

Court seniority ruling is blow to equal rights

The Supreme Court dealt a jolting blow June 12 to affirmative action on the job. With the shameful pretext of defending union seniority, the labor-hating justices ruled against modified seniority lists that protect Blacks, Latinos, and women from discriminatory layoffs.

This ruling will help further institutionalize "the last hired, first fired" situation Blacks, Latinos, and women suf-

fer. And it will surely lead to new attacks on the modest affirmative action plans that do exist.

Reagan's attorney general, William French Smith, immediately saluted the decision. The ruling, he explained, means "federal courts cannot impose quotas based on racial considerations. . . . We think this is a correct decision. We have maintained

all along that quotas are a device for discrimination."

By a 6-3 vote, the court struck down a lower court order designed to prevent the disproportionate layoff of Black Memphis fire fighters who were under protection of an affirmative action consent decree.

Prior to that decree Memphis was 37 percent Black, but in the fire department only 3 percent were Black. Affirmative action pushed the figure up to 10 percent.

In 1981, slated cutbacks would have wiped out most of this gain if layoffs occurred by strict seniority. A district judge then ruled that the layoff take place in such a way that the percentage of Blacks in the fire department not be reduced.

As a result, three white workers were laid off outside of strict seniority and were out of work for a month.

The city and the fire fighters union appealed this all the way to the Supreme Court. The court insisted on ruling in the case even though the issue was legally

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David Nudel

EDITORIAL

N.Y. marchers: 'U.S. out of Central America!'

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

NEW YORK — Behind a large banner reading "Stop the U.S. War In Central America and the Caribbean," thousands of demonstrators marched from an assembly point near the United Nations to a rally of 5,000 at Times Square here on June 9.

The protest was organized by the Coal-

ition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, whose principal coordinators are representatives of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and Mobilization for Survival. A broad range of Black and Latino groups, solidarity organizations, religious groups, and left organizations are

also part of the coalition.

At Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, the assembly point, 30 cultural events were presented on stages around the plaza as people gathered. Then William Kunstler, the well-known trial attorney and civil liberties lawyer, read an indictment against the Reagan administration, which was put on "trial" by the subsequent rally.

Huge paper-mache puppets of Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Henry Kissinger, and U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick represented the defendants.

Monitors wearing green T-shirts led the march and helped keep order along the route. These monitors were provided by organizations endorsing the coalition.

Near the front of the march was the Third World Contingent, which was largely Latino in composition. Organizations in this contingent included the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador, Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Martí, Antonio Maceo Brigade, Comité Roque Dalton, Comité Salvadoreño de Solidaridad, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the November 29th Coalition.

Prominent by their identifying T-shirts were a large group of *brigadistas*, people who have gone to Nicaragua as part of international work brigades.

The Women's Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean led a contingent of women's groups, including the CISPES Women's Committee; Women for Racial and Economic Equality; Association of Mothers of El Salvador; MADRE, a group in solidarity with mothers of U.S. war victims in Central America; and others.

Of groups identifying themselves as socialist or communist, the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Democratic Socialists of America, Young Socialist Alliance, and Young Communist League were the most visible.

Two cultural groups were there, Ventana, a group of artists in solidarity with Nicaragua, and Artists Call Against U.S. Intervention in Central America. Artists Call has organized a nine-day music festival, with concerts every night, to promote opposition to the U.S. war.

The many placards and banners carried

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30,000 rally in London for striking coal miners

BY MARGARET JAYKO

LONDON — "Coal, not dole." "Stop pit closures." "Victory to the miners."

Placards and stickers with these slogans covered central London as an estimated 30,000 members of the striking National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and their supporters marched and rallied here on June 7.

Called jointly by the NUM and South East Regional Council of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) — Britain's equivalent to

ON-THE-SCENE REPORT

the AFL-CIO — this show of strength by the NUM was designed to pressure Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the National Coal Board (NCB) to withdraw their plan to close 20 pits (mines) in the next year. The closures would throw 20,000 miners onto the unemployment lines. The miners have been on strike now for 13 weeks.

Cops brutalize miners

The cop brutality and harassment that has become commonplace at picket lines and in mining communities across England, Scotland, and Wales came to London on June 7.

The government mobilized thousands of cops. One hundred twenty miners were arrested throughout the course of the day.

Also arrested was Labor Party Member of Parliament (MP) Dave Nellist. He was later released without charge.

The marchers were confident and in high spirits, feelings that were buoyed by the great amount of support from passersby. Many workers on their lunch break gave the thumbs-up sign as the march proceeded by them. Others leaned out their windows, applauding the miners as they passed. Cops roughed up miners and their supporters who collected money from spectators on the sidewalks, many of whom were eager to donate to the strike.

At one point, when some of us strayed onto the sidewalk, cops roughly pushed us back into the street saying, "move over so normal people can walk by."

Most of the arrests took place after the rally ended, when miners were being organized to lobby Parliament.

Police pushed miners up against the wall outside the House of Commons and charged into the crowd with horses. Cops grabbed as many miners as they could and brutally beat them. The miners held their ground. As each of their brothers was hauled out of the crowd and arrested, miners applauded and derisively gave the cops the Nazis' "Sieg Heil" salute. Two police and eight demonstrators were injured.

Train drivers at the Charing Cross railway station here walked off their jobs at 5 p.m. to protest the police attack.

'Police state of Notts'

"We are loyal NUM members from the police state of Notts" read one banner. Many miners in the Nottinghamshire area, however, have refused to join the strike. This is an area where there are more productive mines with more modern technology. Incentive-pay plans mean higher wages for many of these miners. The NCB has sought to lull these miners into thinking

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Militant/Lou Howort

June 9 march marked step forward in building united anti-intervention movement.

Héctor Marroquín wins round in fight to stop deportation

BY HARRY RING

NEWARK — Héctor Marroquín has won a new victory in his fight to remain in this country.

In the face of continuing protest, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was forced to retreat another step in its drive to deport Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist seeking political asylum here.

Marroquín's plea for political asylum is now before the Supreme Court, and a decision on it may come soon.

Meanwhile, Marroquín is also seeking permanent residence status on the basis of his marriage to a U.S. citizen, Priscilla Schenk.

Marroquín's attorneys went into federal court here June 11 to forestall the possibil-

ity of the government making a sudden move to deport him before his application for a green card — that is, permanent residence status — is completed.

At the hearing before Judge Dickenson Debevoise, the government's attorney conceded that the very regulations of the INS require that if it should try to deport Marroquín before his green card application is completed, it must give him at least 72 hours' notice. This would give Marroquín the necessary time to fight such a move in the courts.

The judge declared this a formal part of the court record.

A member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and a leader of

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BY PEGGY BRUNDY

Socialists in Kentucky have been successful in continuing regular weekly sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gates while petitioning to get the socialist presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Mel Mason and Andrea González, on the ballot in that state.

They report that they sold at more plant gates than usual during the first week of their drive to collect the signatures necessary to place the Socialist Workers ticket on the ballot. The state requires 5,000 signatures. Organizing to collect them is an ambitious undertaking that calls for careful planning and discussion to work out all the goals of the drive, including maintaining their regular plant-gate sales.

Successful press conference

The petitioning effort in Kentucky was launched with a successful press conference, which gave the election campaign and the petition drive coverage in the widely read *Louisville Times*.

On the first day of petitioning, one of the television stations sent a crew to interview local socialist candidate Dave Welters, a union

construction worker who is running for U.S. Senate, while he and his supporters were campaigning in downtown Louisville.

This and other publicity received during the course of the campaign has meant that more workers are aware of the Socialist Workers campaign. And socialists campaigning in the community and at shopping centers have met workers who are familiar with the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, from regular sales at their plants over the past months.

Since January, socialists have had a regular weekly presence with the *Militant* at three key unionized plants in the area: Ford Motors Fern Valley, Ford Truck, and Henry Voght Manufacturing.

In addition, socialists have been trying to figure out how to reach the important concentration of industrial workers at the giant General Electric plant, who are organized by the International Union of Electrical Workers and the International Association of Machinists. Because of the way the plant is laid out, the gates are practically inaccessible to people who don't work there.

Sales got a big boost the week

before the petition drive began when the *Militant* carried front-page coverage of the AP Parts auto strike in Toledo. Campaigners went to the plant gates with a big sign saying, "Toledo UAW Battles Cops; Firsthand Report." Twenty copies of that issue were sold, the highest number so far at plant gates, and the campaigners went into the petitioning drive with the momentum of that success.

Petitioning in addition to sales at some of the plant gates, like Ford Fern Valley, is very difficult because workers drive by the sales team very fast on their way out of work. But the campaigners are continuing their weekly sales at these plants during the petition drive.

A Ford worker campaigners met one Saturday while campaigning at a shopping center is circulating nominating petitions inside his plant. The plant-gate campaigning and sales will help his efforts petitioning among coworkers.

Ongoing discussion

Arlene Rubenstein, a chemical-plant worker at the Colgate-Palmolive plant, is part of a team that has been selling at the Voght plant

for about a year. Voght is organized by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Their contract expires later this year, and workers there read the articles on AP Parts with great interest. There is a lively and ongoing discussion about how the outcome of the Toledo UAW battle will affect the Voght negotiations.

According to Rubenstein, during the first week of the petitioning drive more workers than usual stopped to talk to the sales and petitioning team on their way into the plant.

Some had never bought a copy of the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*, but because of the regular presence of the sales team, they knew that Rubenstein is a socialist, were familiar with the kind of coverage the *Militant* provides, and they knew that the *Militant* is supporting Mel Mason and Andrea González for president and vice-president.

One worker commented that although he had never bought a copy of the *Militant*, he read it inside when it was passed around. Many of the workers signed to put workers on the ballot in the November elections.

In addition to maintaining their

regular sales during the petition drive, the campaigners expanded to additional locations. Eight *Militants* and one copy of the *Young Socialist* were sold at other plants organized by the USWA, the Bakery, Confectioners and Tobacco workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Sales expanded

Why did the socialists decide to expand their presence at plant gates while undertaking the ambitious petitioning effort? As in other cities around the country, the campaigners think that one of the most important places to take the socialist campaign is to industrial workers in their area organized by the most powerful industrial unions.

While petitioning, the campaigners have been handing out a leaflet summarizing the socialist candidates' program, and announcing the upcoming campaign rally for Mel Mason and Dave Welters. The plant-gate campaigning and sales they have done will help attract workers to come to hear how the socialist campaign proposes carrying that fight into the elections.

N.Y. marchers say: 'U.S. out of Central America!'

Continued from front page

by the marchers centered on the theme of opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The spirited march in 95-degree heat included chants around this central theme of the demonstration, as well as some opposing any new Vietnam war in Central America.

Another issue taken up by a number of participating groups was opposition to a proposed stationing of nuclear weapons on U.S. Navy ships in New York harbor.

At Hammarckjold Plaza and later at the rally in Times Square, speakers took the

floor as "witnesses" concerning the charges against the Reagan administration. Margaret Burnham, chairperson of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, acted as judge.

A humorous note was struck as the puppet "defendants" took the stand and through the voices of impersonators repeated the clichés and justifications of their real-life counterparts for Washington's criminal war in Central America and the Caribbean.

All defendants were found guilty by the crowd.

Among the speakers most warmly received at the rally were Dr. Ramón Brenes, director of the Federation of Nicaraguan Health Workers, and Salvador Samabria, who represented the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

Dr. Brenes described the many gains for the people of Nicaragua their revolution has brought them, which are now under attack from the U.S.-created *contra* (counterrevolutionary) war. The crowd broke out into a chant of "¡No pasarán!" (they shall not pass) at the end of his talk.

Salvador Samabria reviewed the proposals of the FDR and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) for a negotiated settlement of the war and the creation of a broadly based provisional government in El Salvador. But, he explained, the U.S. puppet Duarte regime and Washington have rejected any real negotiations and are instead stepping up the

war.

He took up recent reports in the U.S. press alleging that large numbers of peasants from areas liberated by the FMLN have fled because they resisted being "forced" into the FMLN fighting units. The truth, he said, was that there were peasant refugees, but they were fleeing stepped-up bombing by the Duarte government, including the use of napalm and white phosphorus bombs, against civilian population centers in the FMLN-controlled areas.

Samabria saluted the demonstrators, and called for continued actions that included all forces opposed to U.S. intervention.

Other speakers at Hammarckjold Plaza and Times Square were: Dr. Suzanne Ross from CISPES; Ingrid Washinawatok from the American Indian Movement; U.S. Rep. Major Owens (D-N.Y.); Rev. William Webber, a former president of New York Theological Seminary; Dianna Caballero of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights; New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger; Rosca Ninotchka, from the Filipino Writers of North America; Dessima Williams, former ambassador from Grenada to the Organization of American States; as well as a number of poets and singers.

A Guatemalan refugee, masked to conceal his identity, also spoke. He and his family are being provided sanctuary by the Community Church of Boston.

Over 100 organizations endorsed the coalition. This united effort began to draw on

the energies of a wide spectrum of groups. Continuing to build along these lines will help reach more Black and labor groups in the future. While Blacks were present at the June 9 action, no U.S. Black groups brought banners or contingents. Similarly, while many of the protesters appeared to be workers, and some wore their union caps, no union banners or organized contingents were present. Nevertheless, a step forward was made in building a united protest of Washington's intensifying war in Central America and the Caribbean.

NEW YORK — The Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean organized a civil-disobedience action to protest the U.S. war on June 7. Some 370 people blocked the entrances to the Federal Building in Manhattan. Over 300 were arrested in the peaceful protest.

A press conference prior to the protest was addressed by Rev. Ben Chavis of the United Church of Christ; Michael Ratner and Sara Wunch, attorneys at the Center for Constitutional Rights; and John Stockwell, a former CIA agent.

Prominent among those who took part in the blockade were members of various religious groups, CISPES, people who had been on the international work brigades in Nicaragua, the National Lawyers Guild, and the War Resisters League.

Some 300 other opponents of U.S. intervention took part in a support demonstration at the Federal Building.

Antiwar contingent at Puerto Rican Day

NEW YORK — A contingent against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean marched in the annual Puerto Rican Day parade here June 10.

Some 150 people joined the contingent, which was organized by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights. They carried banners saying "Against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean" and "Stop Militarization of Puerto Rico." Participants chanted, "We want jobs, we don't want cheese," and other slogans.

The contingent was greeted by other marchers with chants of "¡Viva Puerto Rico!"

