70 were sent to a February 11 rally here in support of the case of Héctor Marroquín.

The need for the labor movement to unite to stop deportations of undocumented workers and opposition to Washington's wars in Lebanon and Central America were central themes of Marroquín's February 11-14 tour through central Indiana.

Marroquín is a Mexican-born socialist who has been fighting the U.S. government's six-year-long attempt to deport him.

His case is currently before the U.S. Supreme Court, which is expected to rule on his appeal for political asylum very soon. Meanwhile, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is deliberately delaying action on Marroquín's application for permanent residence based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen.

Marroquín is currently touring the country, seeking to expand the already broad support for his case from unions; Black, Latino, and women's rights organizations; and all supporters of democratic rights.

American Federation of Teachers Local 3153 joined a Central America solidarity committee at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, to cosponsor a meeting for Marroquín there. The local also donated

money to the defense effort.

Members of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 847 heard Marroquín's appeal for trade union support at their February 14 meeting here. The union president expressed an interest in Marroquín's case and in actively seeking support for it in the local.

Workers at the Indianapolis Chevrolet Truck and Bus plant and the Chrysler foundry heard about Marroquín's case from leafleting teams outside their plants organized by his supporters.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for Marroquín's case, and the Committee for Peace in El Salvador (COMPES) cosponsored the February 11 defense rally.

"As goes the other workers of the world, so goes the American worker. What is happening to Brother Marroquín only foreshadows what they want for all workers," Bill Scanlon told the rally. Scanlon, a trustee of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-706, is a longtime activist in the labor and civil rights movements. "If workers do not support workers, then no one will," Scanlon told the rally.

"I relate to workers all over the world," he continued. "I have much in common with the Black miner in South Africa, the IRA [Irish Republican Army] worker in Northern Ireland, and the worker in the hills of Lebanon trying to get representation in the government of his country. I have much in common with Héctor Marroquín who had to flee his country because of his political beliefs."

Reja-e Busailah, a Palestinian poet expelled from his homeland by the Israelis, scored the hypocrisy of the U.S. govern-

ment. "No government talks as much about rights and freedoms as the United States. No government has negated rights and freedoms as much as the United States. People have been killed by the hundreds in Lebanon in the name of freedom and human rights," he said.

Also addressing the rally was Fr. J. Paul O'Brien, a leader of the efforts of North American churches to provide sanctuary for Central American refugees. "What happens to Héctor affects how the Immigration and Naturalization Service treats 400-500,000 refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala. That is why COMPES supports Héctor's case."

A. Garnett Day, Jr., a director of the Christian Church, Disciples of Christ, also sent greetings. The Disciples had recently voted to join the sanctuary movement and organized a lunch meeting for Marroquín.

Marroquín's case was covered extensively in the media. Significant interviews were printed in the *Indianapolis Star* and *Indianapolis News*, the major dailies. He also appeared on television and radio. Joining Marroquín at a news conference was Indiana Civil Liberties Union executive director Michael Gradison.

PRDF is asking that supporters of Marroquín's right to remain in the United States urge the INS to grant his application for permanent residence, as 26 members of Congress recently did (see letter on this page). 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.

# Black Ga. woman fights racist violence

BY SARA JEAN JOHNSTON

ATLANTA — "People are asking, who is this Mary who messed up that loving white community in south Cobb County?" began Mary Cater as she stood before a February 11 rally of over 250 civil-rights supporters in Marietta, Georgia. She then proceeded to tell her story.

"On October 12, just weeks after my family moved into a white neighborhood in Mableton, shotgun blasts were fired into my home. There were 24 slugs in my front door, my car rear window was shot out, my mailbox run down, and car tires slashed. One of those slugs missed the head of my son by inches.

"Around the Christmas holidays, five trucks and cars pulled into my driveway and sat there. These same vehicles have become familiar to me because I often see them following me. Recently a young white male tried to run me off the road.

"In all of these incidents, the police and county commissioners say it's 'an isolated thing.' I want to know why they can't even find a suspect. They say it's a 'one time thing,' but it keeps happening," said Cater.

## Fight to get Blacks hired

"I'm not going to say I stand here before you unafraid," said Cater. "But I am standing."

"The truth is, all this didn't start when my family moved into Mableton," continued Cater. "I've lived in Cobb County all my life. Out of 70 members of my family living in south Cobb, only three could get jobs here. It was when myself and others in the NAACP initiated the Fair Share program, demanding that employers in the county hire Blacks, that a can of gasoline was poured on a tree in my lawn and ignited.

"I grew up in south Cobb, so I was used to elected officials with their boots on Black throats keeping us down. I was used to the fact that there was no meeting hall in the county for Blacks. I was used to being called 'nigger' because the civil rights movement hadn't gotten out this way yet. I was used to 46 out of 47 elected county officials being white. And I was used to the controlled news that never reported the many incidents of racist violence against Blacks in the county," said Cater.

"It was when we in the NAACP started going after the 1,700 businesses in the

county that hire only 200 Blacks, that they decided to 'get Mary.'

"The politicians and the preachers tell me not to use the words 'Black and white.' Well, that's what they're making it. There are a lot of good whites in Mableton. A white school bus driver makes sure that my son is safely in the house before he drives off. That's not who I'm talking about," said Cater. "The problem lies in the system, in the elected officials and their police, not the people.

"State Rep. Joe Mack Wilson said, 'I don't think we have serious racial problems because there are not many Blacks in Cobb County.' So he's saying that Blacks are the problem," said Cater. "They are saying that Operation PUSH, and SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference], and the unions coming into Cobb County are 'outside agitators.' They say that my family is 'block-busting' for the NAACP.

"Well, Dr. Martin Luther King said that if you are part of the civil-rights movement, you are not an outsider — that your struggle is wherever there is discrimination. So as a resident of Cobb County, I'm inviting you," said Cater.

"The power is in the people. There are 17,000 Blacks in south Cobb County. What if we pulled our purchasing power from local businesses?" asked Cater. "If Blacks and white working people could see for themselves the misuse of public funds — the lack of hot and clean running water, the lack of public transportation — they would join us," said Cater.

"Don't hand me statistics and tell me what it's like to be Black. I already know that. I'm a proud Black woman. I appeal to the working people in south Cobb County, Mableton, and Austell — let's take on this system and these elected officials!" concluded Cater to loud applause.

## Justice for the Cater family

Oscar Freeman, Jr., president of the Cobb County NAACP, passed around petitions demanding justice for the Cater family for distribution throughout the community.

Freeman explained that "the night of the shooting at the Cater home, I was out of town on active duty. This troubles me deeply. Here I am willing to give my life for this country, and back at home in my own county, a Black family is being shot at. And not a pastor in the Mableton area,

and not a single politician has raised a finger to stop this!" said Freeman. "Mary has made a call to action, now we need to do it."

Other speakers included Evelyn Lowery of the SCLC; Rev. Bill Thurston of Operation PUSH; and representatives of Metro Fair Housing, and Georgia Counter-Klan Project.

"We say this is no isolated incident," said Thurston. "The only Black owner of a Kentucky Fried Chicken in Mableton has received bomb threats."

## Broader context

"Let's put this in a broader context," continued Thurston. "State officials stand opposed to a mass transit system that would connect Mableton with Atlanta and the 20th Century. The burden of finding a job and getting to that job is put on the backs of white, Black, and Hispanic workers.

"We've got to struggle against the local government, private enterprise, and those weak-kneed preachers in Mableton," concluded Thurston. "We've got to rise like the Cater family and stand up for justice."

Following the rally, Mary Cater spoke before the first women's conference in Atlanta to be organized by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). She received a good response when she called on AFSCME, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), as well as other unions to "join Mary Cater in this fight," adding "I'll be there when we fight to get more unions in the county."

These public workers were especially receptive because they are fighting for a new contract and demanding a wage increase from the city. Democratic Mayor Andrew Young is saying no to the wage increase while saying nothing about the racist violence in nearby Mableton.

The Socialist Workers candidate for congress in the 5th Congressional District, Maurice Williams, and Susan Winsten, the socialist candidate for U.S. Senate, said they would use their campaign to get out the truth about Cater's struggle and to help build a movement to stop racist terror in Cobb County.

Winsten, a member of ACTWU Local 365, works in the Arrow Shirt warehouse near the Cater family home.



# Lebanon: no let-up in U.S.-Israeli war

Continued from front page

Reagan reaffirmed that the role of the U.S. Marines in Lebanon is not over, despite the fact that he has ordered the majority of them moved to ships offshore. They are being redeployed "to a more defensible position," the president said, stressing that the 25-ship U.S. naval force will not leave the area. U.S. planes will continue to carry out spy flights over Lebanon, and that Washington is considering sending special training teams to aid Gemayel's army.

Reagan didn't utter a word of criticism against Israel for its latest bombing raids. Instead, he praised the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which he said was needed to combat Palestinian "terrorists." He also supported the May 17, 1983, agreement between Israel and Gemayel, which guarantees continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon.

## 'Mission not over'

The Israeli offensive began after embattled President Gemayel offered to cancel the May 17 agreement if opposition forces would allow him to stay in power. The agreement, negotiated by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, permits Israel to keep "security" forces in southern Lebanon indefinitely and extends economic privileges to Israel there. It also provides for a form of diplomatic recognition of the Zionist state.

The Syrian government — which was excluded from negotiations on the Israel-Lebanon pact — rejected Gemayel's latest proposed settlement and maintained its demand that Israel get out of Lebanon first. Lebanese opposition forces, who rely on Syria for military support, also turned down the Gemayel proposal and continued fighting Lebanese army troops.

Much is at stake for Israel — and Washington — as the opposition forces continue to push back the Lebanese army. The Gemayel regime was established in 1982 as a result of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, backed by Washington. The invasion succeeded in forcing the troops of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to leave Beirut. Bashir Gemayel, head of the right-wing Christian Phalangists, was picked to set up a new government that would keep the PLO out and suppress the majority of the Lebanese population, which is Muslim. But he was killed shortly thereafter in a car-bomb attack, so his brother Amin took over.

A multinational force of imperialist troops from the United States, France, Britain, and Italy was sent in to help Israel preserve the new regime.

Although Muslim politicians joined Gemayel's government, they were finally forced to resign in early February after the Lebanese army launched an unprovoked attack on Shi'ite Muslim neighborhoods south of Beirut. Muslim and Druse militias drove the army out of West Beirut and then out of surrounding hills, leaving them in control only of East Beirut, a Christian area, and a few other spots.

As the central government and army disintegrated, Israel signaled that it would stand firm in southern Lebanon no matter what happened. It backed up its words with bombs after Gemayel raised the possibility of canceling the May 17 agreement.

## 'Israeli security'

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens declared that Israel would keep troops in Lebanon "as long as there is no central government capable of preserving south Lebanon and the security of northern Israel."

Yitzhak Shamir, prime minister of Israel, said "we shall now protect our interests and insure the security of our northern border in the manner which we deem necessary. I want to address a warning that Israel will not tolerate any attempt at re-establishing in Lebanon a terrorist base of operations against Israel or against Israelis in southern Lebanon."

"Israeli security" was the original justification for the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The excuse was as false then as it is now.

The "Palestinian terrorists" are simply the original residents of Palestine who were thrown out of their country by the Zionist forces who occupied it and turned it into the state of Israel in 1948. The Palestinians' crime is that they continue to fight for

their right to return to their homeland. It is not they who threaten peace in the Mideast, but the Israeli government and its backers in Washington, who have used aggression for decades to keep the Palestinians and the rest of the Arab peoples from regaining their rights.

The Israelis bombed several villages in Lebanon on February 19, claiming that Palestinian "terrorist command posts" were located there. But when reporters went to one of the towns, Damur, they discovered that the target of the Israeli bombing was a woodworking factory where Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrant laborers worked. Not only were there no Palestinians in the factory, but none even lived in the area.

The real threat to security in southern Lebanon comes from the 15,000 Israeli troops there. When Israeli soldiers first invaded the area, many Muslims, who are the majority of the population in the region, welcomed them. That welcome has now turned to hatred.

The Israeli troops have subjected residents to continuous abuse. Homes are raided in the middle of the night on the pretext of looking for "terrorists." Parents are dragged in for questioning about their children's political activities. Mosques are desecrated.

Israeli troops close down all bridges at 5 p.m. each day and at times have demanded that residents carry passes to get from one place to another in their own country. Fishermen have been prevented from carrying out their work. Hundreds of acres of orange trees have been leveled to keep "terrorists" out.

## Change of view

The *New York Times* interviewed a resident of Sidon, the largest city in southern Lebanon occupied by the Israelis. Sheik Hussayh Mallah, a Sunni Muslim leader, said he had at first been glad when Israeli troops arrived and defeated the PLO. When the Israelis invaded in 1982, Mallah said, "they carried a gun in one hand and candy in the other. But after they were finished with the Palestinians, they started to do the same to the Lebanese."

As a result, military resistance by Muslims to the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon has mounted. Last November, 60 Israeli soldiers were killed in the city of



Aftermath of 1982 Israeli raid in southern Lebanon. Israeli army is again bombing civilian targets.

Tyre when their headquarters was bombed. There were some 70 attacks on Israeli soldiers in January, and the resistance continues.

There are also tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees in the area. Many remain in detention centers set up by the Israelis, but some have been released to return to refugee camps in the area. Muslim leaders say they have refused to allow Palestinians to rearm.

