

U.S. sends 2,500 troops to border of El Salvador

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — On the eve of the rigged Salvadoran presidential election scheduled for March 25, 2,500 U.S. troops are on the way to the Honduran border with El Salvador.

The Salvadoran rebel leadership of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) denounced the move as an "act of direct aggression against our people" and a provocation. The U.S. government, it said, is "unleashing a generalized confrontation in El Salvador and Central America."

According to a March 12 dispatch by Spain's national news agency, EFE, the U.S. troops are being airlifted from bases in Panama to areas of Honduras bordering El Salvador. There are already 1,900 other U.S. troops stationed in Honduras.

Code named "Emergency Alert," the operation includes the dispatch of the U.S. Army 82nd Airborne, one of the units that carried out the invasion of Grenada last October.

In the border zones, U.S. troops will join several battalions of the Honduran army that have already been sent to the northern border of FMLN-held territory west and east of the capital, San Salvador.

Meanwhile, the 78,000-ton U.S. aircraft carrier USS *Intrepid* is en route to the area.

Continued on Page 17



U.S. officer training troops in Honduras. U.S. and Honduran soldiers are massing on border with El Salvador in new threat to Salvadoran liberation fighters.

Nicaragua warns of new U.S. aggression

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "It must be said: the danger of U.S. military intervention is present," Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega told government and diplomatic leaders here March 13.

Ortega's speech was broadcast live over national radio and was delivered as 2,500 U.S. troops were being flown to the Honduran border with El Salvador. "There couldn't be a more ridiculous pretext than the claim to be guaranteeing, through warfare, the upcoming elections in El Salvador," he said.

The speech came on the heels of several weeks of intensified naval, aerial, and land attacks on Nicaragua by U.S.-financed and -trained counterrevolutionaries and Honduran soldiers. These attacks include the mining of ports on both Nicaragua's Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

In the face of this U.S. escalation of war in Central America, Ortega called on all governments, the United Nations, the Nonaligned Movement, and the North American people to demand that the U.S. government immediately withdraw its troops and weapons from the region and immediately end its aggression against Nicaragua and El Salvador. Instead, he said, Washington should seek political solutions to the conflicts in the region.

Ortega also called on governments of the world to make available to the Nicaraguan people "the technical and military means to protect themselves from U.S. terrorism."

Until the warlike behavior of the U.S. government changes, "we cannot, nor should we, have false expectations of a political solution," Ortega warned Nicaraguans. He called on them to prepare and strengthen their defense.

In recent weeks, U.S. politicians and administration spokespeople have been working overtime to discredit the upcoming elections here. While they continue their rhetoric about "lack of democracy" in Nicaragua, U.S.-financed counterrevolutionaries are preparing to take power.

Continued on Page 7

Ala. workers greet socialist campaign

BY ANDY ROSE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Socialist Workers presidential candidate Mel Mason and his supporters hit the street outside Hayes International, the largest industrial employer in this city, at the same March 12 shift change as campaigners for Democrat John Glenn.

The Glenn supporters seemed to think they would have the upper hand at this military aircraft rebuilding facility. They shouted, "Glenn's for a strong defense," as workers streamed out of the plant.

But more Hayes workers stopped to take literature from and talk with the socialists, who were calling out, "Jobs, not war!" and "Meet Mel Mason, the only worker running for president."

"That's what we need," one woman worker responded, "someone who knows what it means to work."

Another woman suggested the socialists could reach more workers if they passed out their leaflets behind the gate. When told campaigners didn't have permission to enter that area, she took a stack of leaflets herself and went over to distribute them.

Hayes workers sign petitions

Mark Curtis, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 6th District, works at Hayes and is a member of United Auto Workers Local 1155 there. More than a dozen of his coworkers had already signed petitions to put the socialist candidates on the ballot in Alabama, and were among those eager to meet Mel Mason in person.

More than 30 Hayes workers decided on the spot to sign ballot petitions for Mason and Curtis.

Mason's tour of Alabama March 8-12 came at the same time as the Democratic Party contenders' final scramble for the "Super Tuesday" primaries in this and other states. But Mason brought quite a different type of campaign to Alabama.

For one thing, the socialist presidential nominee — unlike Walter Mondale, Gary Hart, John Glenn, and Jesse Jackson — did not pay a visit to Gov. George Wallace to seek his political blessing.

And, while the Democratic Party candidates blew clouds of rhetoric about "new ideas" and "the right stuff" to conceal their common support to U.S. capitalism's assault on working people at home and abroad, Mason told the straight truth about what he stands for. He talked to unionists, students, women, and Black rights fighters about the need for radical measures to benefit workers and farmers at the expense of profits for the rich. He spoke of the need for an independent working-class political fight to win such measures.

While Glenn and Hart argued whether big aircraft carriers or little aircraft carriers can better defend U.S. corporate interests abroad, Mason called for unilateral U.S. nuclear disarmament.

While Jesse Jackson called for a "five-year freeze" on military spending — that is, continuing to spend more than \$300 billion a year on the military — Mason called for dismantling the war budget altogether and using those funds for jobs and social services, and international aid to Nicaragua, Vietnam, and other countries.

"Instead of blowing cities up, we need to build cities up," he told 70 people at a Birmingham campaign meeting March 10.

"Instead of killing people, we need to put people to work with a massive public-works program," he said.

While the Democrats peddled various "industrial development" schemes to make U.S. corporations more profitable and competitive, Mason called for a labor fight against concessions, for solidarity with the Arizona copper strikers, and for an end to "right to work" and other antiunion laws.

He explained the need to nationalize U.S. Steel to stop the job-destroying, union-busting rampage of its profiteering private owners.

Voting rights

Mason traveled to Selma, site of the historic battles in 1965 for passage of the Voting Rights Act, to learn firsthand about and voice his solidarity with the struggle there for Black voting rights today. He condemned the firing last month of eight Black

deputy voter registrars as a crude racist ploy to keep the Black majority in Selma from electing a Black mayor and a Black majority to the city council in elections this summer.

A few days before Mason's visit, some 300 Blacks had marched in Selma to protest the new attack on their voting rights as well as to protest the police killing of a Black man.

Mason had extensive discussions with two central leaders of the struggle in Selma about what strategy is needed in the fight for Black rights. They thought something could be gained by backing Jackson or

Continued on Page 5

UAW will press for wage increases in 1984 contracts with GM and Ford

BY DICK GEYER

DETROIT — More than 2,500 U.S. and Canadian delegates met here March 6-8 at the United Auto Workers (UAW) Special Collective Bargaining Convention to map out union strategy for upcoming contract confrontations with General Motors and Ford.

The special convention is authorized to decide union policy for contract negotiations with all major companies employing UAW members. In 1984 contracts will expire at International Harvester, Mack Truck, Massey Ferguson, and Rockwell International, among others. But delegates here recognized that the key showdown will be with GM and Ford when contracts expire there in September.

An underlying assumption at the convention was acceptance of the UAW's anti-import, "domestic content" campaign, as well as its support for Democrat Walter Mondale's bid for the U.S. presidency. The UAW officialdom engineered support for these efforts at the union's constitutional convention in Dallas last year. This latest gathering discussed primarily collective bargaining issues. It decided to press for a substantial wage increase in negotia-

tions with GM and Ford.

In the weeks prior to the convention, the major auto manufacturers announced record profits totaling more than \$6 billion. New car sales have continued to rise.

Many workers believe that now is the time for the UAW to fight to win back the wage and benefit concessions it was pressured into making in 1982. This idea is expressed in the slogan "restore and more in '84" that is popular in the ranks of the union.

Most recognize that winning this goal will take a fight. Shortly before the convention opened, a document circulating at the highest levels of GM management was revealed. It details company plans for cutting tens of thousands more jobs and holding down wages.

A special edition of the *Tech Engineer*, the newspaper of UAW Amalgamated Local 160 at the GM Technical Center, printed the document in full. Local 160 delegates, including Pres. Pete Kelly, distributed it widely here at the conference (it was also reprinted in the March 9 *Militant*, which was on sale here) and it was the topic of much informal discussion.

Continued on Page 8

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — For close to a year there has been a core of supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM) at the Kar Kar Electronics plant in San Francisco. Kar Kar is organized by the International Association of Machinists.

Several workers there were involved in last year's socialist campaign of Pat Wright for mayor of San Francisco. Wright received the active support of a number of the Black and Asian workers at the plant. But it has only been in the last few weeks that regular sales of the *Militant* and PM were started there.

A large proportion of the plant's

work force is workers whose first language is Chinese, many of whom can read English. Tagalog is spoken by the Filipino workers, who are also fluent in English. There are also Spanish-speaking workers.

The *Militant* and PM had developed a readership among both English- and Spanish-speaking workers. Among the Chinese workers, however, the *Militant* had not made much progress.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and other *Militant* readers had tried for some time to convince more Chinese workers to read the *Militant*.

One *Militant* supporter finally came up with a solution. They designed a leaflet in Chinese introducing people to the *Militant*. The leaflet was in Chinese on one side and Spanish and English on the other.

The Chinese said simply, "Friends, this is to introduce to you the *Militant* newspaper. It is a workers' newspaper, giving workers' views of the events in this country and the world. We invite you to read it."

When *Militant* salespeople arrived at the plant gate with this leaflet, papers, and literature from the socialist campaign of Mel Mason for U.S. president and Andrea González for vice-presi-

dent, the response was exciting.

Seven issues of the paper were sold in front of the plant and several more inside throughout the day. The Chinese-speaking workers propped the leaflets up at their work stations where others could see them. The *Militant* was widely discussed that day.

The next week, salespeople came equipped with a leaflet for a party to raise funds for the Mason-González campaign. Again the leaflet was in Spanish, English, and Chinese. Four Chinese workers who had not previously attended any socialist events came to this one.

Over the next weeks several more Chinese workers attended

other socialist events, bringing families and friends. The use of the Chinese language by *Militant* supporters sparked interest in the *Militant* and in the Mason-González campaign. The core of supporters of the socialist campaign inside the plant has grown. And if the *Militant* sales team doesn't show up one week, they are missed — and asked after.

The entire experience has advanced the process of building a core of *Militant* readers in this plant who are publicizing the Mason-González campaign, who are working together on union activities, and who are discussing the big issues and events which affect working people.

Miami cop on trial for murder of Black youth

BY ALAN GUMMERSON

MIAMI — Tensions run high in this city as the seven-week trial of Miami cop Luis Álvarez draws to a close. Álvarez shot and killed 20 year old Nevell Johnson in a video arcade in Miami's Overtown Black community, sparking a three-day rebellion in December 1982.

The police and city officials, including Black officials and some community leaders, are preparing to suppress any protest if Álvarez is acquitted. Police have stepped up patrols and shake-downs in Overtown. The March 8 Miami News reports that the county government is stockpiling food in predominantly Black high schools so students can be locked in if there is a "disturbance."

The trial has revealed a clear police and government plan to paint Johnson the criminal and justify Álvarez's actions.

A flyer distributed by the "Luis Álvarez Defense Fund," which lists its address care of the Fraternal Order of Police in Miami, declares that Johnson was a dangerous, armed criminal, and that Álvarez shot in self-defense. He was indicted only because "weak government officials" gave in to rioting "hoodlums," claim Álvarez's supporters.

Álvarez was indicted only for manslaughter and is being tried before an all-white jury.

Prosecuting attorneys called only 2 of the 35 witnesses to the shooting. They

agreed with police lawyers before the trial that Johnson had a gun even though eyewitnesses denied this.

The police lawyers have put Johnson on trial — trying to prove that he deserved to be killed. This smear campaign included testimony by one woman who, months after Johnson was killed, came forward to claim that he had robbed her the previous year.

While allowing these slanders against Johnson, the prosecution did not enter facts that condemned Álvarez — including complaints of racist harassment filed against him.

Blacks and others are outraged at the course of the trial. They have aired their feelings on radio talk shows and at public meetings. So far, the only response they've gotten is to "stay cool."



Miami cops prepare to invade Overtown in 1982 following protests of racist killing

Brink's defendant denied democratic rights

BY STEVE CRAINE

Jury selection is continuing in the trial of Kathy Boudin — a case fraught with violations of the defendant's rights. The trial, which is being held in White Plains, New York, is the last in a series arising from the 1981 holdup of a Brink's armored car in Nyack, New York.

These trials have been closely followed

by defenders of civil liberties because of the many attempts that have been made by the government to deny Boudin and her codefendants their constitutional right to a fair trial.

The government is, in fact, attempting to use this case to set new precedents concerning the democratic rights of defendants and prisoners, especially political activists.

Three other defendants tried in the state courts received maximum sentences of 75 years to life in prison.

Boudin's lawyers have recently revealed that they plan to call anti-Vietnam War activists Dr. Benjamin Spock and Rev. Daniel Berrigan as witnesses. Attorney Leonard Weinglass explained that they would be called as character witnesses and because "we may need an expert to say that a person with political principles would behave in a certain way, not because of guilt, but because of lack of confidence in the system."

District Attorney Kenneth Gribetz, who is prosecuting the case, has already objected to the idea of calling Spock and Berrigan "because we never mentioned radical, or terrorist, or the Weather Under-

ground or anything political in the first Brink's trial and we don't intend to in this one."

However, the state has continually played up Boudin's past political associations in an attempt to smear her as a dangerous terrorist. She has been returned to a prison that a state appellate court had originally moved her out of because of its punitive atmosphere. It is far from the trial site, and Boudin is escorted back and forth every day — about a two-hour round trip — under heavy guard. The courthouse itself is ringed with elaborate security devices, including concrete barriers, metal detectors, and bomb-sniffing dogs, despite the objection of the defense. These measures are intended to prejudice the jury and the public against Boudin, making it easier to railroad her to prison.

The trial is a prime example of how the rights of all working people are undermined when the state goes after those they feel are isolated and vulnerable.

That's a good reason why all supporters of democratic rights must defend Boudin's right to a fair trial.

Bringing 'democracy' to Grenada

The "Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation" held a memorial meeting and cultural show in St. George's, Grenada on March 13. The event, which commemorated what would have been the fifth anniversary of the Grenada revolution, took place despite attempts by the U.S.-imposed interim government of the island to scuttle the celebration.

According to foundation spokespeople, the Advisory Council had given written permission allowing entry into the country of several calypsonians. However, when

the first to arrive — the "Mighty Grynner" — was deported, the foundation was forced to warn the other performers not to come.

Nevertheless, some 300 people attended a celebration that included poetry readings, a videotaped film answering the U.S. government's lies about the airport construction begun under Grenada's revolutionary government, and speeches by George Louison and Kenrick Radix — two former ministers in the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada.

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MAURICE BISHOP SPEAKS

THE GRENADA REVOLUTION 1979-83



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Key issues avoided at Lebanon parley

BY HARRY RING

MARCH 14 — As Lebanese politicians met in Switzerland to negotiate a reshuffling of government power, one more cease-fire was declared in the Beirut area where right-wing supporters of the minority Maronite Christian government are fighting Muslim and Druse militia forces.

There have been an estimated 180 such cease-fires since the 1975-76 civil war.

Meanwhile, there were reports of increased attacks by Muslim liberation fighters against Israeli occupation forces garrisoned in southern Lebanon.

While the world media focused on the negotiations in Lausanne, Switzerland, one reporter there observed that many people in the lobby of the hotel where the parley is being held were glued to Lebanese short-wave broadcasts, following the developments in war-torn Beirut and largely ignoring what was being discussed at the conference.

The stated aim of the Switzerland negotiations is to revamp Lebanon's government and political structure and to discuss greater representation for the nation's Muslim majority, as well as the Druse. It is also expected that the parley will agree on a new prime minister, one who favors a policy of friendship with neighboring Syria.

Syria's president, Hafez al-Assad, had agreed to promote the negotiations in return for the decision by Lebanese Pres. Amin Gemayel to scrap the U.S.-negotiated Lebanon-Israel accord of last May 17.

Falsely described as a "withdrawal" agreement, the accord would have provided for ongoing policing of southern Lebanon by Israeli forces and given Washington a greater direct role in Lebanese affairs.

Gemayel agreed to dump the accord and to call the "reconciliation" meeting after the virtual collapse of the Christian-led Lebanese army.

Muslim and Druse politicians were persuaded to participate by the Syrian government. Syria has provided the main military support to the Druse and Muslim rebels.

Prior to the opening of negotiations in Switzerland, the participants journeyed to Damascus for discussions with Assad.

But while Gemayel tries to survive at the bargaining table, it remains to be seen how much modification of minority Maronite Christian rule will be accepted by the fascist-like Christian Phalange. The Phalange is firmly tied to U.S. and Israeli imperialism and their divide-and-rule policies.

The stubborn resistance of the Phalangists to majority rule has little to do with theological concerns.

Most of the ruling rich in Lebanon happen to be Christian. And most of the workers and peasants happen to be Muslims who suffer harsh economic exploitation and denial of political rights.

Intercontinental Press looks at PLO today

The March 19 issue of *Intercontinental Press* will be of great interest to readers of the *Militant*. This issue of the news magazine contains an important article on the present situation in the Middle East, entitled "PLO facing big challenges," written by *IP* staff writer Fred Murphy.

The article takes up the effects upon the Palestine Liberation Organization of nearly two years of heavy blows against the Palestinian people. It assesses the impact on the Palestinian national liberation struggle of the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the Syrian and Libyan governments meddling in PLO affairs.

In addition, the publication has eyewitness reports on the progress of the Nicaraguan revolution, including the first of three articles that will give an in-depth analysis of agriculture in Nicaragua.

These articles, along with *IP*'s continuing coverage of events elsewhere in the world, are essential reading for activists in the labor, socialist, national liberation, and women's rights movements.

The talks in Switzerland are not aimed at resolving that fundamental problem. This means that nothing of long-term substance will emerge from the bargaining.

The Syrian government favors the limited agenda. It wants a broader government in Lebanon palatable to the mass of the people. But Assad even rejected proposals by his Lebanese allies at the negotiating table that they seek Gemayel's resignation. His basic concern is that Lebanon serve as a buffer for Syria against possible Israeli military aggression.

The fact of the negotiations, preceded by the voiding of the May 17 accord, represents a setback for the Gemayel forces and their U.S.-Israeli mentors.

The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 was aimed at crushing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which had established deep roots among the huge number of Palestinian refugees there as well as among the Lebanese people. It was also aimed at breaking Lebanese opposition to the hated Maronite rule.

By holding the civilian population of Beirut hostage to murderous shelling, the Israelis did win the departure of the PLO from Beirut. The Gemayel regime was installed to further U.S. and Israeli interests.

Later, Syrian-backed dissident elements within the PLO engaged in an armed confrontation that forced PLO leader Yassir Arafat and his supporters to depart from all of Lebanon. But that did not end popular opposition to the Gemayel regime.

Ky. desegregation supporters hit plan

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Supporters of school desegregation made important gains at Jefferson County School Board hearings in early March. At three hearings supporters of desegregation outnumbered supporters of School Superintendent Donald Ingwerson's proposed plan that would effectively re-segregate the county schools.

Ingwerson's new plan is an attack on the 1975 court-ordered program of busing to achieve school desegregation. While the court-mandated plan includes the busing of white and Black students across city and suburban lines, Ingwerson's proposal would sharply reduce the number of white students bused. Supporters of desegregation fear this one-way busing will eventually lead to no busing.

Hearings receive wide publicity

The hearings, which were covered extensively by the local newspapers and TV, made clear what the real issue is — equal education for Blacks.

The Louisville chapter of the NAACP voted unanimously to oppose the plan. Other organizations and individuals speaking out against the plan include: the National Lawyers Guild; Louisville Section of the National Council of Jewish Women; League of Women Voters; Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Kentucky Commission on Human Rights; Anne Braden; Socialist Workers Party; and Young Socialist Alliance. Black ministers have spoken out against the plan.

By contrast, support for the plan is for the most part unorganized, except for attempts by the school board to turn out support through school principals.

Test of strength

The Central High School hearing March 6 in this city's predominantly Black West End became a test of strength between those for and against the plan. But the Central hearing, attended by well over a thousand people, testified to the support for busing.

Lyman T. Johnson, a plaintiff in the 1975 desegregation lawsuit and a former school board member was one of the first speakers at the Central hearing. "I am a Black person and I have experienced the short end of the stick all these 78 years. I



Lebanese army troops abandoning positions to join antigovernment forces. Lebanese President Gemayel hopes to salvage his regime through negotiations in Switzerland, but opposition aims to capitalize on recent victories.

Israel failed to end that opposition, and so did Washington. U.S. difficulties were dramatically registered when the Pentagon had to transfer its Marine "peacekeepers" from Beirut to offshore ships.

A year ago last December the Pentagon had set out to rebuild the Lebanese army so that it could deal effectively with popular opposition.

The aim, roughly, was to double the size of the army to about 40,000.

Conscription was introduced, according to a representative of the Lebanese consulate in New York. In addition, he explained, the army provided "an employment opportunity."

These combined factors created an army that was still Christian controlled, but an estimated 60 percent Muslim in the ranks.

As the civil war intensified these past months, the Muslim ranks simply de-

fected.

Today, the Lebanese military estimates it has some 12,000 combat forces. Others put the figure as low as 6,000. Quite a distance from the U.S. goal of 40,000.

Four months ago, a spectrum of Lebanese politicians also met in Switzerland to paste together an earlier "reconciliation" agreement. A cease-fire preceded the negotiations. Within 48 hours of the end of the meeting fierce fighting again erupted.

Certainly, the Gemayel government is in a weaker position today than it was then. And, by that token, so is the U.S.-Israeli drive for total domination of the country.

At the same time, a strong Israeli force remains in southern Lebanon. And it continues to arm the ultrarightist Phalangists.

And the U.S. naval armada remains stationed off the Lebanese coast.

will not plead with you not to adopt anything that turns the clock back." Recalling a similar attack on busing while he was still a member of the board, he said, "Go ahead and do what you [antibusing board members] please; it would be more honorable for me to resign from the board of education and then come back and sue the hell out of you. I did it once before and I won. I'll do it again, and I'll win. And if you don't want to spend the money on the education of children, you can pay for the lawyers at a rate of \$125 an hour."

Lenora Morton, a retired teacher who attended Central when it was the only school Blacks could attend, reminded the school board of the busing battle Black parents and students faced in 1975 "when our children were harassed and our Black parents were in fear. We lived in torment and hardship. We will not have that again. We will not stand for it."

Next: no busing

Many Black parents expressed concern that Ingwerson's one-way busing plan would result in a future no-busing plan. Of more immediate concern was the fear that Ingwerson's plan, which proposes a voluntary "magnet school," would mean further cuts in the already more limited academic program and facilities of Central High School and also a decrease in school attendance.

Peggy Kreiner, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, countered the claim that busing is too expensive. "Busing for desegregation in '81-'82 accounted for little over 1 percent of spending on education. In a racially segregated county, busing is the only effective way to desegregate the schools. Busing is the only way to ensure that money is spent on education for all. White students must be bused to West End schools and West End schools must be opened and funded so this can continue to happen." Kreiner and her running mate, Dave Walters for U.S. Senate, participated in the hearings.

Maurice Sweeney, president of the Louisville NAACP, answered the charge that busing has caused a serious disruption of student lives. "We have been told of one white student who has attended six different schools in nine years. But according to the Pupil Transfer Director of Jefferson

County, less than 750 white students go to two different high schools. Why should we disrupt 26,888 students for less than 750, who could attend the same high school for four years if we modified the present system."

Growing support by white parents

The hearing also reflected important changes in the attitudes of many white parents toward busing. Nine years' experience with the desegregation plan has led some to new conclusions. The number of white parents speaking out in favor of busing and against the Ingwerson plan reflects a new atmosphere. At one hearing Keith Wilson explained, "This situation presents me with the ultimate irony. When busing first became an issue, we considered moving to avoid sending our children to Central. Now, if the new plan is approved, we will be forced to move so that we can continue to send all our children to Central."

Bob Ballinger is the president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 227. He is an opponent of the proposed plan. Ballinger urged the board to "take inventory" over its policy on hardship transfers. "The board has allowed an East End elite to avoid busing altogether for such flimsy medical reasons as motion sickness," he explained.

Rather than "harming" his daughter, Pam Ballinger is voluntarily bused to Central.

The school board had counted on the hearings to rubber stamp the proposed plan, but the hearings proved this to be a big miscalculation. Under pressure from opponents of the proposed plan and critics who consider it incomplete because it does not contain a desegregation plan for elementary schools, the board has been forced to revise its timetable. Instead of voting on the plan on March 12, Ingwerson will be introducing a revised plan to the board on that date. The revised plan will be voted on March 26.

The Louisville NAACP is urging supporters of desegregation to attend the March 12 and March 26 board meetings. "We're not scared, we're not going to back down. We're going to stand tall and win this fight no matter what it takes," Geoffrey Ellis, Louisville NAACP vice-president, told the school board.



Vice-presidential candidate Andrea González speaks at campaign rally

Socialist campaign fund extended to March 31

BY YVONNE HAYES

In the last several weeks, the \$84,000 kick-off fund for the socialist presidential campaign has gained momentum. New pledges continue to come in, both from new supporters and from others deciding to raise their pledges.

This week a letter came in from two auto workers who were inspired to raise their joint pledge of \$20, saying: "We were both unemployed at the time [that we made our pledge]. Starting to get on our feet again. Enclosed is \$100."

The pace of collections has increased dramatically. In the March 2 *Militant* we reported that only \$36,000 had been collected over a two-month period. In the last three weeks, however, an additional \$23,000 has come in — nearly double the rate. And numerous areas report that much more is on the way.

Socialists in Cleveland explained that a number of supporters in their city are counting on their March 16 paychecks to pay off their pledges. In Kansas City, General Motors "profit-sharing" checks were due to be handed out to workers on March 12. Some of this money is promised to the Mason-González campaign.

These reports, and the increased excitement surrounding the campaign as Mason and González continue their tours to cities across the country, are an indication that the \$84,000 goal can be met and surpassed.

To make sure this happens, the deadline for the fund has been extended to March 31. The extra two weeks will help put the drive over the top.

The money raised through this fund is the financial bedrock of the initial phase of the socialist presidential campaign. Already the fund has been used to put teams of campaigners on the road in Arizona, Texas, and Alabama. These teams have found an excellent hearing for the Mason-González campaign and have been able to set the stage for the tours of the candidates in these areas.

The team in Alabama, and similar teams to be fielded in West Virginia, Michigan, Illinois, and elsewhere, are a key aspect of the drive to get the socialist campaign on the ballot in 27 states and the District of Columbia this November.

The fund will cover the costs of these teams as well as making it possible to produce a special leaflet that explains the importance of supporting the effort to get the Mason-González ticket on the ballot and the fundamentals of the socialist platform. This leaflet, now available, is bilingual, enabling socialist petitioners to reach both English and Spanish speaking workers.

Socialist campaign teams, armed with special campaign materials, as well as the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* — the socialist campaign newspapers — will reach thousands of people with socialist ideas for the first time.

Everyone can join this effort by participating in the \$84,000 campaign fund. By extending the deadline, every campaign supporter should be able to make their final payment on time and those who have only recently decided to support the Mason/González campaign will have a chance to be part of this fund as well.

GOAL → \$84,000

Amount pledged \$97,279

Amount collected \$59,322

84

SWP IN 84

Mason for president
González for vice-president

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

☐ I would like to be a campaign volunteer.

Name _____

Address _____

City and State _____

Zip _____ Tel. _____

(paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee) 10

Baltimore workers hear socialist views

BY BAXTER SMITH

BALTIMORE — This is a city of contrasts, a fact that was not lost on the style or substance of the recent tour here of Andrea González, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

When an interviewer on a local radio show asked her to contrast her campaign to that of the Democrats, it was all she could do to limit herself to a few minutes' answer.