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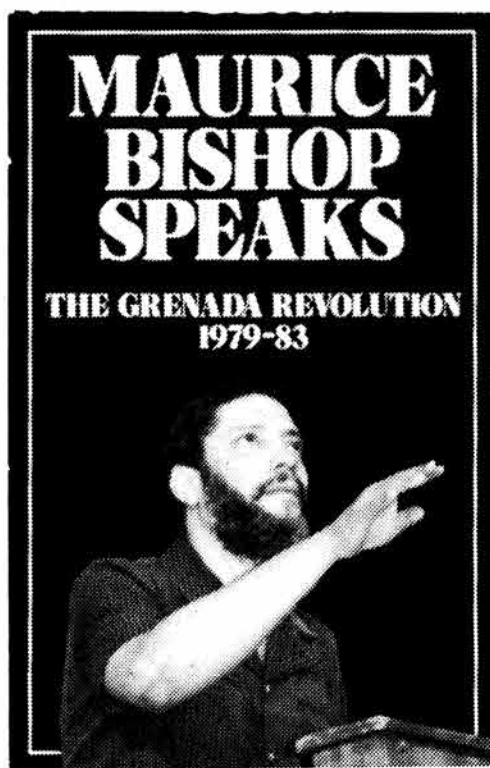
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Sandinistas mobilize soldiers as CIA escalates aggression

'Defend revolution to last drop of blood'

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In face of the growing war being waged by CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries, the Nicaraguan government announced here June 5 that the entire country must place itself on a war footing. In a June 5 speech broadcast over radio and television, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega announced that more troops will be mobilized and sent to the war fronts.

To carry out such a mobilization, Ortega said, "the whole country must become the great rearguard of the battle front." He called on the entire nation "to defend to the last drop of blood this revolution, which belongs to the poor and working people."

Speaking officially on behalf of both the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the governing junta, Ortega explained the growing scope of the war. He also bluntly acknowledged that the big mobilization of forces to counter the U.S. escalation has overwhelmed the government structures designed to provide the basic needs of the soldiers and their families.

10,000 contra troops

Ortega reported that Nicaragua now faces more than 10,000 CIA-backed counterrevolutionary troops (*contras*), thousands of them based more or less permanently inside Nicaragua, well away from the borders with Honduras and Costa Rica.

These troops constitute "veritable military units of a modern army," he said. They are supplied by air and land from "more than 20 military bases in Honduran and Costa Rican territory."

A large map next to the defense minister graphically indicated the extensive scope of counterrevolutionary military operations. Legends showed large "Regional Commands" of the *contras* on the border with Honduras and in the rugged mountains of the north-central part of Nicaragua. "Task forces" (smaller units said to include 300 or more troops) were indicated in the sparsely populated Atlantic Coast region, as well as other units operating in the southeastern area bordering with Costa Rica.

"The strategy of the U.S. administration's overt war," Ortega explained, "consists in permanently bleeding our country with counterrevolutionary activity in the extensive territories of the Segovias [Madriz and Nueva Segovia provinces], Mapatapa, Jinotega, the Atlantic Coast, and parts of Chontales and Rio San Juan."

The counterrevolutionaries "have been constituted as military units perfectly intermeshed with the military apparatus of the Yankee forces in Honduras and the army of that country," Ortega said. He warned that the United States, "is trying to impose and develop the same situation" in Costa Rica.

These military forces seek to disrupt Nicaragua's economy and undermine the social programs of the government. At the same time, what Ortega called "the internal right wing" in Nicaragua is carrying out a

propaganda campaign to blame the revolution for the problems caused by the U.S. war.

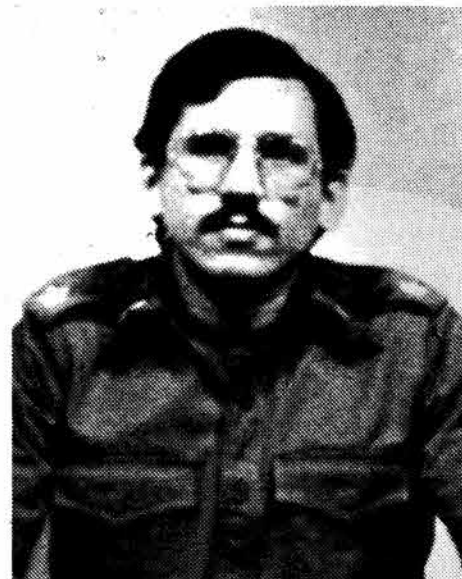
On the strictly military level, the objective is "to disperse the Sandinista People's Army, to bleed it and affect the structure of the military defense of the entire country." The reason for this, Ortega warned, is that the U.S. government is considering eventually "taking the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua, including Managua, with massive attacks by the Yankee army." (The Pacific Coast is the relatively more developed part

of Nicaragua, where most of the country's 3.5 million people live.)

Dislocation

Ortega's speech reflected the fact that U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua has sharply escalated since the beginning of the year "and it is tending to escalate even more in the rest of 1984." He explained that in addition to the growing activities by big military units, the counterrevolutionaries are planning an increase in sabotage

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Militant/Arnold Weissberg
Defense Minister Humberto Ortega outlined gravity of war for Nicaraguan people and economy. He outlined new measures to assist families of soldiers, militia members, and reservists.

Nicaragua cracks down on price gougers



Militant/Agnes Chapa

Market in Managua. In many places, eggs, milk, and meat are routinely sold at twice the official price.

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Under conditions of growing shortages, a new battle front is being opened in Nicaragua — war against merchants who hoard and speculate.

Workers, farmers, and prorevolutionary shopkeepers are now organizing — from the block to national level — to implement a new law authorizing greater state intervention in distribution.

The draft law, presented to the Council of State May 30 by the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), was passed June 1. It recognizes the need to formalize institution of a "wartime economy," and authorizes the government to exercise "strict control" over distribution of "indispensable" products.

"Our people understand why there are shortages," a high Sandinista official told the international press a few days earlier. "What they can't understand is why all those products are available — at three times the price — in the Eastern Market [Managua's big central market widely known as a den of thieves]. That's why we have to act."

Economic drain of U.S. war

Three years of U.S. aggression have taken a grave toll on Nicaragua's economy and food production.

Damage from the war totals \$200 million, half the country's yearly export.

An even greater cost is the mobilization of one-sixth of the country's economically active population (150,000 out of 950,000) for defense. Not only have they been removed from production, but the rest of the country must provide these combatants and the civilian residents of the war zone with first priority in all basic goods and services.

One direct consequence has been increasing shortages in the cities, followed by sky-rocketing prices in the shops of unscrupulous merchants. Powdered milk is selling at three times the official price; toothpaste at six times. Eggs, milk, and meat are routinely sold at twice the official price.

Anger over this price-gouging is widespread throughout the population. For weeks one of the most popular features on the government's Voice of Nicaragua radio station has been a visit each morning to one of Managua's big central markets — reporting the most outrageous prices.

Public meetings — such as the weekly "De Cara Al Pueblo" (Face the Nation) — and front-page interviews with hopping-mad consumers in the two prorevolutionary dailies reflect the mounting concern.

The day after the CDS presented the draft law, Internal Commerce Minister

Dionisio Marengo appeared before the Council of State to initiate discussion. He explained what steps the government would begin to take, once the law was passed, to improve distribution of the declining supply of food. The measures would not "solve" the shortages, he stressed, but would help share the burden more fairly.

Program to combat price-gouging

The main changes are the following:

The government will seek to assure equitable distribution of eight basic products. Distribution for six of them will be nationalized — rice, cooking oil, sugar, sorghum, salt, and laundry soap. Distribution of the other two — corn and beans — will have greater state participation but will not be nationalized because it is impractical. They are largely produced by dispersed poor peasants.

The basis of the new distribution setup will be privately owned small corner grocery stores — in association with the state and under the watchful eye of the mass organizations, particularly the CDS.

Government food subsidies will be cut by 50 percent. The state will continue to absorb transportation, storage, processing, and distribution costs. But the prices on all but two basic items (the exceptions are milk and sugar) will now rise to exactly the price paid to producers.

Teeth are provided for enforcement.

For minor offenses, such as failing to post a list of official prices, fines will be levied. The more prosperous the merchant, the bigger the fine.

In the cases where controlled products are found outside legal channels, they will be confiscated immediately.

Private truckers caught transporting such items illegally will not only lose their cargo, but their trucks as well.

Government officials caught taking bribes and wholesalers caught hoarding will go to prison.

"We know there are going to be problems of corruption," Marengo said. "The temptation is just too great. But these people will be treated as counterrevolutionaries, no longer as businessmen who have committed an infraction of the law."

And since there are far more merchants than policemen or price inspectors, it will be in great part up to the organized masses to monitor compliance and report violations.

How it will be carried out

The first two measures go together. Reliance on neighborhood grocery stores as a cornerstone of government-controlled distribution is a matter of practicality. The state apparatus, at its present and foreseeable organization, is not in a position to replace overnight the more than 10,000 food outlets.

What the state is trying to do — and what will represent an enormous improvement if it can be accomplished — is to get the eight basic goods out of the hands of the big central markets. In these markets the

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How speculators disrupt milk distribution

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — To understand better the many grave economic problems this country faces and how the new consumer law will attempt to remedy them, the *Militant* took a closer look at one facet of the economy — milk distribution.

Most of the small number of pasteurizing plants are located in Managua. Production is still insufficient for the population of the country as a whole. And, for lack of spare parts, each plant may have as few as 10 delivery trucks in service at any one time. Thus each driver must cover a very broad area and work a long, hot day. The incentive is high to sell the milk as quickly

as possible by shortening the delivery route.

The nearest stores often get more milk than they can sell or store without spoilage. Those that are further from the pasteurizers get fewer deliveries and smaller quantities of milk, and some get none at all. To alleviate the situation, store keepers often bribe drivers and then include this cost in the price of the milk.

In some cases the problems of delivery are eliminated entirely — from the point of view of those who manage the pasteurizing plants — by middlemen who drive their trucks directly to the plant and pick up the milk themselves. Of course, up to now they have felt free to then sell the milk to

whatever stores and at whatever prices they choose. Milk becomes an object of speculation and many go without it.

On the retailing end, the local grocery stores have a wide range of operating procedures, some much more equitable than others. For example, the most honest, socially conscious store keepers distribute the milk among all the families in the neighborhood. The most milk goes to those families with the most children. Others, however, might decide to sell all their milk to the first few customers, since storage for longer periods of time requires expensive electricity for refrigeration. And some won't sell it at all, because, at the official price, milk sales are not very profitable.

Speeches by Grenadian leader popular at PUSH convention

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

"Read the truth about the revolution! Find out why the United States invaded Grenada. Get a copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*!"

That's how several supporters of the Grenada revolution hawked *Maurice Bishop Speaks* at the recent Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity) convention in Washington, D.C., which was attended by some 600 people. The hawkers were selling the new book, published by Pathfinder Press, at a rally of more than 1,000 people for Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, which was held June 7. The PUSH convention took place June 5-9.

Twenty copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* were sold at the rally. "A lot of people didn't know much about Grenada or the U.S. invasion of that island," said Thabo Ntweng, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party who was selling the book at the PUSH national gathering. "They wanted to learn more. They wanted to hear the truth about Maurice Bishop."

Ntweng said that he and others staffing the literature table had many discussions with young Blacks who were interested in the current situation in Grenada. He also reports that "a lot of people who bought the book had already heard of it through reading reviews in the *Amsterdam News* and *Dawn Magazine*."

Yet another way that people at the PUSH convention had learned of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* was through the campaign to distribute the book in their local area. "People told us things like, 'Yeah, I've seen that book in the socialist bookstore in New Orleans.'"

The SWP decided in April to go on a 10-week campaign to back Pathfinder's effort to widely distribute *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

Since that time, rallies, meetings, forums, receptions, and other public events have been held to celebrate the publication of the book. One such activity took place at

Celebrate publication of 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

NEW YORK

New York City

Speakers: U.S. Rep. Major Owens, 12th Congressional District, New York; Joachim Mark, noted Grenadian historian; Safiya Bandle, director of Medgar Evers College Center of Women's Development; Mfanafuthi Makatini, director, international affairs, African National Congress, South Africa; Adeyemi Bandle, national vice-chairperson for international affairs, National Black United Front; Steve Clark, editor, *Intercontinental Press*, author of introduction to *Maurice Bishop Speaks*; and Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition. Sun., June 17. Reception, 4 p.m.; program, 5:30 p.m. Medgar Evers College Gymnasium, 1150 Carroll St., Brooklyn. Ausp: Pathfinder Press, Medgar Evers College Center of Women's Development, N.Y.C. Black United Front, Patrice Lumumba Coalition, and the Caribbean People's Alliance.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

What the Grenada revolution means to U.S. workers, farmers, and Blacks. Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, staff writer for the *Militant* who recently visited post-invasion Grenada; Bob Clark, vice-president of United Electrical Workers Local 1111; Fitz Jackson, Jamaican citizen recently returned from Caribbean; and Ronald Starks, United Black Community Center. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. Grand Avenue Congregational Church, 2133 W. Wisconsin Avenue. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Press. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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the recent national convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), which was held in Cincinnati.

The reception for *Maurice Bishop Speaks* at the CBTU gathering was attended by 60 people and was addressed by James Webb, who is vice-president of the New York chapter of the CBTU and on the executive board of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 420.

Webb was at the PUSH convention also. "He brought a couple of people by the Pathfinder literature table," said Ntweng.

"Webb spoke highly of the book. Once he brought someone by the table and said, 'Here's the book. It's really good. You ought to get it.'"

In addition to the 20 copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* sold at the Jackson rally, another 10 were sold during the course of the PUSH convention. Ntweng said that the only other items on the literature table that sold as well were books and pamphlets on or about Malcolm X. "It shows that there's a great deal of interest in the Grenada revolution and Maurice Bishop — especially among Blacks," said Ntweng.



Maurice Bishop

Toledo workers discuss auto strike

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

TOLEDO — A wide-ranging debate is taking place here on what to do next to stop AP Parts' union-busting. While there have been no new negotiations, steps are being taken to victimize workers who participated in a May 21 protest.

United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14 in Toledo has applied for a permit for a demonstration to be held Sunday, June 24. The UAW plans to march from the Jeep plant to AP Parts.

The 400 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14 at AP Parts were forced on strike May 2. This came after the company imposed a \$5.84 cut in wages and benefits and brought in professional union-busters in early March. Later scabs were

herded into the plant to replace the strikers. Three thousand supporters of the strikers responded by holding a militant demonstration on May 21. The cops attacked the protesters and arrested 41 workers. A grand jury has been set up to decide if charges should be brought against the workers.

Since then AP Parts has put on a second shift of scabs.

Attorneys acting on behalf of three members of the UAW negotiating committee at AP Parts have asked the city to cut off spending for police protection of the AP scabs, management personnel, and the plant itself. The letter cites excessive use of force and "escort services" by police.

C. E. Riser, city safety director, rebuffed the UAW. He said he was unaware of police brutality and "we're going to protect life and property. And what ever that

takes is what we're going to do."

UAW local meetings across the city have had heated discussions about defense strategy. Should we rely on the courts and lawyers, as many UAW top officials have proposed? This has been answered by several Jeep committeemen and UAW militants who have explained the danger of the grand jury and the need for more mass actions. Many top UAW officials admit that there is tremendous pressure on them to call an action.

Telegrams of support are coming into UAW Local 14, along with commitments for the next protest action.