Worried about the possible impact of events in northern Lebanon, Israel is now trying to mobilize local forces that can help police the Muslim population in southern Lebanon. It has begun to organize the fascist-like forces of the Guardians of the

Cedars, along with right-wing militiamen of the late Saad Haddad, toward this end.

The Israeli military operations are aimed in large part at threatening the Syrian government, which is now in a stronger position to negotiate a settlement of the conflict in Lebanon. Syria wants to see a more friendly Lebanese regime as well as remove the Israeli troops in southern Lebanon, which pose a constant danger of attack. However, to get this, Syria is willing to compromise at the expense of the Palestinian and Lebanese masses. This was openly demonstrated to Washington last fall, when the Syrian troops — acting under the cover of dissident PLO factions

Continued on Page 12

## Massacre of Lebanese, Palestinians discovered

BY HARRY RING

The people of Lebanon have been fighting stubbornly against the government of their country and its army, continuing their resistance despite shelling from U.S. battleships.

Why does the popular opposition run so deep? One recent revelation helps explain this.

Five months ago, at least 117 men, women, and children were massacred in the Lebanese village of Kafr Matta, 10 miles from Beirut.

The atrocity was committed by members of the U.S.-trained Lebanese army and the profascist Christian Phalange, which was organized and financed by the Israeli government.

Last September, when fighting erupted in the area, the Lebanese government's army units withdrew and the Christian Phalange moved in. Local Druse militia members were driven out.

There were reports at the time that during the transfer of control of the village from the army to the Phalange, a massacre of civilians had occurred. Both the Lebanese Army command and the Phalangists categorically denied this.

Later, international relief agency workers who went into the area said they saw at least 50 bodies in the streets or hanging from balconies.

Now, on February 14, Druse liberation fighters recaptured Kafr Matta.

They found 117 corpses.

According to reporters on the scene, almost all the bodies seemed to be those of civilians, including men of various ages, women, and babies.

Some were in the houses where they were killed five months ago. Some were lying in a field and others were still in the streets, frozen in death.

Members of the returning local Druse militia went through the corpses trying to identify relatives, sometimes succeeding in recognizing a mother, an aunt.

An isolated, atypical act?

Not by a long shot.

Back in the summer of 1976, the Phalangists decided to wipe out Tel Zaatar, a refugee camp of some 30,000 in East Beirut. It was composed of Palestinians driven from their homeland by the Israeli government and impoverished Lebanese.

For 52 days the Phalangists shelled the camp and on Aug. 12, 1976, overran it.

Two doctors who escaped estimated there were 2,000 dead and 3,000 wounded.

In the intervening years between the 1976 massacre and the June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Phalange, which took its name from Franco's fascist forces, received an estimated \$100 million in Israeli aid. And, of course, U.S. dollars were pouring into Israel in far greater amounts.

In September 1982, the Phalange invaded the Palestinian refugee camps of Shatila and Sabra in West Beirut.

Hundreds of people were butchered. Later, it was established that the Israeli army let the Phalangists into the two camps and provided the killers cover while they did their bloody work.

This latest massacre helps underline why the Lebanese masses are so determined to be rid of U.S.-imposed rulers and Israeli-trained butchers.

## From Pathfinder

### Israel's War Against the Palestinian People

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

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





# U.S. threatens Tehran as war heats up between Iran, Iraq

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Fearing another setback on top of that taking place in Lebanon, the Reagan administration has stepped up military threats against Iran. The threats came as Iranian troops mounted a major offensive aimed at expelling Iraqi forces occupying the western part of their country.

On February 21, White House spokesman Larry Speakes refused to deny reports that a U.S. naval force was heading toward the Persian Gulf. The reports came from the British Broadcasting Corp., which also said that British warships were carrying out maneuvers in the area.

Reagan's commitment in the gulf, said Speakes, includes "doing what's necessary" to keep the waterway open and protect Arab states from Iran.

Iran is not the source of aggression in the Persian Gulf, however, but the victim. In 1980, Iraqi Pres. Saddam Hussein invaded Iran in an attempt to overthrow the government brought to power by the 1979 revolution against the shah. Hussein feared the example of the Iranian revolution spreading to his own and other Arab countries. Washington shared this fear.

But after 40 months of the war, including massive bombing of western Iranian cities, the Iraqi forces have been unable to overturn the revolution and have been pushed back, although they continue to occupy some Iranian border territory.

A decisive defeat for Iraq, coming on top of the setbacks for imperialism in Lebanon, has Washington greatly worried.

The Iranian government began its latest offensive as part of celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the revolution. It has mobilized a huge number of soldiers — some estimates range as high as 500,000 — near the border with Iraq. In the first three days of fighting, Iran said it had reclaimed some 60 miles of occupied territory.

The Iranian government announced February 18 it would continue its offensive on the ground, but would end shelling of Iraqi cities — providing Iranian cities were not bombed anymore. The Iraqi government had earlier announced a one-week cessation of bombing.

Both governments also agreed to a United Nations mission to assess the degree of civilian damage in the war. The Iraqi regime agreed reluctantly, since the last UN inspection found much greater damage to Iranian civilians than Iraqis. The Iraqi regime complained that Iran made "cheap propaganda" out of this fact.

On February 14 Iraq bombed six cities in Iran, killing 98 people and wounding 435,

according to Radio Tehran. It was perhaps the greatest single death toll in the war so far. The casualties from fighting on the ground are not known.

Iraq has threatened to use Exocet missiles provided by France to knock out Iran's oil export facility on Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf. The Iranian government has said it would respond to such an attack by closing the Strait of Hormuz, the only entrance to the gulf.

The current battles take place in the context of Iraq's worsening position in the war. Although Iran has suffered much higher losses, its troops are motivated by a desire to defend the revolution.

To maintain his invasion, Hussein has had to drain the Iraqi economy severely, and is now dependent on subsidies from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other gulf nations to keep going.

Hussein has also sought to improve his relations with imperialist countries in order to get help for his flagging war against Iran. France has obliged by arming Iraq.

The U.S. government has been reluctant to openly give military aid to the Iraqi regime, but has steadily stepped up relations and provided covert assistance.

According to *Kayhan International*, published in Tehran, Washington sent 12



military technicians to Iraq last August to train pilots. In late December 1983, the U.S. State Department announced it was ready to restore full diplomatic ties with Hussein, following a trip to Iraq by Reagan's Mideast envoy Donald Rumsfeld. And on February 2, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy met with Hussein in Baghdad, discussing both the Iraqi war and the situation in Lebanon, according to the Iraqi News Agency.

## U.S. 1954 plan to nuke Vietnam bared

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The U.S. ruling class discussed launching a nuclear attack against Vietnam in 1954 as part of a larger plan for U.S. military intervention there. This fact has been known for a while.

But new details about this part of Vietnam history were reported in the February 14 *New York Times* in an article by Drew Middleton.

The article was based on the just-published first volume of an official U.S. Army history of the Vietnam War, *Advice and Support: The Early Years*. The book reveals a sharp debate within U.S. ruling circles about whether to intervene in Vietnam in 1954 to save the French imperialists from their looming military defeat at Dienbienphu and the subsequent loss of their colonies in Southeast Asia.

Two separate U.S. Army plans in early 1954 advocated the use of nuclear bombs at Dienbienphu. One proposed dropping anywhere from one to six 31-kiloton bombs from carrier-based U.S. aircraft. Each bomb was three times as powerful as that used on Hiroshima by the U.S. ruling class in World War II.

According to Middleton, "the Army's G-3 planning division concluded that nuclear weapons could be used in a variety of ways to relieve the French in Dien Bien Phu. These included bombing the Vietminh forces and their bases.

"The authors of the two studies concluded that the use of nuclear weapons was 'technically and militarily feasible,'" said Middleton. "They also asserted that their use would reverse the military situation in France's favor, 'turning the entire course of the events in Indochina to the advantage of the U.S. and the free world.'" he reported.

A third plan called for the use of seven U.S. combat divisions for "a coordinated attack on the northern area of Vietnam."

These were not "contingency plans," based on some hypothetical scenario. They were actively considered for implementation. The official army history makes clear, that the discussion on whether to drop these bombs — which would result in mass murder and destruction — was based solely on cold-blooded political and military calculations which flowed from Washington's overriding goal — to prevent the success of the national liberation struggle under way in Vietnam.

As documents published in 1971 in the *Pentagon Papers* make clear, nuclear weapons were considered as a matter of course in overall U.S. planning for intervention in Vietnam, both against the Vietnamese and against China. "The employment of atomic weapons is contemplated in the event that such course appears militarily advantageous," wrote Adm. Arthur Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in a 1954 memo.

Gen. William Westmoreland, later commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam, studied the feasibility of using nuclear weapons during the 1968 siege of Khe Sanh.

Middleton's article leaves the impression that these U.S. plans for intervention, including with nuclear weapons, were rejected for technical, military reasons.

But in a cablegram to then U.S. Ambassador to France Douglas Dillon on April 5, 1954, then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles wrote, "it is not possible for U.S. to commit belligerent acts in Indochina without full political understanding with France and other countries."

In other words, Washington decided against military intervention in Vietnam at the time for political reasons. The U.S. rulers wanted a coalition of allies, and this was not to be had. They were also worried that neither French nor U.S. public opinion would support continued war; France had been waging war in Vietnam for eight years, and the Korean war had just ended.

This latest revelation about Washington's contemplated 1954 moves against Vietnam show, once again, where the real danger of nuclear war comes from — imperialist attempts to prevent revolution and protect capitalist interests in colonial and semicolonial countries.



Vietnam People's Army  
U.S. considered dropping nuclear bombs on Vietnamese to try to prevent French defeat at battle of Dienbienphu in 1954. Above, victorious soldiers atop French command bunker.

## Cop frame-up of Black family ends in Alabama

BY HEIDI FISCHER

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Trumped-up charges of attempted murder, kidnapping, and robbery against five Black men were dropped when a plea-bargain agreement was reached between defense lawyers and the district attorney here February 3.

The five, members of the Taylor family, are auto workers and steelworkers from Michigan and Ohio.

In the agreement, described by the prosecutor as "distasteful," four of the Taylors pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge of third-degree assault against two white police officers.

Their sentences were suspended, so they will spend no time in jail, and their six-month probation can be served in their home states. The Taylors agreed to pay \$11,000 restitution to the two cops.

All charges against the fifth defendant, Christopher Taylor, were dropped.

The case began a year ago with a violent confrontation between the two white cops and Taylor family members who had gathered at a Montgomery home after the funeral of a relative.

The Taylors explained that they defended themselves when two white cops broke into the house late at night with guns drawn. The two had been chasing and shooting at young Christopher Taylor. The Taylors said the two whites, who were in

plain clothes, never identified themselves as police. In the melee that ensued, one of the cops was shot.

After the Taylors subdued the intruders and called the police for help, 11 family members were arrested and brutalized.

Despite large protests in the Black community here, five family members were subsequently indicted by a grand jury on charges of attempted murder, kidnapping, and robbery.

In the first trial, held last November, a jury refused to convict Worrie Taylor and a mistrial was declared. Hundreds of Blacks had packed the courtroom on one side. On the other side were off-duty police led by Mayor Emory Folmar. The 13-day trial revealed big contradictions in the police story and the mysterious absence of key evidence.

Nevertheless, a retrial was scheduled for February 6. It was clear the city and state were ready to put tremendous resources into dragging these victims of police brutality through the courts again and again.

Faced with this situation, the Taylors agreed — despite their innocence of any wrong-doing — to accept the reduced charges.

The agreement is a setback for the police, who had intended to railroad the Taylors to long jail terms as an example to

any other Blacks who might try to defend themselves against racist violence.

Defense attorney Troy Massey told the news media the case is not over. He said Black leaders will push for an investigation into the police beatings of the Taylor family after their arrest.

Freddie Fox, coordinator of the Taylor Family Defense Committee, told the *Militant* that the mood in the Black community is one of disappointment. "Disappointment not in the [defense] lawyers, not in the Taylors, but in justice. They feel that justice has not been fully served."

Fox said there is still a question: "Have we the right to protect our homes? This question has not been answered."

After the emotional trauma and great personal difficulties for the family, Fox said, it's good that they don't have to face jail or more trials. "But it leaves Montgomery in a situation in which justice has not been served. People are baffled at the requirement that the family pay restitution to the police."

Fox explained that the Taylor case "opened the door to say police officers are not always right. In the past that would have been taken for granted."

"We now have to look at how best to address the continued racist attitude of the police, perpetuated by [Mayor] Emory Folmar," Fox concluded.



# SWP candidates' message to Sandino rally

Mel Mason and Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, sent greetings to the Nicaraguan people and government on their February 21 commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the death of Nicaragua's national hero Augusto César Sandino.

"It is fitting that you have chosen such a date on which to announce the schedule of elections in Nicaragua. These will be the first free elections in Nicaraguan history because they will take place in a Nicaragua that is free for the first time in history — free, above all, from the political domination of Washington," said Mason and González.