While smokestacks, cupolas, and lofty cranes of shipyards and port facilities dominate its skyline, the ruling rich have lived within Baltimore for generations. And so, along one side of the street on part of York Road there are elegant homes of the white ruling rich. Across the same street is the decay of the Black community, the product of generations of government neglect.

Baltimore today is in the vanguard of the municipal comeback — the nice words that ruling fathers give to the not-so-nice policy of expulsion of inner city Blacks and poor.

"In contrast to Puerto Rico," González was telling a class on labor studies at Dundalk Community College during her tour, "there is Nicaragua, where the people are controlling the things that affect their lives."

González, who is Puerto Rican, was asked about social conditions in Puerto Rico, and she threw in the example, the contrast, of Nicaragua.

Dundalk, itself, is a study of change. Ten, even five, years ago, there was an upbeat mood in this largely white, working-class part of town. The people who lived here worked for Bethlehem Steel, General

Motors, and the other industrial corporations nearby. They saw their contracts grow and many felt secure in their futures. That was before takeaway contracts, rollbacks, and massive layoffs took their bite.

Today, many in Dundalk no longer bring home paychecks from Bethlehem Steel or GM. Quite a few nowadays work for non-union companies and bring home minimum wage.

So, when González brings to steelworkers her message, as she did one morning at a Bethlehem Steel plant gate, that labor must unite against the bosses' attacks, it has special meaning here.

Many see that meaning in her explanation of the impact of the recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling that allows corporations crying poornmouth to tear up union contracts. "Try doing that the next time you can't make your mortgage payment and see what the bank does," she says.

Besides campaigning at plant gates — not just in Baltimore, but wherever she goes — González calls for independent political action in the electoral arena. Unlike her Democratic and Republican opponents she wants workers to run for public office. She wants a massive labor party. She calls for nationalization of the steel industry and says the capitalist system, not imports, is the problem workers face.

For many of her ideas here, González won approval.

"We have more in common with the workers and farmers in Central America than we do with the bosses in the U.S.," she told an appreciating finale of supporters March 3.

Milw. socialist wins 6% of vote

BY NANCY COLE

MILWAUKEE — Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Chris Rayson received 5,600 votes, or 6 percent of the total, in the nonpartisan primary here February 21.

Rayson is a machine operator at Eagle Knitting Mills and a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 64.

Mayor Henry Maier has been in office for 24 years and is the "most senior" of U.S. mayors. He refused to debate — or "argufy" as he put it — with his two opponents during the election campaign period.

Donna Horowitz from the New Milwaukee Group captured 27 percent of the vote, putting her in the running for the April 3 general election. The New Milwaukee Group, a coalition of liberals and social democrats, was unable to convince a Democratic Party politician to oppose Maier. So at the last minute, New Milwaukee leader Horowitz decided to run. She associates her campaign with Socialist Party leader Frank Zeidler, who was mayor

of Milwaukee from 1948 until 1960.

Rayson addressed his campaign to Milwaukee workers — including the nearly 70,000 of them unemployed — urging solidarity with workers here in Milwaukee, across the country, and around the world.

Rayson campaigned around the need for a labor party, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

True to form, the news media virtually ignored Rayson's campaign for four months. Then in the last month — conscious of the widespread anti-Maier sentiment among Milwaukeans — the media gave the nod to Donna Horowitz.

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* suggested Horowitz for those "with reservations" about Maier. Of Rayson, the *Sentinel* editorial said in total, "[He] is intelligent and articulate, but he stresses ideology rather than issues in his statements."

In a letter to the *Sentinel*, as yet unpublished, Rayson took issue with the paper's pat dismissal of his five-month campaign effort.

"During my campaign I have pinpointed the problems faced by Milwaukee workers as national problems shared by other U.S. workers because of the misordered priorities of government at all levels. I particularly focused on opposition to an impending Vietnam-type war in Central America or the Middle East because it is our tax dollars being squandered and it will be Milwaukee youth who will be among those to go fight and die in such a war."

"But my campaign also addressed what the *Sentinel* might judge to be more 'local' issues," Rayson continued. "During the three-month strike at Briggs and Stratton last year, I issued a statement calling for solidarity with the strikers, and I joined the strikers' picket lines — to my knowledge, the only candidate or politician of any kind to do so."

"I testified at city budget hearing and at police department budget hearings, opposing the \$92 million item for a police force that continues to terrorize the Black and Latino communities."

"I testified at school hearings, urging a busing-for-desegregation plan that would not place the burden solely on the Black community by closing schools there."

"I believe," Rayson concluded, "these are issued of critical importance for the working-class majority of Milwaukee."

Unions support fired UAW workers

SAN DIEGO — Since Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical officially fired four activists in United Auto Workers Local 506 for "falsification of applications," support for the workers has been growing.

The case received a big boost as International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1125 voted unanimously at its February 26 meeting to support the case and send a letter of protest to Teledyne Ryan expressing their support for these workers. Just a few days before the Executive Board of Service Employees International Union Local 535 voted to send a letter to Ryan supporting the workers right to keep their jobs and against the victimizations. And on February 27 the Steering Committee of American Federation of Teachers Local 2024 also sent a letter protesting "a political witch-hunt" at Ryan.

Jan Aragon, Merrill Cohen, Tom Barton, and Gina March were fired on February 10. Although the company cites falsification of applications as the reason, in fact, the four were singled out for their union activities. They had helped arrange

an invitation to Alejandro Molina Lara, a leader of the Salvadoran union movement to address their monthly membership meeting.

The fired workers' supporters have been handing out fact sheets and petitioning at union meetings and other union events. Many San Diego unionists have begun to hear about the case and have signed petitions. A number of locals have invited the fired workers to come to their meetings and explain the case.

The endorsement of IAM Local 1125 is particularly significant. It is the largest IAM local in San Diego representing 5,500 workers at General Dynamics. The support at the IAM local meeting reflected the sentiment that an injury to one is an injury to all and showed the concern over the stepped up attacks by the government and the bosses against all working people.

Unionists in the IAM here had also sponsored a special meeting to hear Alejandro Molina Lara speak the same week he spoke to UAW Local 506.

Mason gets hearing from Ala. workers

Continued from front page

Mondale in 1984. But they agreed with much of what Mason said about the nature of the capitalist system.

The Selma leaders said they welcomed the participation of the Socialist Workers Party in the struggles there and urged Mason to return whenever he could.

In Tuscaloosa, Mason spoke on the University of Alabama campus to a meeting that drew both students and others interested in the socialist campaign.

A recently retired air force officer, who lost part of his eyesight in Vietnam, especially liked Mason's antiwar stand. He asked about the Kissinger commission report on Central America, and agreed with Mason's explanation that it represents bipartisan support for deeper war to stop the socialist revolution.

A woman at the meeting said she had been to hear Walter Mondale speak the night before. Not only did Mondale have "no answers for anything," she said, but he was "out of touch with reality and just plain boring." After hearing Mason she donated \$25 to the socialist campaign.

In Montgomery, Mason got television coverage as he met with students at predominantly Black Alabama State University.

"Why are you campaigning against Jesse Jackson?" one student asked.

"I'm not campaigning against Jackson," Mason answered. "I'm campaigning against the capitalist system that is the cause of our problems, and against the Democratic and Republican parties, which are both controlled by the rich minority that rules."

Mason explained that Jackson's program is based on reforming the Democratic Party and the capitalist system — not replacing it. Mason said that tens of thousands who support Jackson because they want to fight against war and racism "are going to run into a stone wall in August if not sooner. And they'll remember that the Socialist Workers Party told them the truth."

Mason also pointed out that as a socialist he defends Jackson's right to run and defends Jackson against racist slanders.

The lengthy discussion didn't convince everyone. But by the end one of the students wearing a Jackson button shook his head and said, "Whew, I guess I'm going to have to rethink this Jackson stuff."

Before leaving Montgomery, Mason stopped by a small barbeque restaurant in the Black community run by two supporters of the *Militant*. They had first gotten to know the *Militant* because of its coverage of the Taylor family, Blacks who were assaulted and then framed up by Montgomery police for defending themselves against racist cop violence last year. (The trumped-

Vandals shoot up Mason campaign offices

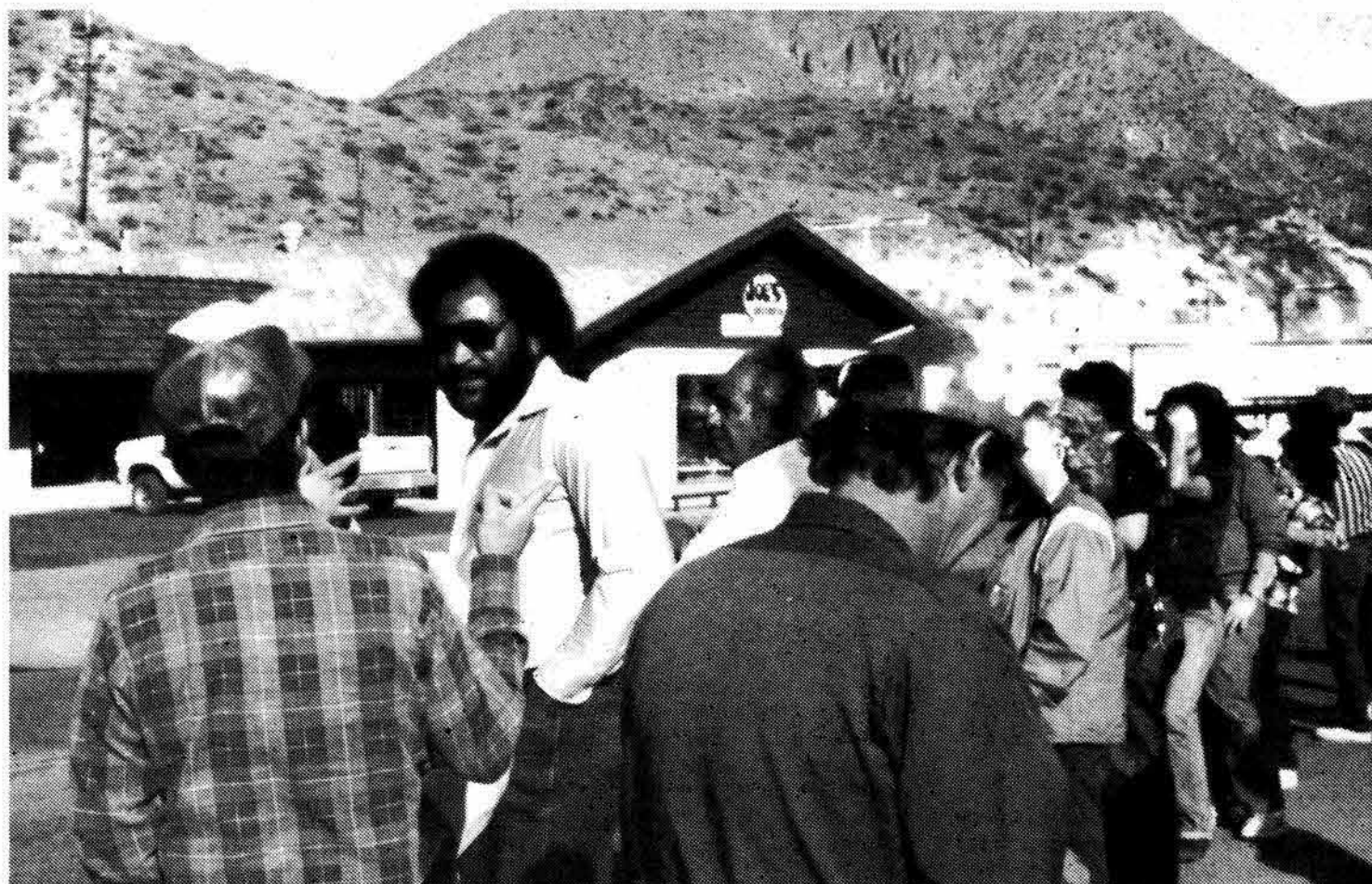
ATLANTA, Ga. — On the weekend of March 10-11 vandals struck the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate Susan Winsten and congressional candidate Maurice Williams.

Five shots from a pellet gun were fired into the storefront at 504 Flat Shoals Ave., SE, which also serves as the Georgia headquarters for the socialist presidential slate of Mel Mason and Andrea González. Mason, who is Black and a former city councilman from Seaside, California, had just concluded a successful campaign stop in Georgia.

Socialist candidates Williams and Winsten have just concluded a fact-finding trip to Nicaragua. They had already begun speaking about the accomplishments of the Nicaraguan revolution and warning of the imminent threat of a U.S. invasion.

"This cowardly act will not stop us from spreading the truth about the U.S. government's war drive against workers and farmers in Central America and Lebanon," said Williams at a news conference, Tuesday morning, March 13.

"We demand the Atlanta police and city administration conduct a complete investigation of this incident and prosecute those responsible. We urge that our Democratic and Republican opponents join us in supporting the right of all candidates to be heard in these elections," Williams concluded.



SWP presidential candidate Mel Mason (in sunglasses) on picket line with striking Arizona copper miners. Mason has been taking his party's socialist message to workers all over the country and has received warm welcome from workers looking for solutions to big problems facing them.

up felony charges were later dropped to misdemeanors when a plea-bargaining agreement was reached in February.)

With the case over, they said, they were watching closely the trial of the cop in Miami who gunned down a Black youth. They were excited to hear that Mason had just come from Miami and had attended part of the trial.

"If [cop Luis] Álvarez is acquitted for shooting Nevell Johnson," Mason told them, "it will give cops all over the country even more of a green light to go into our communities and murder Black people."

Every person who came into the restaurant while Mason was there was called over by the proprietors to meet the socialist candidate and sign the petitions to get him on the ballot.

At his March 10 Birmingham rally the next night, Mason ridiculed Gary Hart's claim to have "new ideas" and dissected Hart's real program. He said that some of the support for Hart is partly a reaction by some working people against Mondale because he was former Pres. James Carter's vice-president. The Carter administration's antilabor record is better remembered than the Democrats would like. Hart also projects himself as a "peace candidate" because he opposes certain weapons systems Reagan has proposed. In fact, Mason pointed out, Hart calls for increasing the military budget and says he would out-spend Reagan on conventional arms.

After reviewing the main points of the SWP platform, Mason recalled the heroic revolution in Grenada, which would have celebrated its fifth anniversary March 13, and condemned the U.S. invasion of that Caribbean island. He said the invasion was above all aimed at crushing the example Grenada had begun to set for Black and white workers in the United States. He continued:

"Grenada didn't get free by elections. Nicaraguans didn't get free of Somoza's tyranny by trying to transform Somoza's Liberal Party into a party of liberation. We can't free ourselves that way either.

"Our Somoza is the capitalist ruling class, and the political action we need is our own independent political action through a labor party and a Black party."

Also speaking at the Birmingham rally was Georgia Fleming, a native of Enterprise, Alabama, who organizes in support of the Irish freedom struggle and publishes a newspaper called the *Irish-American Voice*.

Fleming condemned the many forms of U.S. government support to British repression in Ireland, and said both Reagan and his Democratic opponents stand for con-

tinuing this repression.

"Any Irish-American who looks to the Democratic Party or the Republican Party for aid to Irish freedom is looking in the wrong direction," she declared. "What Irish-Americans need is a socialist alternative. What we need is control of foreign policy in the hands of the people — not the White House, Senate, or the House of Representatives."

Ala. SWP ballot drive advances

BY SONJA FRANETA

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The drive to get Socialist Workers candidate Mel Mason on the presidential ballot in Alabama has gotten off the ground with a bang.

On March 10, the second Saturday of the ballot drive, northern Alabama was hit by a freak snow storm that limited petitioning to half a day and kept many people off the streets. Nevertheless, socialist campaigners gathered more than 1,200 signatures.

That brought the total for the first eight days to an impressive 3,881 signatures for the presidential ticket and 1,590 for Mark Curtis, SWP congressional candidate in the sixth district. Socialist campaigners are aiming to get many more signatures for Mason and Curtis than the legal requirement. Mason needs approximately 4,000 signatures and Curtis about 1,500.

The ballot drive is taking a lot of hard work, but the effort is without a doubt rewarding. Campaigners have gotten a warm reception from thousands of people in shopping centers, on campuses, and in working-class neighborhoods. They have talked to both laid-off and newly-rehired steelworkers at U.S. Steel at Fairfield, to coal miners in Adamsville and Jasper, and to workers who got the shaft at Connors Steel and Liberty Supermarkets, two companies in Birmingham that have closed down and then reopened nonunion.

A Black city employee was enthusiastic about signing the petition, saying he was tired of voting for Black politicians like Democratic Mayor Richard Arrington, who promise one thing to attract votes and once in office "turn their backs on us in favor of money interests."

One man was filling out the petition when a friend called out and asked him what he was doing. "I'm signing a petition of discontent!" he replied.

Another campaigner met a white retired steelworker who had helped organize support for Black workers fight against discrimination by U.S. Steel. He readily signed and added that he has long considered himself a socialist.

Mason's five days in Alabama gave a big boost to the drive to gather thousands of signatures to place his name on the state's ballot. The extensive media coverage he received in every city he visited, his discussions with labor and Black activists, and the past two weeks of campaigning by his supporters have already made the biggest statewide impact ever for the SWP in Alabama.

The Young Socialist Alliance has been the heart and soul of the ballot effort. A YSA team has been campaigning full time throughout the state. In their first week on the road they collected more than 1,000 signatures for Mason.

From past experience the socialist campaigners know the SWP candidates may be denied a place on the ballot even with the required number of signatures. For that reason they are already organizing a campaign of public support for Mel Mason's right to appear on the ballot.

Among those who have already signed messages to Secretary of State Don Siegelman in support of ballot status for Mason are Donald Watkins, a former Montgomery city council member and leader in the fight against the frame-up of the Taylor family; Mary Weidler, executive director of the Alabama Civil Liberties Union; and Dr. Michele Wilson, president of the Birmingham chapter of the National Organization for Women.

Minn. SWP announces

BY ROGER JAMES

ST. PAUL, Minn. — At a campaign rally here February 26, members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party in Minnesota and surrounding states announced the campaigns of Ellie García for U.S. Senate, Pete Brandli for U.S. Congress from the 4th district, and Dave Salner for Congress from the 8th district.

The rally was also the kick-off for the SWP presidential campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president in Minnesota.

García is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 155 and the National Organization for Women. Brandli is a member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1042 and a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Salner is a member of ACTWU Local 512.

The rally was the featured event of the second state convention of the Minnesota SWP.

What working people should know about Mondale and Hart

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

Colorado Senator Gary Hart and former Vice-pres. Walter Mondale are the two front-runners for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. With endorsements from the AFL-CIO, the National Organization for Women, and most of the country's leading Democrats, Mondale was expected to be an automatic shoo-in.

Hart, however, has taken the initiative away from Mondale. After placing second in the Iowa primary, Hart routed Mondale in the New Hampshire primary and upset the Minnesota lawyer in the Maine caucuses on March 4. He then went on to win primaries in Massachusetts, Florida, and Rhode Island, while losing to Mondale in Alabama and Georgia on March 13.

Who are these two Democrats? Where do they stand on the major issues facing working people today?

Mondale's record

Of the two, Mondale is the better known. Before serving as vice-president in the Carter administration, Mondale was a long-time senator from Minnesota.

Mondale has criticized President Reagan for leading "the most antiunion administration in history." At a recent United Auto Workers meeting in Washington, D.C., Mondale said the Reagan administration has been marked by "disrespect for working men and women." Since Reagan was elected, "the very rich have grown richer and richer," said Mondale.

This is certainly true of Mondale himself. Since he left office in 1981, Mondale has raked in almost \$1 million through "legal fees and consulting . . . from companies and organizations headed by close political associates," reported the March 3 *New York Times*.

While the Reagan administration is a top contender for being the "most antiunion administration in history," it should be noted that two days after leaving office Mondale joined the board of directors of one of the most antiunion companies around, the Minneapolis-based Control Data Corp. As one of the largest computer companies in the world, Control Data is a major supplier of police technology to the racist regime of South Africa. According to a study by Elizabeth Schmidt, *Decoding Corporate Camouflage*, Control Data is "helping to implement a system [pass laws] responsible for the arrest of nearly 300,000 Black people in 1978 alone."

"On several occasions," said Mondale, in a reply to criticisms leveled against him by Jesse Jackson, "I did express myself at board meetings about the company's dealings with South Africa." But shadow boxing doesn't get Mondale off the hook.

One of the "3 Things That We Must Do Together" (title of Mondale's regular campaign speech) is promote "fairness in civil rights." "Fairness," Mondale explains, "requires the enforcement of civil rights. It requires the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and the elimination of discrimination against women."

To be "fair" to Mondale, it should be recalled that the Carter-Mondale administration made a cold-blooded decision to defeat the ERA. Mondale has either a bad memory or a lot of nerve.

Carter-Mondale administration

More to the point, what Reagan has done was prepared by the Carter-Mondale administration.

The majority of attacks against working people today were begun under the Carter-Mondale administration, with Democratic majorities in both the House and the Senate. They include:

- Invoking the Taft-Hartley Act during the 110-day United Mine Workers of America strike in 1978 to try to force the miners back to work without a contract.
- Setting up the Rapid Deployment Force and increasing the war budget.
- Increasing attacks on affirmative action.
- Escalating attacks on abortion rights.

- Rescinding aid to Afro-American studies and bilingual/bicultural programs.
- Erosion of school desegregation and busing.
- Eruption of right-wing book banning and censorship.
- Reinstating draft registration.
- Laying the groundwork for a reactionary immigration policy.
- Secret restoration of aid to the Guatemalan military dictatorship.
- Support to the reactionary Salvadoran regime and attempts to reverse the Iranian revolution.

Hart's ideas not new

Gary Hart, Mondale's main opponent in the Democratic primary, is masquerading as a liberal politician in the Kennedy mold. He is trying to sell himself at 47 (official biographies say he is 46) as the man with "new ideas." He harps upon the "new generation" string wherever he campaigns, invoking the "great" reforms of the John F. Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt presidencies.

Yet it was the Kennedy administration that organized the infamous "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba in 1961; and the Roosevelt administration that gave Nicaraguan dictator Somoza millions of dollars in military aid and coined the phrase that Somoza was "a son of a bitch, but our son of a bitch."

Hart's "new ideas" center on how to infuse new blood into the capitalist system. Serving on the Senate Armed Forces Committee, Hart prides himself for being a military strategist. Hart believes the Democrats must emphasize military strength because there is a "wide perception" that the party is "soft on defense." Both Hart and Mondale are calling for a 4 percent to 5 percent increase in defense spending.

During a recent debate in New Hampshire, Hart called for the elimination of the B-1 bomber, the MX missile, and some nuclear-powered carriers. He was asked, "Where would the money go?" "I think it's almost irrelevant to the question," Hart answered. "The fact of the matter is, it's not whether less is better, or more is better, it is better is better." By this, Hart meant U.S. imperialism could be made "better" if it altered its military strategy and updated its arsenal.

(Hart supported the deployment of Pershing missiles and the ground-launched cruise missiles in Europe.)

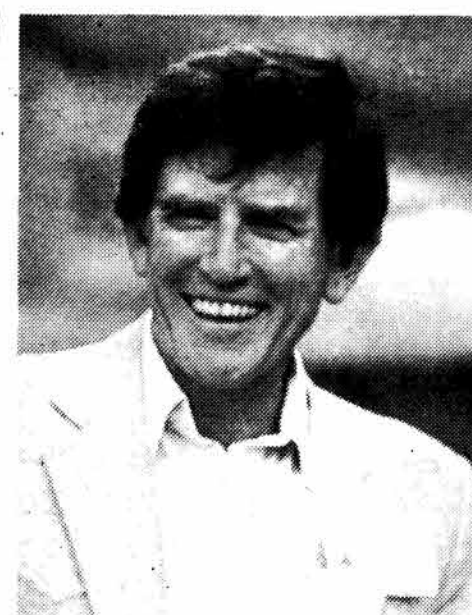
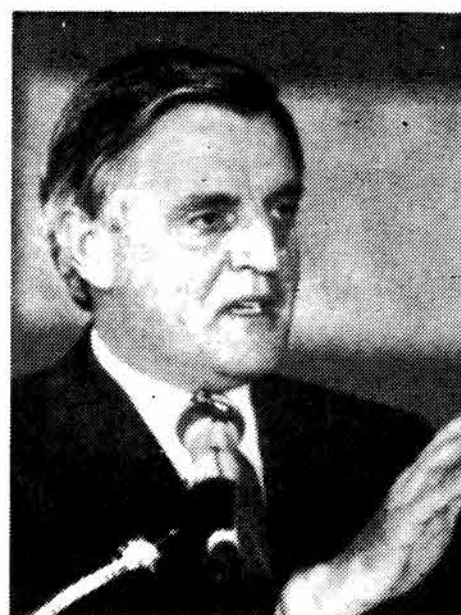
Hart's military reform program

Hart says the U.S. needs a "strategy that addresses the battlefield of the future and not the battlefield of the past." According to the January 19 *Wall Street Journal*, Hart has "presented an elaborate military 'reform' program that calls for switching military strategy from overwhelming firepower to an emphasis on quicker 'maneuver warfare.' He proposes eliminating numerous weapons but building more of others. Sen. Hart receives widespread credit for introducing innovative ideas. . . ."

In an interview with the January 2 *New York Times*, Hart said: "But, ironically enough, I would spend more than Ronald Reagan on two defense categories that are almost always neglected. One is manpower and the other is readiness of our conventional forces." U.S. imperialism, says Hart, has become "weaker" because Reagan has "plundered" these two accounts.

During a recent debate in Goffstown, New Hampshire, Hart, who some call the "peace candidate," attacked Mondale for the "failure of the Carter administration's attempt to rescue the Iranian hostages in 1980."

Right around this time Hart, a true swashbuckler, joined the Naval Reserve at the age of 43. He had applied for a Navy commission in the 1970s. He told reporters he was motivated to do this, "primarily because I was concerned as others were in the 1970s about the very likely possibility this



Walter Mondale and Gary Hart. These Democratic frontrunners both support a strong war machine.

nation would become involved in a military action in the Persian Gulf."

Hart also began to write a spy novel "about terrorism in a free society" with Sen. William Cohen, a Republican from Maine.

Both Hart and Mondale are strong supporters of the state of Israel. They have consistently backed military and economic assistance to the Zionist state.

Favors pacification of Lebanon

Hart has tried to appear as the foremost critic of Reagan's intervention in Lebanon. For example, Hart called for a U.S. withdrawal from Lebanon in September 1982, months ahead of Mondale. But this is pure demagoguery. Hart laid out his real thinking on Lebanon in an interview with the *Times* earlier this year.

Hart argued that Lebanon was "a stumbling block" because the United States was unable to "pacify" Lebanon. In addition, Hart maintained that the United States did not have the "strategic or military capability" to restructure Lebanon. And if a military presence was needed, Hart said, it should be limited to deploying the marines offshore, where presumably naval and air gunfire could be utilized.

Hart's arguments imply that if he were president, and his military "reforms" were implemented, then the U.S. would have the military capability to "pacify" Lebanon.

Mondale and Hart on Central America

Both candidates have called for a halt to sending covert aid to the counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua. On relations with Central America, Mondale claims he

would "reverse the emphasis in every respect."