Jeep UAW member Della López, also a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, attended a Latino Auto Workers council meeting June 6 in Detroit with a Mexican AP striker. They were enthusiastically received, sold many buttons, and got a letter of support for UAW Local 14. The UAW local at the General Motors Hydramatic plant here in Toledo has also collected nearly \$2,000 for AP Parts strikers.

Workers at Jeep are discussing how to defend the 19 workers and others facing jail terms as a result of the May 21 action. Jeep UAW member and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 9th C.D., Elizabeth Lariscy, told the *Militant*, "Everyone wants to go to AP Parts again or to somehow show their solidarity with the strikers."

In a campaign statement that several radio stations aired, Lariscy added that "We call upon the city administration to drop the charges against our arrested sisters and brothers of the UAW. The proposed grand jury will try to railroad these workers to jail, and it will intimidate others from fighting back. We must take to the street in massive numbers to keep Toledo a union town."

After the May 21 mass protest, UAW members have a feel for their potential power.

Mark Friedman works at Jeep and is a member of UAW Local 12.

Sandinistas mobilize troops

Continued from Page 3
and terrorism.

This escalation, on top of the cumulative effects of years of war, has created numerous dislocations in all spheres of Nicaraguan society, especially the economy. In his speech, Ortega described some of the problems this had created for the armed forces:

- Militia and reserve units have been mobilized for much longer periods than the three months originally planned — up to eight months or more in some cases.
- The mobilized militia members and reservists have not been paid on time.
- Peasants mobilized for military service have also not been properly compensated (for example, for a crop that goes unharvested).
- In some cases reservists and militia members have not been automatically rehired at their former place of employment following demobilization, as stipulated by law.
- Pensions to the families of dead or incapacitated solidiers have been inadequate; moreover, they have not been regularly paid.
- Correspondence and visits to the families of young men drafted for military service have been irregular or nonexistent.
- Government ministries have not adequately carried out the task of acquiring and sending provisions to battalions in the fields.

To tackle some of these problems, Ortega announced, a National Commission for Support to the Combatants has been created, headed by Reynaldo Pefel, minister of social security and welfare. This government body will act on behalf of the junta, supervising ministries to make sure they are carrying out guidelines which stipulate that priority should be given to meeting the basic needs of the soldiers and their families.

In addition, the government will immediately begin drafting new pension laws and regulations, especially for disabled soldiers and the immediate families of those killed in battle.

A special program will be carried out to give land to combatants and to the families of dead soldiers. A similar program will be created to give priority to providing lots and building materials to soldiers' families

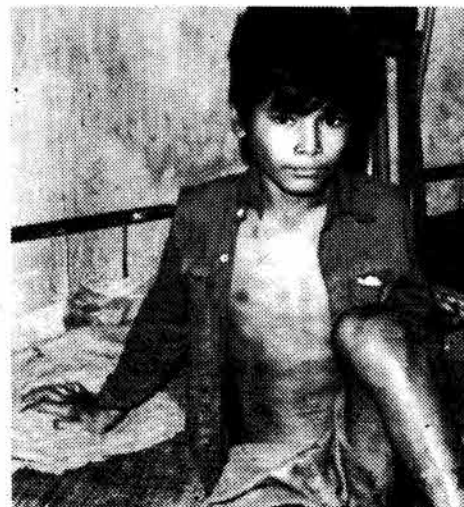
in urban areas who need a home.

The number of militia members and reservists mobilized for active service will increase and the stipulated period of mobilization will increase from three to between four and six months. In addition, the government will set aside additional resources to compensate mobilized peasants and to give financial aid to militia members who need it. (Militia members are paid according to their previous income, creating problems for families of militia members who had been only semiemployed.)

In general the government is trying to make sure that the mobilization of a militia member or the death of a combatant does not throw their family into a situation where they simply have no way to subsist. Government institutions will also be extending other forms of aid, such as helping to arrange and finance funerals for those killed. In addition the government will improve communications and visits between combatants and their families.

Medical care in Kampuchea today: feature in next week's 'Militant'

Keoun, the Kampuchean youth shown here, lost his leg while tending water buffalo when he came across an unexploded bomb in the field. At the one provincial hospital in Kompong Chhnang alone, there are eight patients like Keoun who are vic-



Militant/Diane Wang

tims of old, unexploded bombs and mines.

These are victims of the U.S. war carried out against Kampuchea (formerly called Cambodia) from 1970 to 1975. During that period U.S. airstrikes dropped a half million tons of bombs on this country, even though it is only the size of the state of Missouri.

The next issue of the *Militant* will have a feature article about health care in Kampuchea by Diane Wang, who visited there in March. The article is based on interviews with Kampuchea's Minister of Health Yit Kim Seng; the head of Kampuchea's Red Cross and dean of the medical school Dr. My Samedy; the woman who heads the Institution for Protection of Mothers and Infants, Dr. Ang Saroun; and other physicians throughout the country.

The article describes how Kampuchea is trying to help people like Keoun and battle epidemics of tuberculosis and malaria; how it is training health care workers for a country that had only 50 doctors in 1979; what progress they have made in extending health care throughout Kampuchea.

'New International' features articles on working-class strategy for power

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The latest issue of the magazine *New International* is off the press this week. It concentrates on questions of working-class strategy that are being discussed throughout the world by revolutionists who — as Sandinista leader Tomás Borge puts it — have a "nose for power."

Each of the three articles in this issue deals with aspects of the experience of the communist movement in the struggle of the working class to lead popular revolutions to overthrow the state that defends the exploiters, and to replace it with a state that defends and advances the interests of working people in the cities and in the countryside.

The lead article is by Mary-Alice Waters, national cochairperson of the Socialist Workers Party. It is entitled, "The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship." Waters looks at the lessons of working-class strategy that can be learned from the historic conquests of power by the workers and peasants in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. These lessons are part of a political continuity going back 150 years, to the founding of the modern communist movement, Waters explains.

Central America and Caribbean

An article by Tomás Borge, entitled "The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution," is the text of a speech he gave to a group of members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Managua in May 1983. Borge reviews the role of the FSLN in the revolutionary process leading up to the mass insurrectionary upheaval that smashed the Somoza tyranny and inaugurated the new revolutionary power, the workers and peasants government that Washington is waging war on today.

Borge recounts how, as the Sandinistas deepened their participation in the daily struggles of peasants and workers, they recruited the most determined fighters. He

explains that the FSLN "differed from other groups that made immediate demands their final aims."

"From the beginning," Borge stresses, "we always had a nose for power, and we went on developing that instinct and transmitting it to our cadres even when we recruited them through struggles around immediate demands."

The lessons Borge emphasizes from the Nicaraguan revolution are part of the broader picture traced by Manuel Piñero, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. Piñero's article, "Imperialism and Revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean," focuses on the "road to power" that led the Cuban workers and peasants to victory in 1959, and that was followed 20 years later in Grenada and Nicaragua.

The Piñero article is taken from a presentation to an April 1982 conference held in Havana, which was attended by 31 organizations primarily from Latin America and the Caribbean.

Both the Piñero article and the article by Borge appear for the first time in English in *New International*.

"For Marxist-Leninists," Piñero says, "the central problem of the revolution is the seizure of power. This means encouraging the material and subjective conditions that will make it possible to advance the process, in an uninterrupted manner, toward the socialist stage."

"The first and most important of these conditions is the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and its replacement by a revolutionary state based on the hegemony of the proletariat in close alliance with the other popular classes and sectors. In any genuine revolution there is no substitute for this historic break."

Bridging the gap

The lessons drawn by proletarian revolutionists in Central America and the Caribbean are based on the rich experiences of the revolutionary movements they have led, combined with a study of the lessons drawn from earlier experiences by Marx, Engels, and the Russian Bolshevik leadership. These lessons have extraordinary value for revolutionary fighters on a world scale — not least of all in the richest and most powerful imperialist country, the United States.

The overwhelming majority of those who consider themselves socialists and communists in the United States have long since given up believing that the conquest of state power here by the workers and farmers is both possible and necessary. This may remain a goal on paper, but it has become so distant from what they see as "politics" in the United States today that it no longer has any connection with their political perspective or activity.

For these people, the revolutionary advances in Central America and the Caribbean are events to be observed — perhaps as supporters, perhaps as critics.

But for those who are striving to apply the program of Marxism today in our own countries and as part of building an international movement, the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean contain invaluable lessons to be studied in order to deepen our understanding of the strategic line of march of the working class toward power.

This is the starting point for the article by Mary-Alice Waters. This article is a substantial contribution to the discussion that is now under way in the Socialist Workers Party on the fight for a workers and farmers government in the United States and its connection to a worldwide perspective. Waters' article should be studied in connection with the Education for Socialists Bulletin entitled, "For a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the



July 1979 revolutionary triumph in Nicaragua. Articles in latest *New International*, by Mary-Alice Waters, Tomás Borge, and Manuel Piñero take up experience of working class in leading popular revolutions.

United States." (Available for \$3.25 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.)

Political continuity

Waters shows the political continuity of today's strategic goal of a workers and farmers government with the lessons incorporated into the 1848 Manifesto of the Communist Party, drafted by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

With the Paris Commune of 1871, Waters explains, the workers movement went through its first, though brief, experience with a government of the exploited producers. She then traces the further programmatic development of the communist movement, through the experiences of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917.

Waters explains how the Bolsheviks led the first successful conquest of power by a popular revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and peasants, and in doing so opened a new epoch for humanity.

What was the class nature of this new Soviet government? What was its relationship to the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry," which the Bolsheviks had called for since 1905? These and many other questions are answered as Waters reviews the course followed by the Bolsheviks as they organized the working class to lead the workers and peasants governments established by the October 1917 revolution.

This new Soviet republic, Waters explains, "was an instrument whose purpose was to defend the new power against the onslaught of the old exploiting classes and their international allies, and to begin to carry out a social program in the interest of the great majority."

The article goes on to explain the efforts of the Bolshevik leaders of the Communist International, in its revolutionary internationalist years, to extend onto a world scale the lessons acquired up until that point by the communist vanguard.

It is this worldwide continuity, enriched by the experiences of the advance of the world revolution since the Second World War, that is essential to those who have a "nose for power" here in the United States today.

Waters stresses that without a clear concept of the kind of government we are fighting to bring to power, working-class revolutionists will not be able to build the kind of party needed to lead all the exploited and oppressed in a thoroughgoing people's revolution — a "revolutionary whirlwind," as Lenin referred to it.

"A victorious revolution of the workers and farmers of the United States will be achieved only by smashing the capitalist state that wields the military might of U.S. imperialism and by destroying the economic power of America's sixty families," Waters writes. "That revolution will create the preconditions for the working class and the producers on the land to unleash the vast productive potential of the U.S. economy, placing it at the service of the workers and peasants of the world."

"Our fight for a workers and farmers government serves to educate the vanguard of the U.S. working class in a spirit of hatred for all national chauvinism, narrow-minded arrogance, and craft smugness," she adds.

"The advance toward a world federation of workers and farmers republics is inseparable from the fight to build an international movement of the toilers of the whole world, one that in every country, in its composition, leadership, and daily work — as the 1920 statutes of the Communist International put it — 'breaks once and for all with the traditions of the Second International, which, in reality, only recognized the white race.'"

For everyone who is committed to building a party, and an international movement, with such a perspective, the latest issue of *New International* couldn't be more timely.

Women miners meet June 22-24

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) international Vice-pres. Cecil Roberts will be the keynote speaker at the Sixth National Conference of Women Miners. The gathering will be held in Charleston, West Virginia June 22-24. It is co-sponsored by the Coal Employment Project, an organization founded in 1977 to help women get and keep jobs in the mines, and Coal Mining Women's Support Team, a group made up of women miners.

Last year's conference was an important event for women miners and the entire UMWA. It attracted 113 women miners, 30 male miners, and other observers. UMWA international Pres. Rich Trumka gave the keynote address.

This year's conference occurs as the UMWA is preparing for a major confrontation with the coal operators over the national coal contract, which expires September 30.

Because they were among the last hired, women miners have been especially hard hit by the deep, long-term layoffs that have plagued the coalfields.

At the same time, last December's UMWA convention, and subsequent local union elections, indicate that many women

have become more deeply integrated in the life of the union including taking on more leadership responsibility.

The special problems faced by women miners will be discussed this year in the context of the deepening offensive by the coal operators as the contract confrontation nears. Of key importance, in the face of the employers' challenge to the union, will be how the UMWA can strengthen itself through uncompromising defense of its women members; and the way in which women miners bolster the fighting capacity of the UMWA.

This theme was sounded by UMWA President Trumka in his talk a year ago. Trumka stated that women have "made the coal mines a better place to work. You made the United Mine Workers stronger."

Trumka acknowledged "We still have a long, long way to go" in combatting discrimination in the mines fostered by the operators. How to advance this fight, as part of the preparation for the contract battle, will be a key theme of the June 22-24 conference. More information on the meeting can be obtained from the CEP, P.O. Box 3403, Oak Ridge, Tenn. 37830. Telephone: (615) 482-3428.

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The Workers' and Farmers' Government: A Popular Revolutionary Dictatorship
by Mary-Alice Waters

Imperialism and Revolution in Latin America and the Caribbean
by Manuel Piñero

The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution
by Tomás Borge

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30,000 in London back miners strike

Continued from front page

that their future is secure and not threatened by the plan to close "uneconomic" pits.

The NUM leadership has organized demonstrations and picketing in Nottinghamshire to convince more of these NUM members to join the strike, which is backed by 85 percent of the union's membership nationally. The government responded by sending thousands of police there to harass and arrest pickets and their families, occupy villages, and set up roadblocks to prevent pickets from reaching the pits.

As the march passed through Fleet St., which houses the major capitalist-owned newspapers, a chorus of boos and cries of "Liars!" rang out. The major media here has joined in the government strikebreaking with a vengeance.

Members of the National Union of Railwaymen, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers were among the other unionists on the march.

No secret deals

Tony Gould, secretary of the South East Region of the TUC, chaired the rally.

NUM Vice-pres. Mick McGahey sounded the main theme of the day: the miners will continue the struggle until they win.

Referring to the recent round of secret negotiations between the NCB and the NUM, he pledged that there would be no secret deals. "There will be a principled solution," he said. He concluded with another main point the miners have been making — all working people in Britain have a stake in supporting this strike.

Eric Heffer, chairman of the Labor Party, said that if the miners lose, it will be "the blackest day in the history of the British working class." The Labor Party is 100 percent behind the miners, he said.

One purpose of the demonstration was to influence the House of Commons debate on the strike, which took place that day. At the rally, the Labor Party's energy spokesman, Stan Orme, pledged that labor MPs would call for the scrapping of the NCB's mine-closure plan.

Rail unions

Orme also took a swipe at Thatcher's claim that government has not been involved in the strike and was leaving its res-

olution up to the NCB and NUM.

The previous day the *Daily Mirror* had printed an exposé based on leaked government documents. It showed that the government had headed off a recently threatened strike by the rail workers' union in order to prevent them from giving support to the miners.