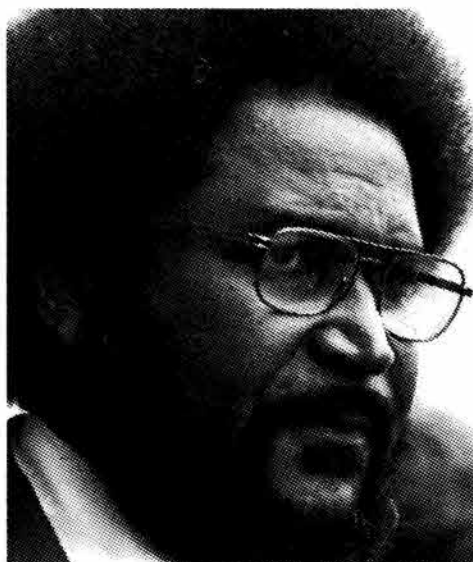
The message continued, "The Reagan administration claims to be concerned that the coming elections in Nicaragua be truly democratic. What hypocrisy! The thing Washington fears most is democratic Nicaragua where the workers and farmers lead the country politically and where economic and social policy is made in the interests of the great majority, not the exploiting few. This Nicaragua replaced that of the bloody Somoza tyranny, which enjoyed the support of U.S. ruling circles for decades."

"Despite this," they declared, "leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties have had the arrogance to demand that the government of Nicaragua provide them with guarantees that the coming elections will be conducted in an atmosphere

free of coercion! But what the North American people must demand is an immediate end by Washington to all coercion against the Nicaraguan revolution!"

Mason and González pledged to use their campaign to tell the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution and to "urge working people to join us in demanding that Washington stop its military and economic aggression against your country and instead send aid to the Sandinista people."

The message concluded, "We are confident that the name of Sandino will one day be as cherished among the North American working people as it is today among our brothers and sisters in Nicaragua and for the same reasons: his uncompromising battles against Yankee imperialism and his teaching that 'only the workers and farmers will go all the way' in the struggle to liberate humanity."



Mel Mason



Andrea González

Militant/Larry Lukehart

Militant/Harry Ring

## Sandinista debates State Dept. rep

BY MAUREEN McDOUGALL

DENVER — Before a standing-room-only crowd of 1,000 people, Francisco Campbell, consul for political affairs at the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, D.C., debated an official representative of the U.S. State Department here February 10.

The State Department person was Michael Skol, deputy director of the Office of Planning and Coordination at the Bureau

of Inter-American Affairs of the State Department.

The debate was introduced by Denver Mayor Federico Peña and was part of a conference on "The Crisis in Central America" sponsored by the Rocky Mountain Forum.

Skol attempted to justify U.S.-sponsored military attacks against Nicaragua, claiming that since the Sandinista revolu-

tion of July 19, 1979, Nicaragua has become a threat to its neighbors, is exporting violence to El Salvador, and has reneged on promises to hold elections.

The audience gave Skol a polite but cool reception. But they reacted warmly to Campbell, interrupting him several times with applause and giving him a standing ovation when he concluded.

Campbell cited the gains made by the Nicaraguan people since the 1979 overthrow of the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, including in literacy, health care, and democratic decision-making by the masses.

After reviewing briefly the history of U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, Campbell said, "What we are seeing here is not anything new, and not something that began over the past four years. Rather, we are seeing the continuation of a policy which, in essence, states that the United States, in the name of stability, always intervenes militarily in Latin America, in Central America, to support the forces of oppression."

On U.S. charges that Nicaragua is sending arms to rebels in El Salvador, Campbell noted the vast and sophisticated U.S. intelligence monitoring of his country. U.S. troops are in Honduras and U.S. fleets are off both coasts.

While U.S. intelligence officials brag that they can detect the flushing of a toilet in Managua, he said, they cannot produce a single photograph of even one of what would have to be thousands of canoes sneaking arms across the Gulf of Fonseca — which, he noted, is "virtually a U.S. lake."

Nicaragua's "threat" to the U.S., he said, "is the threat of a good example." When a Honduran mother "sees her baby dying from whooping cough, without medical attention, and hears that across the border in Nicaragua children are no longer dying of whooping cough, she says, 'Something good is happening in Nicaragua. We should imitate the Nicaraguan example.'"

Campbell ended by inviting U.S. citizens to come to Nicaragua and see the revolution for themselves.

## Farmers score victory in foreclosure suit

A federal district judge has prohibited the Farm Home Administration (FmHA) from foreclosing on mortgages held by 250,000 farmers around the nation.

Judge Bruce Van Sickle's ruling on February 17 made permanent the temporary restraining order he issued last November against FmHA foreclosures.

Judge Van Sickle ordered the federal loan agency to pay the farmers' legal fees and to carry out a 1978 law that allows farmers to stop principal and interest payments if they are without money as a result of "circumstances beyond their control" such as drought or low crop prices.

The ruling was a result of a lawsuit by nine North Dakota farmers against the FmHA. In October Judge Van Sickle granted the suit status as a class action representing farmers across the country.

## St. Louis church: sanctuary for Salvadorans

BY DIANNE GROTH

ST. LOUIS — "We call on the U.S. people to work to end U.S. military aid to the Salvadoran regime. We thank you for giving us sanctuary and time to explain the conditions of unionists and others in war-torn El Salvador."

This is how María and Julio (not their real names) began their testimony during a January 25 church service here titled "Sanctuary for God's People: another beginning."

Two hundred and fifty people crowded

into Immanuel Lutheran Church in this city's predominantly Black North Side, to show their support for the church's decision to grant sanctuary to María and Julio.

This is the first church in St. Louis to join 88 other churches around the country in providing sanctuary for refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has refused to grant political asylum to thousands of Salvadorans and Guatemalans who have come to this country fleeing U.S.-backed dictatorships. By

providing sanctuary for some of these immigrants, churches and other groups have prevented the INS from deporting them back to their countries, where many would face imprisonment and death.

"This turn-out will tell the government to keep its hands off and let these people catch their breath," said Rev. Theodore Schroeder, pastor of the church, in opening the service. Thirty-five church-affiliated groups from around the city endorsed the service. The Inter-faith Committee on Latin America helped build it.

María illustrated the poor economic condition in her country by mentioning that salaries have not risen since 1980 while there is rampant inflation. Unions are illegal and her life was threatened for involvement in the Bankers and Textile Workers Union. She left El Salvador in November 1983, after several of her union associates had been tortured and killed.

"Four of the bodies were found October 8. They had been strangled and tortured," María said. "That day, the bodies appeared on a television report. After playing the national anthem and showing the flag, the announcer said these were communists who had been killed by a death squad."

She described another incident in which a lawyer who had helped the union workers had been found strangled on a road. His fingernails had been pulled out and his face and arms had been cut and burned.

Julio, 27, taught economics at a night school and helped people displaced by the fighting in the rural areas find food and shelter in the capital city of San Salvador. Julio also received a death threat and left El Salvador in October 1983.

María and Julio said any citizen who works with displaced people or for a union comes under suspicion by the death squads. Both said that the squads are controlled by elements in the Salvadoran government. They say that more than 1 million people have fled from El Salvador in the past few years and that nearly 50,000 more have been killed in the civil war or by death squads. They plan on staying at this church before moving to another city to explain the workers and peasants side of the war in El Salvador.

"We are all descendants from refugees fleeing their homeland for America. These refugees also fought in our revolutionary war and the Civil War. María and Julio should be granted sanctuary." This statement was made by the representative of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches after the testimony was made.

A representative of the Catholic Worker Community also spoke.

## Nicaragua sets date for elections

Continued from front page

being Black and had [segregated] schools, stores, buses, and bars for Blacks; a democracy where barely 30 percent of the population participates in presidential elections." Nor does Nicaragua want a democracy that has "military and economic power to threaten and invade those who do not submit to its imperialist schemes."

No, Ortega said, that democracy is part of Somoza's time. "Here we're building our democracy, making our contributions to the democratization of Latin America, especially of Central America."

Roaring applause came when Ortega,

speaking for the government junta and the Sandinista National Liberation Front, said he considered that 16 year olds had won the right to vote by their massive participation in the revolution. Legislation to make this a reality would be recommended to the country's Council of State, he added.

Much to the fury of the right-wing bloc of political parties who consider 16-year-olds to be "immature adolescents," the Sandinista youth have been waging a campaign, complete with suffrage demonstrations and petitions, to be included in the elections.

Because Nicaragua is a sparsely populated country surrounded by war, Nicaraguan youth are required by circumstance to play an important role in both defense and production. Quite a number of youth who are today 16 years old took part in the war against the Somoza dictatorship four years ago.

Ortega also reported that the offer of amnesty to the counterrevolutionaries (excepting their leaders), which expired February 21, would be extended until May 4. So far, he said, 806 Nicaraguans have chosen to take advantage of the offer.

"We are contributing for the first time in our history to democracy," Ortega proudly reminded those assembled. Democracy for Nicaraguans, he explained, means literacy, people's organizations, workers rights, agrarian reform, sovereignty, independence, and self-determination. It means burying selfishness and the exploiters, he said.

Deafening artillery and rifle salutes were heard all over Nicaragua at 10:30 p.m., the exact time of Sandino's assassination, symbolizing that after 50 years, the general's ideas and dreams are very much alive and well here.



Sandinista rally, Managua, February 21.



# Grenada state farms under attack

Continued from back page  
its return.

This farm is mainly a banana estate. The old bosses are in a hurry to get this estate back because it's in full bloom — exporting some 500 boxes of bananas every week.

The Belvedere farm was taken over by the PRG because of its owners' neglect of the land. The revolutionary government invested East Caribbean \$160,000 (US\$57,143) in improving the farm. The money came through a loan from the Caribbean Development Bank. The GFC is asking that it be given a three-year lease to the land to make back its investment. The previous owners say the GFC shouldn't receive any compensation at all.

In addition to the Belvedere estate there are five other farms in which the PRG made major capital investments.

The GFC negotiators — who are Minister of Agriculture Arnold Cruickshank and two supporters of former dictator Gairy — have indicated they want to sell the other 20 state farms after divesting those expropriated by the PRG.

## Hardship on workers

The privatization of state farms will mean great hardship for agricultural workers. The PRG subsidized the farms, which allowed the revolutionary government to hire more workers than the capitalist landlords had done. The return of the old bosses will mean layoffs on these farms.

The PRG — a workers and farmers government — paid a lot of attention to improving working conditions for laborers. For example, the revolutionary government provided farming tools at very low cost to agricultural workers and introduced protective clothing for farm laborers working with pesticides.

Such concern for the health and safety of agricultural workers won't be shown by private owners, whose main concern is making a profit.

The bosses' greed for profits will also mean an end to the PRG's efforts to substitute locally produced food for imports. Private owners will replace production of carrots, lettuce, and sweet potatoes with bananas, cocoa, and nutmeg.

Nor are the capitalist landlords likely to continue the GFC's educational program for rural workers. During the revolution, the GFC, in conjunction with the Youth Employment Project, had organized a program to teach basic academic skills to agricultural workers.

## Gairyites active

Meanwhile, agricultural workers are beginning to discuss how to meet these new challenges. Intervening in this discussion are the forces of Eric Gairy, whose dictatorial regime was overthrown by the popular uprising that installed the PRG.

Gairy started out, not as a U.S.-backed tyrant, but as a trade union leader. In 1951 he led a struggle of agricultural workers that increased wages for rural workers. Many agricultural workers today are older and were involved in this struggle. Among

this layer Gairy still has support. One GFC employee told the *Militant* that on a recent visit to a state farm, workers told him "now is our time! Uncle Gairy is back!"

One of the most active Gairyites in the countryside is Oliver Raeburn. He has been going from farm to farm urging workers to join his union. Raeburn is the chairperson of the Grenada United Labor Party (GULP), which is Gairy's outfit. Under the Gairy dictatorship Raeburn was minister of agriculture.

Raeburn's attempt to organize a union of rural workers is aimed at undermining the Agricultural and General Workers Union. AGWU was formed after the 1979 Grenada revolution. The AGWU leadership was supportive of the revolution. AGWU organizes workers on both the private and state farms.

The extent to which Raeburn has been successful, one AGWU activist told the *Militant*, isn't clear. But, he pointed out, there have been other attempts to undermine AGWU that have been more widespread.

## AIFLD

Osborne Baptiste, an agent of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), has been trying to organize rural workers. AIFLD is a CIA operation that seeks to disrupt and hamper the work of unions that refuse to bow to imperialist dictates.

Baptiste has been visiting farms and telling the workers that the AGWU leadership is "communist and corrupt." The AIFLD agent hopes to whip up anticommunist hysteria against the AGWU leadership.



Grenadian Government Information Service  
Agricultural workers, shown marching on May Day last year, are special target of U.S.-imposed government's attempts to turn back gains of Grenada revolution.

teria against the AGWU leadership.

"Baptiste," an AGWU activist told the *Militant*, "only made inroads on one farm. But, on his return, he faced stiff opposition from the workers, who pointed out to him that he was actually proposing a break with the AGWU and formation of another union."

In discussions with AGWU leaders Baptiste claimed he was only trying to see how AIFLD could aid the reorganization efforts of AGWU.

These moves against AGWU are being made at a critical time for agricultural workers. AGWU is going into contract negotiations with the GFC and private farm owners on March 5. One of the major concerns of the workers is wages. Agricultural

workers receive EC\$8.50 an hour (US\$3). Their wages have traditionally been on the same scale as road-maintenance workers, who now receive about EC\$13 (US\$4.64) an hour.

But the new GFC management is pleading poverty, and has already refused to give agricultural workers public holiday pay that is owed them.

For their part, private farm owners have shown they want to cut wages. On one farm, for example, the owner lowered the wages of the older workers saying they "weren't productive enough."

One AGWU activist told the *Militant* that this could never have happened under the Provisional Government, led by Bishop.

## Louisiana meeting hears truth about Grenada

BY RON REPPS

NEW ORLEANS — Almost 200 people turned out January 27 to see the film *Grenada: The Future Coming Towards Us*.