Echoing the Reagan administration about alleged aggression by Nicaragua, Mondale says he "would interdict any efforts on their part [Nicaragua] to intervene in El Salvador. . . . I would not tolerate Nicaraguan infiltration."

Mondale is also not ashamed to lie when he needs to. He claimed, for example, that under the Carter administration "that the aid we provided [to El Salvador] was principally economic; there was some military, but all of it went through civilians because we were using our money to strengthen moderation."

Unlike Hart, Mondale supported the U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada. And while Hart opposed the invasion, he is mindful not to speak out against the Reagan-sponsored invasion.

Hart has called for withdrawing U.S. forces from Honduras and cutting off military assistance to El Salvador until the rightist death squads are reined in. He has said that the bipartisan Kissinger commission report on Central America should be rejected because it advocates a policy of war.

The central enemy in Central America is "hunger, poverty, and disease," says Hart. "The communists are exploiting the crisis, not causing it."

In an attempt to tap antiwar sentiment in the U.S., Hart is posturing as a "peace" candidate. But anytime a capitalist candidate, particularly one who serves on the Senate Armed Forces Committee, claims he is a "peace" candidate — don't believe it.

The two candidates also agree that the government should help U.S. big business

Continued on Page 17

Communist Party's view of Hart

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

The *Daily World*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the Communist Party, ran an article written by John Wojcik on March 1 entitled "Hart peace stance key to primary win."

Gary Hart's victory "is being widely viewed as a signal that voters want a candidate who will take strong positions for peace and against Reaganomics," wrote Wojcik.

The problem is Hart is not that candidate. Hart has consistently taken "strong" positions for war and "for" Reaganomics. (See accompanying article.)

The reason the Communist Party writes favorably of Hart is because he's an "anti-Reagan" candidate. The CP is on an all-out campaign in 1984, not to win working people to socialism, but to dump Reagan with an electable Democrat — preferably labor-backed Walter Mondale.

"Hart's victory," writes Wojcik, "also showed that the mood for political independence, even in supposedly 'conservative' New Hampshire, is running high." The logic behind this statement follows a few twists and turns.

The CP views Hart (and Jackson and McGovern) as a strong anti-Reagan candidate. According to this view, support for Hart will have the effect of pushing Mondale to the left.

In New Hampshire, the *Daily World* reported that 4 out of 10 "independents" (voters who don't preregister as Democrats or Republicans) voted for Hart. "The Hart to-

tals," continues Wojcik, "show strong support among basic workingclass constituencies, an indication that they saw Hart as the most viable anti-Reagan candidate on the ballot."

This is what the Communist Party means by "political independence" — "independents" and working-class voters pulling the lever for Hart, an "anti-Reagan" candidate.

But this turns everything on its head. The Hart victory in New Hampshire had nothing to do with "the mood for political independence," because if your starting point is to dump Reagan at all costs, you automatically obscure the class character of the Democratic Party, the role of the two-party system, and the need for working people to form their own political party.

The fact that "independents" and "workingclass constituencies" voted for Hart explains little or nothing about Hart's party, the Democratic Party. The class that votes for the party does not determine the character of the party. It's the class the party serves that determines what the party does in action.

The role of those who call themselves socialists or communists is to expose the Democrats. In this case, to expose Hart's proimperialist stance, his advocacy of a more effective Pentagon arsenal, his defense of nuclear power, his opposition to quotas for affirmative action, and his entire anti-working-class program.

Nicaragua warns of new U.S. aggression

Continued from front page

tionaries are stepping up their campaign of terror against the Nicaraguan people.

In just one week, March 5-12, the following attacks were carried out against Nicaragua by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries (*contras*):

- A Panamanian merchant-freighter was severely damaged after hitting a mine while trying to dock in Port Corinto. Several crew members were injured. Untold millions of dollars' worth of machinery, spare parts, and medicine being brought to Nicaragua were destroyed.

- Some 1,400 counterrevolutionaries have penetrated into the central province of Matagalpa, kidnapping peasants, unsuccessfully trying to take two small towns, and destroying the highway to the mining town of Siuna. (The Sandinista armed forces are involved in a huge operation to drive them out; so far, some 35 contras are reported dead.)

- Two high-voltage towers in northern Nicaragua, carrying electricity to Honduras, were blown up by a contra command squad.

- Two high-speed launches and an undetermined number of planes attacked three Nicaraguan Coast Guard vessels in Punta San José in the Gulf of Fonseca, killing three Sandinistas and wounding three others.

- Seven Nicaraguan reservists were killed while defending the Waspán border post in northern Zelaya province. Five of the young men were between the ages of 16 and 18.

- Santo Tomás del Nance, located some 600 meters from the Honduran border, was attacked by mortar fire, killing a one-year-old baby girl. Honduran soldiers were involved in the attack.

- Military installations at the Pacific coast town of Montelimar were attacked three times by two high-speed launches.

- Peñas Blancas, the main border crossing point with Costa Rica, was shelled by mortars and M-79 grenade launchers.

- Using high-speed launches and helicopters, contras unsuccessfully tried to blow up fuel tanks at San Juan del Sur, a Pacific coast port.

- A child-care center in the northern province of Jinotega was destroyed, wiping out an investment of \$150,000. This was the fourth child-care center burned by counterrevolutionaries in the last two years.

- A truck carrying some 9,000 gallons of propane gas exploded after entering Nicaragua through Honduras. C-4 and C-3 plastic explosives were used in the time-bomb. This is the second such operation this month.

'Naval blockade has begun'

These attacks follow by less than a week the mining of the Atlantic coast port, El Bluff, which resulted in the sinking of two Nicaraguan fishing vessels.

By mining both Pacific and Atlantic coast ports, "the first steps of a naval blockade has begun," Nicaraguan Council of State Pres. Carlos Nuñez told foreign journalists March 6. Because of the sophistication of arms employed, and the support by air and sea, "it could only be carried out by a power called the United States of America," Nuñez pointed out.

The mining of the ports is a threat to any freighter navigating international waters and to all countries that maintain trade relations with Nicaragua. What captain wouldn't think twice about docking in Nicaragua after hearing about the fate of the Panamanian freighter?

Internationally, opponents of Nicaragua are seeking to legitimize this campaign of terror by insisting that the counterrevolutionary leaders taking responsibility for the mining and other attacks be allowed to run for office in the November Nicaraguan elections.

However, the popular reaction here to their proposal has been to demand that these "leaders" be tried and sentenced,

using international law to force their return to Nicaragua.

This demand was voiced loud and clear by Glenda Monterrey, general secretary of the Nicaraguan Women's Association on March 8, International Women's Day.

Small farmers demand justice

The National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) is also in the forefront of the movement to see that contra heads be properly sentenced. To date some 1,200 UNAG members have been killed by the contras, some 800 kidnapped, and countless destruction has been incurred on their lands.

Last December, the Nicaraguan government offered amnesty and the right to participate in the elections to Nicaraguans who had participated in counterrevolutionary attacks. The contra leaders were excluded from the measure. Recently here, there was a welcoming celebration for 94 Nicaraguans — some former contras and others kidnapped — who returned from Honduras, thanks to the extension of the amnesty decree and the work of the United Nations Commission on Refugees.

Returning refugees report that hundreds more would like to come back, but the counterrevolutionaries have threatened to kill anyone even caught talking about taking advantage of the amnesty.



Newsweek map shows U.S. military build-up in Honduras. Permanent U.S. bases and maneuvers there aimed at attacking Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions. Flash symbols indicate location of recent CIA-backed contra attacks against Nicaragua.

Ed Pollak — revolutionary for 51 years

BY HARRY RING

Edward Pollak, a lifelong fighter for socialism, died in Miami March 6 after a protracted illness. He was 72.

I first came to know Ed during the 1950s. In that McCarthyite period, he was one of the few nonmembers who attended New York Socialist Workers Party forums regularly.

Equally noteworthy for that time, he frequently brought someone else with him.

And, particularly appreciated in those difficult days, he was a regular financial contributor to the party.

Ed had left the party in 1940, but remained an active supporter of the organization.

With the rise of radical activism in the 1960s, Ed plunged in. He was an early builder of the Fair Play for Cuba committee and an active fighter against racism. In the mid-60s he was a principal figure in EQUAL, a New York organization fighting school segregation.

During this period he wrote feature articles and book reviews for the *Militant* under the pen name Ed Beecher.

With the development of the movement against the Vietnam War, Ed's activity accelerated correspondingly.

He took the maximum time possible from his job, devoting his energies to building the various antiwar coalitions and the mass demonstrations they organized.

In 1971, it was suggested that he rejoin the party.

His initial reaction was surprise. "Why would the party want someone my age? [He was then 60.] Besides, I really can't do much more than I'm doing now."

He seemed unaware that he was doing at least as much as the average member.

At any rate, he was persuaded without undue difficulty to rejoin, and he remained a devoted member until his death.

Ed's parents died when he was a teenager and he worked his way through high school and attended college for several years at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.

He was active in the student movement there and, under the impact of the depression, he joined the Young Communist League (YCL) and Communist Party in 1932.

Back in New York in 1933, he came into conflict with the then internationally debated policies of the German Communist Party, which refused to unite with the Socialist Party to block the rise of Hitler.

Ed agreed with Leon Trotsky's analysis of the German events and won three members of his YCL unit to his point of view. One was Lillian Barry, who was to be his companion for nearly 50 years.

Another was Bert Cochran, who later be-

came a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party until he broke with it in 1953.

Ed, Cochran, and a third member were expelled from the YCL and CP after a trial for their dissident views. Lillian Barry, who was persuaded by Ed's political arguments during the trial, resigned soon after.

That same year Ed and the others joined the Communist League of America, forerunner of the SWP.

Throughout, Ed was an activist. He was chairperson of the East Harlem Unemployed Organization. In 1936, when the SWP established a branch in Harlem, he was the branch organizer.

The years 1939-40 proved difficult for Ed. An opposition erupted in the SWP led by James Burnham, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern.

They rejected the party's position that it was necessary to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism, while opposing the Stalinist degeneration in the USSR. They coupled their position on the Soviet Union with the assertion that the SWP leadership was bureaucratic.

(At the time, Abern actually agreed with the majority position on the need to defend the Soviet Union. Yet he chose to bloc with Burnham and Shachtman on the basis of the organizational issues.)

Ed did not join either side in the dispute. He agreed with the party majority on the need to defend the Soviet Union but also saw merit in the minority's charge of bureaucracy in the party.

In 1940, the Shachtman-Abern-Burnham group split from the SWP, establishing a short-lived rival grouping, the Workers Party.

Discouraged by the split, Ed left the party. But, unlike Abern, he refused to subordinate matters of political principles to organizational issues.

From the day he left until he rejoined in 1971, Ed remained an active political supporter of the SWP.

This was no easy business for him. One of the pressures he felt was that many of his closest friends were members or supporters of the Shachtman organization. With few exceptions, they moved steadily to the right and, one by one, Ed found himself breaking with old friends.

At the same time he was stuck with a means of livelihood not of his choosing or inclination.

With two small children to support, he had accepted a friend's offer and became a liquor salesman and stayed with the job until his retirement at 65.

He was active in the Distillery Workers Union and participated in several strikes.

But he hated the work, dreading the daily encounters with liquor store and bar owners — listening to their banal conversation, tired jokes, and often reactionary

views. But as the years went on, he felt he had no practical alternative and did his time.

It was in the face of these pressures and more, that he retained his socialist perspective and worked to build the movement.

By the time he reached retirement, he was also suffering a series of chronic health problems.

He could not maintain activity on the same level as when he rejoined. But despite almost constant physical pain, he stubbornly did the very best he could.

Because of his health problems, he was compelled to spend winters in Miami. During that time he would transfer to the Miami branch, doing as much as his health permitted — attending branch meetings and forums, helping to staff the party bookstore.

Within the Miami Beach retirees community he found former members of the party who had drifted away. Ed talked with them and persuaded them to attend party functions. Largely as a result of his quiet but persistent efforts, several are now active supporters of the party.

When in New York, Ed undertook to help complete the yearly indexes of the *Militant*. Two or three days a week, as his health permitted, he would come in to work on this.

In 1980 he traveled to Cuba and found this an inspiring experience, a reaffirmation of his socialist convictions.

During his last period of illness, he enjoyed what proved to be a brief period of respite. He immediately began ransacking for his passport so he could join the next *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* trip to Nicaragua.

Despite the odds, a number of things kept Ed going politically through the long, difficult haul.

First was his absolutely implacable hostility to capitalism.

And, equally important, was the depth of his political understanding that if socialism was to be achieved it was necessary to build a party to lead the fight for it. That made him a party loyalist throughout.

There were times when he would become discouraged about the movement's prospects. But, invariably, after a political discussion he would recognize this was more a subjective mood rather than any thought-out political estimate.

"I get impatient," he would explain. "I want to live to see it."

Well, Ed didn't live to see it. But he surely made a worthy contribution to its ultimate victory.

Those who were able to get behind his innate shyness, found Ed a warm and generous friend.

That's because he was a committed revolutionary and a fine human being.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.

Auto union adopts 1984 contract goals

Continued from front page

If the GM document renewed the determination of some to fight for "restore and more in '84," this perspective will be hampered by top UAW officials, led by Pres. Owen Bieber, who still promote the idea that auto workers' standard of living should be tied to employer profitability. They defend the 1982 concessions as a necessary evil and point to the phony "profit-sharing" scheme that was part of the deal as a victory for the union. (See article on this page for a description of what the profit-sharing fraud cost auto workers.)

"I'm not bothered that GM supports profit sharing," boasted Bieber in his keynote speech to the convention. "In fact, I'm pleased that we agree on something."

At the same time, dissatisfaction and pressure in the ranks made itself felt at the convention. While Bieber defended profit sharing, he also felt compelled to affirm that it "cannot replace wage or benefit increases." He warned that if auto executives "think for one minute that they can convince workers to do without an up-front raise this summer, they better think again."

Bieber also stressed the union's determination to maintain the cost-of-living allowance (COLA) and to resist employer plans to force workers to bear more of the cost of health insurance through higher insurance deductible payments and worker "co-pays," for medical coverage. Better pension plans were listed as another union goal in the '84 bargaining.

However, specific union contract demands were not discussed on the floor of the gathering. In defending his refusal to allow such a discussion, Bieber invoked the name of previous UAW Pres. Walter Reuther, as he claimed it would be "a mistake to get specific too early."

Convention demonstration

Not everyone at the convention agreed with this approach. On the second day close to a thousand UAW members, including many auto workers who were not convention delegates, participated in a protest organized by the "30-15-84 Committee" and the "Restore and More Committee," two national caucuses in the UAW including officials of more than 60 UAW locals.

The most prominent idea expressed at the demonstration was that in the next contract the union should press for a pension plan that would pay \$1,500 a month after 30 years of service. Some protesters also carried signs urging the union to fight to restore previous givebacks.

The UAW leadership embraced the protest — welcoming the demonstrators into the convention hall — without agreeing to accept the demands it raised. Bieber argued the leadership should not be bound to any specific proposals.

This was representative of the approach taken by Bieber throughout the convention. This gathering was not the place for serious and open discussion and decisions on how to confront the problems facing workers in the auto plants. The only decision made was the adoption of a 67-page resolution outlining broad contract goals. Most discussion on the resolution was pro forma and there was little opportunity for rank-and-file concerns to be expressed in the debate.

Bieber sought to head off any debate by sounding a militant note in his convention address. This included, for instance, a ringing denunciation of one of the chief problems facing auto workers today: forced overtime.

Bieber correctly pointed the finger of blame at the auto makers who prefer to work employees who are on the job to death, rather than call back the tens of thousands of UAW members who remain on indefinite layoff.

At the same time, Bieber tried to imply that part of the problem is that workers themselves are greedy and unwilling to sacrifice by giving up overtime pay for the good of all. These remarks were unpopular here and Bieber felt constrained to apologize for them on the convention's final day.

However, neither he nor other top UAW officials ever explained what they proposed to do to use the union's power to help the tens of thousands of auto workers

who want to resist forced overtime. No genuine discussion of this problem was encouraged on the convention floor.

How to use union power

This too was characteristic of the entire gathering. Bieber accurately placed the upcoming contract negotiations within the broader picture of the continuing antilabor offensive mounted by the employers and the government.

"There is abroad in our land a great offensive against workers and worker organizations," he said.

Bieber pointed to government union busting in the 1981 air controllers strike. "Since then," he continued, "we have been attacked on nearly every front." This, he said, included "bankruptcy ploys at Continental Airlines and Wilson Foods... monumental strikes at McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics electric boat yards in Groton [Connecticut]" and "... the straight out use of force as at Phelps Dodge and Magic Chef."

This accurately depicted some of the challenges facing the UAW and the entire labor movement. However, Bieber offered no substantial proposals for how to meet them. The union's contract demands will certainly meet resistance from GM and Ford. But Bieber offered no effective strategy to overcome that resistance.

Continued on Page 21



UAW
Upturn in auto sales has meant big profits for bosses and long hours for workers. When GM and Ford contracts expire in September many workers want to fight to restore concessions and win greater job security.

'Militant' a hot item at auto plants

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

"The *Militant* has this information and the Kansas City *Star* hasn't had a damn thing about any of this stuff," said one Kansas City auto worker as he bought a copy of last week's issue of the *Militant*, which printed an internal GM document on their secret bargaining strategy for 1984. He was one of 215 auto workers in Kansas City to buy that issue.

In Dallas, Texas, 140 copies were sold at the Arlington, Texas, GM plant. Socialists who work there estimate that each paper sold was passed around to four or five other workers.

At the United Auto Workers (UAW) special collective bargaining convention in Detroit March 6-8, 30 copies were sold to delegates.

GM's secret document spurs sales

The *Militant* printed the full text of the internal strategy document revealing GM's plans for the 1984 negotiations because working people need to know as much as possible about what the bosses are planning as the 1984 contract negotiations draw closer. Sales last week showed that a lot of workers agree that such information is essential to the ongoing discussion on how to fight back. Results are still coming in, but so far over 800 copies have been sold to auto workers at plant gates and on the job. Through these sales hundreds of auto workers have been introduced to — and have begun to discuss — the *Militant's* ideas on how the working class as a whole can organize to counter attacks like those the GM bosses are cooking up.

Last week's sales underline the importance of having weekly sales at the plants. In Milwaukee, as in other cities around the country, socialists began planning how to get out the special document as soon as they learned it would be printed. They have been selling at the AC Sparkplug and Delco Equipment complex regularly over the past year, occasionally selling as many as 40 papers. But this week they sold around 150 papers.

Like others around the country, this UAW-organized plant is being "robotized" by GM. Estimates are that this will reduce the work force on most of the lines by roughly 50 percent. Defending jobs has been a big topic of discussions at the plant, and when a Delco worker announced at her union meeting that the secret GM document was printed in the *Militant*, she sold 16 copies in "about 30 seconds." A total of 200 copies were sold at plants in the Milwaukee area including 52 at a GM truck plant in Janesville, Wisconsin, located

about one and a half hours west of Milwaukee.

According to our Milwaukee correspondent, many of the sales were to people who had never before seen the *Militant* and bought it because of the secret document. But many came back and said they wanted to get future issues because they liked the other coverage in the paper.

Milwaukee socialists are drawing up a leaflet describing the *Militant's* ongoing coverage and urging auto workers to subscribe.

In addition to the regular plant-gate teams, special efforts were organized and special methods used to let auto workers know that the GM document was available. Detroit socialists organized a team to Flint, Michigan, the heart of GM's empire, to sell the *Militant*. Extra teams were organized to sell at the GM plant in Linden, New Jersey. Two supporters of the *Militant*

in Muncie, Indiana, took the issue to the Chevy plant there. Encouraged by the response they got, they plan to sell at the plant gate every week.

At the Framingham, Massachusetts, GM plant salespeople set up a big sign at the highway exit leading to the plant. The sign read "GM Secret Document on '84 Contract Negotiations; Buy a Copy of the *Militant*." Ninety-five copies of the paper were sold.

Average sales: 5 to 20

Average sales were 5 to 20 copies per shift change. Sales were highest at plants where socialists work and have been selling and discussing the ideas in the *Militant* with their coworkers as part of day-to-day discussions on working-class strategy.

UAW members who work for Ford were interested in the article too. Several com-

Continued on Page 21

The fraud of 'profit sharing'

"Profit sharing: bonus or rip-off?" That was the title of a full-page feature put together by the "Restore and More Committee" of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 160 and published in the special edition of the *Tech Engineer*, Local 160's newsletter. The special edition including this feature was distributed at the UAW's special collective bargaining convention in Detroit March 6-8.

The "profit-sharing" scheme has been highly touted by General Motors as a big benefit for workers. What the company leaves out of its explanations is what auto workers gave up in concessions in the 1982 contract that instituted profit sharing. The *Tech Engineer's* feature is a short reminder of the economic cost of tying workers' wages to the bosses' profits.

"General Motors will soon be distributing a 1983 profit sharing bonus of about \$600 per employee," explained the *Tech Engineer*. "This will be the most expensive 'gift' any of us ever get."

"If we figure out what it cost," the newsletter continued, "it comes to \$5,500 given up by the average GM-UAW member in the contract exchange for \$600 in profit sharing."

"Under the present contract," said the *Tech Engineer*, "we lost two 3 percent annual raises ... 41 cents of cost-of-living [COLA] payments for 18 months and ... 20 days' pay, based on 9 PPH [Paid Personal Holiday] days and the bonus holiday given up for 2 years."

For production workers this translated

into the following average losses: The loss of the percent raise which had been traditional in GM contracts but was given up in the 1982 pact cost each auto worker \$1,500 over two years. The loss of another 3 percent raise in 1983 cost another \$750 over the course of a year.

The deferral of COLA payments for 18 months cost each worker \$1,200. The loss of 9 PPHs and the bonus holiday cost each worker an additional \$2,050 over the two years.

"If these concessions are not restored," observed the *Tech Engineer*, "our wages will remain 6 percent behind our normal contract pattern, costing us more than \$1,500 every year, forever. If the PPH days and the bonus holiday are not restored, this giveaway will cost more than \$1,000 every year, forever."

"Even if we get the 3 percent annual raise for the future, unless we restore the concessions as well," the newsletter explained, "we will continue permanently to lose more than \$2,500 every year in exchange for token profit sharing."

"There is no possibility that profit sharing will ever compensate us for what we gave up to get it," asserted the newsletter. "Taken together, we are losing close to \$1 billion a year in exchange for about \$200 million in profit sharing."

"The answer," it continued, "is not more profit sharing. The only answer is to drop profit sharing in exchange for getting our concessions back, and to return to fighting for more in our contracts."

The following article appeared in the January 6 issue of the weekly Cuban magazine *Bohemia*, published in Havana. The translation from Spanish is by the *International Socialist Review*.

BY MIRIAM PIÑEIRO ALONSO

The Cuban Revolution is one of the most important historical phenomena of our times. As the continuation of the Great October [1917 Russian Revolution], it offers confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine regarding objective and subjective conditions and the overall regularity of the theory of socialist revolution, while taking into account its own specific features.

The Cuban Revolution marked the beginning of a new stage in the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world. At the international conference of Communist and workers parties in Moscow in 1969, it was emphasized that "The Cuban Revolution broke the chain of imperialist oppression in Latin America and led to the creation of the first Socialist State in the continent, marking a historic turning point and opening a new stage in the Latin American revolutionary movement."

Our revolution has developed in the framework of the rise of revolutionary struggle by the workers for socialism, in the epoch when the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in worldwide progress.

With the Cuban Revolution the problems of the underdeveloped countries have come to be considered in terms of achieving total national independence. What is more, the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggles have deepened in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The Jan. 1, 1959, victory [of the Cuban revolution] demonstrated the falsehood of the myth of geographic fatalism, according to which it was necessary to wait until the social system had changed in the United States before the independence of Cuba could be achieved. The revolution's victory also showed the falsehood of the notion that it is impossible to make a revolution against an army, and that revolutions in this epoch can triumph only in the midst of crises brought on by worldwide upheavals.

A century of struggles

As a whole, the Cuban Revolution is the culmination of a century of struggles for freedom and national and social independence. It is the concrete manifestation of José Martí's ideas and of Marxist-Leninist ideology. As Fidel Castro has said, "This ideology linked up historically with the aspirations of the heroic *mambises*¹ who shed so much blood for the independence of Cuba, for equality and for the dignity of their compatriots. . . . This ideology linked the national struggle with the worldwide revolutionary movement, as the indispensable precondition for the national and social liberation of our people."

The Cuban Revolution confirmed in practice the Marxist-Leninist theory on the transformation of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution in an uninterrupted way. Marx and Engels emphasized in the [March 1850] Address of the Communist League: "While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible . . . it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance [and] the proletariat has conquered state power. . . ."²

Developing this idea of the founders of scientific communism, Lenin said in his work, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, "the Russian worker, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the Russian Proletariat (side by side with the proletariat of all countries) along the straight road of open political struggle to the victorious communist revolution."³

In the heat of the Russian revolution of 1905-07, Lenin thoroughly set forth the theory of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution in his book *Two Tactics of the Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*. There he reached the conclusion that in the course of the struggle, at the same time that the democratic tasks are being com-

How Cuba confirmed Marx, Lenin on socialist revolution



Fidel Castro announces Agrarian Reform Law in 1959, breaking monopoly of land ownership held by U.S. and Cuban plantation bosses.



Peasant members of Cuban militia. Alliance of peasants with workers was cemented by working-class support for revolutionary measures to distribute land and end abuses of big landowners.

pleted, in a single and uninterrupted process the bourgeois-democratic revolution is being transformed into the socialist revolution.

Lenin maintained that the working class would find its principal ally in the peasantry. The peasants would no longer be dragged along behind the bourgeoisie as in the past. Rather, the proletariat would show them the road toward a consistent struggle for their interests.

Thus the result of the victorious revolution would not be the installation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but rather of a new type of state power: the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. In addition, Lenin demolished the opportunist dogma that bourgeois-democratic and national-liberation revolutions in our epoch have to pass through a stage of capitalist development.

'No unsurmountable barrier'

In Cuba, as the Programmatic Platform of the Communist Party of Cuba states, "There is no unsurmountable barrier between the democratic-popular and anti-imperialist stage and the socialist stage. In the era of imperialism, both are part of a single process, in which national-liberation and democratic measures — which at times already have a socialist tinge — pave the way for genuinely socialist ones."

The Cuban Revolution carried out the tasks having to do with political emancipation and economic independence. As a result of the laws and measures adopted by the Revolutionary Government from 1959 on, U.S. imperialism could no longer lay hands on the natural resources it had been stealing from our country. "The time had come to fulfill the promises of Moncada," as Fidel put it in his report to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The laws adopted by the Revolutionary Government after the Jan. 1, 1959, victory set the framework for the rapid process through which the revolution passed from its initial democratic-popular and national-liberation phase to its second, socialist, phase.

Agrarian Reform Law

Among the most important laws adopted then was the one promulgated May 17, 1959 — the Agrarian Reform Law, signed by Fidel at La Plata in the Sierra Maestra mountains. The law involved radical measures aimed at effecting substantial changes in Cuba's economy and social structure. It broke the monopoly of land ownership held by the big U.S. companies and the big Cuban plantation owners. It eliminated the various forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation in the countryside, as well as the structural deformation of land ownership patterns in our country.

More than 100,000 families benefited from the law by receiving title to the land they had worked as sharecroppers, squatters, or tenants for so many years.

The Agrarian Reform Law was a fundamental measure, closely linked to the problems of the nation's overall

Continued on next page

1. Cuban independence fighters during the first war of independence against Spain.

2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works, Volume 10* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978), p. 281.

3. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works, Volume 1* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978), p. 300.

Continued from preceding page

development. At the same time, it marked the beginning of a long series of aggressions against our country by Yankee imperialism.

As Fidel put it on the 15th anniversary of the law's promulgation, it "put imperialism in direct confrontation with Cuba." Moreover, it fueled the class struggle between the reactionary bourgeoisie, which had the support of its foreign allies, and the armed people, who held political power and were resolved to defend their conquests to the end. It accelerated the radicalization of the revolution and pointed up the close relationship between national and social liberation.

The U.S. monopolies started a psychological war based on lies, blackmail, and intimidation. The themes were "the threat of communism" and "the defense of the free world." This was followed by economic sanctions, incursions by pirate aircraft, and sabotage of production.

The implementation of these plans culminated in the breaking of diplomatic relations with Cuba by the United States and all American countries except for Mexico, attempts at armed intervention, and the imposition of a blockade that continues to this day.

U.S. imperialism utilized every means at its disposal to destroy the Cuban revolutionary process. Nonetheless, the attacks by imperialism deepened and strengthened the masses' spirit of resistance against the foreign enemy and its allies inside the country.

Cohesion of popular forces

As the imperialists' efforts unfolded, the Cuban Revolution deepened. Each attack received a response; with each aggression the cohesion of the popular forces increased while the role of the private sector in the country's economic life diminished.

On Aug. 6, 1960, the political freedom won by our people was augmented by the Cuban Revolution's decisive step toward economic independence. It took place in response to the imperialist aggression of reducing our sugar quota in the U.S. market⁴ — which meant a reduction in sugar exports of 700,000 tons, a grave blow to the national economy, and, in another social-economic context, unemployment and hunger for millions of Cuban workers.

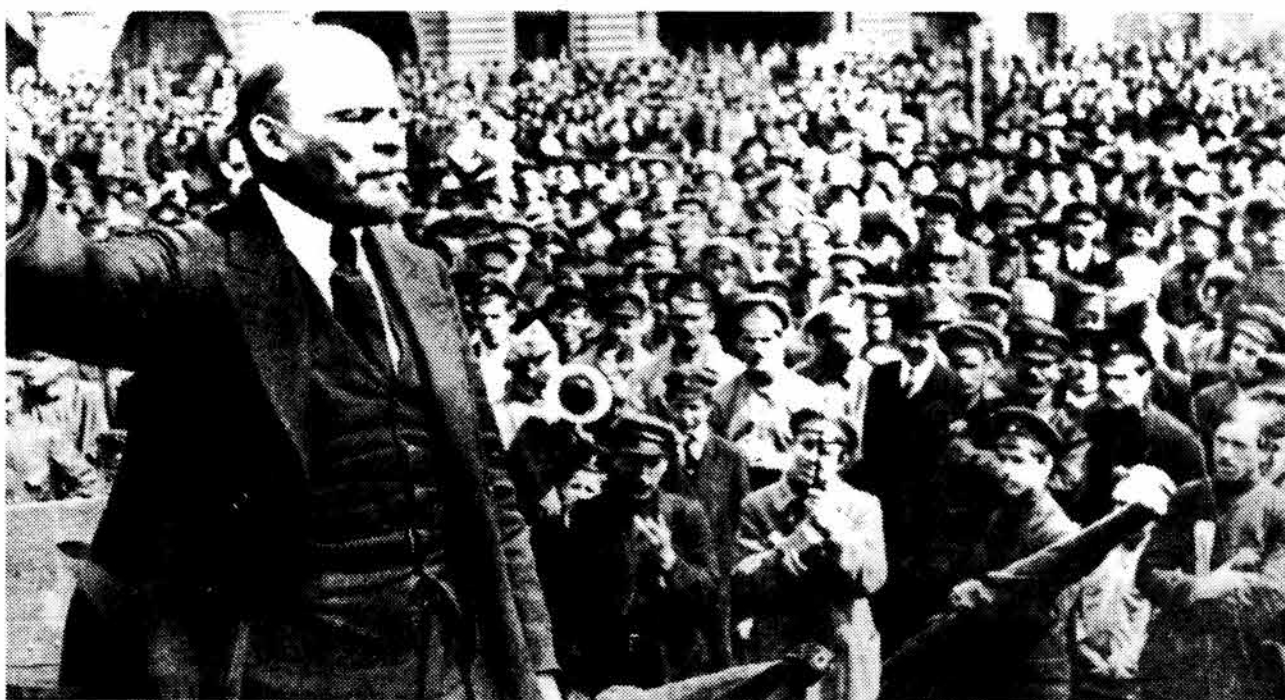
The Revolutionary Government's courageous and energetic response to this underhanded attack by the U.S. oligarchy was Law No. 851. Through it, the following U.S. enterprises were nationalized: 36 sugar mills; the so-called Cuban Electric Co., which was a subsidiary of the Electric Bond & Share consortium of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust group of New York; the Cuban branch of the notorious telephone octopus IT&T; and two oil refineries.

Imperialism had obtained all this economic power over our country since the beginning of the Cuban republic, through the Platt Amendment, the "reciprocity" treaties,⁵

4. Until mid-1960, Cuba was guaranteed a market in the United States for most of its sugar exports. This quota was sharply reduced and then eliminated altogether by the Eisenhower administration in an attempt to put pressure on the Castro government.

5. The Platt Amendment was forced into the Cuban constitution by the U.S. government when Cuban independence was declared in 1902. It gave Washington the right to intervene in Cuban affairs — including militarily — whenever the U.S. rulers saw fit.

The reciprocity treaties were a series of commercial agree-



"Lenin maintained that the working class would find its principal ally in the peasantry . . . the result of the victorious revolution would not be the installation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but rather of a new type of state power: the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants."

and the policies of submissive and traitorous governments aided by a huge propaganda apparatus.

The nationalization law dealt a death blow to imperialist domination of our country and consolidated our independence. For the first time in its history, Cuba was the total and absolute master of its own destiny. The dreams of Martí and Maceo, of Mella and Guiteras, became reality.⁶

The Cuban Revolution now had in its hands the resources that would guarantee the intensive development of our economy. As a result, the imperialist trusts could no longer deform our development in order to block the industrialization of the country. The immense profits that these monopolies had been extracting from Cuba now remained in the hands of their legitimate owners, the Cuban people, and would serve to accelerate the rate of growth of the economic structure.

From the economic standpoint, this law was a third step in the stage through which the Cuban Revolution was passing. The first, as we have already noted, was the agrarian reform; the second, the diversification of our foreign trade and the signing of trade agreements with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union, which broke the geographic barriers to our foreign trade. This second step was of vital importance, since 60 percent of our production had been exported to the U.S. market and 75 percent of our imports came from the United States.

Law 851 was the answer to the imperialist onslaught against our economy. In his historic speech closing the Latin American Youth Congress, on Aug. 6, 1960, in the Cerro Stadium, our Commander in Chief [Fidel Castro] said:

"Those imperialist fools! They don't understand that by taking away our quota all they've done is take off their 'fig leaf' in front of the whole world. So that's why, today, in response to that aggression, there is the law, there is the resolution, fulfilling the will of the Cuban people and compensating us for the losses they caused us. . . .

"Let them understand once and for all that they're not going to make us back down! Let them understand once and for all that Cuba will reply to counterrevolutionary aggression with revolutionary laws! Let them understand once and for all, that Cuba will not surrender and will not sell out!"

First Declaration of Havana

Later, in September of the same year, these measures were approved by the National General Assembly of the Cuban People in the Plaza of the Revolution, which ratified the First Declaration of Havana. This declaration condemned the exploitation of man by man and proclaimed "the right of states to nationalize imperialist monopolies."

The revolution had as its fundamental objective the full economic development of Cuba. This required the growth and rationalization of production, adequate planning of the economy, and national control over the country's basic industries. On Oct. 13, 1960, through Laws

ments imposed on Cuba by the U.S. government, whereby U.S. manufactured goods had preferential access to Cuban markets.

6. José Martí and Antonio Maceo — leaders of the Cuban war for independence against Spain in the 1890s; Julio Antonio Mella — a founding leader of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1925, assassinated in 1929; Antonio Guiteras — a leader of the failed revolution in Cuba in 1933, assassinated in 1935.

Nos. 890 and 891, the revolution nationalized 382 big companies and banks.

The local industrial bourgeoisie and importing-merchant bourgeoisie — who shared responsibility with Yankee imperialism for the deformation of our country's economy — not only refused to collaborate with the revolutionary government, but also blindly and senselessly set about interfering with, disrupting, and blocking the logical progress of the revolution. They often gave up managing their factories and ostentatiously reduced purchases of needed raw materials in order to sabotage production. Such attitudes led to hundreds of thousands of denunciations by the workers in every factory, frequent conflicts, and periodic interventions.

On Oct. 14, 1960, the Cuban Revolution dealt another blow to the cowardly and counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie: the Urban Reform Law was decreed.⁷ Ten days later the remaining 166 Yankee enterprises that still operated in the country were nationalized. In this way, as Fidel put it in his speech to the United Nations, the revolution exposed "a truth that we all should have known all along, that there is no political independence without economic independence, that political independence is a lie if there is no economic independence." The Cuban Revolution demonstrated that it is not possible to achieve national liberation without gaining economic and social liberation.

In the second half of 1960, the democratic-popular, agrarian, and anti-imperialist stage of the revolution had already been completed. Private property in the fundamental means of production had been eliminated and social property was being established.

The possibilities of survival for the capitalist system had been exhausted in the social-economic structure of our country; it was no longer possible to turn back, as the foreign and domestic counterrevolution sought. The minimum program of the revolution, the Moncada Program contained in Fidel Castro's historic speech "History Will Absolve Me," had been fulfilled.⁸ The political-administrative apparatus of the old capitalist society had been destroyed, and it was necessary to build a qualitatively different one — socialist society.

Rebel Army

In his Oct. 15, 1960, speech, Fidel said: ". . . the Revolution is entering a second stage whose methods, in terms of social and economic transformation, will be different." The Cuban Revolution had total control of the state apparatus and the judicial-political-social superstructure. It held the fundamental share of the country's agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial economy.

In addition it had the "people in uniform," the Rebel Army. This army of a new type and the people became as one to defend the economic, political, social, and military conquests, to ensure the survival of the revolution,

7. The Urban Reform Law adopted in 1960 codified and extended a series of measures taken by the revolution to sharply reduce housing rents and redistribute available housing units to the homeless.

8. A series of democratic and revolutionary measures were outlined in Fidel Castro's speech, "History Will Absolve Me," given at his trial following the July 26, 1953, attack by revolutionaries on the Moncada barracks in Santiago, Cuba. These measures, subsequently known as the "Moncada Program," became the political platform of the July 26 Movement, which led the revolution to victory.

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and to smash the counterrevolutionary attempts by foreign and domestic reactionaries.

The people and the army, as Gen. Raúl Castro put it in 1976, "successfully confronted the enemy's attacks: in the Escambray mountains; in battle without quarter against the counterrevolutionary gangs; at Girón [the Bay of Pigs], smashing the mercenary invasion in less than 72 hours; and in the October [1962] crisis in face of the mortal danger of nuclear attack."

The Rebel Army, strengthened through the creation of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (which also included the massive numbers belonging to the Revolutionary National Militias), was the political and military vanguard that led the Cuban Revolution until the creation of the party. This was a special feature of our revolutionary process.

The Programmatic Platform points out one specific characteristic of the uninterrupted course of our revolution, which "was carried out in a brief period and under the same revolutionary leadership." This brevity was determined by the state that was established with the victory of the revolution, that is, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the popular masses: industrial and agricultural workers, peasants, students, and elements of the radical petty bourgeoisie — all integrated in the Rebel Army under the leadership of Fidel Castro.

In this way one principle that Lenin pointed out regarding the state became a reality: "The proletariat must — employing Marx's word — 'destroy' that 'already existing' state machine and replace it with another, fusing the police, army, and bureaucracy with the entire people in arms. Following the road indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 and of the Russian revolution of 1905, the proletariat must organize and arm all the poor and exploited elements of the population, so that they themselves may take the organs of state power directly into their hands and form the institutions of power themselves. . . ."

It was on this basis that Fidel proclaimed and defined the socialist character of our revolution on Apr. 16, 1961. The Cuban Revolution, which resolved in a single process the tasks of the democratic-popular and national-liberation stage and the passage to the socialist stage — as the Programmatic Platform explains — is one more example of the universal validity of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the uninterrupted process of the revolution.

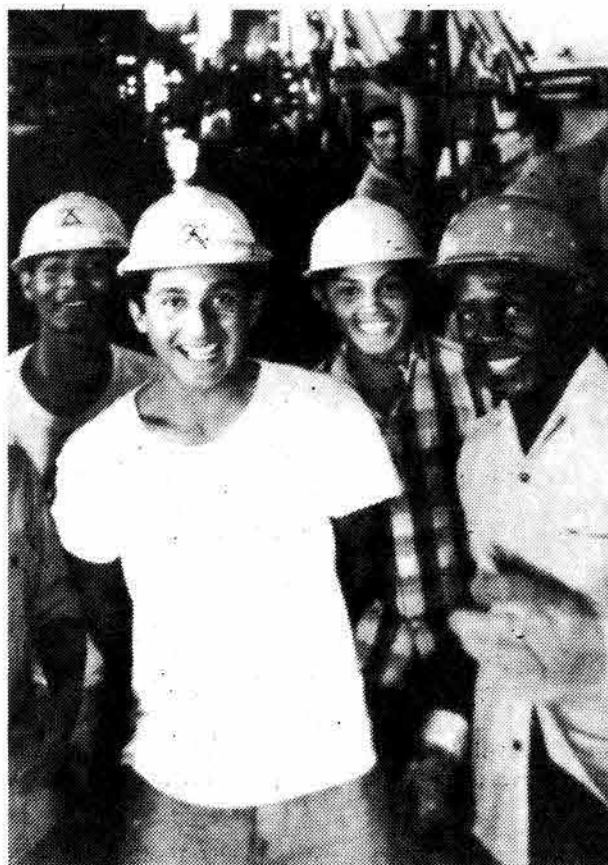
Dictatorship of proletariat

Among the questions of the transition period that give rise to an especially acute ideological struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat undoubtedly occupies a fundamental place. It is the principal instrument for carrying out the tasks of the transition period. Without it, it would be impossible to build socialism.

In the course of the Cuban Revolution, the Revolutionary Government was constituted as a specific form of the class struggle. It was the form in which democracy manifested itself in Cuba, carrying out a series of measures corresponding to the interests of the popular masses. It fulfilled these internal and external tasks guided by the Leninist principle of the worker-peasant alliance, which characterizes the dictatorship of the proletariat. This alliance is the political basis of the government of the toilers guided by the working class.

The character of this alliance is concretely reflected in the fact that by exercising leadership of society through the state, the working class makes common cause with the peasantry and with all sectors of the working people. Therefore, Lenin called the alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry the "supreme principle" of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The emancipatory mission of the working class was



Granma
Cuban factory workers. "The working class, along with all the Cuban toilers, is the supreme guarantee of the victory of the Cuban Revolution."

highlighted during the Great October Socialist Revolution [in Russia]. Expressing the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the population, the workers, in union with the toiling peasantry, assured the triumph of the revolution and established their power.

Worker-peasant alliance in Cuba

In Cuba, the worker-peasant alliance began being forged in the period when our poor and middle peasants gained the aid and support of the workers movement — guided by the first Marxist-Leninist party — in their struggles for land and against the abuses of the big landowners at Realengo 18, Ventas de Casanova, Caujerí, Virama, El Vínculo, Las Maboas, Rancho Mundito, and elsewhere.

Workers and peasants came together in the assault on the Moncada Barracks. In the mountains, the Rebel Army made the alliance of the workers and peasants more effective.

This alliance was sealed when the Cuban proletariat and the entire working population wholeheartedly supported the Agrarian Reform Law, and when the working class joined in the Literacy Campaign and brought the light of learning to their brothers and sisters in the countryside. The Cuban Revolution, applying the rich experience of all the socialist revolutions, has made the worker-peasant alliance one of the cornerstones of the revolutionary state.

Through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Cuba, the abyss between the state and the people was eliminated. The passing of political power into the hands of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other exploited classes and layers radically changed the character of the Cuban state, its relations with the workers, and the workers relations with the

state. The state became a weapon for defending the workers interests.

Marxist-Leninist doctrine states that the dictatorship of the proletariat is an integrated system of social and political organizations. Its essence, as Lenin put it, "is not reducible to violence nor does it consist primarily in violence. Its fundamental character is to be found in the organization and spirit of discipline of the advanced detachment of the toilers, of their vanguard, of their sole leader: the proletariat. Its aim is the construction of socialism, the suppression of the division of society into classes, the transformation of all members of society into workers, and the destruction of the base on which the exploitation of man by man rests."

With regard to the creation of the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat is provisional and necessary under the conditions of the transition period, so long as the resistance of the exploiting minority persists.

In our country, the dictatorship of the proletariat is made up of the Communist Party of Cuba, the mass organizations, and the administrative apparatus.

The political vanguard of the revolution took organizational form in the heat of the class struggle through the fusion of three revolutionary forces: the July 26 Movement, the People's Socialist Party, and the March 13 Revolutionary Directorate. This fusion was a special feature of the revolution.

Such unity served as the basis for the creation of the Marxist-Leninist party, in the historical context of the proclamation of the socialist character of the Cuban revolution.

In the work carried on by the Communist Party of Cuba and in the successes registered throughout these years in all spheres of life of Cuban society, we have seen confirmation of Lenin's statement that "without a steered party tempered in the struggle, without a party that enjoys the confidence of all that is worthy in the class, without a party that knows how to sense the state of the masses' spirit and influence it, it is impossible to carry out this struggle successfully."

The Union of Young Communists is the party's most direct collaborator in the task of shaping the communist consciousness of the new generations. As Fidel said, "Our party has confidence in the youth of our country. It sees in them the guarantee of the continuity of the revolutionary efforts of the people."

Within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party of Cuba plays the main leading role. It takes charge of orienting and coordinating the tasks of the state apparatus. It operates through the state's network by administrative bodies and the mass organizations, which Lenin called "transmission belts." Among these, the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC) plays a fundamental role.

The working class, along with all the Cuban toilers, organized under the leadership of the Confederation of Cuban Workers, is the supreme guarantee of the victory of the Cuban Revolution. This guarantee is expressed in the working class's firm and unshakeable determination to defend its conquests in all spheres, in production as well as in defense, even at the cost of one's own life.

Transformation of unions

Under the leadership of the Confederation of Cuban Workers, the Cuban working class has achieved unbreakable unity. Without that unity it would not have been able to carry out its historic mission and play the leading role it must in the economic, political, and cultural life of the country in order to solve the problems posed by the transition from capitalism to socialism. To achieve this unity, it was necessary to free the Cuban workers movement of the *Mujalista*⁹ union leaderships, of the opportunist elements and disruptive agents of imperialism. It was necessary to wage big battles to restore internal democracy in the unions and reestablish the principle of voluntary membership, eliminating once and for all the obligatory union dues imposed by *Mujalismo* and restoring the inalienable right of the workers to elect their leaders democratically, as well as the leaders' obligation to render accounts of their activities.

As Fidel noted in the Main Report to the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, the CTC "... has played an irreplaceable role in all the battles of the revolution for the defense of workers power, for the nationalization of our basic wealth, for literacy, in the mobilizations for the sugar harvests, in maintaining production under the conditions of imperialism's economic blockade, and so many other innumerable efforts that have made possible the victory and consolidation of the first socialist revolution on the American continent."

It would be difficult to find an arena of revolutionary work in which the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution [CDR] have not left the mark of their tenacious efforts.

The successes registered in the fulfillment of the revolution
Continued on next page



Granma
May 1, 1982, March of the Fighting People in Havana. "Through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Cuba, the abyss between the state and the people was eliminated."

9. Supporters of Eusebio Mujal, head of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions under the Batista dictatorship in the 1950s. Mujal was a union bureaucrat loyal to Batista.

Continued from preceding page

lutionary tasks assigned to them made it possible to broaden the framework of their activities until the CDRs became what they are today: the broadest mass organization of our country and the source of inexhaustible political energy.

The CDRs are the totally original fruit of the Cuban Revolution, adding to the experience of the international revolutionary movement. Their existence is one of the reasons that explain the victory of our revolution in the hard battle to preserve and consolidate our conquests and lay the bases for future development. They are another confirmation of the popular character of the Cuban state.

Taking a step toward fulfilling Lenin's legacy concerning the full emancipation of women, the Cuban Federation of Women (FMC) arose out of the need to organize, mobilize, and politically educate the great masses of the country's women, who are doubly victimized by discrimination, prejudice, and exploitation in neocolonial capitalist society.

Its work is a confirmation of the Leninist notion of the necessity under the dictatorship of the proletariat for a massive women's movement through which the party and the revolution can carry out extensive work among the female population.

In the history of these years of struggle, Cuban women have occupied a place of continually growing importance in industry, agriculture, construction, health services, education, and other tasks of great social utility, as well as in the defense of the socialist homeland.

Association of Small Farmers

The task of the Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) has been to organize that important political and productive force, the peasantry. The ANAP struggles to boost the participation of farmers in the economy, develop their technical knowledge, and help them advance educationally and culturally and fulfill their duties to society as a whole.

As the economic advance of the Cuban Revolution deepened, it became necessary for the peasants to pass from methods of cultivation on small and separated plots of land to new forms of organization that contribute to increasing agricultural production in order to satisfy the population's needs.

In 1974, Fidel explained these needs to the peasants at the rally held in La Plata to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the Agrarian Reform. He called on them to consider higher forms of production. Later, the First Congress of the Communist Party drew up the guidelines to follow regarding "the promotion of higher forms of agricultural production, both on the social and technical levels, along two possible paths: integration into the country's overall agricultural plans, and cooperatives." This line of work was backed by the Fifth Congress of the ANAP, where the task of establishing socialist forms of production was approved.

So, little by little, taking into account the principles Lenin formulated on plans for cooperativization, the Agricultural Production Cooperatives (CPA) began arising in the country. The experiences accumulated by the ANAP, the party, and the state in these years have already had encouraging results and have good prospects for the future for the cooperative movement, since the bases have been laid for continuing to advance with firm, sure steps.

In our country's history the mass organizations have played a unique role in the uninterrupted struggle against the enemy and have provided unshakeable, sustained support to the cause of socialist construction in Cuba.

This framework also encompasses the social and professional organizations, among them the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba and the Union of Cuban Journalists; the student organizations, such as the High-School Students Federation and the University Students Federation; and the Union of Cuban Pioneers [the children's organization], which, as Fidel said, is the organization "where communist human beings begin to take shape."

Institutionalization

Due to the objective and subjective conditions in the country, the Cuban Revolution had to go through a long process toward its institutionalization.

For many years there were no representative or elected bodies. The Cuban Revolution, just 90 miles from the greatest bastion of the imperialist world and constantly harassed by it, had to devote prodigious efforts to defending itself, living up to the Leninist postulate that a revolution is worth nothing unless it knows how to defend itself.

For this reason the Cuban Revolution was not able at the beginning to turn its attention to institutionalization or to the organization of elected representative institutions. Added to this was the popular masses' rejection of elections in the initial years of revolutionary power, a logical consequence of the years of bourgeois power in which elections were simply a farce.

The masses did participate actively in decisions-mak-



"Cuban women have occupied a place of continually growing importance in industry, agriculture, construction, health services, education, as well as in the defense of the socialist homeland."

ing and in government, because from the beginning the revolutionary process was profoundly popular and was solidly rooted among the masses. As Fidel has recalled, the first sovereign act of the people was the revolution itself. In addition, the close ties of Fidel and other leaders with the working people guaranteed the link between the leadership and the masses.

Nonetheless, it was necessary for the local organs of government and administration to function in our country, in order, as Gen. Raúl Castro put it, "to make the plans and decisions of the government and the ministries known in every place and every institution and to encourage their implementation and application; to coordinate the activity of everyone so that all tasks are carried out; to implement and apply the laws and guidelines of the revolution; to carry forward production and construction; to strengthen defense and security; to carry on the task of promoting culture among the people . . . to settle and resolve the problems of local and provincial government; and to establish a stronger, more organic, and more day-to-day relationship between the people and their power."

To achieve this the Coordination, Implementation, and Inspection Boards (JUCEI) were set up. The first of these were organized in March 1961 in Oriente Province, and they were extended throughout the island until they covered all the provinces and municipalities. They were a

new form of revolutionary power.

However, the Cuban Revolution had to go through a difficult process in working out the forms of state organization. In this regard, then-President of the Republic Osvaldo Dorticós wrote in 1966, "for numerous reasons, in earlier stages many improvised organizational and institutional set-ups reflected, in the majority of cases, the judgment of the compañero who in each particular case headed one or another organ or directed one or another area of work, without the party leadership providing any overall guidance.

"This occurred inevitably during an entire period in which the political and state leadership of the country was unable to achieve sufficient clarity or a rich enough experience to allow it to lay out specific criteria and orientations. There were other duties of higher priority that took up the entire capacity for work of the revolution's leadership."

Organs of local power

In 1970 the need arose to strengthen all the organizations and bodies that make up the dictatorship of the proletariat. Beginning that year, firm steps were taken to put into practice the measures that strengthened the political-administrative institutionalization of the revolution. It was felt that the time was ripe to begin setting up new organs of local power by conducting an experiment, and after analyzing the results, proceeding then to draw up and promulgate laws and regulations for establishing such organs throughout the republic. So in 1974 this process was carried out in Matanzas Province.

In 1976, a decade and a half after the January 1959 victory, the system of political organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat was given a concrete structure and institutionalized with the adoption of the Feb. 24, 1976, constitution. The constitution embodied the Leninist principle that the masses must have the right to choose their representatives and replace them.

This process of institutionalization was consolidated in Cuba with the creation of the organs of People's Power, which assure the broadest participation of the masses in the affairs of the state; the adoption of a new political-administrative set-up, and the reorganization of the central state administration.

Moreover, in the 1976-80 period, a process of big economic transformations was carried out in Cuba. These were characterized by the achievement of an accelerated rate of industrial development.

Special importance was given to the ideological education of the workers, and to human consciousness as the decisive factor for achieving greater efficiency in the economic policy laid out by the party and the state.

So, as we have seen, the Cuban Revolution, like the revolutions of the other countries of the socialist community, has demonstrated the historic necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the building of socialism, with both its common features and unique aspects.

In its 25 years of existence the Cuban Revolution has confirmed that the laws discovered by Marx and Engels and developed under new historical conditions by Lenin regarding the socialist revolution remain in force and are enriched by day-to-day practice.

The Socialist Revolution of Cuba is the real and objective materialization of the laws that govern the development and changes of society.

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Debate over Minneapolis ordinance to ban pornography

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

MINNEAPOLIS — An "antipornography" ordinance, which was defeated by the Minneapolis city government in January, has sparked national attention and debate about censorship, pornography, and violence against women.

The questions raised by the ordinance and its backers are important ones for feminists and supporters of the Bill of Rights.

A slightly modified version of this bill has now been reintroduced into the city council. Every supporter of democratic rights and women's equality should oppose passage of this legislation, which would be used not primarily against pornographers, but to muzzle feminists, Black rights activists, socialists, opponents of U.S. wars, and unionists.