Proposals by the government for cut-backs and a measly 4 percent pay increase had made a rail strike seem inevitable. But all of a sudden, one week before the rail unions were set to go out, the Board of British Rail (BR) reversed itself, offering the union a 4.9-5.6 percent pay deal without demanding any concessions from the union.

The text of intragovernment letters printed in the *Daily Mirror* makes clear that the overriding factor in the government's approach to rail negotiations was how to isolate the miners' strike and prevent joint industrial action by rail workers and miners.

A letter went out with one of Thatcher's underlings to the Secretary of State for Transport that urged his approval of a new offer to the rail union explaining, "it seems to me to be critical at this juncture to avoid the risk of militants being strengthened in their attempt to block the movement of coal by rail, and to make wider common cause with the miners."

'Their rightful place'

Among the most well-received speeches at the rally was that given by Betty Heathfield. She is married to the union's general secretary Peter Heathfield.

She is here, said rally chair Gould, like thousands of other women who have "taken their rightful place in this dispute, right at the center of the struggle."

"It's our struggle as well as yours, and in this one we're equal," Heathfield told applauding miners. She said the strike was over a matter of survival for miners and their families, and that the government is out to destroy the NUM and other unions that fight back.

She then reported on one of many instances of undercover-cop attempts to disrupt the strike. One of the strike support groups organized by miners' wives was infiltrated by cops dressed up as pickets, Heathfield said. The cops' purpose was to find out which miners were receiving parcels of food donated to strikers and their families. Anyone who received such a do-



British cops attacked miners and supporters at June 7 London rally. Speakers denounced government's "bullyboy tactics" and urged all-out support for striking miners.

nation gets their already minuscule government benefits cut still further.

Left-wing Labor MP Tony Benn also addressed the rally. He said he admired the miners who had been attacked by the police yet continued to stand up for themselves and their communities. He highlighted the active and visible role of women on the picket lines, on the soup lines, and at the podiums of strike support meetings.

Benn also referred to the warm welcome given South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha by Thatcher when he visited Britain recently.

He was not so well-received by Britain's Black community, which organized a protest action of tens of thousands.

Thatcher intends to use the coal mined by the poorly paid Black miners of South Africa, said Benn, as a weapon to push down the living standards of British miners.

'Every unionist should be at Orgreave'

When NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill rose to speak he got a rousing ovation.

"I would dearly love to have seen, and would dearly love to see every single member of my union who is here or on strike and every single trade unionist down at the Orgreave plant picketing," said Scargill. The Orgreave Coke Depot near Sheffield has been the scene of big battles between police and pickets as miners try to prevent the NCB from transporting coke from Orgreave to the Scunthorpe Works of the British Steel Corp.

"If anyone tells you that other workers should not become involved, they should go to Orgreave and see the police paid £800 (£1 equals \$1.40) a week to keep Orgreave working. The only way you can beat the bully tactics of the police is by having thousands on these picket lines," declared Scargill.

Scargill sharply criticized the steel-union officialdom for encouraging their members to continue production with scab coal. He recalled that the NUM had sent 4,000 pickets to help the steelworkers in their 1981 strike. Scargill also called on workers in power stations to support the strike: "You're using blackleg fuel, stop work now."

The strike has cost the government more than £2,200 million so far, said Scargill. He pointed to what he called a "new phenomenon in industrial relations" — the role of women in this strike. The women in the mining communities are no longer content to give only moral support or serve soup or be used as strikebreakers — they've also been on the picket lines. "One price above all else has to be paid before this dispute ends," said Scargill. "That is the withdrawal of the coal board's pit closure plan."

He also called for ending the divisive incentive-pay plan and for the right to an early retirement for miners.

Anyone who has been on the picket lines, said Scargill, knows that "Britain in 1984 is a police state." He ran down a variety of attacks on the democratic rights of miners and their supporters.

New social system needed

People ask, said Scargill, "why don't you condemn the pickets for violence?" But Thatcher doesn't condemn her "bullyboy police" pointed out Scargill. "I refuse to condemn members of my union

who are fighting for their right to work," he declared.

Scargill concluded by saying that the miners' fight to save their jobs can captivate the "hearts and minds of the British public." And if the miners are united, he said, the NUM will win and roll back years of Thatcherism, paving the way for a new system that puts top priority on people, not weapons of death and destruction.

Labor MP Dennis Skinner demanded that every miner who had been fired during the strike be reinstated, and that every penny that miners have lost during strike should be repaid to them.

The same day as the miners' march and rally, the executive of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), Britain's largest union, urged its members not to cross miners' picket lines and to stop the movement of coal and oil for power stations. The TGWU has members in power stations, oil refineries, and among oil-tanker drivers. The decision was announced after Scargill and NUM Vice-president McGahey addressed a joint meeting of TGWU national, regional, and executive officials.

Leaders of five transport unions, which include rail workers and seamen, also called for a blockage of delivery of oil and other fuels to power stations and action to halt the steel industry.

They accused the police of picket-line violence at the Ravenscraig Steel Works, Orgreave Coke Depot, and at the London demonstration.

In response, railway workers at the Shirebrook Rail Depot voted to stop coal movements from Nottinghamshire.

Mason joined miners

LONDON — Mel Mason, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, was present at the large June 7 miners' support march and rally and the June 9 antiwar action that were held here.

Mason toured Britain from June 4-12. He participated in anti-Reagan protests, and met with scores of striking coal miners, as well as Black and Caribbean activists.

Mason's tour was sponsored by the newsweekly, *Socialist Action*. Next week's *Militant* will report on his entire tour.

'Delighted' with Mason's trip

BY YVONNE HAYES

Funds are urgently needed to defray the costs of the recent trip by Mel Mason, socialist presidential candidate, to Britain and Ireland. The trip was aimed at deepening the ties between working people internationally and strengthening the fight against U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean.

The massive antiwar action in London on June 9, sponsored by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, showed that working people in the U.S. have important allies in the struggle against Washington's wars in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Mason, who participated in that demonstration, is now touring this country to inspire working people with the example set by tens of thousands of British workers and youth marching in solidarity with the freedom fighters in Central America.

One *Militant* reader wrote the campaign saying, "I'm delighted to hear that Mel Mason is going to England and that the campaign can solidary itself with the British antinuclear-antiwar movement. This movement in Britain, in Holland, in West Germany — and probably in many places we don't hear about — is delivering blows against U.S. imperialism. As we learned in the anti-Vietnam War movement, such international pressure reinforces itself and is dynamite when coupled with actions in the United States. I'm sure Mel will have a chance to listen to what workers abroad think of Washington and it

will be important for him to bring this information back and report it out in his campaign."

This letter was accompanied by a contribution earmarked to help pay the costs of the Mason tour. A special fund of \$5,000 has been established for this purpose. Donations, ranging from \$5 to \$100, have come in from supporters across the country who follow the Mason-González campaign in the pages of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

These contributions help to ensure that the socialist campaign will continue to respond to opportunities like the antiwar actions this month in Ireland and Britain. Contributors are being encouraged to send their checks today to "Socialist Presidential Campaign."

☐ I am contributing \$ _____ to help pay for Mel Mason's trip to Ireland and Britain.

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23

New York

Hear Mel Mason Socialist Workers Presidential Candidate

Mason just returned from Britain and Ireland. He walked picket lines with striking British miners and campaigned door-to-door with Irish Sinn Féin leaders. He also participated in massive protests against U.S. war in Central America and placement of nuclear missiles in Europe.

Sunday, June 24

Reception: 6:30pm

Rally: 7:00pm

Socialist Bookstore, 79 Leonard St. N.Y.C. (212) 226-8445
Admission: \$4.00, unemployed \$2.00
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British march hits cruise missiles, Reagan

BY MARGARET JAYKO

LONDON — Tens of thousands of people from all over Britain converged here June 9 for a massive demonstration to protest Pres. Ronald Reagan's presence in England and the stationing of cruise missiles and other U.S. nuclear weapons in Britain. The official slogan of the action was: "Dear President Reagan, please take your missiles home with you when you go."

On the march were several contingents of striking members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

They came from South Wales, Kent, Leicester, and elsewhere. There were also banners from the Barnsley Women Against Pit Closures and Snowden Women's Support Group.

The miners were there to express their opposition to Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's war policies and the placing of cruise missiles in Britain, and to win support for their strike against threatened mine closures and layoffs. And win support they did — a high percentage of the demonstrators were wearing yellow NUM stickers and black-and-white "Coal, not dole" badges. Thousands gave generously to the miners.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which organized the action, estimated the crowd at 200,000.

The overwhelming majority of placards and banners were from chapters of CND and Youth CND. "Refuse Cruise" and "Stop Trident" they read. There were hundreds of local Labor Party and Labor Party Young Socialists (the Labor Party's youth group) banners.

There were also contingents from the Transport and General Workers Union, Britain's largest union; National Union of Railwaymen; National Association of Local Government Officers; Indian Workers Association; National Union of Teachers; London Trades Council; African National Congress; New Jewel Movement; Palestine Solidarity Campaign; Anti-Apartheid Group; and supporters of the Irish freedom struggle.

All the major left groups were present on the march.

Opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America and supporters of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions distributed thousands of pieces of literature and buttons. They had balloons that said, "Reagan out of Central America."

The march went on for hours, and the rally began before many contingents had left the assembly site, which was a couple of miles away. CND also held a nonviolent civil disobedience action, encircling the U.S. embassy here.

Real democracy

At the rally, Nicaragua's ambassador to Britain, Francisco D'Escoto, told the crowd that the stockpiling of nuclear weapons is part of the Reagan administration's policy of intervention. D'Escoto said that the Nicaraguan people are in solidarity with the British peace movement, the British labor movement, and the unemployed of Britain.

The mobilizations against Reagan's visit to Europe, said the ambassador, were a rejection of the U.S. policy in Central America and of the U.S. war against Nicaragua.

One of the three members of the West German Green Party who were elected to parliament also spoke.

Reagan claims, she said, to be defending "free" areas against an evil empire — yet he stations new nuclear weapons in Europe against the will of the majority of people there. Contrary to the claim that these are defensive weapons, she declared, they are really first-strike weapons designed for offensive purposes, and are aimed at the heart of the Warsaw Pact nations (that is, the Soviet Union and other workers states in Eastern Europe).

U.S. war plans, she said, require a massive program of new conventional armaments, in addition to nuclear ones. "We need to reject conventional armaments" as well, she said, if we wish to effectively counter the threat of war. She called for unilateral disarmament and withdrawal from the imperialist military alliance, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization).

She paid tribute to the women of Greenham Common, who have maintained their peace camp for two years at the U.S. military base at Greenham Common despite police, U.S. military, and right-wing harassment and violence.

She reported that the upcoming activities of the West German peace movement include a November 3 day of action in solidarity with Nicaragua. This initiative was greeted with applause from the mostly youthful crowd. Nicaragua, she said, has been forced into a war with the United States. Nicaragua "needs and deserves our support." Throughout Central America, she emphasized, "millions have their backs to the wall" confronted with what she termed "U.S. military madness."

She referred to the recent decision by the Netherlands government to delay deployment of NATO nuclear weapons as a sign of the strength of the anti-missiles movement in Europe.

Monsignor Bruce Kent, CND general secretary, came to the march straight from having addressed a miners' rally of 50,000 in Edinburgh, Scotland.

Kent praised the enormous courage of the miners in their fight for jobs. He linked the fight against nuclear power and the miners strike. "The running down of the mines is part of the plan to increase nuclear plants. What right have we to leave that nuclear filth lying around that will affect generations in the future?" asked Kent.

Joan Ruddock, chair of CND, said she had spoken at Irish CND actions against Reagan's visit to that country. Many Christians were there, she said, who had worked in semicolonial countries and "were horrified by Reagan's policy."

Jobs, not bombs

A representative from Youth CND said that thousands of young people suffer in

the form of unemployment and education cuts as a result of increased spending for nuclear weapons. He condemned "Reagan and Thatcher's warmongering" in Central America.

Our message, he said, to Reagan, Thatcher, Mitterrand (president of France), and Ian Macgregor (the head of Britain's National Coal Board) is "jobs, not bombs."

Rodney Bickerstaffe, general secretary of the National Union of Public Employees, talked about how millions are being spent on nuclear arms while social services are being cut back.

Among the other rally speakers were Eric Heffer, chairman of the union-based Labor Party; Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain; and Rebecca Johnson, from Greenham Common.

Messages were also read at the rally from several U.S. antinuclear groups.

Good sales at N.Y. June 9 antiwar march

BY LEE MARTINDALE

Sales of socialist literature at the June 9 demonstration in New York against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean indicate a lot of interest in learning more about the revolutions in Central America and other struggles by working people.

One hundred fifty copies of the *Militant* and 51 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM) were sold at the march by members of the Socialist Workers Party and supporters. Salespeople report that the demonstrators they talked with were interested not only in the eyewitness coverage of struggles in Central America provided by the *Militant* and PM reporters in Managua, Nicaragua, but in a variety of other issues as well.

People bought the *Militant* to find out more about the coal miners' strike in Britain, activities organized by supporters of the Vietnamese revolution, and the ongoing fight of unionists in Toledo against an attempt to bust the United Auto Workers at AP Parts. Interest was also reported in the big demonstrations in Ireland against the U.S. government's war in Central America during Reagan's visit there.

Over \$150 worth of socialist books and pamphlets were sold. Literature on the Nicaraguan revolution was most popular.

One of the central questions being discussed by antiwar activists is what stance to take toward the presidential elections this year. Some antiwar groups advance the strategy of supporting one of the Democratic candidates, arguing that Reagan must be defeated at all costs.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance in New York and New Jersey mobilized at the June 9 demonstration to get out and discuss their point of view: that it's the whole ruling class and both its parties that are responsible for the war in Central America, not just Reagan the individual. In order to stop the war working people will have to organize independently from the Democrats and Republicans. The YSA is supporting the campaign of Socialist Workers Party candidates Mel Mason and Andrea González.

Wearing blue T-shirts with antiwar slogans, YSA members marched under a banner that read "No U.S. War in Central America and the Caribbean — Mel Mason for President, Andrea González for Vice-president."

One hundred fifty copies of the brand-new July-August issue of the YSA's paper, the *Young Socialist* were sold at the march. A front-page article in this issue explains how both the Democrats and the Republicans try to convince working people that by voting every four years for one of them, workers have a say in what happens in this country. Meanwhile, both parties pursue policies that benefit the profits of big corporations, not workers, Blacks, Latinos, or women.

The July-August *Young Socialist* also covers the defense of undocumented workers against deportation and repression by the government; the fight to mobilize people against the war in Central America; and the campaign to publicize the achievements of the Grenada revolution by selling

the Pathfinder Press book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

Seven copies of this book were sold by the YSA at the march and rally. Greg Jackson, a leader of the New York YSA, reported that he showed a copy of the Bishop book to a demonstrator who had heard that Maurice Bishop was just like any other politician. Jackson explained, using examples from Bishop's speeches, how Bishop and the Grenadian government were different because they were based on a revolution that turned political power over to the workers and farmers. He explained that the YSA is in favor of doing that here.