The audience, 75 percent of which was Black, included teachers, oil workers, nurses, merchant seamen, students, civil rights activists, members of the National Black Independent Political Party, and community and church leaders.

The film was shown at Xavier University, which has a Black student body.

The film is a stirring documentary of the accomplishments of the 1979 Grenada revolution under the leadership of its former Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Following the film a panel of activists spoke.

Courtney Blair, a native of Guyana and a professor at Loyola University, said: "You saw in this film the man Maurice Bishop, who will go down as the greatest leader in the English-speaking Caribbean." Blair was sharply critical of the pro-U.S. Caribbean heads of government who aided Washington's invasion of Grenada.

Lloyd Richards, a member of the executive council of the United Teachers of New Orleans, said the U.S. government has no right to impose its will on another country.

"The media," he said, "which is controlled, as we know, and the [U.S.] gov-

ernment tell us about Grenada, they tell us about Cuba and about all sorts of events around the world. But how can we believe these things, coming from a government that has said there is no hunger in the United States?"

He was present, he added, "to show my support for bringing out information like this in an attempt to counter all that we hear from the other side."

Ron Chisom, a long-time fighter for social and political change in Louisiana and throughout the South, recently visited Nicaragua.

As Black people, he said, "we can relate to the invasion of Grenada and the crushing of that revolution. We must now all get involved to help the brothers and sisters in Nicaragua to keep the U.S. from doing the same thing to them."

He said, "Whether we're talking about over there or here, we're talking about the same people doing it to us, cutting our standard of living over here and killing them over there. And as long as we let that

old-time racism, both institutional and personal, divide us, we won't be able to win the rights we've been fighting for for so long."

Derrick Morrison of the Socialist Workers Party pointed out that the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada was "not based on the bankers and the rich, but on the workers and peasants."

Gains in unionization under the Grenada revolution, he said, "make it a must for study by trade unionists in this country."

And if, he said, "a small, impoverished island can cut unemployment in half, then we, with such high Black unemployment, should study this example." That's why the U.S. government invaded, he said: Washington "could not allow [the revolution] to be studied."

The film and panel were sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the Mid-City Area Council; the Socialist Workers Party; Rev. Avery Alexander; and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

## Canada auto workers win child care

The following article appeared in the February 13 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a biweekly socialist newspaper published in Montreal.

BY NANCY WALKER

For the first time in Canadian history, a major industry has been forced to help fund daycare services for its employees.

In December 1983, 1,170 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) at American Motors' Stratford, Ontario, soft-trim plant won this important provision. Starting December 16, 1984, the company will pay two cents an hour for each of its bargaining unit employees to be used for daycare services. Over the course of 1984, a union committee will take responsibility for getting the daycare center operating. As well, more funds from government will be sought.

With women an increasing part of the work force, the victory is a significant one. Statistics show that 54.7 percent of women with children under the age of six are working outside the home. Between 1971 and 1981, the overall number of women in the work force rose from 2.9 million to 4.8 million. Families are forced to seek two in-

comes simply to survive.

Yet at the same time, there's another contradictory trend. Daycare spaces are disappearing and costs for those that remain are skyrocketing as government funds are withdrawn from social services. It is working women who pay for this situation. Many have been fired or forced to quit; others have been unable to even find jobs because there's no one else to care for their children.

A January 31 *Globe and Mail* article pointed out an example of what happens through this kind of "belt-tightening" government policy. In Stratford, where the UAW is located, a brand new daycare center stands empty. It was built just a year ago. Now that government subsidies have been yanked out, no one can afford to send their children there.

The provisions won by the UAW workers, 90 percent of whom are women, will help correct this injustice in Stratford. Its announcement was met with considerable excitement in the labor movement across the country. As Basil Hargrove of the UAW national office said, "It's a unique breakthrough... and I'm sure other unions are going to follow our lead."

AVAILABLE NOW

## "Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again"

Videotape of interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

In this film, which was produced by the National Black United Front, Rojas describes the events that took place between Oct. 12, 1983 — when Bishop was placed under house arrest by Deputy Prime Minister Coard — and Oct. 19, 1983 — when thousands of Grenadians freed Bishop and marched to Fort Rupert, where he was killed.

Rojas explains the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution, Cuba's aid to the Grenadian people, and the developments inside the ruling party, the New Jewel Movement.

Length: 80 minutes, standard speed VHS videotape. Rental fee: \$35. Order from: The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014; (212) 929-3486.



# 'Barricada': big gains in readership

BY LEE MARTINDALE

One of the concrete indications of the growing strength of the Nicaraguan revolution is the big jump in readership of *Barricada*, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In the last year the paper's average daily circulation has more than doubled.

Sergio de Castro, international editor of *Barricada*'s international edition, explained this to a group of U.S. and Canadian workers who visited Nicaragua last November on a trip organized by Militant/PM Tours, Inc.

In 1979, when the repressive U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza was overthrown by a mass popular revolution, the most widely-read daily paper was *La Prensa*. *La Prensa* reflected the outlook of businessmen and landlords who opposed the Somoza regime. These forces aimed to replace the Somozas as the country's new rulers. As the major anti-Somoza daily during the struggle against the dictatorship, *La Prensa* had won respect and a massive circulation.

But with the establishment of a new FSLN-led government representing the interests of workers and peasants, *La Prensa*'s support to the revolution abruptly cooled. Its editorial policy more and more openly attacked the advances of the revolution and sought to undermine support for the FSLN and the government.

A struggle developed between the newspaper's management and employees who supported the revolution. Editorials attacking the revolution appeared with disclaimers added by the typesetters. This struggle culminated with the majority of the staff and one of the owners leaving *La Prensa* to set up a third daily, *El Nuevo Diario*.

## Evolution of 'Barricada'

*Barricada* used to have a much lower circulation than either *La Prensa* or *El Nuevo Diario*. Today, its growing popularity reflects the Sandinistas' increasing support among the workers and peasants, and the more and more active role these sectors of society are playing in the revolution — through their trade unions, through the women's and youth organizations, through peasants' organizations in the countryside, and through the militias organized to defend the country from escalating military attacks by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries based in Honduras and Costa Rica.

De Castro explained to our tour group *Barricada*'s origin and goals:

"*Barricada* was launched six days after the triumph of the revolution, for us to be able to draw together all the experience of the underground revolutionary press of the FSLN before the victory. For us, and for the people of Nicaragua, *Barricada* means the conquest of freedom of expression for the people.

First published in 1979, Sandinista daily *Barricada* is now most widely read newspaper in Nicaragua. Top story is about voting age for youth.

"Before the triumph, for revolutionaries, for the Sandinistas, and for the democratic sectors in general to distribute information and propaganda to inform the people could mean jail, torture, and even death."

De Castro said that at the beginning, *Barricada*'s coverage was heavily weighted toward speeches and articles explaining the program and goals of the FSLN, at the expense of news. This has changed.

"*Barricada* is the official voice of the FSLN. But for us it's not just a question of putting out an ideological newspaper, but rather one that manages to capture and reflect the daily tasks and efforts that the people are carrying out, in transforming the society and in building a new social system. We're trying to put out a paper that has in its pages the daily efforts of the people, the revolutionary government, and the mass organizations.

"At the same time the paper will be critical of the errors and the faults that we have and can contribute in this way to overcoming the deficiencies and strengthening the organization and furthering the involvement of the people in solving their own problems, whether they be local community problems, problems of production, of the satisfaction of basic needs, or the defense of the revolution itself."

## Debate and discussion

*Barricada* has opened its pages to debates and discussions among supporters of the revolution, for example around a law proposed by the Nicaraguan women's organization aimed at making child support legally the responsibility of men as well as women. Columns and letters were published expressing a variety of points of view supportive and critical of the law. More recently, *Barricada* has covered protests by young militia members and others demanding that the voting age be set at 16 so that those who are defending the revolution arms in hand can participate in the upcoming elections.

De Castro said putting out a newspaper devoted to advancing the consciousness and participation of the masses, instead of serving as a mouthpiece for the rich, means changing traditional journalism in Nicaragua.

"We're involved in an effort to professionalize the newspaper, to make it a scientific journalism," he explained. "Journalism in Nicaragua has always been what they call 'yellow journalism,' which is what used to be taught in many of the journalism schools. What's news is not when a dog bites a man but when a man bites a dog.

"But for us the news is neither the one nor the other. The news for us is the efforts that the people make in every situation. What we try to do is to give a different content to the newspaper and to the news, to make news about things that actually affect daily life, without any sensationalism.

"This has forced us to reorganize our paper, to write articles that are shorter, more precise, more informative, that give

the facts and reflect the experience of the people."

In January 1983, *Barricada* had a circulation of only 36,000. By November 1983, its average daily circulation had outstripped the other two dailies, increasing to 90,000. The circulation of *Barricada* is now equal to the combined circulation of the other two, and much of its increase in circulation has come at the expense of *La Prensa*.

De Castro pointed out that "the growth of *Barricada* reflects the growing confidence of the people in the FSLN and the growing involvement of the people in the popular organizations and in the tasks of the revolution. It also reflects the capacity of the *Barricada* staff to be a part of the process, especially as the aggression against us increases."

## Circulation campaigns

Special circulation campaigns have been carried out to reach the readers *Barricada* considers most important. The circulation department works with the leaderships of the unions in Managua to get the paper to workers in the factories. Bundles of *Barricada* are dropped off at the workplace and distributed by the union.

There are plans to make similar arrangements to get the paper to agricultural workers and peasant cooperative members in the countryside, but war and the economic blockade imposed on Nicaragua by the United States have made resources like gas and vehicles so scarce that this project has had to be postponed.

Other projects are carried out in Managua. De Castro described this: We carried out a pilot project in a very poor neighborhood. The comrades went and offered subscriptions to *Barricada* door to door. We realize that the workers don't buy newspapers every day, because to buy the newspaper every day would mean spending 60 cordobas a month, and that's food for two or three days. People buy newspapers two or three times a week.

"At times this problem can be resolved. The same newspaper can be read by a number of different workers. The important thing is that the workers have access to the information, as well as to the line of the FSLN."

As our tour traveled around Nicaragua we saw evidence of this emphasis on making the paper available. At the University in León, *Barricada* was posted on the bulletin boards. We noticed that all the articles begin and end on the same page to make this possible.

## Censorship

We asked de Castro about the censorship that has been imposed by the Nicaraguan government as a result of CIA-directed aggression against the country. *La Prensa* complains loudly about this censorship, and these complaints have been given wide publicity by the U.S. government and media. De Castro responded:

"This aggression we face is not just a military aggression, but a political and economic aggression as well that is also carried out through the means of communication. This has forced the revolutionary state to take measures to defend the revolution against this aggression in the field of communication.

"As revolutionary journalists, we would prefer that there not be these restrictions regarding information, because this would permit, in many cases, much broader discussion of many problems through the mass media. But you have to understand that Nicaragua is a very vulnerable country. We have few riches, our economy is weak, and it is very easy through the means of communication to provoke situations that will worsen the economic problems we have.

"We have historical examples that point to this: the case of Chile where the daily newspaper *El Mercurio*, created fear, encouraged hoarding of certain products, created false shortages of certain things.

"In the case of Nicaragua we also face military aggression, where these means of restricting information have even greater justification. I want to give you some examples.

"Through the mass media, the right wing carries out an effort on an ongoing basis to create the feeling that there is no threat of aggression. You see in the headlines of the daily newspaper *La Prensa*: 'United States Assures That It Will Not Intervene' or 'There Will Be No Intervention.'

"Things like that have just one objective: to disarm and divide the people so that they do not prepare themselves for that eventuality. Objectively, what they are doing is playing the game of those who are interested in destroying the revolution, and the game of those who are already attacking the country.

"We see the problem of censorship as linked to the defense of the country and our sovereignty. While we would prefer not to have to go to the border to fight with arms in hand against the counterrevolutionaries, which means for many Nicaraguan families the pain and loss of brothers and sisters and parents, we are ready to go. In the same way, we think that even though it would be better that censorship not exist we also know that it is necessary, that it's a question of defense, a question of survival."

## Close down 'La Prensa'?

Why hasn't *La Prensa* been closed down for its provocations against the people and the revolution?

"You can't eliminate the social sectors that make up society by decree," de Castro explained. "These sectors have their own political expression, and with their economic means they will also have their expression through the mass media. In the case of *La Prensa*, this means the coming together of the right wing in that newspaper.

"For the revolution the existence of those sectors does not in and of itself constitute a problem as long as they don't go over to the counterrevolution to the extent of actually picking up arms and placing themselves on the side of the imperialists."

"Why don't they cause a bigger problem? Because here we have a conscious people, an organized people. The existence of *La Prensa* allows the people themselves to see who these sectors are. It makes clear to the people who their true friends and allies are, and who is defending the big economic interests and imperialism.

"But we have *Barricada*, and when the circulation of *Barricada* grows while *La Prensa* declines, for us this is a much more important victory than if we were to grow just by closing down *La Prensa*. It means we are winning the ideological battle. This gives us much greater strength."

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



# Nicaraguan leaders: nurture law can't be implemented now

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Here in Nicaragua, as in Central America as a whole, a striking thing stands out about the family. More often than not, the father is missing. While there are no hard figures, it is estimated that between 60 percent and 80 percent of Nicaraguan women are the sole supporters of their families.

Many men abandoned their wives and families when faced with the unemployment, poverty, and despair that characterized the life of working people under the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza.

Most women were left with marginal work — selling food or trinkets, domestic jobs, and worse still, many were forced to turn to prostitution.