Amendment to civil rights code

The ordinance was introduced into the city council last December. It would have amended the city's civil rights code to include pornography as a form of sexual discrimination against women. A woman who said her rights were violated by the sale of pornography or said she was sexually assaulted because someone had been incited to attack her by viewing pornography could file a complaint with the city's Civil Rights Commission.

The commission would review the complaint and determine if her rights had been violated. It would have the power to award her damages from those who produced or sold the material. The commission would have 45 days to act after which time the woman could take the pornographers to court for damages.

The ordinance says: "Pornography is the sexually explicit subordination of women, graphically depicted, whether in pictures or in words." It then lists nine other ways of portraying women in a sexually degrading manner, at least one of which must be present for the material to be deemed pornographic. These include if:

- "Women are presented as sexual objects, things, or commodities."
- "Women are presented as sexual objects who enjoy pain or humiliation."
- "Women are presented in scenarios of degradation, injury, abasement, torture, shown as filthy or inferior, bleeding, bruised, or hurt in a context that makes these conditions sexual."

One reason this particular ordinance has gotten so much publicity is that the Minneapolis City Attorney's office hired two feminists to draft it: Andrea Dworkin, an author and visiting professor at the University of Minnesota; and Catherine MacKinnon, an attorney and associate professor at the University of Minnesota Law School.

Another reason is that the bill's supporters claim it is a departure from other "antipornography" laws, which either ban certain materials as "obscene" or use zoning laws to restrict what are judged to be pornography outlets to certain areas of a city.

Supporters of the bill claim their approach, which utilizes civil rights legislation instead, does not violate constitutional guarantees of the First Amendment. But in their bill, civil rights laws that are important gains for the democratic rights of women and Blacks are being used for censorship.

Spectrum of views

A spectrum of views has been expressed on the pornography bill by supporters of women's rights and civil liberties. In mid-December, the city council held two days of public hearings on the ordinance with more than 200 people attending.

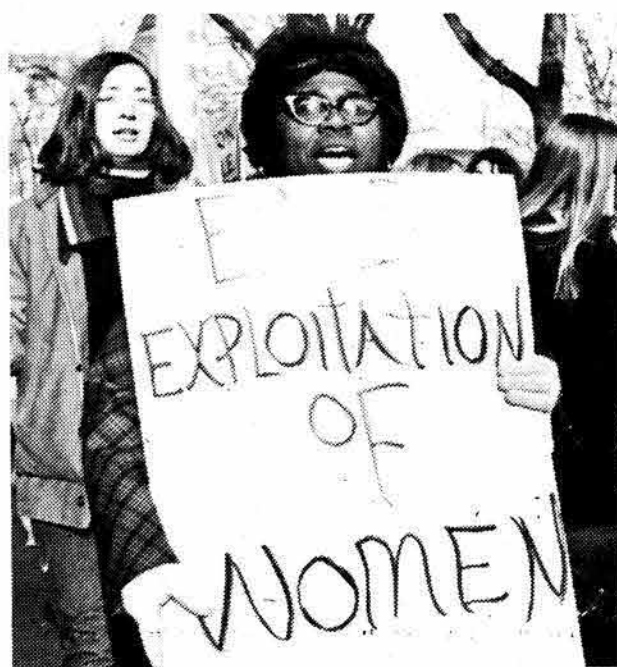
Some feminists expressed support for the bill. Like Dworkin, they argued that pornography is itself violence against women in the same way that rape is and therefore should also be outlawed. Dworkin argues that pornography is central to creating and maintaining women's inferior status in society.

These supporters of women's rights found themselves on the same side of the issue as "Morality in the Media," a right-wing "moral majority"-type group. They support the ordinance, not because they oppose pornography as demeaning to women, but because they want their reactionary political and social views to be the only ones that can be disseminated. They know that the ordinance will be used first and foremost against those fighting for progressive social change.

Others saw how dangerous this legislation is to democratic rights and spoke out against it.

Some gay-rights activists expressed concern that the ordinance would give cops and right-wingers a handle to harass lesbian and gay male bookstores and publications.

The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union opposed the ordinance because it would legalize censorship. But spokespeople for the group have tended to approach the issue only as a question of censorship, downplaying the role of



Militant/Flax Hermes

pornography in degrading women.

The Twin Cities chapter of the National Organization for Women held an educational discussion on the ordinance but didn't take a public position on it. Neither did the Coalition of Labor Union Women chapter here.

In the discussions on the bill among women's rights supporters a big concern is: does opposing this ordinance mean you're throwing up your hands and saying that nothing can be done about pornography?

Marxist viewpoint

The Socialist Workers Party, in campaigning against the bill, made an important contribution to the discussion by linking the fight to defend democratic rights and oppose censorship with the fight for the liberation of women, including the abolition of pornography.

On January 29, the Twin Cities Militant Forum sponsored a presentation by Andrea Morell, a longtime activist in the women's liberation movement and a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. The title of her talk was: "Pornography: Where It Comes From, How It Can Be Abolished — A Marxist View." Women's rights fighters and others with a variety of views on the ordinance attended.

Morell explained that the tiny class of capitalists who run this country profit from women's oppression. These same capitalists seek to discredit views that challenge the racist, sexist, ruling-class status quo. And through the government — whose power is at their disposal — they put restrictions on the circulation of such views.

This is especially true today, when the employers and their government are on an offensive against working people, with stepped-up union-busting and attacks on Black and women's rights. The U.S. rulers are also waging war against working people abroad, particularly in Central America and Lebanon.

Rulers attack democratic rights

Central to this two-front war is the rulers' attempts to restrict democratic rights, said Morell. This is absolutely necessary, she emphasized, if they are to successfully curtail active opposition to their reactionary course and to divide and intimidate the victims of the capitalist crisis.

"This is the framework in which we must evaluate any proposals for government censorship of the hateful, anti-woman propaganda that is pornography. We must reject the ordinance proposed in Minneapolis, no matter how well-intentioned its backers might be."

"We solidarize completely with the sentiment against

pornography and believe action must be taken to oppose it. But we cannot put the weapon of censorship in the hands of this government. It will be used against women, the Black struggle, and the labor movement. It is these forces — us — who are under attack by the government today. The pornographers are not under attack," said Morell.

Morell pointed to examples of how censorship has been used against the women's rights movement and other fighters for social change. "Margaret Sanger, a leading pioneer in the development of birth control and an advocate of women's right to use contraceptives, was, along with the entire women's rights movement, hounded and victimized by government censors for years."

This censorship was carried out under a congressional statute ostensibly aimed at banning pornography.

'Feminist censorship'

Morell took up the argument that, unlike censorship fought for by "moral majority" forces, feminist-inspired censorship — like the Minneapolis ordinance — will not result in restrictions on democratic rights. She explained that the authorities always seek progressive justification for their repressive actions. This comes up frequently around the use of demands by antiracist fighters for government banning of Nazi or Ku Klux Klan activity or literature. The authorities will sometimes "agree" to these demands in the form of banning all "extremist" activity, with the main target being the antiracist fighters themselves.

Morell gave the example of an "antiterrorist" law passed in Georgia last year which was supposedly designed to stop Klan activities. Many liberals and antiracist activists strongly supported the law.

In fact, the law put another weapon in the hands of the racist, antilabor Georgia officials. On May 17, 1983, the Georgia Bureau of Investigation held a press conference and listed their targeted "terrorists." The list included Black organizations like the Republic of New Africa, "Libyan groups," and the Socialist Workers Party. Only 6 out of 17 targets were actually racist or right-wing groups.

Another example is the proposal by racist and sexist forces to ban certain books and reading materials from public school libraries and classrooms on the excuse that they are "destructive to the morals of youth." Often the materials proposed include works by Black authors or others who challenge the capitalist status quo.

Pornography is big business

Morell explained that pornography is big business — an estimated \$7 billion a year in the United States. "One thing we do know pornography causes is rich people," she said. It is part of organized crime, which in turn is tied in with big business circles and protected by the government. Pornographers are "business associates" of pimps, drug pushers, gambling kings — the whole class of criminals which reaps enormous profit from workers' misery.

Morell took up the degradation and brutality pornographers visit on the female and child victims who are forced to make the films, photos, etc. Many of the women victims are drawn from the ranks of the unemployed.

Continued on next page



Right-wing book burners. Some feminists argue Minneapolis antipornography bill is different from censorship proposals of reactionary forces like those above. But end result is same: giving another weapon to employers and government to go after women's, Black, and labor movements.

Continued from preceding page

employed, and many are undocumented workers who have no legal recourse against what happens to them.

Morell said that pornography is the polar opposite of the central idea of feminism — that women are human beings, not sex objects. "Pornography is reactionary. It glorifies the degrading social role which women are now in revolt against."

She also exposed the liberal myth that pornography is some form of "sexual liberation." "Feminists challenged this myth by pointing to the *real* message of pornography — that women are sexual slaves of men and love it. Pornography is not about female sexuality but about male sexual domination and brutalization of women — and the degradation of *all* human sexuality. It is not new or revolutionary; it is the basest sexual stereotype of women historically."

Morell pointed out that Black women have played an important role in exposing pornography's racist side. "Scenes of Black women in bondage are nothing but a glorification of the enslavement and degradation of Blacks under a sexual veneer. The dangerous myth of the Black male rapist gets a big boost in pornography as well."

She also explained that child pornography is part of the sexual abuse of children in this society, 99 percent of whose victims are female.

Pornography and antiwoman violence

One of the main assertions made by supporters of the Minneapolis ordinance is that pornography causes rape, wife beating, and child abuse.

Morell responded, "There is a link, of course. But pornography is not the *cause* of these things. Antiwoman violence is caused by the entire unequal relationship between the sexes, with women the inferior sex, in this class-divided society. Sexism and women's social powerlessness — rooted in their economic dependence — cause violence against women in a society where violence and alienation are integral aspects of social relations."

What is pornography's role? "It is a particularly vicious part of the reactionary sexist ideology that permeates all of class society," said Morell. "It fosters an image of women as less than human."

Is pornography actual violence against women, as some who want the government to ban it contend? "We cannot make an identity between deeds and words," said Morell. "Pornography is not the same as actually being assaulted. Looking at pictures of a rape and actually committing a rape are two very different things. They are connected but hardly identical. Pornography is part of the reactionary ideological pressures bearing down on us — and should be confronted accordingly. It is an image and an idea that is harmful and should be struggled against and stamped out. Censorship laws, however, won't accomplish that."

Morell contrasted the attitude toward women held by the U.S. employers and their government with the policies of revolutionary governments in countries run by the workers and farmers.

"Today in Nicaragua, the Sandinista-led workers and



Militant Jane Harris
Nicaraguan women in reserve battalion. Pornography and sexist advertising have been outlawed in Nicaragua by revolutionary government that takes side of women against those who profit from their oppression.

farmers government promotes and defends the needs and interests of women. As part of this, not only is pornography illegal, but the exploitation of women's bodies in commercial advertising is illegal as well.

"But in Nicaragua, these laws are aimed against those who seek to profit from women's subordination. They don't result in censorship of the women's organization's magazine or the trade unions' newspapers. That's because the Nicaraguan government is on the side of the oppressed and exploited," said Morell.

Morell quoted from an article in *Plexus*, a San Francisco feminist paper. The article was written by two women who had visited revolutionary Grenada before the U.S. invasion. As one of the women said, "For the first time in my life I felt no fear. I felt free. . . . Women were really strong. Pornography was illegal. Women were not afraid to be on the street at night." They recalled that a popular slogan on billboards was, "Men stand firm, women step forward."

These policies of the People's Revolutionary Government led by slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop are clearly the opposite of what the U.S. government promotes both at home and in its continued occupation of Grenada.

"This is why we must look to ourselves and our allies — not the capitalist government and employers — to put

an end to pornography and the degradation of women," said Morell. "We need an independent, fighting women's liberation movement, based on and led by working-class women, and particularly of the oppressed nationalities."

"To build such a movement we need the broadest possible latitude in civil liberties and constitutional freedoms."

"This movement can carry out an important educational campaign against pornography. This process has already begun and has made gains in persuading public opinion that pornography is reactionary. This should be continued."

Morell pointed out that women workers have played a leading role in this effort. "They have waged fights to remove pornography from the workplace, where they often face it as part of an antiwoman campaign. Sometimes they have won the cooperation of their unions in these fights. This is *not* censorship — it is a struggle that deepens the unity of the work force against the employers, advances democratic rights, and strengthens the unions."

Battle for public opinion

Morell encouraged feminists and their supporters to safeguard democratic rights. "Our battle right now is for public opinion. We need to explain why pornography is reactionary. Instead of promoting censorship, we should exercise our right to free speech by educating about pornography and the goals of women's liberation."

"This is one aspect of our fight for liberation. We also need to participate in the broader fight for abortion rights, affirmative action, child care, and the Equal Rights Amendment. We must seek allies, and take up issues such as war, racism, and union-busting as the feminist issues they are."

It will take decisive political action by the working class and its allies — especially the organized women's rights movement — to deal with the pornographers, Morell emphasized. The Democrats and Republicans won't do the job because they are the political servants of the wealthy ruling families.

Women's rights fighters need to turn their backs on these two parties and join with their allies in striking out on an independent political course.

"We need a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement, and an independent Black party," said Morell. "These will be women's rights parties, and will take on the criminal pornographers and their cohorts." This is a necessary part of the challenge to the current social order, which must include uprooting the parasites that live at the expense of workers and the oppressed.

Morell pointed out that rooting out the pornographers, as well as pimps and drug pushers, has been a part of all the socialist revolutions that have occurred. Anyone who has seen the movie *Godfather II* remembers the vivid images of this criminal element fleeing Cuba when the revolution triumphed there.

To accomplish the same goals in the United States, she said, "we need our own government, one that can organize to smash those who profit from pornography, women's oppression, racism, and class exploitation, and can lead society toward socialism, the only system that can create new men and new women."

Syrian government's role in the Mideast conflict

Continued from ISR/8

In 1975, new demonstrations against the Lebanese government occurred. The ultraright paramilitary Phalangist militia responded by machine-gunning a busload of Palestinians returning from a rally.

Civil war

Lebanon erupted into civil war. Muslims, leftist groups, and the PLO joined ranks against the Phalangist forces.

They had the will and strength to win but a new factor in the situation thwarted their victory.

In the fall of 1976, Syrian troops entered Lebanon in force. The Syrian aim was to help prevent a victory of the revolutionary forces.

Earlier, in 1973 and 1974, then U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had made many trips to Syria for talks. The U.S. government resumed diplomatic relations with Syria and the Nixon administration began a \$90 million aid program.

Assad sent troops into the Lebanese civil war with Washington's tacit support. The Syrian troops helped the army of the rightist regime regain control of the situation, thus making it unnecessary for Israel to enter the conflict. As a result, the PLO and Muslim-leftist forces had to accept a settlement.

The PLO was able to retain its freedom of action in the south and its autonomy within the major refugee camps. The Palestinian-leftist-Muslim coalition kept control of the cities of Tyre, Sidon, and large parts of southern and western Lebanon. The Syrians occupied West Beirut and

eastern Lebanon. The rightists controlled East Beirut and other Christian strongholds in the country.

Washington brokered this arrangement by which Syrian troops would be allowed to occupy some portions of the country. As one U.S. State Department official said, "We told the Syrians certain things they couldn't do without exciting the Israelis. Assad didn't answer, but he followed our advice."

Israeli invasion

This de facto partition of Lebanon remained in effect until the June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The PLO led the resistance to the invasion, mobilizing Palestinian refugees and Muslim allies. It put up an heroic 88-day fight in West Beirut. The Syrian regime and other Arab governments stood by as Palestinians and their allies fought against insuperable odds.

In August, with the population of West Beirut suffering heavy casualties from massive Israeli shelling, the PLO decided to withdraw its forces from the city to avoid a bloodbath for the city's civilians. The PLO fighters were dispersed to other Arab countries.

The PLO forces remained in some other parts of Lebanon. But in 1983 the Syrian government helped promote a mutiny against the Arafat leadership by PLO dissidents who claimed to be to the left of the PLO chairman. These renegade forces and Syrian troops began military attacks on Arafat loyalists. They first drove them out of the Bekaa Valley, and finally, in December 1983, out of Tripoli, their last stronghold, at the cost of hundreds of lives. The Israeli invasion and the Syrian onslaught that

followed it were major blows to the Palestinian liberation struggle, and to the Arab struggle as a whole.

During this same time, not surprisingly, Syria was the victim of a U.S.-Israeli-Lebanese double cross.

While Assad was playing a key role in maintaining "stability" in Lebanon, the May 17, 1983, Israeli-Lebanese accord was drafted without consulting Syria.

Assad then moved to torpedo this pro-imperialist agreement, which, among other things, would negate Syria's role in Lebanon.

Today, with the near-collapse of the Gemayel government in Lebanon and the cancellation of the May 17 accord with Israel, Assad has emerged in a stronger position in the Mideast.

The fundamental conflict in the region, between the oppressed Arab nations and the imperialist powers of the United States, Europe, and Israel, remains. At the center of that conflict is the drive by the Palestinian people for the return of their homeland.

The record of the Syrian regime, and of the other Arab governments, has been one of trying to divert, channel, and ultimately break this revolutionary drive, which brings the Arab working people into conflict not only with their imperialist oppressors, but with the Arab capitalists and landlords as well.

In recent years, sharp blows have been dealt to the independent Palestinian movement. These blows, however, cannot erase the nationalist strivings of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, which will inevitably find their expression in newer, and deeper, struggles for genuine independence from imperialism and exploitation.

Why FBI hounded socialist Helen Keller

The following article by Marvel Scholl, longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party, first appeared in the *Militant* on Sept. 9, 1977. Scholl, who died this past February at age 76, wrote on a variety of subjects for the revolutionary and labor press, including on the union movement, health care, and the environment.

The following article was written in the wake of Watergate and the exposés of massive secret police spying on socialists, unionists, Black activists, radical artists, and other opponents of U.S. government policy.

BY MARVEL SCHOLL

What anger and disgust must have shot through the veins of hundreds of thousands of people when word broke that the FBI had kept files on many old socialists and radical writers. I was especially angered when I read the name Helen Keller.

Helen Keller was one of the many people whose name appeared in the FBI files released to the American Civil Liberties Union earlier this summer. Some 20,000 pages documented the spying done on ACLU members between 1920 and 1943.

Among the people targeted were Jane Addams, Stephen Vincent Benet, Pearl Buck, Clarence Darrow, Eugene V. Debs, John Dewey, John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, Felix Frankfurter, Upton Sinclair — and Helen Keller.

Many people know the general outlines of this famous deaf-blind woman's life, how she was rescued from a literal prison of sightlessness and deafness by her remarkable teacher, Anne Sullivan. Hollywood even made a movie about it, *The Miracle Worker*.

More than a radical writer

What isn't so well known is Keller's politics. Her FBI dossier described her as a "writer on radical subjects." But she was more.

As a result of her travels and lectures throughout industrial New England, as well as her friendship with the rebel (but not socialist) Mark Twain, Keller began to understand that blindness was often not simply an accident.

For many, blindness was the result of industrial accidents, poor working conditions, starvation wages, child labor, ghetto living, filth, and all the other social ills that beset the majority of the population. As she explained to a *New York Tribune* writer in 1916:

"I, who had thought blindness a misfortune beyond human control, found that too much of it was traceable to wrong industrial conditions, often caused by the selfishness and greed of employers. And the social evil contributed its share."*

She visited textile and shoe mills, read the faces of the workers, women, and young children. She visited their homes, smelled the poverty, felt the pain and hunger with her sensitive fingers, "seeing" their faces.

Marx in braille

Through friends she got copies in braille of Karl Marx's *Value, Price and Profit*, and *Wage Labor and Capital*. She subscribed to several German socialist braille newspapers, and to the American socialist *Appeal to Reason* and *The Call*. These American newspapers were not published in braille, but her teacher and other friends read them into her eager hands. In 1909 she joined the Socialist Party and wrote frequently for both the papers. Keller followed the beliefs of Eugene V. Debs, not those of the SP's reformist wing, led by the small-city mayors and other political job holders.

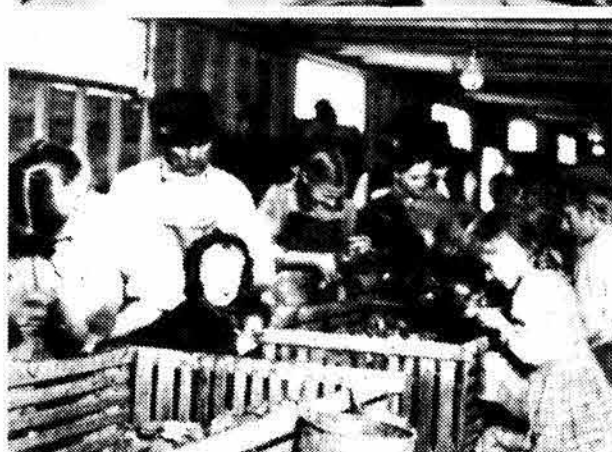
In 1916 she declared herself an industrialist — a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. In an interview for the *New York Tribune* she explained why:

"I became an IWW because I found that the Socialist Party was too slow. It is sinking in the political bog. It is almost, if not quite, impossible for the party to keep its revolutionary character so long as it occupies a place under the government and seeks office under it. The government does not stand for the interests the Socialist Party is supposed to represent."

Even though she officially became a member of the IWW in 1916, Keller continued to write for *The Call* and the *Appeal to Reason*. She led the fight for birth control, women's suffrage, a ban on child labor, and for the unemployed.

She was vocal, both on the lecture platform and in her articles and letters, in the fight against militarism and World War I. She supported Eugene Debs when he was tried and convicted of violating the Espionage Act and sent to the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia.

She was at first fooled by Woodrow Wilson's election



Helen Keller (top), cannery workers in early 20th century. Keller studied conditions of industrial workers and found many went blind due to "selfishness and greed of employers."

promises to keep the United States out of that war. After his election, when he led the country into the war, Keller's bitterness, both at Wilson and against her own misjudgment, knew no bounds.

October 1917 revolution

When the October revolution broke out in Russia, Keller's joy was intense. She declared that "tomorrow has come." She never lost her faith in the Bolshevik revolution. Even in the 1930s, after the Moscow trials had showed her the evils of Stalinism, she still remained faithful to the revolution and to the Russian people.

In 1933 her German publisher wrote her, demanding that she revise her book *Midstream* before it was published in German, taking out favorable references to the Soviet Union. She wrote back forbidding that publisher to bring out her book at all. Later, Keller's books added to the pile of those burned by the Nazis in Germany.

In 1921 Helen Keller decided that her main work in life was to help the blind. She began the American Foundation for the Blind. Her public activities as a socialist came to an end, but in her private letters she still maintained her belief that only a socialist society could make this a better world for everyone.

I went to work for the American Foundation for the Blind as a secretary in the Department of Public Education in 1952.

By this time Keller's teacher Anne Sullivan was dead, and her place had been taken by Polly Thomson. Anne Sullivan had been married to John Macy, a young socialist writer who had introduced Helen Keller to socialism. The marriage had been a stormy one, though, and early in 1910 Macy had left the household.

Anne Sullivan was both nonpolitical and nonreligious. But she never interfered with Keller's politics.

But with Polly Thomson, a tried and true Tory, it was different. She dominated the aging Keller, keeping her carefully secluded from all but "acceptable" persons at their Westport, Long Island, home. They came into the foundation only occasionally.

A sister socialist

One day shortly after I went to work for the foundation, I went into the hall just as Keller and Thomson came out of the executive director's office. Keller sensed my presence. She said something to Thomson in her high, unintelligible voice, and Thomson called me over to be introduced.

Keller ran her beautiful, sensitive hand over my face, then held that hand out to be shaken. I was deeply honored to meet this still-beautiful, famous deaf-blind woman whom I had read so much about.

I was even more deeply honored shortly after when I learned I had shaken the hand of a sister socialist!

During the years I worked at the foundation, I learned many other things about Keller from the old-timers who had worked at the foundation almost from its beginning. They knew Helen Keller as a fellow worker who came in almost every day to work in the fund-raising department.

While Anne Sullivan had been alive the two had traveled all over the world helping other organizations and governments establish schools and workshops for the blind and deaf-blind.

For her shipboard companions, Keller chose the crew. She avoided the salons of the first class and found her way down the companionways below deck where the sailors, stewards, and stewardesses lived. She was a skilled checkers and chess player, and at that time her speaking voice was still understandable. But she had Sullivan to interpret for her, and Sullivan also enjoyed these below-decks trips.

False translations

One of Thomson's means of keeping Keller in check and making her old friends in the radical movement think she had gone completely reactionary was to interpolate, instead of translate, her speeches. One of the women I worked with told me this story:

Keller had made a speech to a large audience. Thomson then took the podium to translate the speech — but she didn't give a true translation. Somehow Keller sensed what was going on — probably because enough people in the audience had understood her speech and began stirring around.

Keller was acutely sensitive to movement, even though she couldn't hear a sound. Feet shuffling on the floor would cause vibrations she could feel. She leaned forward, pulled Thomson's skirt, spoke to her — and Thomson backtracked.

Polly Thomson died in the late fifties. Even though there must have been much friction between the two women, they had lived together for many, many years and had a deep love for one another. During Thomson's last months in the hospital, comatose, Keller spent every day with her companion.

With Thomson's death Keller's circle of communicants was reduced to two, possibly three, persons — an old gardener who had worked for her many years, who had learned the manual alphabet so he could communicate; her secretary, Mrs. Davidson; and possibly one maid.

Remained true to socialist principles

Keller lived to be eighty-six. She remained true to her socialist principles to the end. Of that I am sure.

Imagine the loneliness of this talented, mentally alert woman after her secretary retired because of ill health and her old Scottish gardener died. Encased, once again, in an impenetrable prison of silence and darkness, her only companions her beloved brailled books, with no loving hands to speak into hers, no warm arms to hold her close, infirmity so great she could not take care of even her most intimate personal needs, no longer run in the garden, her wonderful sense of smell fading fast — death must have found her ready and willing.

And to think that the slimy hands of the FBI, a most hated American institution, dared to touch this beautiful person.

*This interview, as well as other speeches and writings of Keller, are collected in *Helen Keller: Her Socialist Years*, edited, with an introduction by Philip Foner, published by International Publishers in 1967.

Syria's role in Mideast conflict



Syrian Pres. Hafez al-Assad

BY HARRY RING

The recent developments in Lebanon have given new weight to the role of the Syrian government in Mideast politics.

Bowing to Syrian demands, Lebanon's president, Amin Gemayel, scrapped the May 17, 1983, accord with Israel which he had previously accepted.

In agreement with Syria's president, Hafez al-Assad, the Gemayel government convened a conference in Switzerland to discuss altering the Lebanese political system. Under the present system, the Muslim majority of the population, as well as the Druse, are denied full representation in the government, which is dominated by the Christian minority.

Meanwhile, thousands of Israeli troops remain in southern Lebanon, and some 40,000 Syrian troops are also stationed in the war-torn country.

The U.S.-drafted May 17 accord would have provided for a joint Israeli-Lebanese military force to patrol the southern third of Lebanon for the purpose of keeping fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) out of the area. In addition it was to help ensure the continued rule of Gemayel's widely hated pro-Israel Christian minority government.

Representatives from Washington would have been directly involved in administering the Israel-Lebanese operation.

The Syrian government, which was not included in discussion on the agreement, had good reason for opposing this deal since it too would have been a victim of Israel's increased domination in the area. And Syria knows well the meaning of imperialist victimization.

Wants better deal

In the present situation, Assad is creating serious difficulties for Washington and Tel Aviv.