The demonstrator bought a copy of the *Young Socialist* and signed an interest card to get more information on the YSA and the socialist campaign.

Twenty-five people signed interest cards at the demonstration.

The June 9-10 weekend wrapped up the spring sales drive for the *Militant* and PM. The accompanying scoreboard shows the final sales totals by area. In a future issue of the *Militant*, we will assess the results of the eight-week sales effort.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes
Young Socialist Alliance table attracted many marchers at June 9 antiwar action.

FINAL SCOREBOARD

Area	Eight-week Goal Militant/PM	Sold So Far Militant/PM	Total Goal/Sold	%
Toledo	800/40	1,545/41	840/1,586	189
Greensboro, N.C.	360/0	406/1	360/407	113
Cleveland	675/70	759/66	745/825	111
Seaside, Calif.	320/200	331/239	520/570	110
Milwaukee	800/160	928/116	960/1,044	109
Houston	555/195	582/215	750/797	106
Washington, D.C.	515/105	547/106	620/653	105
San Diego	375/125	367/160	500/527	105
Chicago	900/300	1,084/180	1,200/1,264	105
Seattle	760/40	786/44	800/830	104
Price, Utah	336/24	348/25	360/373	104
Louisville	450/0	463/0	450/463	103
Detroit	1,040/40	1,078/35	1,080/1,113	103
Newport News, Va.	400/0	408/0	400/408	102
Virginia, Minn.	500/0	512/0	500/512	102
Dallas	400/200	345/268	600/613	102
Minneapolis/St. Paul	1,120/80	1,131/80	1,200/1,211	101
Philadelphia	640/160	680/124	800/804	101
Oakland	570/170	585/165	740/750	101
Los Angeles	840/880	932/797	1,720/1,729	101
Albany, N.Y.	704/56	710/61	760/771	101
Birmingham	600/0	606/0	600/606	101
Atlanta	760/40	769/40	800/809	101
San Francisco	755/325	815/268	1,080/1,083	100
Miami	720/80	637/163	800/800	100
Salt Lake City	400/40	352/69	440/421	96
Morgantown, W. Va.	440/0	422/0	440/422	96
Baltimore	800/20	780/7	820/787	96
Denver	515/85	488/83	600/571	95
Phoenix	600/320	637/227	920/864	94
Portland	320/160	260/148	480/408	85
St. Louis	533/0	437/0	533/437	82
San Jose	480/80	342/118	560/460	82
New Orleans	720/80	572/49	800/621	78
Kansas City	650/25	471/9	675/480	71
Cincinnati	600/0	417/0	600/417	70
Pittsburgh	850/0	559/0	850/559	66
Indianapolis	760/0	476/0	760/476	63
Newark	1,250/250	691/239	1,500/930	62
Boston	640/160	377/32	800/409	51
New York City	1,600/550	755/290	2,150/1,045	49
Charleston, W. Va.	450/0	181/0	450/181	40
Miscellaneous		503/45	548	
Total sold		26,074/4,510	30,584	

El Salvador's Guazapa: 'a dart in the heart of the enemy'

How peasants are organized in rebel-held territory

The following article is from *Guazapa*, one of the newspapers of the revolutionary liberation forces in El Salvador. The *Militant* has taken it from the version printed in the April 22, 1984 English-language weekly edition of the Cuban newspaper *Granma*. It also appeared in the Spanish-language *Granma*.

BY EILEEN HALEY

Eighteen miles away from San Salvador there is a tiny area (14 square miles), controlled by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). They do not go so far as to call it a liberated zone; but, on the other hand, they consider the term "battle front" imprecise, because the power exercised by the revolutionary forces in the area is not only military, but political as well. "Zona de control" (control zone) is the phrase employed; and although the FMLN has other "zonas de control" in El Salvador, none other is so close to the capital as this one.

Guazapa. The dart in the enemy's heart, they call it.

Seen from a distance, Guazapa is a mountain shaped like a reclining woman; an indigenous maja, someone described it as. Lake Suchitlán is to the east; to the west, the Northern Trunk Road running up to Chalatenango. On one of its peaks, right in the heart of the FMLN territory, is the army post of El Roblar.

Soldiers and supplies are brought in and out of it by helicopter.

Surrounding it are the caves and cliffs, the woods and fields, hamlets and streams, and above all, the guerrillas and insurgent population of Guazapa.

Since 1981, there have been no government men on Guazapa. No mayors, no policemen, no tax-collectors, magistrates.

All through the 1970s, Guazapa was a region of agitation and isolated guerrilla activity. In August 1980, Fabián Ventura, who was something like the feudal lord of the area — he regarded the local women and the peasants' belongings as his for the taking — was killed by the guerrillas after he had had 15 of the local peasants and their priest massacred. The government officials — who worked for Ventura's interests and under his patronage — fled the area. The popularity of the guerrilla forces swelled enormously.

In January 1981, the recently-formed FMLN launched a big military offensive in El Salvador. It did not have the effect the FMLN had initially hoped for, but it did result in the establishment of five control zones: one in Chalatenango, others in San Vicente and Cuscatlán, another in the northeastern region of the country (Morazán and La Unión) and the fifth in the south-east (San Miguel and Usulután). The core of the Cuscatlán zone was, and still is, Guazapa.

People's committees

When the zone was first formed, both FMLN forces and civilian population were under the same authorities: the political-military High Command of the FMLN forces. With time, however, this power was bifurcated to a certain extent, and now the civilian population has its own organizational and juridical structures.

Every three families make up a people's committee which deals with problems, organizes production and even administers justice. (Jails have been abolished on Guazapa. Revolutionary justice tries to reform wrongdoers through work.) The head of the people's committee is a member of one of the three families composing it, chosen for his (or sometimes her) capacity and dedication.

Production teams consisting of guerrillas and civilians (often enough the guerrilla's

own family, anyway) work together to produce food, part of which is ear-tagged for the "People's Army" (as they have begun to refer to the guerrilla forces) and the rest for the civilian population. The staples of the diet are beans and maize, which is eaten mainly in the form of maize-cakes called tortillas.

Sugarcane, yucca and vegetables are also grown; and coffee — the main cash crop of the highland areas in the time of Fabián Ventura — still produces its berries and is harvested. The milk that is produced on Guazapa goes to the privileged members of its community: war-wounded and children.

People's militias

Defense is in the hands not only of the FMLN forces but also of people's militias. The militias in particular are responsible for the vast and imaginative array of homemade weapons employed against the most sophisticated war technology ever known: spears, arrows, bombs contained in homemade clay pots, explosives extracted from Guazapa plants.

When the government officials left the region, the schoolteachers and the health services — such as they were — went too. The FMLN and the popular organizations have replaced them as best they can. Seventeen primary schools are now in operation. People's clinics and two hospitals (one military and the other civilian) have been set up with the most rudimentary equipment and scarce resources, but using to the utmost local folk knowledge of herbal medicine.

There are workshops that perform tasks for the FMLN forces: boot-making, tailoring, repair of guns and radios. Alcohol is also produced (from sugarcane); its use is strictly limited: the entire production goes to the hospitals and clinics. Another sugarcane product, panela (a brown sugar loaf used for sweetening) is also made on Guazapa; its distribution is in the hands of the Women's Association, as is the distribution of such articles as soap, for example, or cigarettes, that have to be "imported" from beyond the frontiers of this tiny state within a state.

In the first two and a half years of its existence, there were 13 government attacks against the control zone of Guazapa.

Air bombings, artillery, white phosphorus and as yet unidentified toxic gases that cause nausea, vomiting and skin allergies. Systematic burning of fields, destruction of crop and houses, people and livestock. Scorched Earth, as in Vietnam.

The civilians stay

Genocide. Ecocide. Call it what you will. The government is trying to pluck this troublesome little thorn of Guazapa out of its flesh. This year there were so many attacks that it has been practically one continuous assault.

All in vain. The people have enlarged the natural underground caves of Guazapa; they have built trenches and the bombing refuges they call "tatús." But mostly, when the army comes, the people go. They bury their stores of maize and beans while the guerrillas are holding off the army attack, and then they flee. They hide in caves, in ravines; they pass along secret trails to other hamlets, carrying their old, their young, their sick. They know what fate awaits them if they are discovered or if they do not get away in time: they will be massacred. (The women will all be raped first.)

The army has sent its crack American-trained troops into Guazapa. But, although they can penetrate it, they cannot remain there permanently; casualties inflicted by the guerrillas would be too great. So the soldiers merely take their bellyful of destruction and depart. When they go, the people come back and build everything, plant everything, again.

Why do they stay? Why don't they head for the relative safety of San Salvador, or join the hundreds of thousands of refugees scattered throughout neighboring countries?

"They are convinced that things cannot go on as they were before. They are convinced that there must be a radical change."

Revolutionary consciousness

Certainly the people have a growing revolutionary consciousness — one which the FMLN encourages and nurtures through study groups, newspapers, and programs broadcast on Radio Guazapa, which operates (intermittently, with many interruptions due to government attacks) from

somewhere deep within the zone.

"The people stay because in Guazapa they are guaranteed food, work and respect. Above all, respect."

The children of Guazapa, who both play at war and take part in it for real, as guides, messengers, spies and militia fighters. Who know many secrets, who have noms de guerre as well as their real names, who insist on taking part in the action, even when their parents forbid it. Who have witnessed tragedies. Who have been orphaned, wounded, burned by phosphorus bombs, raped and killed.

Eulogio, the 70-year-old peasant who is in charge of the still that produces alcohol for the hospitals, who guards it like a treasure, hides it himself in times of combat, refuses to teach anyone else his skills for fear that clandestine stills will spring up in Guazapa.

The grandmothers of Guazapa, who constitute the strongest link in the chain of tenacity passed on from generation to generation, who take on the extra tasks of child care and housework that allow grandchildren to stay firm till the end.

Old Chemita, who knows the habits of the Cipitío and other gnomes that populate the gorges and woods of Guazapa, who knows the uses of its fruits and trees (to make soap, to cure the dengue), who always carries a shanghai with him to use in ambushes, and who can travel to the dark side of the moon, where the dead live.

What would await them in San Salvador? Unemployment, delinquency, prostitution — all of which the FMLN claims to have eliminated in Guazapa. And in the refugee camps: statelessness, uncertainty, harassment, separation from family, friends, familiar places. Some have gone but many have preferred to stay, close to their loved ones in the guerrilla forces and sharing in their lot with the revolution. The FMLN, it seems, can offer them a more secure food supply, more solid emotional support and greater dignity, than they could encounter in any part of this war-ravaged region.

Guerrillas need the people

The FMLN has, indeed, every reason to treat the civilian population of its control zones with the greatest of care and affection, for — apart from its claim to be th



Peasants of Guazapa remain in region despite repeated attack by U.S.-trained forces because "they are convinced there must be a radical change. In Guazapa they are guaranteed food, work, and respect."

Guazapa



Guazapa

liberation fighter of Guazapa. "Since 1981 there have been no government men on Guazapa. No mayors, no policemen, no magistrates."

people's authentic political representatives — it could not get along without them. "It is a serious question, for if the people go, the guerrilla war is over."

"The guerrilla army has often sacrificed mobility to protect the civilian population," writes Pedro Guerra, one of the Guazapa commanders. "Poor military analysts of other countries, who think: what are these Guazapa guerrillas doing, killing even the dogs and the chickens with them? It's true: the people hide even their cows, and the guerrilla army retreats with the whole family and pulling the mules when genocide operations are on. This is the reality of Guazapa, beautiful and poignant, heroic and tragic; the enemy army has often detected us by the babies' crying."

But this is a risk they assume willingly. "We have understood that without the people we are nothing. They are our hearts and our womb."

Stories from Guazapa

"What do you eat in Guazapa?"

"One day, beans and tortillas."

"And the next day?"

"Beans and tortillas."

"And the next?"

"Beans and tortillas."

"And the next?"

"Someone goes hunting and captures an armadillo. So we have armadillo meat, beans and tortillas."

"And the next day?"

"Beans and tortillas."

"And the next?"

"Someone goes fishing ... someone goes hunting ... someone goes shooting and bags a bird ..."

Hunting and gathering provide important elements in the Guazapa diet. All El Salvador is particularly rich in bird life; it has to do with its location in the Central American isthmus, which creates a "tunnel" effect for birds migrating north and south. It has a rich and varied animal life as well, as part of the slender land-ridge that unites North and South America and shares both continents' fauna. Fruit from the trees; animals, birds, iguanas and their eggs from the woods; fish and snails from the streams: the people of Guazapa use such resources to enrich the nutritional value, variety, and flavor of their diet.

And the importance of the wilderness does not stop here. The forests, for example, provide wood for houses, carts and furniture; wild plants are used to cure a wide variety of ailments in folk medicine practices based on intimate knowledge of, and love for, the natural resources of the region. In short, the wilderness of Guazapa is an integral part of its people's life.

Now the government attacks — particularly white phosphorus bombs, which burn

and therefore have a defoliant action — are destroying the natural vegetation of Guazapa. Bald hilltops have appeared. The effect of such defoliation is predictable: apart from the loss of vegetation, it means that fauna loses its habitat, erosion starts, and the water table drops.

Once again, this damage is not accidental: like the massacres and the destruction of

crops and houses, it is part of the attempt to drain the "water" from around the "fish," to deprive the guerrillas and their support population of their refuge and the source of an important part of their food and medicine.

The FMLN and the popular organizations take what measures they can to counteract this ecocide. Tree felling in the zone

Nicaraguans crack down on price gougers

Continued from Page 3

hundreds, and in some cases thousands, of merchants gathered together in one location represent an economic and social force that up until now has been able to thumb its nose at government price-control efforts.

The small corner grocery stores, on the other hand, are located in the actual neighborhoods they serve. They are thus more subject to pressure and control by residents and the mass organizations.

Not all neighborhood merchants will be allowed to participate, a Sandinista official told the international press. Residents of a neighborhood or town will be asked to provide the names of the most honest shopkeepers. From such lists, one store will be chosen to serve each 1,000 people. Some of the others will eventually have to go out of business.

"We're not trying to destroy private property or small business," Internal Commerce Minister Marengo told the Council of State. "We had to choose between two evils ..."

"What we're trying to do is to create mechanisms that will permit the state to work together with small businessmen to solve a difficult and complex problem."

Creation of a network of "secure channels," he said, will help "absorb the impact of the price increases." The new prices are higher. But they are far less than what is actually being charged by private merchants in the central markets.

Why subsidies had to be cut

The cut in food subsidies will roughly double the price of the affected items. The increase, Marengo estimated, would cost the average family of six between 200 and 300 córdobas a month — a substantial sum in relation to the urban minimum wage of 1,700 córdobas a month.

"This was a very difficult decision," he said, "one that was thought over and weighed for a long time. But it was the only solution ..."

"Our production base has been undermined by the military aggression ... Our situation is not normal ... We are a small

country under attack by one of the biggest and most powerful countries, one that has not yet used all the resources at its disposal to try to destroy us."