Big changes occurred four and a half years ago when workers and farmers toppled the capitalist government of Somoza.

Women began to organize in large numbers in cooperatives, unions, and in their own organization, Louisa Amanda Espinoza Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE).

Equal pay for equal work became the law of the land, giving women an important legal weapon in the fight for their rights.

Men and women learned to read and write in a massive literacy campaign followed up with adult education classes.

Prostitutes were offered an opportunity to learn skills that would allow them to hold productive jobs.

## New-found respect

With their massive participation in the successful 1979 revolution, women won a new-found respect — self-respect as well as respect from the men in their lives.

By getting rid of capitalist rule, a necessary precondition for winning the liberation of women has been established. Yet the revolution still faces a lot of hard work to achieve this goal.

One of the biggest difficulties is that Nicaragua is a very poor country and doesn't have the material base necessary for liberating women — that is, the resources to provide child-care centers, laundries, cheap restaurants, and other services that would free women from household work.

Commander Tomás Borge explained to AMNLAE's fifth anniversary celebration in September 1982 that the road will be difficult due to Nicaragua's inherited poverty and the resources needed for defense against armed aggression.

While stating that the revolution must look for audacious answers, he also warned that economic development by itself will not accomplish the liberation of women, nor would simply organizing the women be sufficient.

Referring to the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), he said, "We have to embark upon a difficult and prolonged ideological struggle — a struggle that equally benefits men and women.

"Men must overcome a multitude of prejudices. We know compañeros who are revolutionaries in the street, in their workplaces, in their militia battalions — everywhere — but they're feudal señores, feudal lords, in the home," said Borge pointing to a group of men amid roaring applause.

Borge's remarks, delivered shortly before AMNLAE introduced what is called the Law on Nurture into the Council of State, explained what was perhaps the cutting edge of that law: "Men who father children have to pay their children's upkeep. This is what the Law on Nurture is about!"

## Widespread discussion

The introduction of this law led to a widespread discussion on women, the family, and the pace of the Sandinista revolution.

AMNLAE, in its presentation of the law, stressed the importance of family solidarity and responsibility of all members toward one another. Nurture, a social concept in the law, referred not only to food but to education, health care, clothing, and general care as well.

The law specified that parents' responsibilities to children under the law could be fulfilled by housework, as well as payment in kind or money. It further stated that taking care of domestic tasks should be done by all members of the family, including males, which proved to be a very controversial point.

The Council of State discussed, debated, and refined the draft law for seven weeks and then approved it Nov. 25, 1982. Simultaneously, AMNLAE organized discussions in its chapters, in unions and block associations, and among professionals — wherever it could.

A limitation of the breadth of these discussions was that AMNLAE barely existed in the countryside and did not exist at all on the Atlantic Coast.

The law was referred to the three-member government junta, which would have to co-sign it before it could take effect. The junta, however, took no action on it.

About eight months later, the law re-entered the Council of State with a few modifications, which were approved by that body, and returned to the Junta. To date it has not been signed into law.

**Conference on family**  
At a three-day conference in late January concerning the Nicaraguan family, the status of the law was discussed.

On hand to answer questions were junta members Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez, who joined the conference for a "Face the Nation" session. This was a direct question-and-answer session between the participants and government leaders, broadcast live nationally over radio and televised a few days later.

In welcoming the two leaders, conference coordinator Rosa María Zelaya, a psychologist, summed up some of the conference's conclusions, and touched on the Law on Nurture.

"We believe it is imperative to continue with juridical transformations in terms of regulating family relations. We are particularly concerned that the Law on Nurture be signed into law," she stressed, "and that we continue elaborating juridical norms of both a substantive and procedural character."

Next to take the floor was Dr. María Lourdes Bolaños, a magistrate of the Supreme Court as well as the director of AMNLAE's Legal Office for Women. Lourdes was in charge of AMNLAE's work on the Law on Nurture until other work of the revolution called her away.

While describing a number of educational steps the revolution has taken to do this, he explained that one of the tasks of the legislative assembly to be elected in 1985 would be to create an entirely new legislative system in civil and penal law as well as in civil procedures.

Yadira Valderio, director of AMNLAE in the southwestern province of Corazo, asked the government leaders to explain why, in particular, the Law on Nurture has not been signed "since it would be of great benefit to the Nicaraguan family."

Daniel Ortega, the coordinator of the governing junta, agreed, "Yes, there are some laws that in principle have great support. These laws are just, but applying them is rather complicated. . . .

"While it is true that it is a just law, conditions are not sufficiently mature to enable us to consistently apply the Law on Nurture."

Ortega drew a comparison with the draft law on housing — a measure intended to gradually do away with landlords and rent. This law, which would not only adversely affect big landlords, but many small ones as well, has also in effect been "frozen," Ortega said.

**Backwardness of society**  
Ortega reported that the law on Nurture has been discussed in a special commission comprised of members of the Council of State, the court system, the government junta, and the Sandinista police.

"The commission took into account the characteristics of Nicaraguan society — its backwardness," Ortega said. "In reality there is a backwardness," he repeated, "a backwardness that cannot be overcome in the short term."

"And, as I said at the beginning [of the session] we cannot ignore the connection between this and the aggression we are living through. Because this very situation does not permit us to take up with sufficient thoroughness, security, and maturity, a whole series of social problems. The situation of aggression even affects efforts in the social realm."

"That is why the Law on Nurture is still stalled there, so to speak. We cannot say that it is not going to be applied in this country, but rather that it was felt that at the moment its application would not be appropriate, since we do not see in Nicaraguan society the conditions that could facilitate its application."

"Seminars like these," Ortega said, referring to the family conference, "help project a higher level of consciousness in the population. Then laws like this will be easily applied, or less difficult to apply," he concluded.

She explained that in the past year AMNLAE's legal office went to the courts with only 10 percent of its cases. This was because "the courts have to apply obsolete laws and obsolete schemas that do not correspond to Nicaragua's social reality."

"We consider that the underlying problem is one of the system, of the structure. We are aware of the efforts that are being made to improve this situation. But the results, in their majority, have been negative. And that is why we are asking for greater attention to this matter — because we have before us sorrowful cases of what should be elemental and summary justice, but that have been in the courts for eight months."

Sergio Ramírez then explained that "In revolutionary processes there are things that change more quickly and others that change very slowly."

He cited the nationalization of the banks, Somoza's property, and the mines as examples of rapid changes, but said "the administration of justice cannot change so violently."

"It is a problem that we have not changed the laws, that the judicial proceedings we use are in great part the same as those of Somozaism," agreed Ramírez. "But above all we are in the process of changing the mentality of those who administer justice."



Margaret Randall  
**Sewing machine operator in Managua. From 60-80 percent of Nicaraguan women are the sole support of their families. Women have made big gains through revolution, but imperialist-imposed poverty and war are obstacles to more rapid progress.**

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## W. Va. doctor visits Nicaragua mine

The following article appeared in the January 15 issue of the *Sunday Gazette-Mail* from Charleston, West Virginia. The title of the article was: "Defense is part of daily life for Nicaraguan miners."

BY DAN DOYLE

Every day at 5 p.m. a long whistle blast pierces the afternoon calm of El Limón, a mining town in northwest Nicaragua.

"End of shift?" I asked, the first time I heard it.

"No, the alarm. It's a drill to see how quickly people can get to their posts for defense of the mine and town."

I watched the drill from the small clinic located a stone's throw from the mine entrance and mill. Gold miners in boots and hard hats armed with rifles hurried up the road toward the mine. Nurses and doctors wheeled patients out of the hospital. Children filed into freshly dug *refugios*, bomb shelters, near their school or their homes. In El Limón, as in much of Nicaragua, the possibility of war is taken seriously. Preparations for defense are part of daily life.

I spent the last week of November in Nicaragua as part of a 116-member North American medical delegation attending the Third National Scientific Assembly on Health. The conference was sponsored jointly by Nicaragua's health workers' union, physicians' association, and Ministry of Health.

I had come to Nicaragua with many questions. I was especially interested in the medical problems and health care of mining communities. Since 1977 I have worked as a family physician in a community health center that cares for coal miners and their families. I knew that Nicaragua had gold and silver mines. How, I wondered, would mining and miners' health in Nicaragua compare to what I had seen in West Virginia?

I was the only gringo riding the crowded local bus from the regional capital, León, out to Mina El Limón one sweaty Saturday morning. The two-hour trip took us from the low coastal plains near the Pacific up into rugged green hill country. For the last hour the bus bumped over dirt roads and rolled through shallow creeks, stopping

every few miles to deliver peasants returning from the León market to their thatched roof, mud-walled homes. Just after 1 p.m. we reached Mina El Limón, the end of the line. The three days I spent there were the high point of my stay in Nicaragua.

From 1937 to 1979 this humble rural village of 6,000 people had been a company town, owned by Septentrion Mining Co., a U.S.-Canadian multinational corporation. Then, in 1979, after the dictator Somoza was overthrown by a popular uprising led by the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) the mine was nationalized.

Many of the miners fought against Somoza. All 800 members of the Pedro Roque Blandón mine workers local union at El Limón complex belong to a "miners' battalion," which is completely responsible for the defense of the mine and has seen five months' active duty near the Honduran border since March. Mina El Limón is a Sandinista town. Several days of visiting and talking with dozens of lifelong residents helped me understand why.

"Before 1979 we labored like animals in

Continued on Page 13



**Cheaper by the gross** — Secretary of War Weinberger says 100 B1-B bombers can be built for about \$200 million apiece. (Yes, you read it right. \$200 million.) Skeptics argue the estimate is arti-



**Harry Ring**

ficially low, plus the Pentagon is really planning on building as many as 300. Officials respond that ordering them in that quantity

would lower the unit price.

**Not like the Einsteins in Washington** — Malcolm Toon, a former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, had met Konstantin Chernenko, the new top Soviet official, and found him a "dullard."

**Kill that word!** — The word "killing" is no longer permitted in State Dept. human rights reports. Elliott Abrams, the department's human rights custodian, explained that "unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of life" is more legally precise.

**Capitalist monuments** — In the past year and a half, the Ten-

nessee Valley Authority has cancelled four nuke units at a loss of \$1.8 billion and is turning back to coal. Said the manager, "Some folks might look at abandoned nuclear plants as monuments to mistakes and stupidity. I look at them as monuments to good management."

**Cookie power** — Detroit-area Girl Scouts had slated teen-age sex education classes, including information on birth control and abortion. "Right-to-lifers" responded with a threatened boycott of Scout cookies. The education program will be revised, teaching girls how to say "no." Maybe the adults who crumbled under the threat of the

cookie boycott should take the class.

**Only the system can stink** — Baltimore's downtown public library is concerned about the growing number of homeless who spend winter days there. One of the posted new rules asserts: "Users of the Library are expected to maintain an acceptable standard of personal hygiene. Unpleasant body odor, which may offend other patrons of the Library, is considered unacceptable."

**Illegally unadulterated** — FDA agents and armed federal marshals swooped down on a St.

Louis chocolate plant, seizing 19 pounds of Grand Marnier cremes containing genuine Grand Marnier liqueur. Only "flavoring agents" are permitted. (Some of the artificial flavorings have as much as 70 percent alcohol.)

**Getting soft?** — Eight major studies in four countries, plus some 80,000 scientific papers, have established that smoking is bad for your health. But R.J. Reynolds, the coffin-nail folk, is launching a multimillion-dollar ad campaign claiming it's "an open question." However, queried on TV, Reynold's chief honcho did concede that puffing "may well stain your teeth."

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Malcolm X: What He Stood For, Why He Was Killed.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**Who Killed Karen Silkwood?** Sat., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Behind the Tragedy in Grenada.** Videotape interview with Don Rojas, press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Presentation by James Harris, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, visited Grenada in 1981. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Militant Bookstore/Libreria Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### Oakland

**Life and Work in Nicaragua Today.** Eyewitness reports and slides from three participants in international Nicaragua coffee and cotton work brigades in January 1984. Speakers: Adjua Codjoe Adams, Kathleen Defendorf, Diana Kuderna. Fri., March 2, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

#### San Diego

**Rally for Trade Union Rights.** Speakers: Sally Goodman, United Auto Workers member and victim of government harassment in "security" investigation; Merrill Cohen, fired from Tele-dyne-Ryan for her antiwar and trade union activity; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb.

25, 7:30 p.m. 222 Broadway (Golden Hill Community Center). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

#### Educational Conference on Socialism

**1. Celebrate 25 Years of the Cuban Revolution.** Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, recently returned from Cuba. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 9, 7:30 p.m. Educational Cultural Complex, 4343 Ocean View Blvd. Donation: \$2.

**2. Classes, Seminars, Slide Show.** On the working-class view of world events, capitalism and racism, the defeat of the revolution in Grenada, the advances of the Cuban revolution, and the progress made by women in Cuba. Classes will be conducted in English and Spanish. Sat., March 10, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. 1053 15th St. (near City College). Donation: \$1.