But the fact remains that he is not aiming at a fundamental solution to the problem of imperialist domination of the area. Instead, he is working for what he sees as a more equitable relationship with it.

By refusing to accept the results of the U.S.-Israeli-Lebanese negotiations, Assad calculates he will be in a stronger bargaining position — one that will make his regime less vulnerable to the blows of imperialism and will help assure Syria's ruling capitalists, bankers, and landlords a more reasonable share of imperialism's Mideast profits.

Control of the oil-rich Mideast has been an imperialist focus since the beginning of this century. And Syria has been a key piece throughout.

For more than four centuries most of the Arab East was incorporated into the vast Ottoman Empire of the Turks. Over time, the Ottoman grip was loosened. The empire met its demise when it entered World War I on the side of German imperialism.

In 1916, the British, French, and Russian governments entered into a secret pact — the "Sykes Picot agreement" — for the purpose of carving up the Ottoman Empire.

French "influence" was to be fastened on what is now Syria and Lebanon, with Britain taking the area embracing Palestine and what is today the country of Jordan.

For its part, Tsarist Russia was to annex various areas of Asia Minor.

(A year later, the secret Sykes-Picot agreement, along with many other secret treaties, was published — and repudiated — by the new government created by the October 1917 revolution of Russia's workers and peasants.)

The French and British imperialists took their allotted shares of the Mideast. To impose their rule on the Arab people they divided the area, pitting the religious and other groupings one against another. And, for insurance, they sent in their own troops as well as organizing local mercenary forces.

The British organized an Arab Legion — directed by British "advisers" — to police the area.

France initially tried to rule Syria by installing a high commissioner in the capital city of Damascus while confining its troops to the coastal area of the country.

France carved the state of Lebanon out of western Syria. The French drew the Lebanon boundary in such a way as to include the largest possible amount of territory while maintaining a majority Christian population, with a large Muslim minority. Special privileges were extended to the Christians, in order to use them to suppress the nationalist aspirations of Muslims and other religious groupings in the country.

In 1919, an independence movement flared up and in 1920 a General Syrian Congress convened in Damascus and declared the nation's independence. French troops fought their way to the capital and ruthlessly established their control.

In the mid-1920s, there were major new uprisings by the Syrian people and renewed repression by French forces.

In the 1930s, France tried to impose a new constitution providing a patently fraudulent French-supervised "inde-

pendence." New rebellions erupted.

During World War II, Syrian independence forces led militant strikes and demonstrations and finally, in 1945, France was forced to agree to Syrian independence.

Imperialist troops withdrew from the country April 17, 1946. That's still Syria's major national holiday — "Withdrawal Day."

But independence from France did not end imperialist oppression.

In 1948, U.S. imperialism played a decisive role in creating the colonial settler state of Israel on Palestinian territory. Well-armed Israel has become a military bastion for imperialism in the Middle East and has used its military muscle against Syria and other Arab countries.

Within Syria a series of military regimes preserved the continuing rule of capitalists and landlords.

However, the ruling military and political figures have identified to varying degrees with the nationalism that prevails among the people.

The ruling circles today even proclaim their adherence to socialism, although their version of it bears little resemblance to authentic socialist principles.

The radical stance of the Syrian politicians does add to their image in other Arab lands, particularly since they have generally taken a somewhat firmer position against Israeli aggression than some of the other Arab regimes.

In 1956, for example, when Britain and France seized the Suez Canal from Egypt and Israel grabbed the Sinai Peninsula, part of Egyptian territory, Syrian forces knocked out pipelines that carried Iraqi oil through Syria to the Mediterranean.

Since 1963, Syria has been ruled by one or another faction of the Baath Party — the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party.

The Baath Party was formed in the 1930s and was initially conceived as a pan-Arab party. It exists in other Arab countries and is the ruling party in Iraq. But the Iraqi and Syrian parties are hostile to one another.

Syrian nationalizations

In the 1960s the Baath Party in Syria nationalized as yet untapped oil reserves and Arab-owned banks. It transferred some land to the peasants and some of Syria's few manufacturing industries were placed wholly or partially under government control. These included textile, cement, dyes, and food processing.

In 1964, the Baath Party promulgated a new provisional constitution which declared Syria a democratic

socialist republic.

The nationalizations provoked opposition from some sectors of the capitalist class and generated sharp hostility from the Muslim Brotherhood, a right-wing formation which still operates in Syria and has engaged in armed conflict against the government.

The Baath Party initially promoted union with Egypt. The United Arab Republic — a union of Syria and Egypt — was established in 1958. It lasted only until 1961.

The Syrians seceded from the union on finding that while Egypt's President Nasser shared their pan-Arabic rhetoric, he excluded them from political power. During the period of union, the Baath Party suffered formal dissolution. With the split from Egypt it emerged again as Syria's ruling party.

In 1968, internal Baath divisions produced a wing of the party's top circles which presented itself as "nationalist," as opposed to "socialist." This wing was headed by then Lt. Gen. Hafez al-Assad. In 1971, Assad became president of Syria.

Under his rule, the Baath Party is the only legal party in Syria.

Perhaps because of the military aid Syria receives from the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, while banned, is permitted some degree of activity.

Nationalizations that began in the 1960s have, for the most part, been halted.

Strikes by oil workers and others have alternatively won concessions and been harshly repressed. But there have also been concessions to the people. Villages have received electricity, transportation has been improved, and free education and medical care instituted. The government has subsidized food prices.

Israeli assaults

Meanwhile, Syria has been a target of Israeli aggression.

In 1966, Israeli planes made a series of provocative bombing raids on Syria, charging it was providing haven to PLO "terrorists."

This culminated in 1967 in Israel's infamous June war.

In a six-day blitzkrieg, Israeli troops seized the Jordan-ruled West Bank, Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, and Syria's Golan Heights.

It also reclaimed control of the Gaza Strip, which had been administered by Egypt.

But the June war had another consequence. It gave impetus to the emergence and growth of an independent Palestine Liberation Organization.

Various Palestinian guerrilla liberation forces such as Fatah had come into being prior to 1967. But before the disastrous defeat of the June war, the dispossessed Palestinians tended to look primarily to such Arab governments as the Nasser regime in Egypt to help them reclaim their homeland.

Because they were distrustful of the independent guerrilla forces, the Arab governments agreed that Egypt sponsor formation of the PLO as a handpicked "leadership" for the Palestinian people. It was formally established in 1964, operating under Egyptian control, but claiming to serve as an umbrella grouping for all Palestinian organizations.

But such liberation forces as Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine continued to grow.

In 1968, Fatah commandos won prestige throughout the Arab world when they held their ground against an onslaught by Israeli forces at a refugee camp in Jordan.

With this tremendously increased authority, the guerrillas were able to take direct control of the PLO. In February of 1969, Yassir Arafat was elected its chairman.

The strength of the PLO in the Palestinian refugee camps increased Israel's determination to crush it.

It also magnified the uneasiness of the various Arab nationalist regimes, which did not want their relations with Israel determined by an increasingly strong revolutionary nationalist force which they did not control, and whose very reason for being challenged the existence of Israel.

In 1970, in Jordan, that uneasiness turned into aggression. The Jordanian army was ordered against the PLO forces which were based in the huge Palestinian refugee camps in that country.

After a series of battles, the superior firepower of the Jordanian army prevailed and the PLO was driven out.

In 1973, the Lebanese government too turned its guns on the Palestinian guerrillas. But this time the PLO was so firmly entrenched the attacks did not succeed.

In April of that year, a raid into Beirut by Israeli terrorist commandos claimed the lives of scores of people, including three PLO leaders.

A funeral for the slain PLO fighters drew as many as 300,000 people. Probably the biggest action of its kind Lebanon had seen, it was at once an enraged protest against the Israeli killers and a demonstration against the Lebanese government.

Continued on ISR/6

Woman electrician wins support in fight against gov't spying

BY RICH IACOVETTA

DENVER — The Denver Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has launched an aggressive drive to build support for Sally Goodman, who is fighting to keep her job at Martin Marietta Corp.

Goodman is one of three women electricians at Martin Marietta's plant here and is a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 766. The Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a little-known secret police agency of the Pentagon, began an investigation of Goodman in 1982 because of her union activities, her socialist political views, and because she is one of the few women electricians.

DIS told Goodman she was being investigated because of allegations that she was associated with the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and that she was gay.

Last November, DIS agents subjected Goodman to an unconstitutional three-and-a-half-hour grilling about her political views and personal life.

Goodman's UAW local is backing her, and the American Civil Liberties Union has provided her with an attorney.

Alyn Clay, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 731 was "very interested in the Goodman case. He compared it to the government's persecution of socialist leader Eugene Debs," reported Sam Kolis of Denver PRDF.

Clay arranged for Goodman to speak at the next ACTWU local meeting. "People were very interested in my case. Clay said it was reminiscent of the 1950s McCarthy witch-hunt. There was a good discussion and most people signed petitions to support my right to a job," said Goodman.

Thomas Mayer, president of American Federation of Teachers Local 5311 at the University of Colorado, has also endorsed

Goodman's case.

Goodman has found that women are especially supportive of her fight. They know that lesbian-baiting is often used in an attempt to keep women "in their place."

The Colorado State National Organization for Women (NOW) endorsed Goodman's case as did NOW chapters in central Denver and in University City, Pennsylvania.

Activists in solidarity with the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean have

also backed Goodman, including Frs. Marshall Gourley and Pat Valdez from Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. The church plans on having a discussion on the case.

Public, vocal support is crucial to defending Goodman's rights. PRDF is urging that messages be sent demanding that DIS halt its investigation to: DIS, c/o Martin Marietta, P.O. Box 179, Denver, Colo. 80201. Copies of messages and contributions can be sent to: PRDF, 130 W. 12th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80204.



Sally Goodman

Militant/Nancy Cole

U.S. sends troops to Salvador border

Continued from front page

carrier *America*, two guided missile destroyers, and a third U.S. ship are steaming toward Honduras' Atlantic coast from the Virgin Islands.

Washington has thus far refused to confirm that the 2,500 troops have been sent to the Salvadoran-Honduran border. The Pentagon is using the fact of permanent U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras to cover up the big increase in U.S. forces there.

FMLN on full alert

In response to the mobilization of U.S. military forces, the FMLN has placed all its forces on full alert and ordered them to "prepare for combat against invading troops."

The U.S. military operation comes in the midst of a rapidly deteriorating situation for the Salvadoran dictatorship.

In the latest display of their military strength and popular support, FMLN forces have rapidly expanded offensive operations in the eastern half of the country. On March 8, they occupied the town of San Esteban Catarina, only 40 miles east of the capital.

They held the town long enough to hold a two hour political meeting. According to the Salvadoran army's own estimate, at the conclusion of the meeting, some 150 young residents of the town joined the guerrilla fighters.

In a show of support for the Salvadoran regime, beginning in the first week of March, four battalions of Honduran troops were mobilized along the borders of two of El Salvador's northern provinces, Chalatenango and Morazan, and its eastern-most province of La Unión. FMLN forces are strong in these areas.

On March 6, a Honduran patrol entered Morazan Province briefly. On March 7, Honduran troops machine-gunned the border village of Palo Nuevo in the same province. And on March 8, a Honduran air force plane bombed the village of El Ocotillo in La Unión.

Even prior to the latest announcements on the dispatch of U.S. troops, FMLN had been placed on alert for a possible U.S.-Honduran invasion.

"The FMLN will try to avoid any provocation," said Radio Farabundo Martí, one of the rebel stations, March 10. "But if the

North Americans and Hondurans invade, there are arms and men to defend our national territory until victory."

Strikes continue

Meanwhile, thousands of urban workers remain on strike in the country, protesting government refusal to raise wages.

As of March 10, as many as 10,000 Salvadoran workers remained on strike, despite military takeovers of two strike-bound workplaces and threats by paramilitary death squads known as the Secret Anticommunist Army.

"The strikes have become one of the most important facts of national life," said the FMLN news bulletin *Guazapa*. "In less than a month, there have been as many strikes as all those that took place during the entire last year."

"The reason for this big change is simple: the government is implementing an economic policy — drawn up by U.S. advisers and international organizations like the International Monetary Fund — that places the entire burden of the crisis on employees and workers."

Troops sent against strikers

On March 7, the army colonels who run El Salvador's national waterworks (ANDA) and the Institute of Social Security (ISSS) threatened to militarize both workplaces if the strikes had not ended by 6 p.m. that evening.

On March 8, initial steps were taken to carry out the threat. Air force troops entered ANDA's main plant, just outside San Salvador, and evicted some 200 sit-down strikers inside. Four of the 4,000 ANDA strikers had already been arrested, and their union has received several death threats from the Secret Anticommunist Army.

Also on March 8, army troops took over all offices of the strike-bound Institute for the Regulation of Distribution (IRA), a government marketing agency. Sit-in strikers were evicted and the offices were occupied by the soldiers.

Social Security workers, although expecting to be evicted next from their offices, refused to call off their strike.

Thirty thousand workers in some 20 unions held a two-hour solidarity strike March 6 to display their support for the work stoppages. And similar demands for increase in pay are beginning to be heard from other workers.

Teachers may strike

The national teachers union has threatened a series of rotating strikes if they do not receive an immediate 50 percent wage increase.

Employees of the National Institute for Pensions (INPEP) issued a public statement March 9 giving the government a deadline of 72 hours to come up with an increase in their wages. INPEP workers have not had a wage increase in five years.

Also on March 9, some 900 rural paramedics employed by the Ministry of Health threatened to strike if they do not receive a wage increase. They have not had a pay hike in 10 years.

The government's initial offer to some strikers of a 10 percent increase has been denounced as too little, too late. The union representing the striking water workers dismissed the offer as "unjust," pointing out that it didn't begin to meet the loss in their buying power over the last four years.

What we should know about Hart and Mondale

Continued from Page 6

become more profitable. They see the "Chrysler arrangement" — as Mondale puts it — as the model for restructuring relations between capital and labor. (The heart of that 1979 "arrangement" involved a government loan for more than a billion dollars after workers were pressed into giving huge wage and work-rule concessions.)

Mondale claims that the Chrysler bailout saved "tens of thousands of jobs." The Chrysler deal did nothing of the sort. In reality, it resulted in the loss of thousands of auto jobs, a wage cut, deterioration of working conditions, and speed-up, and in 1983 a record profit for the owners of Chrysler.

As president, Hart says he would support "industrial modernization and growth agreements . . . similar to the successful Chrysler agreement." (In 1979 Hart voted against the Chrysler bailout.) Taking it one step further than Mondale, Hart favors a Chrysler-type deal on an industry-wide basis.

Hart's solution to the twin scourges of capitalism — inflation and unemployment — revolve around a tax cut for corporations that keep their prices below government guidelines. Workers would be given tax breaks too, provided they didn't fight for wage increases! This policy is also hard to swallow for the simple reason that Hart has consistently opposed price controls on oil and gas. Hart has cozy relations with several oil companies based in Denver, Colorado, his home state.

Related to Hart's tax-cut proposal is another equally anti-working-class plan for tackling unemployment. Hart proposes, according to the March 1 *New York Times*, "that employers and employees be allowed to make tax-deductible contributions to 'individual training accounts,' which could be used for the education and retraining of workers who lose their jobs." If workers and bosses donated say, \$300 to \$500 a year, then the government wouldn't have to provide unemployment insurance and other vitally needed benefits.

The two frontrunners are campaigning to

strengthen the U.S. position in the world of international trade. They differ on how to do this.

Mondale supports the "domestic content" bill, which would require auto makers to set up factories in the United States if they sold more than 100,000 cars a year here. Mondale argues that such a bill will save jobs.

Hart, on the other hand, opposes the bill. To pass the bill would mean to "surrender." In its place, Hart advocates an aggressive "trade follows aid" policy.

The "domestic content" bill should be opposed because "it says to foreign producers, come, take our markets, pay us a little tribute in the form of jobs, but take us over." Hart says it is more than an "economic issue. . . . I think it's a moral issue. The issue is whether the United States is going to be a second- or third-rate power."

Mondale has many fences to mend with the U.S. farmer. His rhetoric against Reagan — "Reagan has put a dagger in the heart of the American farmer" — doesn't wash too well.

Farmers remember that the Carter-Mondale administration turned a deaf ear to their demands for parity legislation in the late 1970s. They also remember the grain embargo the Carter administration slapped on the Soviet Union, which hit the farmers like a thunderbolt. Mondale has been paying for this decision (which he claims today he didn't agree with at the time) ever since.

So far Hart has received a cool response from U.S. farmers. Like most politicians, he pays lip-service to the parity demand — which most farmers see as essential in order to meet the cost of production and have a decent income. The axis of his farm policy is to increase exports by breaking into new markets. Farmers are wary of this approach because over the past few decades increased farm exports have not resulted in more farm income.

Up and down the line, these two capitalist politicians are of one mind in eroding the standard of living of working people in the U.S. Their hypocrisy almost

blinds the eye.

Mondale attacks Hart for voting against a hospital containment bill in 1978. Yet Mondale himself advocates cutting \$15 billion out of the health care budget in 1984. Hart claims to be a champion of women's rights, yet opposes quotas for affirmative action.

One thing you can say about the Hart and Mondale campaigns for the Democratic nomination is that they are in harmony with the rightist character of capitalist politics today.

Working people and farmers in this country have no interest in supporting the procapitalist campaigns of Mondale and Hart. Their respective campaigns are anti-Black, antiwoman, prowar, and anti-working-class.

The only alternative to this course in 1984 is the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Mel Mason and Andrea González. It is the only campaign that gives socialist solutions to the bipartisan assault on our standard of living, to war, unemployment, racism, and sexism.

Mason, Gonzalez to address Chicago rally

On Sunday, March 18, Mel Mason and Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, will address a campaign kick-off rally in Chicago. The rally will be held at the Decima Musa Restaurant, 1901 South Loomis.

Also speaking at the socialist campaign event will be Ed Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 1st Congressional District; Nelson González, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; and Rita Lee, SWP candidate for University of Illinois Board of Trustees.

A reception for the socialist candidates and supporters will begin at 4 p.m., and the rally will follow at 5 p.m. A donation of \$3 is requested. For more information please call (312) 326-5853.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Corner grocery store in Bluefields on Atlantic Coast

Sandinista revolution brings gains to Atlantic Coast region

BY JANE HARRIS

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — This principal city of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast experiences one of the highest rainfalls in the world. So much so that the intense precipitation seriously affects the pace of the Sandinista government's ambitious projects here.

In terms of construction, the largest single endeavor is the creation of a deep-water port across the bay at El Bluff. When completed, the port will be one of the most important in Central America.

A 25-minute boat ride from here, one can see for oneself that sticking to a construction schedule, even during the two relatively dry months of the year, is virtually impossible. As your shoes seep into the mud of the future air strip, you realize El Bluff will be years in the making.

But as historian and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leader Ray Hooker explains, the 140 inches of rain that fall each year are only one of a long list of problems being confronted here.

Hooker is a fifth generation Costeño (Atlantic Coast resident). He recalls that in 1979 when the Sandinistas toppled the Somoza dictatorship Nicaragua was "divided by history, geography, cultural divisions, and lack of understanding. It was bound to be problematic."

Spanish, English conquerors

In terms of history, the Spaniards conquered the Pacific Coast; the English colonized the Atlantic. The Spanish language was imposed in the west; English in the east.

"The British taught the Atlantic Coast that the Pacific was their enemy. The Pacific Coast was taught by Spain to think the Atlantic Coast was full of 'savages,'" explains Hooker, concluding that there were "two imperial powers teaching us to hate each other."

Not a single road connected any part of the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific. The first such road was completed after the revolution thanks to Cuban aid.

The population of the Atlantic Coast region is predominantly made up of Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians — and Blacks, thus culturally very different from the Pacific Coast region.

The 1979 revolution against Somoza took place mainly in the Pacific Coast region. Most working people on the Atlantic Coast were not involved in the battle to bring down the dictatorship and knew little about the new revolutionary government brought to power.

Honduran activist

Continued from back page member of the SWP.

The theme of her talk was why are women making strides forward in their battle for equality in Cuba and Nicaragua, while their rights and living standards are under attack in the United States?

The key to answering this, said Shanaphy, was that in Cuba and Nicaragua, working people hold political power and wield it in their own interests. In the United States, the employers, through their two parties — the Democrats and Republicans — run the country in their interests, which are opposed to the interests of women and all working people.

The organized fight by women for their rights, affirmed Shanaphy, will be an integral part of the fight for the socialist revolution in this country.

With this history in mind, Hooker explains that after the revolution, the Atlantic Coast "needed genuine top leaders to unravel the problems."

The FSLN sent leadership to the coast, but some of these cadres didn't understand the cultural patterns and problems of the area and failed to help move things forward.

Some leaders of the Miskito community "created false expectations" about what the revolution could accomplish immediately, Hooker says, referring to Steadman Fagoth, Brooklyn Rivera, and Hazel Lau. They "made quick promises that require many years" to achieve, he explains, and when the promises couldn't be fulfilled, "the population blamed the government." Fagoth, Rivera, and Lau eventually all came out against the Sandinista government. It later turned out that Fagoth had been an agent of the Somoza dictatorship all along.

Regarding the consolidation of the revolution here, Hooker says, "We're going ahead step by step. We're going to convince our people by the things that we do" — material advances in their standard of living.

Health and education

In this regard, the revolution has made impressive gains, especially in health and education.

Somozaism kept some 97 percent of the indigenous peoples illiterate. Today, not only is that legacy fading away, but two-hour-a-day on-the-job education is the order of the day. Especially in construction work, where skilled workers are in high demand. Adult education and scholarships are paving the way for the future.

Health care, previously a luxury for the rich, is now available around the clock. Prior to the revolution, Bluefields' only hospital was open only five hours a day. A pregnant mother was not likely to deliver in the hospital. In addition to this hospital, a new hospital is slated to open in late April.

"After 500 years of oppression, you don't gain the loyalty of a people overnight," says Hooker. "You get it through successful projects being carried out."

In a year's time since their previous visit, *Militant* correspondents noted two big changes that pointed to the fact that the revolutionary process was making important progress.

Bluefields now has its own militia and reserve battalion, recruited from local volunteers. As well, the entire leadership of the Sandinista Youth, formerly made up of cadre largely from the Pacific, is now native to the Coast.

Hooker said he estimated that few residents of the town — "maybe 40 or 50" — had been hoodwinked into joining the counterrevolutionary forces, and that most of these had returned under the terms of amnesty decrees promulgated by the FSLN last December.

Of the region's entire Miskito Indian population of about 80,000, Hooker estimated that 85 percent had stayed in Nicaragua rather than leave for Honduras. Miskitos in northern Nicaragua, he said, "had two unpleasant choices" — go to the new villages where they could be protected from the war or head for Honduras. "Most chose the lesser of two evils" and went to the settlements built by the FSLN at Tasba Pri.

Sign-up for military service in Bluefields, Hooker said, had gone pretty

well. "We didn't get 100 percent," but things picked up after it was clearly explained that signing up was not the same thing as actually being drafted.

"It wasn't quite as easy as I'm making it sound," he said, but real progress was made. No one in Bluefields has in fact been drafted yet, and no one has been jailed for not signing up.

Sacrifices

Of temporary food shortages and life in general Hooker says, "Our people have had to put up with lots of sacrifices but this is something a revolution has to ask of its people."

Hooker says, "Revolution means sacrifices that people are willing to put up with."

"Revolutionary times are not ordinary times," he adds. "Don't compare a revolution with ordinary times but rather with other revolutionary times in other cultures."

"If you make this comparison, you'll come to the conclusion that we haven't done so badly."

"We haven't killed," he said, referring to the fact that instead of taking revenge on Somoza's National Guard, the revolution abolished the death penalty.

"We let people go," he pointed out, alluding to the Miskitos who fled to Honduras.

"And," adds Hooker, "we let people return," referring to the sweeping amnesty his government has extended to all Nicaraguans save counterrevolutionary leaders and former National Guard officials.

The changes made in education, health, and the economy are impressive, says Hooker, because they "involve trying to make a better human being."

U.S. workers protest at embassy in Nicaragua

BY STEVE MARSHALL

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — When U.S. citizens run into problems abroad, they're advised to contact the nearest U.S. embassy.

A group of 19 North American workers, visiting Nicaragua on a Militant/Perspective Mundial Tours, Inc., trip did that February 4 in a letter to U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton.

We requested a meeting at the embassy to discuss "our grave concerns about the military incursions in Chinandega in the past two days."

Honduran or Salvadoran military aircraft supplied by the United States had bombed targets in Nicaragua's Chinandega province February 2 and 3. Since 1982, U.S.-organized attacks on Nicaragua have taken 1,500 lives and destroyed millions of dollars in property.

A week later Chris Rayson, a Milwaukee garment worker and Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate, led a delegation from our tour into the embassy in Managua for a meeting with U.S. Chargé d'Affaires David Randolph.

"Over the past two weeks," Rayson told the State Department official, "we've talked with hundreds of Nicaraguans — factory workers, coffee pickers, farmers, market vendors, women, Sandinista leaders, young people, and even small children."

"They've shown us the improvements in health care, education, democratic rights, and other areas of social welfare that are the result of the Sandinista revolution."

Rayson said our group had visited five

cities in Nicaragua, including the Atlantic Coast port of Bluefields.

"It's clear to us," he continued, "that this revolution and this government have the overwhelming support of the Nicaraguan people."

"And it's clear that the majority of our coworkers in the United States — in garment factories, oil refineries, electrical plants, and other workplaces — want no part of a new Vietnam in Central America."

Rayson then requested that the chargé d'affaires convey to Washington the group's protest of the new U.S. aggression.

In reply, Randolph offered the official U.S. line: yes, the revolution once had overwhelming support, but now there is widespread disillusionment.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front is unpopular, said Randolph, because it betrayed its 1979 promises: political pluralism, nonalignment, and noninterference in other countries.

Members of our tour group pointed out that opposition political parties in Nicaragua clearly enjoy representation and media access out of proportion to their minuscule support among the population.

And, we said, for two weeks we had heard the nationwide debate under way among Nicaraguans on a new election law. That proposed law calls for a wider suffrage than exists in the United States.

Randolph then claimed the embassy has evidence of Nicaraguan arms shipments to guerrilla fighters in El Salvador — but the evidence is top secret and highly classified.

"You get the security clearance, and I'll show it to you," he said.

No "evidence" of arms shipments has been made public, replied Rayson, for the simple reason that it doesn't exist.

Finally, Randolph implied that tours such as ours are staged by the Nicaraguan government to present a false picture to U.S. citizens, denying them access to the real opinions of a cross section of the population.

The delegation noted that we had talked freely with anyone we had wanted to approach — and had photographed and tape recorded them as well.

During two weeks of traveling all over Nicaragua — aside from two military installations — the only prohibition on our use of cameras and recorders had occurred at the U.S. embassy.

After the meeting, Radio Sandino interviewed Rayson and other tour members. Were we satisfied with our meeting at the U.S. embassy?

"Well, we weren't surprised, since we know the role of the U.S. government here," said Rayson.

"Without admitting the U.S. responsibility for the attacks, Randolph at the same time tried to justify them with lies about the situation here," Rayson continued. "We felt it was important to add our voice — as U.S. working people — to the growing protest against U.S. intervention in Central America."

In addition to this 10-minute radio interview, the group representatives spoke twice more on Radio Sandino and once on the television evening news.