In these circumstances, he said, to promise to continue full subsidies would be "an act of demagoguery." It could only be done "by printing more money," which would just "decontrol" more the situation of inflation (40 percent last year).

The country has to begin to correct the imbalance between the excessive amount of currency in circulation and the insufficient amount of goods available to buy with it.

Otherwise, he pointed out, economic incentives to food producers won't bring about the desired increase in production. "What the peasant wants is rubber boots, machetes, and sharpening stones" — not just more córdobas.

Special steps are being taken to protect Managua's urban proletariat — which Marengo estimated to number 20,000 — and industrial workers in other cities from the price increases.

Factory commissaries will continue to sell all eight basic items — with no cut in subsidy — for the rest of the year. This is intended to allow time to work out and implement a wage increase for production workers.

Commissaries for nonproduction workers (mostly government and service employees) will no longer sell basic food items. Efforts will be made instead to stock them with manufactured goods — such as shoes and pants — at reasonable prices.

Costly error

Marengo acknowledged that unrealistic government policies had in some cases exacerbated the overall problem of shortages. He cited cooking oil as an example.

By putting cooking oil on the "guarantee card" and promising each person in Nicaragua one liter per month, "we doubled the demand overnight. But we don't produce that much cooking oil ... So we have to import 50 percent of the oil now being consumed. That's absolutely irrational."

"It reflected good intentions on the part of the revolution. But we can't transform

has been regulated; closed seasons have been established, with the result that — so the FMLN claims — the populations of at least two threatened species of the area — the white-tailed deer and the garrobo, a rare type of iguana — are actually on the increase. A campaign has been started to encourage people to eat more fish — abundant in nearby Lake Suchitlán — partly to improve the diet, and partly to take pressure off other wild species and domestic livestock. But these are small measures, compared with the damage inflicted; the threat of ecological destruction will last as long as the war goes on.

There is history in Guazapa. A stony hillside where, according to local tradition, an Indian chieftain called Azacualpa fought the invading Spaniards.

Pedro de Alvarado, conquistador of the Central American region, was repulsed the first time he tried to conquer what is now El Salvador. He wrote back to Hernán Cortés making special mention of the resistance he encountered in Cuscatlán:

"No matter how many expeditions into the mountains I made, or how many messengers I sent, I could not draw them out: for the denseness of the woods and the difficulties of the sierras and ravines and other great strengths they had."

Enough said.

this society by desires or decrees. What has to be transformed is its capacity to produce. ..."

In the question period that followed Marengo's presentation, a delegate from the right-wing Social Christian Party (PSC) raised one of the favorite themes of counterrevolutionary propaganda: "Isn't the real reason why we have shortages because we're shipping these things to Cuba?"

"If there is one thing that has to be recognized," Marengo said in reply, "it is that the Cuban people have taken food from their meager supply and sent it to us." When Nicaragua ran low on sugar last December, "Cuba sent us what we needed out of what they had set aside for domestic consumption."

(Marengo had explained earlier that given the popularity of sugar used in fruit drinks and sweets, it had been a "political," not nutritional, decision to continue the full subsidy on it.)

"But don't we have less now than we did under Somoza?" the PSC delegate continued.

"Who has less?" Marengo shot back. "Before the revolution 50,000 families had everything they could want, while an immense number of people had nothing."

"When you take the little we have and divide it more or less equitably among the gigantic number who had nothing, obviously it is going to have an impact on what's available for the rich."

A foretaste of the problems to come in applying the law was the fact that the subsequent discussion and vote was boycotted by all right-wing delegates. The Communist Party (PCN) and the small union federation it controls joined the boycott. The PCN opposes any cut in food subsidies.

Application of the new measures will begin in July. This allows a month for them to be publicized throughout the country, and to begin to organize the campaign to implement them.

It's one thing to declare war on price-gouging, Marengo stressed. "Actually carrying it out requires a mobilization of the population. Otherwise it will just remain a slogan."

Leaders interviewed by socialist team

RAPID CITY, S.D. — During the recent petitioning drive to place Mel Mason and Andrea González on the ballot in South Dakota, one team of socialist campaign supporters campaigned among the large Indian population of the Black Hills region in the western part of the state. Mason and González are the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-presi-

'Control of our own land'

To learn more about the struggle of the 60,000 Lakota (Sioux) Indians in the state, the socialist campaign team met with Melvin Lee of the Dakota American Indian Movement (AIM) on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

"The main issue here is control of our own land," Lee told the campaign team. A central goal of AIM, he explained, is forcing the U.S. government to honor its promise in the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty to respect "forever" the Lakota Nation's sovereignty over the Black Hills. Instead, by hook and crook, the government has taken back some 98 percent of the treaty lands for itself, big ranchers, and mining companies.

Now the Waste Management Co. is proposing a nuclear-waste dump in the area, and the union-busting Phelps Dodge Corp. wants to strip-mine for zeolites on the reservation. The mining would cause dangerous levels of airborne carcinogens.

The struggle against these environmental dangers is the current round in the long fight over control of the Black Hills, says AIM. "The government wants to settle it by 'buying' the region from us Indians," Lee explained. "They take as much as they are offering us out of here every year in gold and other minerals. The Black Hills are not for sale."

Lee pointed out that some white ranchers are joining with AIM and other groups to oppose government mismanagement of the Black Hills. Ranchers are especially angry with the U.S. Air Force, which interferes with cattle grazing by low fly-overs, and plans to lengthen runways at nearby Ellsworth Air Force Base to accommodate the proposed B-1 bomber.

Lee told the team that the government has always worked to undermine Indian self-determination. The federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), created in 1934 with the avowed purpose of aiding Indians in self-government, "was never intended to work," Lee charged.

"They took away our traditional government and gave us a tribal government that they control. Together, they have made Indians *more* dependent on the federal government." Pine Ridge today has an 80 percent unemployment rate, and most residents depend on some form of federal assistance.

It was dissatisfaction with BIA policies in 1973 that led AIM supporters, including Lee, to occupy the reservation town of Wounded Knee, where some 300 Indians had been massacred in 1890. During the government siege that followed the 1973 occupation, FBI and other federal cops murdered three AIM activists.

Wounded Knee altered the government's approach to dealing with Indian demands, Lee pointed out. "The BIA got scared. They started making generous promises and pouring money into the reservation for social programs and new housing."

But these efforts were designed and administered so as to make Indians even more dependent on the BIA. "And under Reagan," Lee said, "all the programs are gone." Pine Ridge Reservation still has only one hospital for its 15,000 inhabitants.

Yellow Thunder Camp

Dakota AIM's efforts to publicize the issue of Indian rights has continued since Wounded Knee. In 1981, for example, AIM established the Yellow Thunder Camp on U.S. Forest Service land south of Rapid City to serve as a symbolic foothold in the Black Hills.

The socialist campaign team visited the Yellow Thunder Camp to speak with AIM supporters. The AIM activists were proud that the camp had withstood three years of violent harassment by the FBI and right-wing vigilantes.

There is an ongoing court battle over the camp's right to exist. "Even if we lose in court," one woman vowed, "they'll never be able to take this land from us. Hundreds of people will come to defend it."

AIM has recently mounted a direct challenge to the BIA-influenced tribal government on the Pine Ridge Reservation. AIM leader Russell Means ran in the last elec-



Wakinyan Zi Tiospaye
Ceremony at Yellow Thunder encampment in Black Hills of South Dakota. Mason-González campaigners talked with American Indian Movement supporters here to learn about struggle of Lakota Nation against government and corporations.

tion for tribal chair. He was ruled off the ballot for being a "convicted felon" based on a contempt-of-court conviction growing out of the frame-up trials that followed the Wounded Knee occupation.

Today AIM is collaborating with a broadly representative group of tribal elders and traditional chiefs in efforts to revive a "traditional" government independent of the BIA. The coalition plans to run candidates in the next tribal elections on a platform calling for self-determination and dismantlement of the current system of tribal government.

Dedication to the cause of Indian rights has also led AIM to sympathize with revolutionary movements in other countries. AIM delegations have visited Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua, and its newspapers have carried numerous articles on the revolutionary struggles in these and other countries.

The government and media continue to target AIM for its militant stand on Indian rights. An independent radio station, KILI, went on the air in 1983 as South Dakota's first Indian station. Soon after that, the Denver *Rocky Mountain News* charged that the station was being "run by a group the government has denounced as terrorists —

'I'll sign anything that's prounion'

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill. — "I'll sign anything that's prounion." The auto worker who said that works at the Ford plant in Hazelwood, Missouri, but lives on the "east side," the Illinois part of Greater St. Louis.

He was one of over 3,000 people in southern Illinois who signed petitions to put Mel Mason and Andrea González,

the American Indian Movement."

Socialist campaigners visited the KILI studios on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

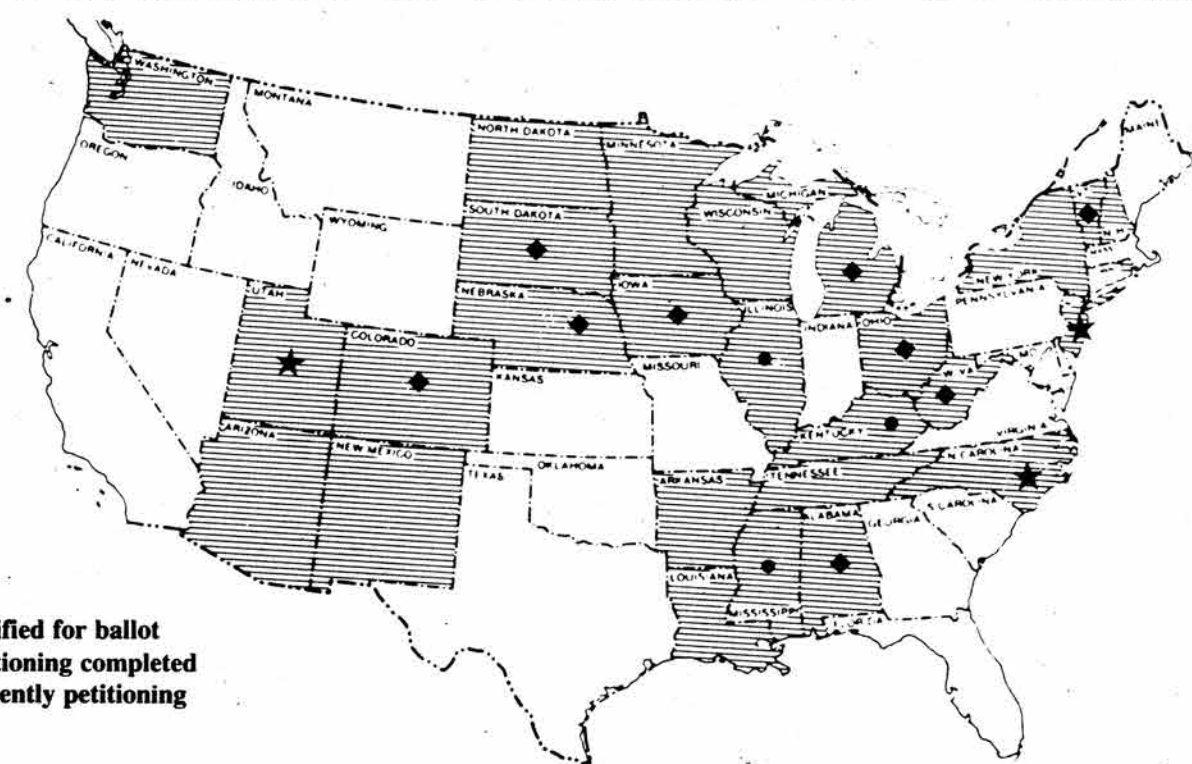
Station engineer and announcer Bill Quijas told the campaign team that Indians view the station as an important acquisition. "Now we talk on the air about things that people used to talk about only in small groups," he said. Quijas cited such issues as the U.S. war in Central America, strip mining, and forced sterilization of women on the reservation.

The government is reluctant to fund KILI's public service programming. "They spend billions to pit Indian against Indian in El Salvador," Quijas said, "but they can't find the money to keep this station going."

When asked how Wounded Knee has changed things on the reservation, Lee, Quijas, and the others the team spoke to here agreed that Indians had become more aware of their collective strength.

"Yes, it scared the BIA," Quijas observed. "It used to be they said 'jump' and you said 'how high?' They wouldn't even let the kids wear their hair in traditional braids. Today they have to deal with us as people who know our strength."

Put Mason & González on '84 ballot!



Supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidates are reaching hundreds of thousands of working people with the socialist campaign while petitioning to put presidential and vice-presidential candidates Mel Mason and Andrea González on the ballot in 27 states (shaded) and Washington, D.C. To help, contact the campaign headquarters nearest you (see socialist directory, page 13).

Socialist Workers candidates for president and vice-president, on the ballot.

East St. Louis is one of the poorest cities in the United States. It is predominantly Black. Yet it is surrounded by immense industrial wealth: basic steel mills, chemical plants, copper processing plants, as well as rich farm land. The Illinois coal fields are also nearby.

Granite City, Illinois, is a steel town. There, many welcomed the opportunity to help put a socialist steelworker, Nelson González, on the ballot for U.S. Senate from Illinois.

The mill there has begun to recall some workers but many others remain on layoff.

One petitioner met a middle-aged steelworker who pressed him for the socialist answer to the crisis facing the steel industry. Despite 14 years' seniority he has been laid off for 2 years.

He listened attentively to the socialists' proposal to nationalize the steel industry so steel can be produced to meet social needs. "O.K., I'll sign that," he said, "but only because I'm a steelworker."

Socialist coal miners in southern Illinois also petitioned on the job.

Working people in East St. Louis, seeing the conditions of their city, liked the SWP's idea of using Washington's war budget to rebuild their communities.

"Let me sign that," said a veteran as soon as he heard a few points of the socialist campaign's program being explained to a bystander. The veteran was angry that after nine years of active duty and now out of a job, he was not entitled to extended unemployment benefits.

One young woman agreed with the socialists' antiwar views. She bought a *Militant* when she found out the socialist campaign newspaper has a bureau in Nicaragua.

Throughout the drive over 50 copies of the *Militant* were sold.

Salinas Valley farm workers hear socialist Andrea González

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

SALINAS, Calif. — Lettuce, broccoli, and cauliflower grow in abundance in field after field of rich farmland here in the Salinas Valley. The Socialist Workers Party campaign of Andrea González for U.S. vice-president came to Salinas recently to talk to the farm workers who produce this food.

About two hours south of San Francisco and over the coastal hills from the Monterey Peninsula, Salinas is at the center of one of the richest agricultural areas in California. Before World War II, much of this land was owned by Japanese-American truck farmers. Their land was confiscated without compensation when Japanese-Americans were interned in concentration camps during the war.

Today the land is primarily owned by big growers and is worked by thousands of farm workers. Conditions for these farm workers are harsh and the work hard, although significant improvements have been wrested from the growers over the last two decades through the organizing efforts of the United Farm Workers union (UFW). The UFW maintains a strong presence in the valley today.