**3. Rally: Mason for U.S. President.** Featuring 1984 Socialist Workers candidates for Congress from San Diego. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 10, 7 p.m. Oneira Club, 4649 Hawley Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

### COLORADO

#### Denver

**The Legacy of Malcolm X.** Speaker: Joe Walters, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**Film: Tribute to Malcolm X.** Followed by panel discussion. Speakers: Omar Farooq, Muslim Students Association of Indiana University; Joe Buckner, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**We Are Driven.** Videotape exposing myth that Japanese industrial system works. Discussion will follow. Sun., March 4, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Stop U.S. Bombing of Lebanon: Bring Marines, Ships Home Now!** Panel discussion with representatives of Committee for a Democratic Palestine, Socialist Workers Party, and Detroit Lebanese community. Sun., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Rally to Introduce Socialist Workers Candidates for U.S. Senate and House: U.S. Out of Lebanon! Nationalize the Steel Industry!** Speakers: Joe Swanson, national spokesperson for Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign, member of United Transportation Union Local 305; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 25; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Ausp: 1984 Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### MISSOURI

#### St. Louis

**Young Socialist Educational Conference Honoring Black History Month.** Two classes by Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 1. "Black Reconstruction and the Fight for a Radical Agrarian Reform:

1865-1877." Sun., Feb. 26, 11 a.m. 2. "The Defeat of Radical Reconstruction and the Rise of Jim Crow: 1877-1920." Sun., Feb. 26, 2 p.m. United Black Community Fund Bldg. 1900 Pendleton St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas.** Speakers: Alice Windom, leader of National Association of Black Social Workers, met with Malcolm X in Ghana in 1964; Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sun., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. United Black Community Fund Bldg. 1900 Pendleton St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**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.

**Socialist Workers Campaign Open House.** Speaker: Priscilla Schenk, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; taped greetings from Mel Mason, socialist presidential candidate. Buffet dinner, party to follow. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 3, 6:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner, Raymond, 1 block from Broad St.). Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**Lessons from International Struggles: How Women Can Win Equality.** Panel to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 9; dinner (\$3 donation), 6:30 p.m.; forum (\$2 donation), 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner, Raymond, 1 block from Broad St.). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Albany

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas.** Speakers: Tim Holmes; Mike Stevens; George Kon-tanis, 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

**After 50 Years of Struggle... Sandino Lives!** A program of films, videos, slide shows, speakers, and music in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Augusto Sandino. Films include *Alsino and the Condor*

and *Letter From Morazan*. Sat., Feb. 25, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W 21 St., 2nd floor. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador, Casa El Salvador — Comité Farabundo Martí, Committee in Solidarity With the Peoples of Guatemala, others. For more information call (212) 243-2678.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**Public Meeting to Stop the Deportation of Héctor Marroquín.** Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist fighting deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service; W.W. Finlator, national board of American Civil Liberties Union; representatives from North Carolina NAACP, North Carolina National Lawyers Guild, and Winston-Salem National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. Church of the Redeemer, 901 E Friendly Ave. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund, N.C. National Lawyers Guild, Carolina Refugee Fund, Triad Citizens Concerned for Central America. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt.** Speakers: Art Slater; Sarah Gardner, president of Cincinnati Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Charles Hughes, member of National Black Independent Political Party; Robert Thomas. Sun., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Pad-dock Rd. (Bond Hill). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

#### Cleveland

**Malcolm X and Black Liberation in 1984.** A panel discussion. Speakers: Paul Hill, instructor at Cuyahoga Community College; Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 21st C.D.; others. Sat., Feb. 25; refreshments, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Film: With Babies and Banners** Sun., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Grenada Revolution: Its Victory and Defeat.** Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 722-8054.

## U.S.-Israeli war in Lebanon

### Continued from Page 6

— ruthlessly drove PLO fighters loyal to Yassir Arafat out of Lebanon, in a criminal blow to the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Now, Syrian official Mohammed Haider said February 17, Syria would be willing to "meet America more than halfway," if the U.S. government drops its support for the May 17 agreement and alters its Mideast policy.

Among the Lebanese opposition forces, there are disagreements over whether to make Gemayel's resignation a condition for stopping the fighting. Shi'ite Amal militia head Nabih Berri and Druse leader Walid Jumblatt have called for Gemayel's ouster and his replacement by another Maronite Christian president. Other opposition figures have refrained from demanding that Gemayel resign.

Opposition leaders have called for reforms in the Lebanese political set-up,

which gives the majority of power to Christians, a minority.

Shi'ite Amal militia leaders told reporters that their forces would block any attempts by the PLO to re-establish a presence in Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. The Amal militia took over control of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps February 20, after most Italian troops stationed there were withdrawn.

The situation in Lebanon remains explosive. On February 22 Christian militia leaders said that Israel would be sending regular patrols to the town of Jiye, about 20 miles from Beirut, to help fight Druse militias. An armored column of 75 Israeli vehicles arrived there February 20. The Israeli government also flew an extra 1,000 troops to its garrison in southern Lebanon.

The majority of U.S. Marines, meanwhile, remained in Beirut, backed up by the 25-ship U.S. war force off the coast.

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# Conference on independent politics backs Jackson

BY LAURA GARZA

On February 11-12 at Howard University in Washington, D.C., about 200 people attended a conference on independent political action. Many were long-time political activists. The conference voted to form a new organization, a "National Committee for Independent Political Action."

Participants included Jitu Weusi, vice-chairperson of the National Black United Front; Leslie Cagan of Mobilization for Survival; antiwar activist Dave Dellinger;

## AS I SEE IT

Anne Braden, cochairperson of the Southern Organizing Committee for Social and Economic Justice; Arthur Kinoy; Berkeley mayor Gus Newport; Mel King of the Boston People's Coalition; and Carlotta Scott, an aide to Democratic California Congressman Ronald Dellums. Donna Brazile, of the Jesse Jackson campaign staff, addressed a conference rally.

As a national youth coordinator for the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president, I thought it was important to participate in the conference and discuss the 1984 elections and independent political action.

The Mason and González campaign advocates independent political action by workers and farmers. It explains that the capitalist profit system is the source of poverty, racism, sexism, unemployment, and wars. Mason and González explain that the Democratic and Republican parties are both tools used by the capitalists to carry out these policies. It is for this reason that our cam-

paign calls on working people to establish their own parties — a trade union-based labor party and an independent Black party.

This definition of independent political action was held by few at the conference. The conference organizers defined independent political action as being free of control of any one party. "Free of control" meant "progressive" Democratic Party candidates could still be backed as long as they stood on a "people's program."

This so-called people's program failed to mention the source of the problems working people face — capitalism. Even those at the conference who identified themselves as socialists failed to raise this central point, or the need for socialism.

While no specific program was adopted, most participants voiced support for Jesse Jackson's Democratic Party presidential campaign. Jackson was presented as a "people's candidate."

Many participants said the Jackson campaign would be used to build a multinational, rainbow coalition — whose immediate goal would be to defeat Reagan. This rainbow coalition, it was said, would help develop a "people's" program and build a movement to implement it.

During the discussion I presented Mason and González's point of view. I agreed that working people faced a crisis. And it was this crisis — attacks on our standard of living and democratic rights combined with Washington's wars abroad — that was leading many working people to ask more far-reaching questions and to seek some new answers. The problem is that the same old solutions were being given to them: work within the two-party system to try and reform the existing social system.

I said this couldn't work. To offer a serious way out of the crisis, a party and its candidates must have a program

that places human needs before profits and defends the interests of working people, especially the most oppressed — Blacks, Latinos, and women.

While most of those present disagreed with what I said, they listened.

During the conference, both Mel King and Dave Dellinger commented that they agreed with much of what I said about the Democratic Party. But backing Jackson didn't mean supporting the Democratic Party or its program, they said.

The fact that so many Blacks and others attend Jackson campaign rallies hoping for a "change," and for a better candidate, I explained, didn't alter the fact that in Jackson's program the road to freedom goes through reforming the two-party system and capitalism.

While the conference mainly discussed electoral political action, some participants did raise the need to work on non-electoral independent protest activities. But no specific proposals such as to support labor struggles or to organize against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Middle East, were adopted.

The group decided that winning support for the Jackson campaign would be its major focus. The conference also voted to support activities planned for the Democratic and Republican Party conventions, and to convene a meeting of "independent" forces after the Democratic Party convention to discuss what to do if Jackson is not the nominee.

While the conference did not register any progress toward a break from capitalist politics, discussions on independent political action will continue. The serious interest in the Mason-González campaign showed that supporters of the socialist campaign can and should participate in meetings like this one.

# West Virginia doctor visits mine in Nicaragua

Continued from Page 11

the mine," said Tomás Wilchez, 42, a union secretary and miner since age 14. "We worked eight hours a day, six days a week, in temperatures as high as 110 degrees. The ventilation was terrible. Cave-ins and burns were frequent. All the company cared about was production. When you got too old to work, they just gave you the 'goodbye.' There was no pension."

Enoc Castellón, president of the local union, explained some of the improvements in miners' working conditions and benefits since 1979. "In the first place, a higher priority is placed on human development than on production or profit," he explained. "We miners know how important production is to our country. We have a production committee and we ourselves are responsible for the defense of this mine. But adequate ventilation and safe working conditions are now our top priorities."

"Our industrywide contract of 1980 gave us many economic benefits including eight hours' pay for six hours' underground work, seven days' pay for six days' work, 15 days' vacation every six months, bonuses for underground work and heat,

and allowances for food and clothing. Also in 1980 a pension was established guaranteeing pensions to all miners who retired before 1979."

Another miner, Rodolfo Castellón, stressed the importance of new health services and educational programs to the well-being of miners' families. "In the old days the company owned the hospital. Miners could be hospitalized there but we laid on wooden tables and the only food was what our families brought in. High prices were charged to everyone else, including our own wives and children. For example, if a miner's wife had to have her baby in the hospital, that cost over a month's pay."

"They deducted the hospital bills from our pay. We were always in debt to the company hospital. In 1979 the hospital was made a public hospital. All services and medicines are provided free. We even have prevention programs, well-baby care, prenatal care, and twice-a-year examinations for working miners."

A walk down the dirt streets of El Limón makes it hard for an American to understand how the miners can be so optimistic and upbeat about their lives today. By any standards the village is poor. Converted camp houses, like the Jenny Lynn houses

of Appalachia's coal camps, are dark and crowded. Many are without running water.

Indoor flush toilets are non-existent. Pigs and goats wander through the streets as ox-drawn carts bring firewood or bananas from the surrounding countryside. But comparisons of "us and them" are misleading. For the Nicaraguans the only valid comparison is one of the life today with life before 1979. One of the biggest changes is an end to the violent repression experienced at the hands of Somoza's hated *Guardia Nacional*.

"Now I breathe free air," said Leonel Ruiz, the head nurse at the 12-bed El Limón Hospital. "I can go where I want and say what I want. Before there was always fear."

"In 1978 a special unit of the Guardia called EEBI came to our town," Rubén Martínez told me. He is a nursing student at the hospital, a miner's son. "Many families found their sons' corpses in fields on the edge of town. They were suspected of sympathizing with the FSLN. My father used to cry when he saw young men hauled through the streets in carts, their hands tied behind their backs. My father died in 1981, but he died happy, because he died in a free country."

After three days in El Limón I wondered where press reports about declining Sandinista popularity in Nicaragua were coming from. Certainly there are members of the wealthy Nicaragua business community and the Roman Catholic hierarchy who vocally oppose the Sandinista government and the social changes taking place in their country.

[The majority] feel they are moving not toward totalitarianism as President Reagan charges but toward popular democracy, more democracy than their country has ever known. Repeatedly they voiced determination to defend Nicaragua against invasion, no matter what the cost.

"We have nothing but respect for you Americans," a miner told me. "But you must understand one thing. We are prepared to shed our last drop of blood in the defense of our country." As I listened, I prayed that such a terrible sacrifice will not be necessary. It seems too high a price for the simple rights the Nicaraguans have claimed.

*Dr. Dan Doyle has been a family physician and medical director of the New River Family Health Center in Fayette County since October 1977.*

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



# Reagan vows to stay in Lebanon

Soon after Reagan announced that the marines stationed at the Beirut airport would be redeployed to offshore ships, a White House aide declared:

"The mission remains. The goals remain. We are looking for more effective ways to do it."

"The mission" of the marines was to help prop up an unpopular regime imposed on Lebanon by Washington and Israel. Now the army of the Gemayel government has been badly battered by opposition forces and has suffered mass defections — a big setback for Washington.

But despite this, Reagan is dead serious when he declares the U.S. forces are not "bugging out."

He has opted — for the time being — to put greater stress on the enormous firepower of the offshore armada of 25 U.S. warships. This involves less likelihood of U.S. casualties, which were becoming politically costly for the Reagan administration.

In his February 7 redeployment announcement, Reagan declared:

"I have authorized U.S. naval forces . . . to provide naval gunfire and air support against any units firing into greater Beirut. . . ."

"U.S. military personnel will remain on the ground in Lebanon for training and equipping the Lebanese army and protecting the remaining personnel. . . ."

"Our naval and marine forces offshore will stand ready, as before, to provide support for the protection of American and other MNF [Multinational Force] personnel in Lebanon."

Washington is not alone in its resolve to continue military intervention against the people of Lebanon.

Three other imperialist powers have also been occupying the Beirut area. The British troops have been pulled out of the city now, but remain on a ship offshore. The Italian government removed most, but not all, of its troops. Over 1,000 French soldiers remain in Beirut. The Italian and French governments have raised the idea of replacing the current multinational troops with a United Nations occupation force.

Meanwhile, Israel, which launched its brutal invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, still occupies most of southern Lebanon. Its planes are again bombing civilian areas.

To bolster its occupation forces, Israel is organizing ultraright thugs, the Guardians of the Cedar, into a fascist-like paramilitary force to suppress the population in southern Lebanon.