Minn. tractorcade demands FmHA loans

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N. Dak. — When employees of the Thief River Falls, Minnesota, county office of the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) arrived at work Wednesday morning, February 22, they found their office completely surrounded by a tractorcade made up of 20 powerful tractors, numerous large grain trucks, and several pickups, all driven by 100 angry farmers who are "fed up" with the callous and indifferent treatment they receive at local FmHA offices in northwestern Minnesota. The tractorcade was packed so tightly around the FmHA office that employees couldn't get in, and the one employee who got to work before the tractorcade arrived couldn't get out.

The farmers are members of the Northwestern Minnesota Emergency Action Committee, which was organized in July 1983 by Willard Brunelle, a farmer from Crookston, Minnesota. Brunelle told the *Militant* there are at least 3,000 farmers in five counties in northwestern Minnesota who are in trouble and more than 1,500 farmers will be forced into foreclosure and bankruptcy this year if help does not come soon. These farmers are desperate because along with being squeezed by high interest rates, high production costs, declining prices and a stubborn and unsympathetic FmHA, many have suffered from four to five successive years of disaster due to floods, drought, and other unfavorable climatic conditions.

"I decided to organize the tractorcade only late the evening before," Brunelle said. "We didn't want them [FmHA] to have a chance to stop us. But we did let the county sheriff know what we were going to do, and the sheriff agreed not to publicize the tractorcade," he continued. "Had I started earlier, I could have had 1,000 farmers over there. As far as I know this is the first successful blockade of an FmHA office."

According to Brunelle, the farmers demand: 1. that FmHA make more money available for loans; 2. swifter action on loan applications; 3. that FmHA stop withholding information on programs that are available to assist farmers; 4. that FmHA stop refusing to follow procedures that would make it easier for hard-pressed farmers to get loans; and, 5. that three local FmHA officials be fired.

In three of the five northwestern counties there are 729 loan applications FmHA has not acted upon and an undetermined number in the other two counties, Brunelle said. "Some of them go back as far as 1982 and FmHA refuses to process them," he added. Numerous farmers complained that FmHA withheld information on programs or procedures that would make a farmer eligible for a loan. When an FmHA official denied this, one farmer hissed, "He should be a lawyer."

"Yeah," another said, "He can lie with a straight face."

"When you go into the office, they don't offer you a doggone thing," Arlan Fore, Oklee, Minnesota, shouted. "You've got to pry out everything you get."

Another farmer said, "We're treated like animals when we come into your office."

Lowell Lindemoen, a farmer from Newfolden, Minnesota, told the FmHA official who appeared before the protesting farmers, "You in the district office play God. You're supposed to have an open mind and help us out, but you're tough to work with. I don't know how to tell you any plainer — and I'm not cussing you — but you're going to have to change your attitude."

The FmHA official told the crowd that farmers who show no promise of being successful are not eligible for long-term loans. But, he said, "we do go the extra mile." To which another farmer remarked, "You must be traveling a metric mile, because your mile doesn't seem very long to us."

Another farmer charged that FmHA's attitude toward those farmers in trouble is to "get the hell off the land if you can't make a living."

Other farmers expressed their outrage and indignation over a new gimmick FmHA has come up with to use as an excuse to deny loans to farmers. According to one farmer in the group, FmHA has arbitrarily devalued his land and now they say he is not eligible for a loan. The farmer explained that some years ago he obtained a

long-term mortgage on his land and at that time FmHA valued his land at \$1,000 an acre. This year when he came to apply for a short-term loan he was told FmHA had devalued his land to only \$500 an acre. Since his original mortgage was for \$600 an acre, the mortgage he has on the land is more than the present value and he doesn't qualify for a loan.

The farmers had been trying for several months to get FmHA officials to meet their demands. They were determined on Wednesday to maintain the blockade until they received assurance FmHA officials would listen to them. The day-long blockade ended after 6 p.m. and only when Charles Shuman, national FmHA director, finally agreed to send 25 additional staff workers to northwestern Minnesota immediately to process loan applications. The farmers also demanded that Shuman personally come to Minnesota within the next two weeks to discuss ways to get urgently needed federal help for the farmers, to which Shuman reluctantly agreed.

During the day the farmers drew support from a sympathetic community. About 20 small-business men delivered a letter of support for the farmers to the FmHA office; numerous workers joined the farmers during the day to show their solidarity; and local businesses donated food and coffee for the farmers.

The old rock standard "You've really got a hold on me" crooned softly from a country radio station van, whenever FmHA officials addressed the crowd.



Official of Farmers Home Administration walks off as farmers' protest surrounds his office.

U.S. judge enjoins farm foreclosures

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N. Dak. — On February 18 farmers won a sweeping victory when U.S. Federal District Judge Bruce Van Sickle of Bismarck, North Dakota, ordered the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) to overhaul its loan repayment and foreclosure policies. The order affects nearly 250,000 farmers in 45 states of whom more than 77,000 are delinquent on their loans.

The judge's order requires FmHA to allow delinquent borrowers to defer making loan payments if they are financially strapped because of circumstances beyond their control. In addition, the judge ordered the agency to grant due-process hearings in advance of any decision to foreclose on a loan. The FmHA official who makes the initial decision against the farmer can no longer hear the farmer's appeal, Van Sickle said. In addition, Van Sickle's order also compels FmHA to allow delinquent farmers to retain enough money to continue operations.

The suit was filed on March 11, 1983, by a group of nine North Dakota farmers. They had been dealt with high-handedly by the FmHA when it deliberately started foreclosure proceedings in violation of a 1978 loan-deferral and foreclosure moratorium law passed by Congress. According to Sarah Vogel — a Grand Forks, North Dakota, attorney for the plaintiffs — that law requires due-process hearings before foreclosure action is begun. Under the law, FmHA is "authorized to grant deferral and moratoria" when the farmer can show the loan is delinquent because of circumstances beyond his control.

One of the nine original North Dakota plaintiffs, Russell Folmer, told the *Militant*, "I am pleased that Judge Van Sickle made our lawsuit nationwide because even though it can't help me now maybe it will help other farmers survive for a while."

In June 1982 before the lawsuit was filed, Folmer and his wife, Anna Mae, of Wing, North Dakota, were forced by FmHA to liquidate their entire herd of 60 milk-producing dairy cows. High interest rates, increased production costs, and falling prices had squeezed the Folmers, making it impossible to keep up with their FmHA loan payments.

When the Folmers were notified by FmHA that repayment on their long-term loan was to be accelerated, all of the proceeds from the sale of their milk were impounded. "They wouldn't even let us keep enough to pay the light bill or buy feed for the cattle," Folmer said. This practice was used routinely by FmHA to bring a farmer quickly to his knees. At that time the Folmers, like thousands of other small farmers with FmHA mortgages, were not aware of

the 1978 deferral and moratoria law.

Shortly afterwards, the Folmers found out about the illegal and deceptive practices FmHA had used against them in defiance of the federal law. They joined the other North Dakota farmers in getting the lawsuit started. "I was determined to spend my last penny to make FmHA follow the law so other farmers will not have to go through what we had to," Folmer said.

Van Sickle had issued a temporary injunction last May 5 in the North Dakota suit and expanded the order to nationwide class-action status in November and again on February 9. The injunction now applies in 45 states where no similar action is pending.

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, and Mississippi have similar actions pending and are excluded from the ruling.

Rightist Pol Pot attacks Kampuchea

Rightist guerrillas of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge forces have staged several attacks on cities inside Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia) in recent weeks. In the past year, the Khmer Rouge, which operates from bases along Kampuchea's border with Thailand, has received unusually large supplies of arms and equipment from China, Thailand, and other countries.

Pol Pot's forces controlled Kampuchea until they were driven out of the country by Kampuchean revolutionaries aided by troops from Vietnam in 1979. Several million Kampucheans died or were murdered in the four years that Pol Pot ruled that Southeast Asian country.

Although the level of fighting in Kampuchea has been somewhat higher than in previous years, it is far below the level depicted by Khmer Rouge propagandists, who claimed that Pol Pot's forces had captured and occupied four provincial capitals — Siem Reap, Kompong Thom, Pursat, and Battambang.

Three days after the supposed capture of Battambang, for example, a United Nations team visited the city and found nothing amiss.

Vietnam's ambassador to the United Nations, Hoang Bich Son, told the *Militant* on March 2 that although the Khmer Rouge did mount an attack on Battambang, they were unable to reach even the outskirts of the city. Pol Pot's troops were forced to withdraw after doing some damage to an animal-rearing station well outside the city.

Ambassador Son added that although the Khmer Rouge had hoped to capture the western Kampuchean town of Sisophon, they were only able to stage a minor raid on a market outside the city, and were forced to retreat after setting fire to several stalls.

One aim of the Khmer Rouge's widely scattered attacks may be to prevent the concentration of Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops for an offensive against the Khmer Rouge base camps along the Thai border during the present dry season.

Texas farm workers win injury compensation

Farm workers in Texas have just won the right to medical and lost-time benefits if they are injured on the job. Previously they were excluded from the same protection as other workers.

This victory was the result of a lawsuit, backed by the American Civil Liberties Foundation of Texas and the United Farm Workers, against the state and the Industrial Accident Board.

Travis County District Court Judge Harley Clark ruled March 7 that it is unconstitutional to exclude 200,000 to 350,000 farm and ranch workers from protection under the state's workers' compensation laws.

The state attorney general's office says that the state is considering appealing the decision.

Marxism and the Working Farmer

An Education for Socialists bulletin. Includes "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer," by Doug Jenness; documents and speeches by Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Fidel Castro. 62 pp., \$2.50.

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

Linguistics dep't — The House voted to promote more study of foreign languages. The bill's main sponsor said it was needed be-



Harry Ring

cause "we cannot speak to our customers in their own language." He cited the example of General Motors, which did poorly in Puerto Rico and Latin America with the Nova. In Spanish, he

explained, "no va" means, "it doesn't go."

Upholding the tradition — Unionists, Chicanos, Blacks and others have long had a distaste for Coors beer because of the virulent antiunion and racist policies of the owners. The image apparently was not enhanced when William Coors, current chief honcho, told a group of Denver minority businesspeople that the economic difficulties of Black-governed African nations stemmed from "a lack of intellectual capacity," adding that one of the best things slave traders "did for you was to drag your ancestors over here in

Truly needy — A needy-looking fellow stood near the Capitol with a sign declaring, "I'm hungry enough to eat a stuffed Meese."

A nuke by any other name . . . — Operators are having second thoughts about some of the names they gave to nuke plants. Like Millstone in Connecticut, and Turkey Point in Florida. And, initially, William Zimmer, Jr., thought it neat that Cincinnati Gas & Electric named its now defunct nuke plant after his dad, who headed the company. But that, he says, was before nuclear activists

"desecrated the project."

Situation normal — What with the end of the recession, profit-wise, business people are again spending more freely, on themselves. The Fifth Season in Minneapolis, for instance, is doing nicely with \$85 lobsters. And the Petroleum Club of Denver happily reports that Chivas Regal scotch is again outpacing the cheaper brands.

P.S. — The free spending is mainly among the survivors. It's reported that "outplacement services" — firms that help employers' fire mainly managerial people

— are now a \$125 million industry. That's up from \$60 million two years ago.

Headlines — We're strictly indifferent to the outcome of the Democratic primary contest, but we did take a second look at the March 5 Indianapolis *Star* headline, "Hart attack stops Mondale in Maine."

And high-priced morticians? — R.J. Reynolds, the coffin-nail folk, is promoting its new cigarette, Sterlings, with appeals to the affluent. Ads link them to champagne, expensive cars, and exclusive resorts.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Videotape: The Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again. Speakers: Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

Marx and Engels on the U.S. Civil War. Two classes by Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 18, 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

El Salvador: The Ballots and the Bullets. How Washington stages electoral farce to cover increasing intervention. A panel of speakers from Phoenix antiwar groups. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 17 E Southern Ave. (corner of Central). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 268-3369.

Ireland: World's Oldest National Liberation Struggle. A report on recent trip to Northern Ireland. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 24, 7:30 p.m. 17 E Southern Ave. (corner of Central). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 268-3369.

Palo Verde Rate Hikes and Radiation. A panel of speakers from Valley organizations. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 17 E Southern Ave. (corner of Central). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 268-3369.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

The Fight to Desegregate Our Schools. An educational conference. Class 1. "The Defeat of Radical Reconstruction and the Rise of Jim Crow." Sat., March 17, 2 p.m. Class 2. "The Battle of Boston." Sat., March 17, 4 p.m. Both classes by Mac Warren, participant in Boston desegregation struggle and national committee member of Socialist Workers Party. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

Stop the Attacks on Desegregation and Busing in Jefferson County! A panel discussion. Speakers: Mattie Jones, chairperson of Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Peggy Kreiner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 3rd C.D.; Mattie Mathus, Black Protective Parents; Ms. Ralph (Lois) Morris, Louisville alderman and community activist; Mac Warren; Dr. Gertrude

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey to speak in New York

Noted Irish freedom activist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey will speak in New York March 23 at a meeting to raise funds for a monument to be built in Ireland to Irish volunteers who died fighting fascism in the Spanish Civil War.

The New York memorial meeting for International Brigade member Tomas Patton, killed in Spain in 1936, will take place at 8 p.m., Friday, March 23, at the Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 West 4th St., New York. A \$5 donation is requested.

The meeting will also hear from representatives of Irish and other organizations and will hear music by Irish and Afro-American artists.

Funds will go to build a monument in County Mayo, Ireland, to the memory of Patton and other Irish fighters in Spain.

White-Coleman, educator. Sat., March 17, 8 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Lebanon: Is the U.S. Really Pulling Out? Speaker: Fateh Azzam, Palestinian activist. Sun., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore T). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Stop Rape and Other Violence Against Women. Speakers: representatives of Black and women's organizations. Sun., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again. Videotape of interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Sat., March 17, 3 p.m. Martin Luther King Center, 270 Kent St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: National Black Independent Political Party, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Virginia

Nationalize the Steel Industry: Fight to Stop Concessions. Speaker: David Salner, Socialist Workers candidate for 8th Congressional District, laid-off member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6860. Sat., March 24. Social hour, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Ausp: 1984 Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again. Video of interview with Don Rojas, press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. W.E.B. Du Bois Learning Center, 57th and Cleveland. Ausp: Black United Front.

Rally to Support Striking Arizona Copper Miners. Speakers: representatives of Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary. Sun., March 18, 4 p.m. CWA Union Hall, 1316 Oak St. Ausp: Coalition of Labor Union Women. For more information call (816) 252-8699.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Two Classes on Lessons of Grenada Revolution. 1. "Achievements of the Revolution." Speaker: Bob Miller, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 17, 11 a.m. 2. "The Grenada Revolution's Death: Lessons of the Escalante Affair in Cuba." Speaker: Mike Taber, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. Sat., March 17, 2 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 141 Halsey St. (corner of Raymond). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Angola, Namibia, and the Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa. Masani Davis, Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism; Boji Jordan, South African exile, American-South African Peoples Friendship Association; Jim Callahan, Socialist Workers Party, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 976T. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Peña Chilena. A political and cultural event. Report and analysis of recent events in the Chi-

lean struggle. Music, songs, and food of Latin America and Chile. Sat., March 24, 7 p.m. Holy Name Church, Amsterdam Ave. between 96th and 97th Sts. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Committee for a Free Chile. For more information call (212) 590-3662.

Tribute to Wilfred Burchett (1911-1983). Speakers: Vessa Burchett; David Dellinger, author activist, wrote introduction to Burchett's *Vietnam Will Win*; Corliss Lamont, author, civil libertarian; James Aronson, founding editor, *National Guardian*. Australian TV documentary: "Public Enemy #1" on Burchett in Vietnam, Cambodia, Hiroshima, and other war fronts. Sat., March 31, 1 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. UN Church Center, 44th St. at 1st Ave. For information and reservations: Abe Weisburd, Wilfred Burchett Tribute Committee, (212) 624-8173 or 691-0404.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Nicaragua: A Country At War, A People At Peace, A Revolution Unfolding. Eyewitness report, slide show, and discussion. Speaker: Matthew Herreshoff, member of Young Socialist Alliance, just returned from Nicaragua. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 301 S Elm St., Suite 522. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The Crisis in Steel and How to Solve It. Speaker: Geoff Mirelowitz, staff writer for the *Militant*, laid-off member of United Steelworkers of America. Sat., March 17, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd floor. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Iran-Iraq War: The Iranian Revolution Today. Speaker: Fred Feldman, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., March 24, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd floor. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Announcing the Socialist Workers Party Campaign for Governor of Utah. Meet candidate Cecelia Moriarty, leader of SWP in Price, member of United Mine Workers of America. Fri., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1984 Campaign Committee. For more information call

Urge release of Salvador unionists

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

LOS ANGELES — An appeal for the release of imprisoned Salvadoran trade union leaders was presented to a news conference here March 14.

Since 1980, 11 leaders of the hydroelectric workers union known as STECEL have been in prison in El Salvador because of their strike activities. At the news conference it was reported that STECEL prisoners and hundreds of other political prisoners at Mariona Prison had just conducted a three-week hunger strike against conditions in the jail. The strike, which ended March 12, also protested the Salvadoran regime's threat to bring STECEL leaders before a military tribunal, where the government would seek the death penalty.

Francisco Acosta, representing FENASTRAS, a union federation in El Salvador, introduced relatives of the STECEL prisoners, including the son of Héctor Bernabe Recinos, a STECEL leader and the general secretary of FENASTRAS. Recinos's son said that in addition to the jailing of his

(801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

To Sing Our Song. A film documenting the opposition to martial law in the Philippines. Presentation by Manuelito Gordula, Filipino-American Community of Tidewater. Sat., March 17, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Crisis in Steel: How to Solve It. Speaker: Geoff Mirelowitz, staff writer for the *Militant*, laid-off member of United Steelworkers of America. Sun., March 18, 7 p.m. 957 S University Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Labor, Runaway Shops, and U.S. Policy in Central America. Speakers: Noel Beasley, manager of Textile Division, Chicago Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); Bob Gifford, editor of *La Crosse Union Herald*, member of International Association of Machinists and recently returned from trade union delegation to Nicaragua; Daryl Holter, staff representative of Wisconsin AFL-CIO; Fernando Rodríguez, formerly first secretary of grievances, Union of Food and Milk Production Industries in El Salvador, director of Chicago office of Salvadoran Unionists in Exile. Translation to Spanish. Sun., March 18, 7 p.m. District 10 Machinists Hall, 624 N 24 St. Ausp: Central America Solidarity Coalition and ACTWU Local 64. For more information call (414) 224-9352.

U.S. Out of Central America! Protest picket line. Fri., March 23, 4 p.m. Federal Building, 3rd and Wisconsin. Ausp: Central America Solidarity Committee. For more information call (414) 224-9352.

Who's Watching You in 1984? Targets of Government Surveillance in Milwaukee. Speakers: Frank Wilkinson, former director of National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Debi Elzinga, Central America Solidarity Committee; Rep. Jim Moody. Sun., March 25, 2 p.m. University of Wisconsin Union, Fireside Lounge. Ausp: Central America Solidarity Coalition and Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union. For more information call (414) 224-9352.

father, his mother and sister were "disappeared" by the regime and have not been seen since.

Armanda Machuca spoke on behalf of her son, STECEL unionist Dagoberto Orlando Rodríguez Machuca. She appealed to the U.S. government to help win his release from the dictatorship's jails and to grant him a visa to come to the United States.

Attorney Peter Schey, director of the National Center for Immigrants' Rights, Inc., announced a campaign to win the release of the STECEL prisoners and their right to obtain residence in the United States. It was reported that among the organizations calling for the union leaders' freedom are United Auto Workers Region 6; National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador; National Lawyers Guild; El Rescate, a Los Angeles group defending Salvadoran refugees' rights; and church groups.

Unions must defend rights of immigrant workers

BY MIGUEL ZÁRATE

OAKLAND, Calif. — "Impossible." That was the general response most workers at Kar Kar Electronics had to the news of the deportation of 14-year-old Mario Moreno López. On February 15, Moreno López and 33

AS I SEE IT

other "suspects" were rounded up by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and deported to Tijuana, Mexico, despite his having "resident alien" status.

Like Moreno López, most workers at my plant are noncitizens. The majority are Asian: from China, Vietnam, Burma, and the Philippines. A few are Latinos or Blacks. What was their response?

"No, of course I never carry my alien card either. I might lose it. And to get another one would take forever," explained an older Filipino. A Greek woman followed his statement by pulling out xerox copies of her re-

sident papers from her purse. "I am old, and have to be careful, so I always keep copies with me."

For Moreno, not having his card meant arrest and violent intimidation until he agreed to sign a waiver of his legal rights to INS officers who just "wouldn't listen." Moreno was then thrown out of this country at the border near Tijuana. He eventually found his way back to San Diego, but during those four days his family was conducting a desperate search all over Tijuana to find him.

A young Chinese woman from Hong Kong, who recently became a U.S. citizen, recalled waiting for a bus with a group of her friends. "As the bus pulled up, a white woman walked right up in front of us. She shoved me in the chest and said 'Americans first.' I really hated that woman."

While many workers who are citizens may not be direct victims of such humiliation and degradation, we must speak out against this form of harassment. Organized labor especially has no interest in seeing whole sectors of the U.S. work force being divided. Only the company, government agencies like the INS, local cops, secret police, and courts will gain.

While Moreno returned home safely this time, I only wondered about the tens of thousands of other workers and their families who do not. Workers who are not just threatened but who are beaten, tortured, and imprisoned unjustly by the INS.

"I think this country is going downhill," concluded a Chinese woman from Taiwan. "But that is your problem because this is not my country. I am not American, I am Chinese." She says this despite plans to remain here permanently with her family.

But she speaks of a certain reality that she and millions of other workers face. Being noncitizens they are denied fundamental civil rights — the right to vote, and the right to participate in the political process, especially to hold political office.

Yet, as workers — be we Black, white, Latino, Asian; be we legal or "illegal" — we are the only force in our society who can turn the situation around.

We must organize our unions to stand firmly against the deportation of all immigrant workers, legal and undocumented. We must stand together. An injury to one is an injury to all.

CLUW celebrates International Women's Day

Continued from back page

Seattle papers have been virtually silent about this movement across the northern border that involved hundreds of thousands of working people in strikes and demonstrations against the employing class' assault on workers rights and living standards.

Bernard reported on the campaign of the union-based Canadian labor party, called the New Democratic Party, and the unions to educate people about the proposed anti-labor budget and legislation. Operation Solidarity was formed and united all the unions opposing the policies of the Social Credit government of British Columbia. A corresponding organization of community, church, and political groups was also formed — the Solidarity Coalition.

Bernard explained that when the government goes after you, "you need maximum strength, pure and simple. We weren't fighting an employer. When you have the power of the state against you, you need

more than simply the power of the bargaining tool of the strike. You need this, but you also need the mass of the people behind you at the community level. And that's what Operation Solidarity is about."

Bernard pointed to the need for organized labor to become a movement for social change and social justice in order to defend workers and win new gains. And she pointed to the New Democratic Party as labor's necessary political arm in this fight.

Several speakers discussed the upcoming presidential elections in the United States.

Peggy Holmes, a member of the state AFL-CIO women's committee, talked about the recent court ruling forcing the State of Washington to pay an estimated \$838 million in raises and back pay to women workers who were paid less than men for jobs of comparable worth. Holmes was a plaintiff in the suit.

To fight sex discrimination, she said,

women must unite through their unions and organizations like CLUW. In addition, "turning out women to vote, getting them to register to vote, convincing them that the future of the country depends on them" is important, said Holmes.

Marv Williams, president of the Washington State AFL-CIO, devoted a portion of his speech to explaining his support for

Walter Mondale for the Democratic presidential nomination. "The number one target is the defeat of Ronald Reagan. . . . Reagan has to go. If you don't believe me, you try four more years of Reaganomics," said Williams. Supporters of Democratic candidate Jesse Jackson passed out their literature to the audience, as did supporters of the Socialist Workers candidates.

'Militant' a hot item

Continued from Page 8

mented that the Ford management no doubt had a similar plan for them.

In Toledo, where the UAW organizes Jeep and a number of parts plants as well as GM, socialists sold out their entire bundle of the issue selling in the community and had to reorder. They report that all the auto workers they talked to wanted to get a copy of it.

And in New York City and other places, *Militant* salespeople used this issue to reestablish sales to Greyhound workers. These unionists were glad to see the *Militant* again. After their own long strike against Greyhound's union-busting attempts, they understand what the auto workers are facing and support them.

In the months between now and the expiration of the UAW contract, auto workers will be discussing out their own strategy to counter GM's. They'll be evaluating experiences like the Greyhound strike, the copper miners' fight against Phelps Dodge, and the experience of Chrysler workers with concessions. They'll be discussing how to strengthen the union to resist GM's attacks, and what attitude to take in this year's presidential elections to put themselves in the strongest position.

The *Militant's* coverage and analysis will contribute much to these discussions. The sales of this issue have helped socialists in many cities to reestablish and strengthen their regular weekly sales at auto plants so that the hundreds of workers who picked up this issue can continue to follow the paper in the coming months.

Dick Geyer is a member of UAW Local 31 at GM's Fairfax plant in Kansas City.

Auto union adopts 1984 contract goals

Continued from Page 8

The employers — backed by the government and courts — have certainly used their power to put the labor movement on the defensive. But part of the problem is that the top union leadership, including Bieber and others in the UAW, have opposed mobilizing union power for a serious fight to defend workers interests.

A recent example of this problem occurred at the McDonnell Douglas plant in Long Beach, California. There, after a lengthy strike, UAW members felt compelled to accept a giveback contract and a

return to work on company terms.

The company kept the plant running with scabs and employed other strike breaking measures. UAW members there received little effective solidarity and ultimately felt abandoned by top UAW officials. As International Secretary-Treasurer Ray Majerus finally put it, the strike was "no longer serving a useful purpose."

This no-struggle approach led to a bad setback at McDonnell Douglas. It will yield no better results at GM or Ford. Yet none of the lessons of this recent experience were drawn during the UAW conven-

tion.

However, the bargaining convention did make clear that determination is growing in the UAW ranks to win decent auto contracts in 1984. The auto manufacturers clearly have the money, and the membership knows it. What will happen in September cannot be predicted today, but the ranks' growing militancy may well prove to be the decisive factor.

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CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E. 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. **Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E. 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. **Seaside:** SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S

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RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O.

Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. **Dallas:** SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. **San Antonio:** SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

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

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

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

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

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

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

U.S. labor and Central America

There has been a sharp escalation of the U.S. military offensive in Central America in recent weeks. Some 2,500 U.S. troops have been dispatched from their bases in Panama to the Honduran border with El Salvador, adjacent to areas controlled by the Salvadoran rebel forces. Meanwhile, the government of Nicaragua reports a big increase in sea and land attacks on its territory by counterrevolutionaries armed and trained by Washington. (See stories on page one.)

On March 14, the Senate Appropriations Committee, claiming a need to provide "security" for the March 25 elections in El Salvador, approved President Reagan's request for \$93 million in emergency military aid to the Salvadoran regime and another \$21 million for the CIA operation against Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, in El Salvador, government troops have been sent against some 10,000 workers on strike for higher wages. Hundreds of political prisoners in the country's jails have conducted a hunger strike to protest prison conditions and the Salvadoran government's move to put trade union leaders on trial. (See story page 20.)

The U.S. media has systematically downplayed news of both the U.S. military buildup in Honduras and the

labor battles taking place in El Salvador. Instead, the pages of the newspapers have been flooded with coverage of the Democratic presidential primaries, in an effort to make it appear that working people have some choice among the capitalist candidates vying for the presidential nomination.

Not one of the Democratic contenders has uttered a word of protest about the U.S. troops in Honduras. None of them have condemned the latest CIA-led attacks on Nicaragua. Nor has a single one of them expressed solidarity with the striking Salvadoran workers.