Supporters of the socialist presidential campaign who live and work in the Salinas Valley organized a rally for González at a local library. Especially notable at this meeting was the attendance of farm workers from the area, including four members of one family, originally from Mexico. All were young.

Speaking in Spanish, González told the rally participants that her election campaign, and that of her running mate, Mel Mason, is first and foremost a workers' campaign.

González is an active unionist, having worked in the steel, transit and aerospace industries. Her campaign seeks to give voice to the struggles and needs of all working people and the oppressed — industrial workers, farm workers, the unemployed, and family farmers. She spoke of the fight of the Arizona copper workers on strike against Phelps Dodge, and told of her experiences meeting with farm workers in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas and with striking auto and oil workers in Toledo, Ohio.

"Working people need our own party," she explained, "for neither Reagan nor his Democratic opponents speak for our interests. Such a party would fight for a government run by working people and small farmers rather than the tiny minority of corporate billionaires who now call the shots."

"We need our own foreign policy, a workers' internationalist policy of solidarity with our sisters and brothers abroad," she continued. Referring to one of Reagan's tirades on the "evils of communism" in Central America, she said, "I read that speech very carefully, and I found there wasn't one word of truth in it." She went point by point through the speech, exposing all the lies Reagan used to justify U.S. intervention in the region.

González particularly defended the Nicaraguan revolution: "Why does Reagan hate this revolution? Why so many lies about what is going on there? Because the Nicaraguans have taken their government into their own hands, into the hands of the workers and peasants. For the capitalists in

Washington, that is the greatest crime of all. That is why they have launched a dirty war of terror against the Nicaraguan people."

One *campesino* expressed agreement with González's views on Central America and Reagan, but had some questions about Cuba's role in the area. "A lot of people say Cuba is a Russian puppet. Is that true?" he wanted to know.

A discussion took place among the meeting participants about the Cuban revolution. "Cuba is no one's puppet," Andrea González said. "Cuba's starting point is not the needs of any one country, not even the needs of Cuba itself. Cuba's policies are based on advancing the needs of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed and exploited people of the world against the poverty and misery imposed upon them by years of imperialist domination."

After some back and forth discussion, the farm worker who began the discussion explained that he, too, supported the Cuban revolution and that he feels proud when Fidel Castro stands up against Reagan. He thought he would now be better able to answer the charges against Cuba so often made in the daily papers and on television.

In addition to working in the fields, many workers in the Salinas area are em-

ployed in food processing plants. González and her campaign supporters went to meet workers at one of the largest of these plants, Mann Packing, during lunch break. Many workers shook González's hand and some stopped to talk about her campaign. A TV crew from the Salinas-based CBS affiliate filmed the event and interviewed González for that night's six o'clock news.

The socialist vice-presidential candidate also talked with workers at a neighboring plant that manufactures airport cargo vehicles. A number of active campaigners for Mason and González work at this plant and a lively discussion was held with some of the mainly Mexican-American and Latino work force.

Earlier in the week González attended a city council meeting in nearby Seaside, California, and was greeted by the Black mayor and other Black city officials. Her running mate, Mel Mason, was for many years a leader of the Seaside Black community. He was elected as a socialist to the city council and served as a member of that body until his resignation early this year when he began actively campaigning for president.

The Socialist Workers Party is an active and visible force in Seaside. Ken Collins, a young Black assembler is running as the



Militant/Jeff Powers
Socialist vice-presidential candidate Andrea González discussed Cuban revolution with farm workers at rally.

Socialist Workers candidate for Mason's vacant city council seat. Collins is widely known in Seaside as a leader of the 1982 hotel employees strike, and because of his successful defense case against a fake company-cop-inspired arson charge. Collins spoke along with González at the Salinas meeting and accompanied her during her tour of Seaside.

SWP candidate raps immigration raids

OAKLAND, Calif. — Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, blasted U.S. immigration policies during a recent week-long speaking tour in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Puerto Rican activist and leader of the Young Socialist Alliance took particular aim at the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Increased anti-immigrant activity by the INS has been big news here since last April's U.S. Supreme Court decision authorizing more factory raids against undocumented workers. The director of the newly opened INS office in San Jose was widely quoted as stating that one in four workers in nearby "Silicon Valley" electronics plants are so-called "illegal aliens" — that is, they have no documents. Since the Supreme Court decision, the San Jose INS has been conducting two or more factory raids a week.

"These raids must be stopped immediately," González demanded whenever she spoke throughout the Bay Area. "All INS deportations should be ended. Immigrants should have full rights in this country. The borders should be open to anyone who wants to come here."

The immigration service attempts to cover up the reality of factory raids by using nice words like "factory survey" and "interview," the socialist vice-presidential candidate explained. "But these aren't 'surveys.' They're naked, armed actions by the U.S. government against workers in this country. The INS surrounds a factory, blocks the exits, and barges in, often with guns drawn."

INS raids and deportations, González continued, are not directed solely against workers without papers, but at all workers

in the United States. "The INS stops people who are 'foreign looking.' What do they mean by that? Chicanos, Latinos, Chinese-Americans, Haitians — that is, anybody who isn't white. Even if you're white you can be 'foreign looking.' Workers who leaflet for their union or for a protest of Reagan's war in Central America can suddenly become very 'foreign looking' as far as the INS and the cops are concerned."

"By taking away the rights of some workers, those with no papers, it's easier to take away the rights of all of us," the socialist candidate explained. "When some workers are paid starvation wages but can't complain because they are frightened of being deported, that lowers the wage levels for all workers. When strikes are broken by the INS deporting strikers, that weakens the entire labor movement."

González brought this message and the rest of the socialist program to receptive audiences throughout the Bay Area. Rallies featuring González as well as SWP candidates for Congress and local office were held in San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose. She met with specially organized meetings of aerospace workers in San Jose, garment workers in San Francisco, and electronics workers in Oakland.

González's remarks on the INS were especially well received at a Spanish-language meeting held in the SWP campaign headquarters in San Francisco's Mission District, a predominantly Latino section of the city. González shared the platform with Marilee Taylor, a garment worker who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for 16th State Assembly District in San Francisco.

Those in attendance at the meeting were from many different countries — Mexico, El Salvador, Peru, the Dominican Republic — and for many, this was their first time hearing a socialist candidate.

One participant in the meeting expressed his strong agreement with the socialist's stand against the INS and told of his experiences working with farm workers in the eastern United States. Deportations and the threat of deportation were used to block unionization efforts, he explained. A discussion ensued on the U.S. union movement and its role in the fight against deportations.

"Our unions must take up this fight," González told the meeting. "Labor should answer the government and the employers when they blame undocumented workers for the ills that capitalism creates."

"Take unemployment," she elaborated. "Did Mexican workers vote to lay off U.S. auto workers or steelworkers? For that matter, did Japanese workers decide this ques-

tion? General Motors and U.S. Steel, they and their government in Washington, are responsible for throwing people out of work. And yet you hear on TV, in the newspapers, that 'illegals' are to blame. Worst of all is the fact that the top officialdom of the AFL-CIO parrots this lie."

"Instead, the unions must fight against any attempts by the bosses to pit worker against worker — documented against undocumented, white against Black, men against women. Just by accepting the idea that some workers are 'illegal' and some 'legal' you dangerously divide and weaken any effort for social or economic justice."

One young worker from Mexico asked why González is participating in the elections since many Latinos are not citizens and cannot vote. He told of his disillusionment with electoral efforts after working on an election campaign some years ago in Baja, California.

The socialist candidate responded that her election campaign, and that of the other Socialist Workers Party candidates, are a big aid in reaching working people, taking on the lies of the government and the corporations and offering a socialist alternative.

"But I agree with you," she said, "when you say that we will not get power through elections. That's part of the great trick the capitalists play on us. Politics is supposed to equal elections. But politics is much broader than elections, which are perhaps one of the least important parts of political life."

"Most important is for working people to organize themselves, through their unions and other organizations, to fight for their rights. We need to build our own political party, a workers party based on the unions, that could help lead that fight 365 days a year. Such a party would stand up for the rights of working people and all the oppressed."

González also spoke to an assembly of Black and Latino high school students in Oakland and a well-attended meeting at Merritt College organized by an activist in the Ethnic Studies Department. Over \$5,500 for the SWP presidential and vice-presidential campaign was raised at rallies in San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose and at a well-attended Memorial Day campaign picnic in Oakland. — J.F.

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(paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee) 23

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**Subscribe to
the Militant**

A choice — The FDA is weighing approval of irradiation to kill insects that infest fruits and vegetables. Radiation doses of up to

prove an alternative to such cancer causing pesticides as EDB. Sort of like Democrats as an alternative to Republicans?



Harry Ring

100,000 rads would be used. "That's a lot of dose from the human standpoint," the FDA's alleged safety officer conceded, "but not from the standpoint of fruit." He said irradiation could

No red bikinis — The Miami city commission agreed to help float a loan for the Miss Universe contest, provided that there be no communist contenders. "We don't want any of those commie girls walking around in bathing suits," declared Mayor Maurice Ferre. A fund-raiser for the event assured it was no problem. "The communist countries," he explained, "don't believe in beauty pageants. It's against their principles."

Unlimited, a Manhattan firm, is prospering by providing stand-ins to wait in line — Motor Vehicle Bureau lines, Traffic Court lines, airport counter lines, etc. "People hate it," the company prez said with relish, "so we have been very, very successful." So much so that people are often lined up at the company's three offices.

March of science — Two researchers claim five years of government-funded study suggests some people are born with a genetic disposition to nicotine. Next, gene splicing to incline people toward a particular brand.

Roger Jepsen (R-Iowa) has hit a snag in his bid for reelection. A right-winger, heavy on Christian "morality," it's been disclosed he had joined a "health spa" later busted as a house of ill repute. The good senator said: (a) It was before his commitment to Christ; (b) He only went once, "in a moment of weakness;" (c) He really didn't know what the place was. The "spa's" application offered "nude modeling, nude encounters and nude rap sessions."

Good track record — In the 10 weeks before Reagan was inaugurated, his transition team raised and spent over a million, plus another \$2 million coughed up by

taxpayers. An undisclosed amount went to "transition" workers now senior members of the administration. Fittingly, Mae Peden, comptroller of the operation, has been nominated as assistant administrator of the federal Bureau for Private Enterprise.

Our rational society (cont'd) — We reported Coca Cola is kicking off an ad drive to boost the shrinking sales of diet Tab. Earlier they had invested in plugging Diet Coke, which then outstripped Tab. The Tab account has been taken away from the McCann-Erickson ad agency and given to SSC&B, which ran the successful Diet Coke campaign. Both ad firms are subsidiaries of the same company.

Land of opportunity — Ser- **Nobody's perfect** — Sen.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Solidarity With the Irish Freedom Struggle. Speakers: Georgia Flemings, editor of *Irish American Voice* and chair of Southern Regional Irish Northern Aid; Brian McCulla, Belfast native and president of Irish Republican Publishing. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

We Are Driven. Video documentary exposing myth that Japanese auto workers are content. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 16, 7:30 p.m. 2548 W Pico Blvd. (near Vermont). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

El Salvador: A New Vietnam War in Central America. Slide show presentation on scope of U.S. intervention, what Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front is fighting for, and on growing opposition in U.S. to intervention. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Seaside

Grand Opening of Pathfinder Bookstore featuring *Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again*, a videotape interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Translation to Spanish. Reception to follow. Sat., June 16, 7:30 p.m. 1184 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (408) 899-1316.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Hear Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president; Dave Welters, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Peggy Kreiner, SWP candidate for Congress, 3rd Congressional District. Sun., June 17, Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Kentucky Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

U.S. Imperialism's War Against Iran. Speakers: Salem Abdul Hamid, Palestinian journalist; Jay Weiss, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 17, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Irish Protests Against U.S. War Policy. Speakers: Pat O'Connor, member of People's Democracy, Limerick, Ireland, active in organizing anti-Reagan protests. Wed., June 20, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Guatemala: Eyewitness Account and Update. Speaker: Alberto Girón, Guatemalan in sanctuary at Walker Church. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 23, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snel-

ling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Building a Wall Around the United States: Washington's War Against Immigrants. Speakers: Ramón Irizarry, immigration lawyer; Selva Nebbia, member, Socialist Workers Party; Dennis Hanratty, N.Y. H-Block/Armagh Committee; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 22. Preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner of Raymond, 1 block from Broad). Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

Socialism: A Future Worth Fighting For. Speakers: Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president; Rich Ariza, candidate for 23rd Congressional District, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 16. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 8

p.m. 352 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1984 Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Demonstration in Memory of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on the 31st Anniversary of Their Execution, June 19, 1953. U.S. Federal Courthouse, Foley Square. Tues., June 19, noon to 2 p.m. Ausp: National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. For more information call (212) 228-4500.

OHIO

Toledo

"Maurice Bishop Speaks" Video tape. Wed., June 20, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

War in the Persian Gulf: Who Is Responsible? Speaker: Pete Seidman, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 16, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

New protests hit murder of Vietnamese

BY DIANE WANG

The campaign for justice on behalf of two Vietnamese antiwar activists gunned down by right-wing assassins in San Francisco has drawn new support from Democratic Party presidential candidate Jesse Jackson and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark.

Nguyen Van Luy, a founder and honorary president of the Association of Vietnamese in the United States; and his wife Pham Thi Luu were gunned down in front of their San Francisco home on May 28. Pham Thi Luu died immediately. Luy is recovering at San Francisco General Hospital; he was recently released from the intensive-care unit.

A group calling itself the Vietnamese Organization to Exterminate Communists and Restore the Nation took credit for the

attack in a communiqué sent to Vietnamese-language newspapers.

Luy has lived in this country for 40 years. A supporter of the revolution in his homeland, Luy was one of the first Vietnamese to speak out against the U.S. war in Indochina.

Luy was harassed by the U.S. government for his political ideas. He only won his permanent resident status in 1954 and his U.S. citizenship in 1960 after a long fight, with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union and American Committee to Protect the Foreign Born.

Luy worked as a chef for many years and joined the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union Local 2. Charles Lamb, the president of that local, has demanded the arrest and prosecution of those who attacked Luy and Luu.

Pham Thi Luu also supported the campaign for humanitarian aid for Vietnam. Her will leaves most of her property to Vietnam and expresses the wish that her home someday become the Vietnamese consulate.

Even though an outfit of right-wing thugs has claimed credit for the political assassination, San Francisco police insisted last week that investigators have found it difficult to give much credence to a political motivation for the attack. They were continuing to consider robbery or extortion as the motive.

The Committee for Justice for Pham Thi Luu and Nguyen Van Luy is demanding that the San Francisco city administration launch a thorough investigation and prosecution of those responsible for the May 28 attack. The committee is also calling for a federal investigation.

Protest messages should be sent to Mayor Diane Feinstein, City Hall, San Francisco, Calif. 94102, and to U.S. Attorney General William French Smith, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.