Meanwhile, although some 1,500 marines will be redeployed from shore to ship, some 500 U.S. military personnel will remain in Beirut for "security" purposes and to continue the training of the badly battered Lebanese army.

The U.S. offshore force is formidable.

The flotilla includes the aircraft carriers *John F. Kennedy* and *Independence*. Together, they carry about 150 planes.

There are destroyers, cruisers, mid-size frigates, supply ships and the battleship *New Jersey*.

An amphibious unit is centered around the *Guam*, an 18,000-ton helicopter carrier that served as the command ship during last October's invasion of Grenada.

The marine amphibious unit now in Beirut is made up of veterans of the Grenada takeover.

The accompanying amphibious ships include the 17,000-ton *Trenton*, a troop transport ship; the 12,000-ton *Fort Snelling*, a dock landing ship; and two 8,500-ton ships for landing tanks, the *Barnstable County* and the *Manitowoc*.

With the redeployment from the airport, there will be a force of 2,200 marines aboard these ships, plus an unreported number of support personnel.

That kind of a massive military presence is not being maintained simply to bolster Reagan's image during an election year.

The heavy guns of these ships have already pounded Lebanese villages. Reagan's February 7 order authorizes more such bombings by U.S. ships, and planes as well.

And, if the need and opportunity presents itself, U.S. forces will go back ashore — with a lot more than several hundred "peacekeeping" troops.

The majority of the U.S. people oppose U.S. troops in Lebanon. Already in January, 58 percent of those queried in an ABC News-Washington Post poll wanted them out — up from 37 percent last October.

The Democrats have noted this anti-intervention sentiment and have tried to capitalize on it to garner votes. But this is strictly a shell game. They have no basic quarrel with Reagan's insistence on maintaining a heavy military force there.

It was the Democrats who pushed through the War Powers Act last fall that authorized the marines staying in Lebanon for 18 months, with a possible extension. As sentiment mounted in this country against the marine presence there, Democrats began talking about withdrawal and putting forward some timid resolutions in Congress.

But they quickly shelved these resolutions when the Lebanese army began to crumble and Reagan announced his redeployment scheme.

Democratic front-runner Walter Mondale responded to the Reagan announcement with the assertion, "I stand for the continuing stationing of U.S. naval forces at sea. . . ."

Later Mondale added that he would oppose withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from Lebanon.

The U.S. Mideast policy has been bipartisan from the start. That policy has been to achieve an ever tighter U.S. grip on the oil-rich Mideast, and to combat growing opposition from the Arab peoples, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Maintaining a proimperialist government in Lebanon has been a key part of the U.S. drive for domination of the entire area.

It's well to remember that back in 1958 Washington carried out a direct invasion of Lebanon. Under orders from then President Eisenhower — with Democratic approval — the 6th Fleet, bearing nuclear arms, steamed into Lebanese waters. In July of that year, 10,000 marines stormed ashore.

The pretext? Like today, "to assist the government of Lebanon in the preservation of . . . territorial integrity and independence."

The fact? To try to save a hated pro-U.S. president trying to illegally extend his term in office, and to stem a rising anti-imperialist tide in Lebanon and neighboring countries.

Such was the depth of nationalist liberation sentiment in the area that the troops soon had to be withdrawn.

But Washington, and the oil barons, never yielded an inch in their determination to maintain and strengthen their hold on the area.

That's why, in September of 1982, the marines were dispatched to Lebanon as "peacekeepers."

They were to be home, we were told — remember? — by Christmas of that year.

A year and a half later, with a marine toll of 264, the order was issued to redeploy them, offshore.

But it would be wishful thinking to interpret that tactical move as meaning that Washington has given up to any degree in its determination to control Lebanon and the surrounding oil-rich area — by any means necessary.

This means U.S. working people must demand, more than ever, an immediate, total withdrawal of U.S., Israeli, French, British, and Italian forces from Lebanon and the surrounding waters. That means bring the ships home, with all the remaining "advisers" and other military personnel. Halt all military aid to the Israeli and Lebanese governments. End the Multinational Force intervention. Let the people of Lebanon, and the entire Mideast, determine their own future.

# Carlos Fonseca on the life of Sandino

February 21 marks the 50th anniversary of the murder of Augusto César Sandino, national hero of Nicaragua. Sandino organized an army in 1927 to drive out the U.S. Marines, who had occupied Nicaragua in 1926. While the wealthy Nicaraguan ruling families were afraid to struggle for national sovereignty, Sandino organized workers and peasants in battles to oust the marines, who finally withdrew in 1933, after setting up the notorious National Guard headed by the Somoza family. On Feb. 21, 1934, Sandino was assassinated by the guard.

The following are excerpts from an article called "Viva Sandino," written by Carlos Fonseca Amador, one of the founders and longtime central leaders of the Sandinista

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

National Liberation Front (FSLN). The FSLN was formed in 1961 to continue Sandino's struggle for a free Nicaragua. Fonseca was killed by the guard in 1976. In 1979, the FSLN triumphed. Describing Sandino's early life, Fonseca wrote:

"Sandino was born May 18, 1895, in Niquinohomo. From childhood on he earned his living working in the fields. A peasant of great natural intelligence, he broke through the medieval oppression of the milieu and learned to read and write. In 1909, at the age of 14, Sandino had already heard of the intensification of Yankee interference in the country.

"Sandino could not attain tranquility in his hometown.

"In 1921 he left the country. He traveled through various parts of Central America and Mexico, going as far as the United States. But the big cities that enabled the worker to accumulate savings of a few cents was not the horizon he was seeking.

"Sandino returned to Mexico and went to work in Cerro Azul, in the state of Veracruz, as a mechanic in the oil fields of the foreign-owned Huasteca Petroleum Company.

"Gusts of the proletarian breeze of the Bolshevik October [1917 Russian revolution], although weaker by the time they reached distant American latitudes, arrived in Veracruz, Mexico's main port on the Atlantic coast. And Sandino labored and sweated near there, in Cerro Azul. Although it cannot be said that October was decisive for the path that he chose, it is unimaginable that the proletarian spirit that was for the first time spreading across the planet could not have reached the sensitive heart of this worker-peasant.

"Everything was propitious for nourishing his rebel spirit. And in May 1926, scorning the privileged comfort made possible by his status as a skilled worker, Sandino returned to his tormented native land, which was on the verge of explosion in the difficult quest for its freedom.

"He landed in Bluefields, on the Atlantic coast, the center of the armed antigovernment movement in gestation. He did not stay there, however, nor did he return to the southwestern region of the country where he had been born and raised. Instead he headed toward an area that had never before occupied center stage in the violent traditions of Nicaragua: the Segovias, the mountainous north of Nicaragua.

"To familiarize himself with the region, which he was seeing for the first time, he obtained employment in the San Albino gold mine, owned by North Americans. A few months later, on October 26, 1926, he along with other workers helped themselves to dynamite from the mine's storehouse and joined the battle against the sell-out regime then in power.

"Like him, these workers were also of peasant origin and had been attracted by jobs in the growing mineral extraction industry. They took up arms without ever having passed through any trade-union experience. You could say that for these rebels the decisive factor was the country's tradition of popular rebellion."

Fonseca described Sandino as "a patriot" and "a proletarian in arms." He quoted from Sandino's statement titled "Manifesto of San Albino Mine":

"I am a worker of the city, an artisan as we say in this country, but my thinking ranges along the broad horizon of internationalism and the right to be free and demand justice, even if attaining that state of perfection requires shedding the blood of myself and others. The oligarchs, those geese of the swamp, will say that I am a plebeian. It doesn't matter. My greatest honor is to have come from the midst of the oppressed, the soul and sinews of the race. . . ."

"You come, you morphine-addicted clods of earth, to murder us on our own soil. I await you, standing firmly in front of my patriotic soldiers, no matter how many of you there are. But keep in mind that when it comes to pass, the destruction of your great numbers will reverberate through the Capitol in Washington. It is your blood that will redden the white dome that crowns your famous White House, the den where your crimes are plotted."

# Refugee-rights fighters jailed

The government has made a new move to victimize Salvadoran refugees and church activists extending solidarity to them.

On February 17, members of the U.S. Border Patrol, a division of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), arrested the occupants of a car just north of the Mexican border, in the Rio Grande Valley.

These included two Salvadoran women, the infant daughter of one, a U.S. nun, a social worker, and a reporter for the *Dallas Times Herald* who was accompanying them as a news assignment.

The nun and social worker were volunteer workers with Casa Romero, a haven for refugees in the area.

The arrests were among the first involving church activists aiding Salvadoran refugees. Some 88 churches across the country have declared it their policy to grant sanctuary to Salvadoran refugees and many have accepted the offer of solidarity (see story on page 8). Until now the INS seemed to have a policy of avoiding a direct confrontation with the church groups. But it has remained steadfast in its refusal to grant political asylum or

even extended residence status to those fleeing the repressive U.S.-sponsored regime in El Salvador.

Tens of thousands of Salvadorans have sought refuge in this country, and, as of a year ago, some 12,000 had formally applied for political asylum.

Extensive evidence has been presented establishing that many of those deported back to El Salvador have suffered jail and death.

The nun, social worker, and reporter jailed in Texas were charged with "transporting" undocumented immigrants and "conspiring" to transport them.

Such charges are usually used against "coyotes" — professional smugglers of undocumented immigrants. They've also been used in the past, as in this case, to victimize those who counsel undocumented immigrants.

No charges were preferred against the Salvadorans. But the section chief of the Border Patrol said they were being held as material witnesses and will probably be charged with being "illegal aliens." Which means that, if successful, the government will return them to the waiting hands of its murderous client regime in San Salvador.



## U.S. invasion of Russia

As a postscript to the fine article on "When U.S. troops were sent to Russia" (*Militant*, Feb. 10, 1984) I would like to add the following.

While President Reagan refuses to acknowledge that U.S. forces were engaged in a war to crush the first workers and peasants revolution in world history — at a cost of 244 Americans dead and 305 wounded in the Archangel campaign alone — the remaining survivors of that ill-fated expedition have not forgotten.

On May 22, 1983, those former members of the 339th Infantry Regiment who still survive, the youngest of whom is 87 years old, held what was to be their last reunion at the Book Cadillac Hotel in Detroit, Michigan. The remains of 87 of their comrades who lost their lives in combat in northern Russia are buried in White Chapel Cemetery, Troy, Michigan.

Erling Sannes  
Bismarck, North Dakota

## More articles, please

When looking through back issues of the *Militant* recently, I noticed that the number of articles on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, except Poland, has dropped a lot in the last couple of years. Even before this period, the *Militant's* coverage was largely, though not exclusively, coverage of dissidents in those countries.

What I would like to see more of is articles on these societies de-

scribing the gains that still exist — even if partial — from their revolutions. Articles, for example, on what life is really like for a worker there.

My work over the past year has been in a garment shop with Central Americans. Though they are usually more interested in what life is like in Cuba — which I am fairly well informed about by reading *Intercontinental Press*, the *Militant*, and *Granma* — at times the discussion goes to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. On this subject I do not feel well enough prepared.

For instance, how many people know that the German Democratic Republic has a higher Gross National Product — not to mention the way it's distributed — than Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, and England? What about medical care, food consumption, education, and so on? And what are the conditions on the job, what sort of safety laws do they have, what is the pace of work?

Al Campbell  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

## Nicaragua brigade

I recently returned from working in Nicaragua with the coffee brigades. While there I was in a serious accident, the result of which was a collapsed lung, four broken ribs, a broken collar bone, and a dislocated shoulder.

I needed immediate emergency help. After receiving a sedative in-

jection at the local health center, I waited while the Sandinista soldiers tried to locate some transportation. (Fuel is difficult to come by due to the bombing of storage tanks by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries.)

I needed to be taken to the nearest emergency hospital, which was Trinidad Guerra Emergency Hospital in Matagalpa, 30 miles away. The soldiers were finally able to free one of the military vehicles and accompanied me to the hospital.

Upon arrival the soldiers reported my condition to the doctors and I was seen immediately. My attending physicians were Cuban and Nicaraguan. Without questions regarding money or insurance I was given medical treatment — health care in Nicaragua, as in Cuba, is free because it's socialized. An x-ray was taken. After it was read, I was diagnosed and given an anesthetic. Tubes were inserted into my lung and my broken bones were wrapped.

Hours had passed and as I was being taken to my room, which I shared with 20 other women, the soldiers appeared again, this time to see how I was. I gave them a sedated smile and they then left, knowing I was in good hands. And I was.

I speak very little Spanish, but I was never afraid. The soldiers and the immediate care by the doctors had made me feel comfortable. The nurses helped me with Spanish words I would need to



know under the circumstances — eat, bed pan, water, etc. The doctors — not just one — came to check on me daily. They always stopped to give me an assuring smile when visiting other patients, and they often held my hand.

One of the Nicaraguan doctors even brought in some books written in English for me to read. Another brought in the latest issue of *Time* magazine. My fellow patients and their visitors would brush my hair and help me eat.

I spent a week in that hospital and upon leaving my total bill was zero. My physical condition was great and my state of mind was one of awe. Such nice people, such capable medical personnel, such kind faces, all helping a North American in their country, a country the U.S. government is

trying to destroy.  
Judith Singer  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

## Correction

Last week's *Union Talk*, "San Diego Machinists stand up to Teamster raid," contained two errors. First, Convair has not yet begun contract negotiations. Second, Bill Weigand, not Justin Ostro, will be heading up the contract negotiating committee.

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.