The U.S. labor movement has an obligation to get out the truth about the dangerous U.S. escalation of the war in Central America and to promote solidarity with the striking workers in El Salvador. Labor should join with Central America solidarity groups, Black and Latino organizations, and other opponents of the U.S. war to demand withdrawal of all U.S. military personnel from Honduras and El Salvador; a cutoff of military aid to the regimes in both countries; an end to the war against Nicaragua; and a halt to the strike-breaking by the U.S.-backed Salvadoran dictatorship.

Bloody history of South Africa's apartheid regime

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Hundreds of supporters of the national liberation movements in southern Africa are commemorating the 24th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre on March 21. These activities are part of two weeks of anti-apartheid actions being sponsored by the American Committee on Africa.

The bloody murder of Africans in Sharpeville and other towns on March 21, 1960, by the South African

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

police sparked widespread protest around the world. It also revealed to broader layers of workers the brutal nature of the racist apartheid regime.

An invaluable book on this historic event is *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt* by Ernest Harsch and published by Pathfinder Press.

During the first months of 1960, waves of protest swept South Africa against the pass laws. This hated legislation requires every African over the age of 16 to carry a pass book with them at all times. The document contains the person's photograph, identity card, registration number, ethnic background description, tax receipts, work record, current address of employment, and employer's signature.

Every cop can demand to see it — day or night. Failure to produce an up-to-date pass on the spot is punishable by fine or imprisonment. Hundreds of Africans are arrested each day for violation of the pass laws.

Both the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC), the two liberation organizations, called anti-pass law demonstrations for March 1960. Robert Sobukwe, a leader of the PAC, called on Africans to "leave their passes at home" on March 21. The PAC urged the protesters to converge on police stations, and demand that they all be arrested.

On the morning of March 21, 1960, the demonstrators began to gather. Tens of thousands of Blacks around the country responded to the PAC call. The most massive turnouts were in Cape Town and in several towns south of Johannesburg.

In one of these towns, Sharpeville, demonstrators formed a procession three-quarters of a mile long and marched to the municipal offices. Police attacked and dispersed the protesters.

But a little later 10,000 African men, women, and children surrounded the police station. They demanded that they be arrested for not carrying their passes, and were told that that was impossible because the jail couldn't accommodate all of them.

Later, without any warning, the police opened fire. Round after round of pistol and automatic weapons fire tore into the fleeing crowd.

"One of the policemen," reported an eyewitness, "was standing on top of a Saracen [armored car], and it looked as though he was firing his sten gun into the crowd. He was swinging it around in a wide arc from his hip as though he were panning a movie camera."

The South African government said 67 demonstrators died in Sharpeville that day. More than 180 were injured. The overwhelming majority had been shot in the back.

Cops had murdered protesters in several other cities as well. Black rage at the killings fueled a massive outpouring against the apartheid regime. Demonstrations broke out in Cape Town and other cities. Strikes involving thousands of workers erupted. On March 28 hundreds of thousands of African workers stayed home to protest the massacre.

The response of the white minority government was incredible repression. According to official sources, a total of 83 Blacks were killed between March 21 and April 9.

In addition, the police and government troops swooped down on the African communities throughout the country. They sealed off the townships, conducted house-to-house searches, and patrolled the streets.

By May 6 the regime admitted that more than 18,000 Blacks had been arrested in these raids. In addition, 1,700 political activists were jailed under emergency regulations. The detainees included leaders of the ANC, PAC, and other organizations.

The repression broke the mass movement that was developing. The ANC, PAC, and other organizations were banned by the South African regime, and many of their leaders imprisoned.

To the complete dismay of the apartheid regime, which thought it had put the lid on Black dissent, the relative quiescence that followed the 1960 protests gave way to a new Black political upheaval in the 1970s and 1980s.

And the fact is that no matter how many times the South African government tries to crush underfoot the Black organizations and leaders of African workers and peasants, new struggles will arise.

New move to quarantine PLO

If a subcommittee of the House of Representatives has its way, U.S. government officials would be forbidden from dealing with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Included in a February 28 proposal to increase the already lavish aid being given the Israeli government, the House committee included an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, declaring: "No officer or employee of the U.S. government and no agent or other individual acting on behalf of the U.S. government shall negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization or any representative thereof."

The reported stimulus for the amendment was the recent disclosure that representatives of the Reagan administration held exploratory talks with the PLO sometime in 1981 and 1982.

The fact that U.S. and Israeli imperialism are unable to destroy the national liberation movement of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland — including by crushing their political representative, the PLO — is why probing negotiations have been held, and may again be held in the future.

But there is political logic to the current House amendment. It's a declaration that U.S. opposition to Palestinian self-determination is "nonnegotiable."

At the same time, the amendment is, indirectly, an admission that the PLO remains a political force to be reckoned with.

That strength primarily stems from the PLO's deep

roots among the Palestinian people and its firm opposition to U.S. and Israeli domination of the Palestinian homeland.

It is noteworthy that more governments recognize the PLO than the state of Israel.

The attempt to erect a diplomatic wall between the PLO and U.S. government is also designed to increase the pressure on those in this country who have come, rightly, to question the U.S.-Israeli drive to deny the Palestinians self-determination and destroy the PLO. It is meant as a barrier to those not in government who want to talk to that organization and determine for themselves what it actually is and what it really seeks to accomplish.

We need only to recall the uproar by politicians and media when Jesse Jackson and other figures in the Black community chose to meet with PLO leader Yassir Arafat in 1979.

The racist attacks on these figures — the gratuitous advice to stick to civil rights and stay away from foreign affairs issues which they're "unqualified" to deal with — expressed a fear of the growing awareness in the Black community that the Palestinians too are victims of racist oppression.

If the House amendment were approved it would indeed be a striking commentary on U.S. capitalist politics.

Members of the U.S. government can deal with leaders of Salvadoran death squads, Guatemalan and Chilean butchers, racist South African killers, and more of the same ilk.

But not with fighters for the liberation of their people.

Women's rights on trial in Mass.

The rights and dignity of every woman are today under attack in a courtroom in Fall River, Massachusetts.

The form of this attack is the trial of six men for raping and beating a 21-year-old woman in Big Dan's Tavern in New Bedford last year.

The defense has taken the approach that is commonplace in rape trials — attempting to portray the victim as either a "slut" or at least a "flirt" who "asked for it." With the victim thus discredited, the crime of rape — violence in which sex is used as a weapon — magically fades.

Every sexist myth and stereotype used to justify the second-class status of women is being dredged up by the defense — and dutifully regurgitated by the major media. And because the victim is a working-class Portuguese woman in a city where discrimination is rife against the Portuguese majority, the slanders have a pronounced anti-working-class edge.

The victim is painted as the caricature of the "welfare" mother, unmarried with two children, who is so "promiscuous" that she would go to a bar "unescorted" — that is, by herself.

If these things justify rape, then it's not too hard to see how every woman, especially those who don't hunker down to the submissive role that capitalist society dictates, is "asking for it." The woman worker quoted in our "Union Talk" column this week explains this point.

The attempt to intimidate women, which is central to the media coverage of this trial, fits into a broader pattern.

The handful of super-rich families who run this country are trying to reverse the steps toward equality made by women in the last decade.

This is a move born of necessity. The capitalists can

only reverse their system's crisis by a major alteration in the standard of living and rights of working people and their allies.

Exacerbating divisions among working people by pushing back and demoralizing oppressed sectors that have militantly struggled for their rights, is essential to prevent unified resistance to the employers and their government.

Equal rights for women have come to be supported by broad sections of the working class, and women have become increasingly confident to assert their right to equality in all aspects of social life.

To turn this around, crude antiwoman propaganda and initiatives — against abortion rights, affirmative action, child care, the Equal Rights Amendment, against the idea of equality itself — are being utilized by the employing class.

The Big Dan's rape trial makes clear that the source of these reactionary ideas and actions lies in the capitalist system which women's oppression — like racism — is an integral part of. Both the Democratic and Republican parties — and not simply Pres. Ronald Reagan — are defenders of this system and are therefore enemies of women.

Trade unions and civil rights groups, as well as women's liberation organizations, should take a firm stand against these rightist ideas and attacks on women's rights.

The National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women can take the lead in utilizing the national public discussion and debate around this trial to answer the women-haters and to educate working people about their stake in opposing the frame-up of women taking place in Fall River.

Workers at Mass. GE plant discuss rape trial

BY KIP HEDGES

For several weeks now, working people in Massachusetts have been barraged with sensational antiwoman propaganda through the media's coverage of the Big Dan's barroom rape trial.

Six men are on trial for raping and beating a 21-year-old woman in Big Dan's in New Bedford last year.

The two major dailies in the Boston area, the *Globe* and the *Herald*, are helping to promote the defense attorney's arguments that the victim — a mother of two who

fare cheat. She deserved what she got. She wanted those guys to do that to her."

Most workers in this factory are not as virulently antiwoman as this guy. But strains of these arguments are heard in many conversations about the trial. And everybody has an opinion.

Among a group of second-shift workers, there was a disagreement over what sentence the six men should receive. All agreed that a rape had taken place and that a stiff sentence was in order. But some thought the fact that she may have had a drink with the defendants or flirted with them before the rape took place meant that 5 or 10 years in prison would be enough.

The only woman present thought that life imprisonment was not too severe because this crime had destroyed the victim's life. She added, "I don't care what the circumstances were. I don't care if she was stupid for going in there. The penalty for that is not rape and assault."

Some female and male workers see that the damage to the woman has already been done, even if there is a conviction. A younger Black guy said, "If I was a woman and I was raped, I'd never take it to court. They'd make me look like the guilty one just like they're doing with her."

Another guy said that a man could probably get away with raping many of the women in the building he worked in because the rapist could assume that either the women wouldn't report it, or that they also had "questionable" backgrounds, like the New Bedford victim, and

therefore could be made to look like it was their fault.

The workers who most identified with the woman in the trial and best understood the issues were younger women, many of whose lives have similarities to that of the victim's.

One young woman I talked to in the plant reflected the sentiment of many women who are under 30. "Look at me. I'm 24. I have a 2-year-old baby. I never married my boyfriend. I go out drinking all the time with the guys from GE. I left my boyfriend and live alone now. Am I the future rape victim? Should I go back and marry my boyfriend and quit my job at GE and stay home? That's what this case is all about. 'Back into the kitchen, slut.' If she loses, I lose."

Women like her have pushed our local in the past to defend union members who have been sexually assaulted. For example, in 1981 the union came to the defense of a woman secretary who was sexually assaulted by two managers. One hundred fifty machinists walked off their jobs in protest, a picket line was held at the plant and at the home of a GE spokesperson, and there were important educational discussions in the local on sexual harassment.

Our local, and the entire union movement, should defend the woman in the Big Dan case, where the rights of all working women are today on trial.

Kip Hedges is a machinist at the GE Lynn plant and a member of IUE Local 201.

UNION TALK

lives with her boyfriend — is "promiscuous," dishonest, a "welfare cheat," mentally unstable, and probably a drunk, and therefore is in some way responsible for this brutal crime.

Given this atmosphere, it's not surprising that many members of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 201 at General Electric's Lynn, Massachusetts, plant are confused about the issues involved in the case.

"Guilty or not guilty?" one 40-year-old Vietnam veteran was asked.

"She's guilty."

"But she's not on trial," another worker said.

"Well maybe she should be. She never should have been in that bar. She never got married and she's a wel-

Blacks discuss defense of Cuban revolution

Continued from back page

culture she had seen in Cuba, and how the Cubans see culture as a part of the political process. Song, dance, recreation, art — all of these things play a part in the everyday life of the Cuban people. A slide show on Afro-Cuban culture was shown during the meeting.

Brath introduced Muntu Matsimela, a member of the African Peoples Organizing Committee.

Matsimela discussed the importance of the Cuban revolution to Black people in the United States: "One of the first people who talked about the Cuban revolution in its concrete form was Brother Malcolm X. He revealed the kind of struggle that the Cuban revolution meant and its relationship to the Black liberation struggle here in the United States." Matsimela pointed out that in his April 1964 speech "The Ballot or the Bullet," Malcolm pointed to the Cuban and other successful anticolonial revolutions as an example for Blacks here in the United States.

Matsimela went on to explain that the Cuban revolution must be defended against U.S. attempts to isolate and overthrow it. "We see that defense of the Cuban revolution is in fact defense of our own struggle. The defense of the Cuban revolution is more than international solidarity on the part of Black people and oppressed people around the world," he continued. "For us it's an act of self-preservation." He also en-

couraged people to go see Cuba for themselves.

Aramintha Grant, a social worker, explained the premium placed on education in Cuba, unlike here in the United States. She pointed out how the government of Cuba puts to maximum use its material resources in a creative and scientific way. Grant noted "there has been and there continues to be the most ingenious use of mass mobilization of people in Cuba to make education what it is today."

She explained how Cuba wiped out illiteracy. Through the mobilization of thousands of volunteer teachers, more than 707,000 illiterate people received basic reading skills in one year.

Grant pointed out that 60 million in the United States are considered functionally illiterate today.

The final speaker, Bernard White, described how on this, his first trip to Cuba, he was constantly reminded of an earlier trip he made to Grenada. White is a community activist in Queens and works at WBAI. He is currently working on a special radio show on the tour to Cuba.

Noting parallels between the Cuban and Grenada revolutions, he also reminded the audience of what Maurice Bishop, murdered prime minister of Grenada, had told a New York audience just months before his death. Bishop pointed to a U.S. government report that showed how the U.S. rulers feared the Grenada revolution because

of the island's predominantly Black, English-speaking population. "If we have 95 percent of predominantly African origin in our country, then we can have a dangerous appeal to 30 million Black people in the United States," Bishop told the New York audience. White noted that the Bishop-led government did everything it could to reach out to Black Americans with the truth about the Grenada revolution.

White said that, watching the reactions of some people who supported the U.S. invasion of Grenada, "I had begun to realize that they've been fed with misinformation and disinformation on a daily, 24-hour basis. That you never hear a positive report about Cuba. Because they are trying to get us to believe that these places are negative. Once you begin to look at it you find out that [these revolutions] are successful. They have successfully begun to redistribute both the economic and the intellectual wealth of the country. And we have a responsibility to take that information and try to disseminate it to as wide a body of people as we possibly can."

Interest in learning more about Cuba, Grenada, and other socialist revolutions was shown at the meeting by the fact that 11 participants purchased the Pathfinder book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, which includes major statements by the Cubans on Grenada, as well as talks by Bishop. Some 20 single copies of the *Militant*, 6 subscriptions to the paper, and other books and pamphlets were also sold.

'Granma' reports on visit to Cuba by U.S. Blacks

The February 19 English-language weekly edition of *Granma*, newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, reported on the visit of a group of U.S. Blacks to Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP). Upon their return to the United States, members of the Black delegation described what they had learned about Cuba to a meeting held March 4 in Harlem (see story above).

Granma reports that the delegation held a news conference in Havana at ICAP headquarters. Elombe Brath of the U.S. Patrice Lumumba Coalition "gave an extensive account of the grim political, economic and social situation facing blacks in the United States, who lack the most elementary constitutional rights," the paper said.

Granma explained that the Black visitors are "trying to have the people of the United States learn the truth about the invasion of Grenada" and to organize opposition to the attacks on the Cuban revolution by the U.S. government.

LETTERS

Boston Grenada Forum

Grenadian Ambassador to the UN, Caldwell Taylor, addressed almost 200 people at the Community Church of Boston on the topic "The Caribbean Since the U.S. Invasion of Grenada." Taylor, who was appointed by the Maurice Bishop government and is still fighting to retain his UN seat, was introduced by Rev. William Alberts. Alberts had invited Taylor to deliver the third annual W.E.B. DuBois Memorial Address.

The focus of the presentation was the right of self-determination for the peoples of the Caribbean who suffer from the same problems, of underdevelopment as other peoples of the semicolonial world. The U.S. invasion, Taylor pointed out, was a blow to the attempts of the Grenadian people to lift themselves from the quagmire of underdevelopment and exploitive relations. "There is no solution in the Caribbean," stated Taylor, "that is military — in the army or the marines."

During the question-and-answer

period, Taylor said the attempts to turn back the gains of the revolution by the current government of occupation are generating resistance on the part of the Grenadian people.

On the evening prior to his address, Taylor met with members and friends of the Boston Grenada Solidarity Committee. He discussed among other things the formation of the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19 Foundation and the essential task of involving the masses in the revolutionary process.

Pathfinder literature was present at both events on both Pathfinder and Grenada Solidarity literature tables. Several copies of the new book *Maurice Bishop Speaks* were sold and the *Militant*, with Mohammed Oliver's on-the-spot coverage from Grenada, was well received.

Gary Cohen
Boston, Massachusetts

Church and state

Even though I want desperately

to see Reagan and his crew leave the White House, it's good to see an old Master perform so superbly. Here we are on the eve of an election, the world on the brink of utter destruction, the nation's economy in a wreck, and Reagan pulls a rabbit from the hat at the eleventh hour: the venerable conflict of church and state with the "school prayer" issue.

The Congress of the United States is virtually tied up in knots, and the enlightened people of the United States are emotionally caught up in an issue that is utterly and totally extraneous to the real questions that need addressing. And to top matters off righteously, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that nativity scenes can be placed on public property without any conflicts!

Meanwhile, Reagan and his crew are free to take cheap shots at Congress and the "Democrats" for being tardy on the deficit business. But who's got any time to notice the fraud? Absolutely no one but a poor, powerless convict-political

prisoner.
A prisoner
Illinois

Reagan election

Standing before the international media, Reagan glibly announces his intention to run for reelection, proclaiming, "We are back! But our 'work' is not done."

Of course, Reagan failed to mention the fact that he and his administration imposed and held the nation in an economic slump as an old political ruse. And remember that Jimmy Carter's election to the White House was orchestrated by the corporate capitalists to pave the way for Reagan.

By a landslide victory, Reagan was ushered into the White House. Immediately he creates favorable economic conditions for the nation. The act goes over big. Then he flips, imposes and maintains stringent domestic economic policies.

In the end Reagan sends his flunky, Eric Gairy, back to Grenada, retains a firm hold in the

"American Islands" and the Middle East, and keeps the Soviet Union encircled with nuclear weapons! What does he and his administration stand to gain? Another four years to expand and further entrench the interests of the corporations abroad and to fatten their pockets totally at the expense of the American taxpayers.

A prisoner

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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.

Blacks discuss Cuba at Harlem mtg.

'Defense of Cuban revolution is defense of our struggle'

BY DANNY BOOHER

NEW YORK — The Patrice Lumumba Coalition, in conjunction with the Black Studies Department of the City College of New York, sponsored a report-back here in Harlem March 4 on a recent tour to Cuba by six U.S. Black leaders. "Cuba 25 Years After the Triumph of the Revolution: A Call to Reason in the Age of Reagan" was the title of the program, which drew an audience of 200 people, the great majority of them Black.

The meeting was called to open up a discussion in the Afro-American community about the Cuban revolution, its development in the past 25 years, and how it relates to the Black struggle here in the United States.

The significant turnout was an indication of the impact that the Cuban revolution has had on Blacks in the United States, particularly in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition chaired the meeting. He explained that Black supporters of the Grenada revolution decided after the U.S. invasion that it would be important to visit Cuba. They wanted to help get out the truth about Cuba's role in Grenada, which had become a focus of attacks by the Reagan administration. The group was invited to Cuba by the Cuban Institute for Friendship With the Peoples.

"We felt that it was important because we believed there was going to be an opening up of an assault on Cuba, and that the Black community was going to be targeted

for a lot of propaganda against the Cuban revolution," Brath explained.

He said that in the wake of the invasion of Grenada, "the whole focus of the press and the [Reagan] administration was to try to make believe that there was a secret plot where Cuba was trying to make Grenada into some kind of Soviet-Cuban colony."

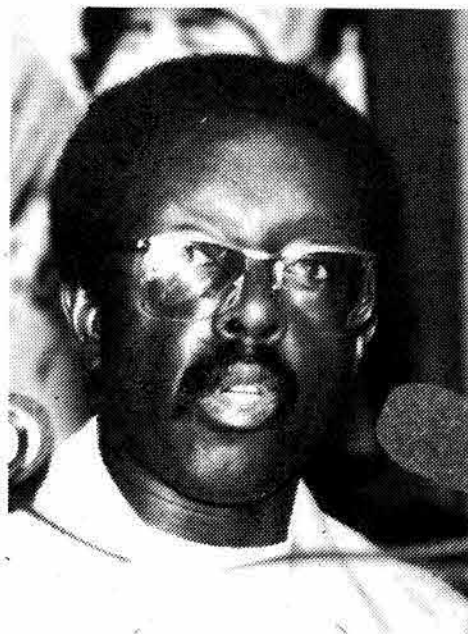
Brath pointed out that Cuban foreign policy in Angola and other parts of Africa was also being held up as suspect by the U.S. government in an attempt to erode support that U.S. Blacks give Cuba. Cuba's internationalist policy of sending material aid, doctors, teachers, and construction workers to countries in need has come under constant fire from the Reagan administration and the media.

Brath then introduced Samori Marksman, a representative of the Caribbean Peoples Alliance and director of international affairs at the WBAI radio station here.

Marksman pointed out that Cuba's foreign policy toward Africa and the Middle East was but an extension of its domestic policy.

Unlike here in the United States where racism and other forms of discrimination run rampant, Cuba has consistently carried out an antiracist policy. Marksman pointed out that when Fidel Castro and the July 26 Movement came to power in 1959, one of the very first laws enacted by the new Cuban government was an antidiscrimination law.

Marksman explained that the Cuban revolution "empowered the African people,



Elombe Brath (left) said Black supporters of Grenada revolution visited Cuba to help get out truth about Cuba's positive role in Grenada. Muntu Matsimela (right) was also on Cuba tour.



Militant photos by Charles Ostrofsky

not in isolation from the other people of Cuba, to make tremendous advances in health and education." He also noted that Cuba "hasn't eradicated all the vestiges of racism. The Cubans would be the first to tell you that they still have remnants of racism in the attitudes of certain older Cubans, and it's something you can't legislate. What the Cuban revolution has done is to empower the Cuban people to eradicate racism by creating institutions which

are intolerant of racism. There are laws which are rigidly enforced against racism and racial discrimination and other forms of disenfranchisement."

Marksman explained that between 1965 and 1975, "Cuba had 25 percent more medical personnel operating in all of Africa than the big, mighty United States."

"When the South African invaders — the marauders — invaded Angola in 1975, had the Cubans not come in [on the side of Angola] we would not be celebrating the great victory of Zimbabwe and Angola."

Marksman stated that Cuba's record is "impeccable" when it comes to assessing its relations with countries in the Middle East and the continent of Africa.

The next speaker, Linda Asantewaa Johnson, a member of the Black Woman's Health Project who works for the Food and Hunger Hotline in New York, spoke on health care and culture in Cuba. This was Johnson's first trip to Cuba, and she came back enthusiastic about the revolution and the advances it has made.

She explained that health care in Cuba is universal and it's free.

Johnson also described the flowering of

Continued on Page 21

Continued on Page 23

CLUW marks Int'l Women's Day

BY LISA HICKLER

SEATTLE — One hundred and fifty people gathered at the International Association of Machinists District 751 hall here on March 11 for a rally and organizing fair. The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) sponsored the event to celebrate International Women's Day.

Seattle CLUW president Sue Moyer opened the rally. "International Women's Day," she said, "was established in 1910 in response to the brutal exploitation of working women throughout the world. Today we celebrate it by focusing on the continuing need to organize the unorganized, to protest the attacks on women's rights, and to emphasize the importance of cooperation between working people of all nations."

Frank Dennee, business agent for Lumber and Production Industrial Workers Local Union 1054 (LPIW), talked about a strike his union is involved in.

The E.A. Nord Co. in Everett, Washington, forced 600 LPIW members out on strike nine months ago. Nord is demanding wage cuts of up to 50 percent, the gutting of the seniority system, and other takebacks. Unionists have rallied to the defense of the lumber workers, and the biggest labor protests in Everett's history were held in solidarity with the strikers.

Dennee described the role of women in the strike. "Approximately 120 of our members are women. . . . They are probably some of our best members, probably some of our best pickets on the picket line," he said.

Everett has also been the site of attacks on women's right to abortion. The Feminist Women's Health Center there, which performs abortions and provides counseling and other medical care for women, was fire bombed in December. CLUW is on record in support of the clinic.

Clinic director Diane Hale told the meet-

ing that the clients and staff of the center are "threatened, verbally abused, intimidated, and harassed weekly. . . . We must fight this attempt to dehumanize us, make us invisible, to deny us our basic freedoms."

A refugee from El Salvador who was scheduled to speak wasn't able to make it. Speaking in her place was Cora Fisher of the Labor Committee on Central America. The audience applauded her call for Washington to get out of Central America. She

explained the connection between the anti-labor attacks in the United States and Washington's wars abroad.

The speaker that most enthused the crowd was Elaine Bernard of the British Columbia Federation of Labor Education Committee. Murmurs of surprise were audible as she described the ongoing fight-back by the Canadian labor movement against a host of antilabor laws introduced last year in British Columbia.

Continued on Page 21

Honduran activist on war and women's rights

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEWARK — The Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Salvadoran revolutions have given International Women's Day — March 8 — an inspiring new meaning for women's rights fighters throughout the Americas.

This fact was confirmed by the presentations at a March 9 Militant Labor Forum here titled "Lessons from international struggles: how women can win equality."

Forty-four people braved the aftermath of the area's heaviest snowstorm this winter to hear Sandra Avila, coordinator of the Honduras Information Center in New York, and Donna Shanaphy from the Socialist Workers Party.

The meeting was chaired by Duane Stilwell, a member of the Newark Young Socialist Alliance and a staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*.

Avila began her talk by explaining that it's not possible to make a revolution without the full participation of women — a theme that was to be repeated by her and others throughout the evening. And a revolution is necessary to achieve women's liberation.

In the last decade, women in Central

America have been subjected to all kinds of brutal repression as have their husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers. Women have no choice, said Avila, but to be involved in all aspects of the struggles against the U.S.-backed dictatorships in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

In addition, women must struggle now to change the mentality of "compañeros and of ourselves." Women, she noted, have often considered themselves as belonging "behind the men" instead of "beside" them. But this must change, said Avila, pointing out that a majority of the population of Central America is female.

Avila said that in Honduras, as in the United States, the rulers try to divide women along race lines — Black, mestizo, and Indian. The fight against the special oppression of Blacks and Indians is an important one, she affirmed.

She reported that there are a lot of Miskito Indians in Honduras, a majority of whom are women. They are constantly harassed by the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries and the Honduran government for their refusal to join the rightist war against Nicaragua.

During the question-and-answer period,

Avila reviewed the political situation in Honduras today.

She said that in the last three years, there has been "the worst repression ever" against the labor movement, peasants, and students. Leaders and members of these groups have been killed and "disappeared." There is a lot of opposition to the current U.S.-backed regime in the form of strikes and demonstrations.

But, Avila pointed out, it's not in the interest of Washington or the Honduran government to allow the facts on the extent of these struggles to be publicized.

If they were, she said, people in the United States would question why Washington is sending aid to such a government. The aid that is sent, said Avila, doesn't do anything to alleviate Honduras' poverty and underdevelopment.

She described Honduras as an "invaded country," referring to the massive U.S. military build-up there.

Donna Shanaphy was introduced as an activist in the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the National Organization for Women, and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, as well as a

Continued on Page 18