# Bar S shuts doors after workers vote union back in

BY KAETHEJEAN BLEICHER

SEATTLE — In the latest of a series of attacks on United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 186 in Seattle, Bar S Foods announced January 31 that it would shut its doors March 2. Over 300 production workers will be thrown out on the streets. The majority are Black and Asian; 50 percent are female.

The plant was owned by Cudahy-Bar S and used to have a starting union wage of \$10.40 an hour. The plant

## UNION TALK

closed in 1981 and reopened nonunion days later as Bar S Foods. The new starting wage was only \$4.50.

The union immediately filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) charging that the owners closed the plant in order to break the union and lower wages. The NLRB, however, ruled in the company's favor.

In addition, Cudahy Foods refused to pay severance pay to workers over the age of 55. They said these workers can draw from their pensions instead.

Tim Day, the new president of Bar S and a board member of Cudahy Foods, said he doubted the plant would go union again.

He was wrong.

In August 1983 the workers voted to recertify the union, UFCW Local 186. A few months later, in December, Cudahy was ordered to pay over \$640,000 to those workers it had refused severance pay to. With the help of the union, the workers had taken Cudahy to court, and won. This victory was seen by everyone as proof of the value of having a union and of the possibilities of winning. As one guy said, "Hell, you have to have a union. They'd try the same thing with us if we lasted that long."

When I started working at Bar S everyone was talking about the upcoming contract negotiations. One of the first conversations I had was about how bad the working conditions were without a contract. Everyone wanted changes and thought the company would have to start paying for sick leaves and uniforms and would have to raise wages. The biggest change, people thought, would come in reducing forced overtime and cleaning up the plant.

In the bacon department conditions are especially bad. The whole department is kept at 40 degrees. People wear four and five layers of clothes, sometimes even their coats, but still get sick. Standing around in puddles handling cold bacon for 8 to 10 hours a day is bone-chilling. Everyone continues to work, however, because there is no sick pay.

It was a standing joke that the only way to get off the line was to die. But even then they'd just shove you over to make room for the next person.

There was pretty widespread recognition that the warehouse inventory would be used to force a strike when the contract negotiations began. And as several supervisors quit and were not replaced, one coworker commented, "yeah, like rats leaving a sinking ship." This gave voice to the rumors that the company would shut down the plant rather than negotiate.

In this situation of an impending plant shutdown, many of my coworkers are more interested in discussing politics. A Black coworker, for example, read the *Intercontinental Press* interview with Grenadian revolutionary leader, Don Rojas. He later came to the *Militant* Bookstore to see what else we had. Because of our conversations about the need for union solidarity and what it will take to win against the bosses' attacks, he also bought a *Militant*. In his words, "Bourgeois democracy is not real, even if people can vote."

Another Black coworker bought three *Militants* — one for herself and two for her family. We talked a lot about the Socialist Workers Party and what it stood for. Once I explained how socialists learn from each other and discuss things out as a group. She said, "That's what workers have to do, get together so we don't always get beat." She said she may help us sell the *Militant*.

From these discussions and others, I know that the defiant mood of my coworkers will lead to more resolve to find ways of fighting back.

# 'Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again'

**Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again. Produced by the National Black United Front. Interview with Don Rojas conducted by Adeyemi Bandele. 80 minutes, standard speed VHS videotape. Available from the *Militant*.**

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG

In *Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again*, Don Rojas, a leader of the Grenada revolution, assesses its impact on the world and provides a powerful refutation of U.S. imperialism's lies about the Caribbean island's revolutionary process.

Don Rojas was, until the overthrow of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government, press secretary to

United Front (NBUF), the interview was conducted by Adeyemi Bandele, vice-chairman of international affairs for NBUF.

In the videotape, Rojas seeks to use Grenada's four and a half years of experience in carrying out its revolution to advance the international struggle for national liberation and socialism.

Rojas' first-hand knowledge of his subject is indisputable. He explains, in detail, the recent history of Grenada's struggle against former U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy. He describes the forging of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) in 1973, the party that led the March 1979 revolution, which established a workers and farmers government with Bishop at its head.

Rojas, a leader of the NJM, also describes the course of the revolution, emphasizing the creation of vehicles for popular rule — the mass organizations of workers, women, and youth and the neighborhood and workplace councils. Rojas calls this involvement of the masses in running their own lives the "single most important" aspect of the revolution.

Among other topics discussed is the role of the revolutionary party and its relationship to the people as a whole, as well as the internal functioning of the NJM.

Rojas details the role played over the years by Deputy

Prime Minister Bernard Coard, whose secret faction within the NJM organized the overthrow of the revolutionary government. He discusses the divisions in the People's Revolutionary Army officer corps caused by "the ultraleftism which was running amok — running rampant — inside the [NJM] central committee" and in the army among Coard supporters.

Maurice Bishop, with whom Rojas shared an extremely close collaboration, is also profiled in the videotape.

Rojas relates first-hand Bishop's final struggle to salvage the revolution and to restore the workers and farmers government to power when he was released from house arrest by thousands of his supporters.

One of the most important sections of the interview is Rojas' description of Cuban-Grenadian relations, which he calls "very close, very loyal, fraternal, and exceedingly principled."

To date, there is no better testimony to the Grenada revolution's accomplishments than this videotape. Rojas' insights go a long way toward drawing out the lessons that Grenada offers for revolutionary fighters everywhere, including here in the United States.

For information on how to rent this videotape, see ad on page 9.

## IN REVIEW

slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Rojas also edited the *Free West Indian* for a time, revolutionary Grenada's national newspaper.

*Truth Crushed to the Earth*... is an interview with Rojas taped in December 1983 in Toronto, where Rojas is currently living. Produced by the National Black



## Grenada's farming gains under fire

### Gov't begins returning state farms to private owners

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — Agriculture is the bedrock of this nation's economy. Important advances in agricultural production were made following the March 13, 1979, Grenada revolution. These advances, spearheaded by the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) led by murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, are now under attack.

Most agricultural production here is oriented towards export. Bananas and cocoa are the biggest cash crops. That's why Grenadians, like many peoples dominated by imperialism, found they could not feed themselves despite the rich and fertile soil of their country.

The PRG sought to turn this situation around. A state-run sector of farms concentrated on the production of foodstuffs. The revolutionary government inherited 20 state farms from the regime of U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy. In addition, the PRG set up 12 more state farms through expropriating underused or idle lands.

Increased foodstuffs production helped in cutting back on costly imports, which meant savings that could aid in other as-

pects of Grenada's economic development. State farms also provided jobs for many unemployed agricultural workers.

In addition, the PRG set aside land on the state farms for the use of agricultural cooperatives. These enterprises — set up with aid from government agencies — were an important part of the PRG's plan to increase production and reduce unemployment.

The U.S.-imposed interim government here — the so-called Advisory Council — has started returning the state farms to private owners. The proimperialist regime has begun this campaign with the 12 farms taken over by the PRG.

So far, the River Antoine farm is the only one to have been returned to its previous owner. This farm was the only state farm that made a profit. It's a sugar-cane farm that manufactures rum.

Other capitalist landlords are clamoring for the return of lands expropriated by the PRG. The Grenada Farm Corp. (GFC) — the government agency that runs state farms — is currently negotiating with the previous owners of the Belvedere estate for

Continued on Page 9



Grenadian Government Information Service

Since U.S. invasion, former landlords are clamoring for return of lands expropriated by Grenada's workers and farmers government. Such projects as youth agricultural school at La Sagasse (above), set up on land formerly owned by a British baron, are threatened.

## Louisville officials threaten desegregation plan

BY GALE SHANGOLD

LOUISVILLE — "This plan goes so far in the wrong direction that it ought to be rejected totally. The sooner the better for our community. The [school] board would not be acting with undue haste if it rejected this proposal right here and now," said Galen Martin, executive director of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, to a Jefferson County School Board meeting. Jefferson County includes the city of Louisville.

At the February 13 meeting, School Superintendent Donald Ingwerson proposed a new Jefferson County desegregation plan. His proposal, if implemented, will sharply reduce the number of students bused to achieve school desegregation. Martin called the plan "a retreat to segregation."

The school board meeting was packed. The entire meeting was televised and all schools were open for those who wanted to view it. A hot line has been set up to help answer questions about the new proposal.

### 1975 busing program

The school superintendent's plan would cut the 1975 federal court-ordered program of busing to achieve school desegregation. The court order, which resulted from struggles led by civil rights supporters, was a big victory for Blacks and all workers in Jefferson County. The court-mandated plan included the busing of both whites and Blacks across city and suburban lines. While not ending school segregation, sig-

nificant progress was made.

Blacks are 30 percent of Louisville's population and 16 percent of Jefferson County's.

Presently 26 schools are out of compliance with the desegregation guidelines set in 1975. Most of the 26 schools exceed permissible maximum percentages of Black enrollment. But instead of correcting these and other inadequacies of the original program, the superintendent's proposal would further weaken desegregation efforts.

First, Ingwerson's plan permits higher percentages of Black enrollment than are allowed under the current busing plan. Under the plan now in effect Black enrollment is limited to 35 percent in secondary schools and 40 percent in elementary schools. The new plan would allow Black enrollments of up to 45 percent. By itself, this would remove some schools from the list of those defined as "out of compliance" with desegregation requirements. This change, along with some boundary changes, would reduce the number of schools considered out of compliance from last year's 26 to only 4 this fall.

### One-way busing

Secondly, if the new plan is adopted, students would be assigned to high schools and middle schools based on where they live rather than on the first letters of their last names as ordered in 1975.

Using a geographical plan instead of an

alphabetical one will lead to what civil rights leaders call "one-way busing." Under geographical busing, all students living in certain specified areas known as "satellites" would be bused to high schools and middle schools in "non-satellite" areas.

All of these satellite areas would be located in the Black community. This means that the only whites who would be bused are those that live in the predominantly Black satellites.

In an interview a few days after the school board meeting, Ingwerson denied that his plan was one-way busing. He said 2,300 white students would volunteer to go to downtown schools that had special programs to attract them, including a new "magnet" school that will be set up at duPont Manual High School this fall.

Ingwerson did not point out, however, that in the past school officials have only been allowed to count as "bused" those students who are required to attend specific schools for purposes of desegregation. Using the 1975 definitions, Ingwerson's plan would require only 250 white high school students — all of whom live in predominantly Black western Louisville — to be bused next year. Meanwhile, 2,500 Black students would be bused to suburban high schools.

### Blacks bused more than whites

Art Walters of the Urban League, speaking for the Kentucky Coalition of Conscience, told the board, "From the beginning of the busing plan, Blacks have been bused much more than whites. . . . Under no circumstances should any new plan call for anything more disproportionate than the average of nine years [of busing] for Blacks and four for whites."

At a press briefing before the school board meeting Ingwerson said, "If it's one-way busing, it's reduced from what it was for all. It's reduced for the Black; it's reduced for the white," he said.

But within the first two years, as geographical assignments are phased in for high schools and middle schools, the number of Blacks who are bused would be reduced 9.3 percent, while the number of whites who are bused would be reduced 41.8 percent.

Ingwerson brags that the total two-year

savings in transportation costs is estimated at \$300,000.

Geoff Ellis, of the Louisville NAACP, told the school board meeting, "White children get to attend their neighborhood suburban school. No white children at the middle or high school levels will have to attend school in the downtown or West End. Whites don't have to get bused — only Blacks get bused. That is one-way busing of Black students. Is it fair? Of course it isn't."

"The civil rights community and many members of the Citizen's Advisory Committee believe that the present alphabetic desegregation is a good one. With some improvements, it could be a very good plan. We do not need to throw out the current plan like Superintendent Ingwerson suggests. It is not a failure. Any failure of the current plan rests with the school administration's failure to make it work."

Concluding his statement Ellis said, "In the next few days, the Louisville Branch of the NAACP will be contacting its legal council in New York City. If they determine that Superintendent Ingwerson's plan and the past action of this school board have treated Black students unfairly and unequally because of their race, the NAACP is prepared to reopen the desegregation case and keep reopening it until this school board lives up to the standard of fairness and equality. It has a moral obligation to the children of Jefferson County to do just that."

### An assault on Black rights

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the national NAACP, called Ingwerson's proposal "an assault" on Blacks that will certainly be challenged in court if approved by the school board. Hooks spoke at a news conference in Frankfort, Kentucky, the day after the school board meeting.

Three to six public hearings will be held on the new proposal before March 12 when the school board is scheduled to vote on it. These hearings promise to be the focus of mobilizations for supporters — as well as opponents — of busing.

Civil rights organizations and other concerned people are in the process of discussing how to respond to this big attack on Black rights.

## Copper union leader's home shot up

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON, Ariz. — Phelps Dodge Corp. is continuing its campaign of violence and intimidation in an attempt to bust the unions of striking copper miners in Arizona.

On January 24, at 3 a.m., the house of Angel Rodríguez was shot into with nine rounds from a 22-caliber rifle. Luckily, no one was injured. Rodríguez is president of striking United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 616. The USWA is the largest of the 13 unions on strike against Phelps Dodge.

Rodríguez and his family live in the company town of Morenci, Arizona, in a

company-owned house. On February 14 two scabs, Lorenzo Gonzáles and Edward Lizarraga, were arraigned in the crime and required to post a \$1,370 bond each. Two management people from Phelps Dodge came up with the bonds immediately — one was a mill foreman and the other a salaried employee from the company personnel office.

Phelps Dodge is the leading copper producer in Arizona and the second largest in the United States. The workers have been on strike for seven months trying to prevent the company from breaking their unions and forcing them to accept major concessions in their new contract.