Copies of the protests should be sent to the Committee for Justice for Pham Thi Luu and Nguyen Van Luy either at 135 West 4th St., New York, N.Y. 10012 or c/o of the U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association, P.O. Box 5043, San Francisco, Calif. 94101.

A telegram from Jesse Jackson said, in part, "Every American should condemn the taking of another's life for their political beliefs. . . . We call on the federal government to make an immediate and thorough investigation of this assassination and bring those responsible to justice."

Those demanding justice for Pham Thi Luu and Nguyen Van Luy also include Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the *Sun Reporter*, Rene Cruz of the Union of Democratic Filipinos, Madeline Duckles of the California East Bay Women for Peace, and Dr. William Eisman, president of the U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association of Northern California.

Texaco steps up union-busting drive in L.A.

BY HALKET ALLEN

LOS ANGELES — For three and a half months, Texaco has been waging a union-busting war against Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 1-128. The company has been demanding major concessions that would lower our living conditions and weaken our union. It wants a 42 hour workweek, a two-tier wage system, weaker seniority clause, and 18 other takeaway items.

Since negotiations began on November 14, the company has not backed down on any major issue, but the union has given up many items. On May 24, the negotiating committee offered to accept 15 of the company's "take it or leave it" list of takeaways.

Included in these takeaways is a two-tier wage structure, provisions for the company to fill job openings out of seniority, an end to the bid system of filling jobs, contracting out of union jobs to nonunion contractors, and other concessions.

The union has not given in on the expiration date of the contract and the status of two workers fired by the company for

strike related activities. The union also continues to oppose changes in the hours of work without union agreement.

Texaco wants the contract to expire at a different time than the other national oil refinery contracts. The company also wants to be able to change the hours and schedules of work at its convenience, which is especially hard on workers who work a different shift each week and have to stay overtime if a relief does not come in.

Even after the union negotiating committee had agreed to the majority of the takeaways the company still did not agree to settle. Texaco said that it would "take the union proposals under consideration" and get back to the union in five or six days.

Union officials called a meeting of the membership and reported the situation. Ron Moore, the vice-president of Local 1-128 and the head of the Texaco union unit stated that "we submitted a package that we felt was surrender. They refused to agree and said that they needed five days to study it. Texaco has been taking a very

hard line and is trying to smash the union."

After the presentation to the membership and some heated discussion, there was a spirited two-mile march to the refinery by 250 strikers. There was a militant picket line at the main gate that defied the injunction that limits the number of pickets at each gate. The pickets shouted at the foremen and guards and chanted that the plant manager should come out and explain why Texaco would not agree to settle.

Also a target for chants and jeers was Local 250 of the Steamfitters that had crossed our lines to work in the plant. This action by Local 250 and other construction crafts has had a demoralizing effect on our strike and helped to divide the unions during this struggle. Appeals to the craft unions not to cross the lines had some success. There had been many individuals that refused. Across the street from the contractors entrance gate there had been a small solidarity picket line of craft unionists in support of our strike.

Halket Allen is a member of OCAW Local 1-128 and a Texaco striker.

Courts and INS victimize gay immigrants

BY HARRY RING

The Supreme Court has imposed a new curb on democratic rights with its May 19 refusal to review the case of a person ordered deported because he is a homosexual.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) ordered the deportation of Richard Longstaff, a Dallas businessman who was denied citizenship on the basis of his acknowledged homosexuality.

After he was denied citizenship, a federal appeals court decided Longstaff had entered the country illegally when he emigrated here from England in 1965.

The basis for his "illegal entry"? When applying for permanent residence here, he replied no when asked if he was afflicted with a "psychopathic personality."

"Unbeknownst to me," Longstaff said, "I was a psychopathic personality according to American law."

The Dallas director of the INS said, "We're merely enforcing the law. We

don't discriminate against anyone."

Under this country's reactionary immigration laws, homosexuals are defined as psychopaths and, therefore, to be excluded.

Back in 1973, the membership of the American Psychiatric Association voted to drop homosexuality from its list of psychiatric disorders. And since 1979, Public Health Service doctors have refused to conduct medical examinations of persons suspected by the INS of being homosexuals.

Longstaff's difficulties began after he had been here a period and applied for citizenship. At that time an immigration official asked him, "Are you gay?" and he answered yes.

In subsequent interviews he refused to answer a series of detailed questions about his sex life. Citizenship was denied, said the INS, because Longstaff had shown a lack of "candor" in declining to submit to the grilling.

A federal judge upheld the INS on lack of "candor" and threw in moral turpitude

and violation of a Texas sexual conduct statute as well. It was this decision that the Supreme Court refused to review.

Longstaff intends to continue the fight against deportation and anticipates he will win significant support.

"I think it's going to hurt and upset many gay people," he said. "They are now going to look at their own lives and see what security they have in this country."

Meanwhile, Anthony Sullivan and Richard Adams, a homosexual couple, are fighting a deportation order against Sullivan.

Sullivan came here as a visitor from Australia in 1971. He petitioned for permanent residence status and in support of that request, he and Adams informed the INS that they had been married in a religious ceremony after having been issued a marriage license by the city of Boulder, Colorado.

In a letter of response, the INS declared: "You have failed to establish that a bona fide marital relationship can exist between

two faggots."

After outraged protest from Sullivan and Adams, the INS reiterated the denial of permanent residency, omitting the word "faggot."

Last April, the INS Board of Appeals upheld the denial of residency. It opined that the separation of the couple would not cause "the level of hardship" required by immigration law.

The lawyer for Sullivan and Adams points out that if they were to try to move to Australia, antigay restrictions would probably be cited by Australian authorities to deny Adams residence there. "They are men without a country," the lawyer said.

The Supreme Court decision in the Longstaff case and the INS action against Sullivan are calculated to promote bigotry against homosexuals and to inhibit the fight for gay and lesbian rights.

Such decisions are a blow to all immigrants, strengthening the government's authority to exclude "undesirables" from this country.

Héctor Marroquín wins round in deportation fight

Continued from front page

the Young Socialist Alliance, Marroquín fears his life would be endangered if forced to return to Mexico. He fled here 10 years ago when, as a student activist, he faced political victimization.

For the past seven years the INS has tried to deport Marroquín because of his political beliefs and activities. The denial of Marroquín's elementary rights has evoked broad protest from labor, Latino, Black, civil liberties, and church groups and many prominent individuals. The case has also attracted increased media attention.

The support for Marroquín's rights and the media focus on the issue was evident in relation to the June 11 hearing.

Both Associated Press and United Press International reported on the hearing, as did several New Jersey-area papers.

The Newark *Star-Ledger* headlined its story, "Mexican Activist Gains Reprieve on Ouster."

In New York, *El Diario*, the widely circulated Spanish-language daily, featured an interview with Marroquín.

The paper described the outcome of the hearing as "a victory for immigrants seeking permanent residence." It quoted Marroquín as saying it was important because "when an immigrant holds views which the INS doesn't like, it's difficult to obtain residency here."

Marroquín also noted in *El Diario* that if the pending Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill is approved by Congress, it will curb the right of court action for those facing deportation.

Prior to the court hearing, a significant number of individuals and organizations

sent protests to the INS demanding that it ensure Marroquín's right to stay here until his green card application is acted on.

And at the hearing itself, a good number of Marroquín's supporters were in the courtroom.

One by one, a series of grudging concessions have been won from the INS in this case.

Initially, the INS took the position that if the Supreme Court did not grant Marroquín's plea for asylum, he would be deported to Mexico forthwith.

This evoked a storm of protest and the INS then agreed that if there were an unfavorable decision by the court he would have 48 hours for voluntary departure to another country of his choosing.

A year ago, Marroquín applied for a green card on the basis of his marriage. In other cases, such status is granted as a matter of routine. But the INS has persisted in stalling on Marroquín's application.

Because of this, his attorneys, Susan Susman and Claudia Slovinsky, filed a motion in federal court to ensure that if he does not obtain a favorable decision from the Supreme Court he will be assured of staying here until the process of acting on his green card application is completed.

Responding to the court move, and the public pressure accompanying it, the Newark district director of the INS, James Pomeroy, wrote a letter designed to undercut it.

Pomeroy's letter stated that Marroquín could stay in the country until the Supreme Court decided his case, or until his green card application was processed, whichever date came later.

However, he added a very large "unless."



Militant/Harry Ring
Héctor Marroquín and his wife Priscilla Schenk, who is New Jersey Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate.

Marroquín would have this right, Pomeroy stated, "unless there is a change of circumstance which warrants termination of voluntary departure in my discretion. . . ."

This substantial escape clause was particularly ominous in light of the seven years of untiring effort by the INS to deport Marroquín. At the time of his very first hearing before an INS review board, a government lawyer flatly declared Marroquín should not be permitted to remain in this country because of his Marxist views. Since then only an energetic political and legal defense campaign has thwarted government

moves to get him out of the country.

The June 11 hearing closed the door on a sudden INS move against Marroquín, but the fight obviously doesn't end there.

Continuing public protest is essential to win Marroquín's right to stay here. Messages demanding that the deportation proceedings be dropped and a green card granted to him should be directed to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies of such messages, and funds to help finance the continuing fight, should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003.

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NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

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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.

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

Defeat Simpson-Mazzoli bill!

The drive to scapegoat and victimize immigrant workers was given new momentum with the congressional decision to consider the racist Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill.

The bill would bring increased factory raids by immigration cops, make unions liable to victimization, and is generally aimed at the entire labor movement — not just undocumented immigrants.

Presentation of the bill on the floor of the House of Representatives June 11 was accompanied by racist demagoguery. Rep. Trent Lott of Mississippi, the Republican whip, urged support for the measure, declaring, "The problem of immigration is a ticking time bomb that must be dealt with now."

The Democrats have been trying to duck their political responsibility for the anti-immigrant bill.

House Speaker Thomas O'Neill (D-Mass.) piously declared, "I'm cool to the bill, to be perfectly truthful. This is not a Democratic bill."

Rep. Dan Lungren (R-Calif.), a proponent of the measure, was able to speak more truthfully on this particular issue.

"This bill," he said, "is the product of four administrations, Democratic and Republican. The Carter administration is the progenitor of this legislation as the result of a task force established by President Carter."

That is the fact. In 1977, the Carter administration did propose an anti-immigrant plan basically the same as Simpson-Mazzoli. Because of wide opposition, it was relegated to a bipartisan study commission. The final product was Simpson-Mazzoli.

Simpson-Mazzoli would intensify hiring discrimination against Latinos and others by providing penalties for employers who "knowingly" hire undocumented workers.

It would beef up the racist Border Patrol of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the hated *la migra*.

It would make it easier to deport those seeking political asylum here.

As a selling point, it's supposed to offer amnesty to undocumented immigrants who can prove they've been here since before Jan. 1, 1982. But the fine print makes it impossible for all but a relative handful to qualify.

One nakedly racist amendment has been thrown into the pot by House Majority Leader James Wright (D-Texas). It would require that applicants for amnesty, among other things, establish they have a good work record and that their children are in school and studying English.

The House has moved swiftly to pass one of the centerpiece of the bill. On June 12, it voted 391-97 to adopt a bill that makes it illegal for employers to hire "illegal aliens." The bill requires that bosses demand identification from all prospective employees. This will make it

even harder for all workers who look or sound "foreign" to get a job.

Meanwhile, the INS is busy stepping up its campaign against immigrant workers. The principal focus is on increased factory raids.

Last April, the Supreme Court put its stamp of approval on unannounced factory sweeps by *la migra*.

At that time it was estimated that in the Los Angeles area alone, 20,000 workers a year were being arrested in the factory raids!

In the San Jose area of Northern California, there's been a particularly sharp escalation in the factory raids. But there's also been a growing fightback by workers.

Last month, INS cops showed up at a small San Jose jam and jelly plant assertedly looking for an undocumented immigrant. The INS then subpoenaed the company to provide a list of employees, along with documents establishing their status here.

The workers, organized into a cannery committee of Teamsters Local 679, refused to cooperate. They circulated a petition signed by a good portion of the work force. It declared, "We strongly protest the company's order for us to present documents... proving our right to be in this country."

A union spokesperson said the company initially threatened to fire those workers who did not comply, "but because the union stepped in and the workers resisted, company officials changed their minds."

The response of these workers and their union is the very opposite of the approach being taken to the Simpson-Mazzoli bill by members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. They are trying to use a "lesser evil" approach to ward off the worst features of Simpson-Mazzoli.

Earlier this year, Rep. Edward Roybal (D-Calif.) presented a substitute immigration "reform" bill.

The Roybal measure would eliminate sanctions on employers for hiring undocumented workers.

But it would beef up the INS police force even more.

In doing so, the Roybal bill accepts the false, reactionary argument that immigrants seeking jobs here are a threat and more cops are needed to stop them at the border.

Persistent unemployment in a period of economic "recovery" is the product of a capitalist system that doesn't work. The profit system, not immigrant workers, creates unemployment.

Vamping on undocumented immigrants won't create any new jobs. It will only play the bosses' game by creating divisions among working people at a time when the greatest solidarity is needed.

That's why the labor movement should demand the defeat of Simpson-Mazzoli.

Soweto, S. Africa: a massive revolt against apartheid

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Soweto, South Africa. The name seems synonymous with Black rebellion. Eight years ago thousands of Black students rallied in that township to protest new discriminatory legislation adopted by the apartheid regime. That protest marked the beginning of the most massive Black uprising ever against white capitalist rule in South Africa.

Several factors laid the basis for the rebellion. Through the years, Blacks became increasingly urbanized. They also became more and more working class, which enhanced Black social and economic clout.

Meanwhile, Black self-confidence was boosted by the victorious independence struggles in Mozambique and

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Angola. The defeat of South Africa's aggression against Angola exploded the myth of apartheid's invincibility.

A wave of protests began following the apartheid regime's announcement in May 1976 that half of the courses in African secondary schools in southern Transvaal would be taught in Afrikaans — a hated language of the white oppressors.

Student protests began immediately with classes being boycotted in schools throughout Soweto. A mass demonstration was called for June 16 to demand that the new policy not be implemented.

More than 10,000 Black students had gathered in front of Orlando West Junior Secondary before 7 a.m. on June 16. Thousands more joined the march as it passed. The demonstrators carried signs reading "Down with Afrikaans," and "Afrikaans is Oppressors' Language."

Ten vanloads of cops arrived. Without warning the police fired tear gas into the crowd. The enraged protesters answered with stones and other objects.

Col. Johannes Kleingeld, the white cop in charge, drew his pistol and fired, hitting 13-year-old Hector Petersen in the back. Petersen fell to the ground, dead. Other cops began shooting. Kleingeld then opened up with a machine gun, he later explained, because "it has a more demoralizing effect than a pistol shot."

Soweto exploded in rebellion as news of the murders spread. All the pent-up rage at the police and other symbols of white supremacy was let loose. Scores of government buildings, administrative centers, post offices, beer halls, liquor stores, and other symbols of the apartheid regime were attacked, smashed up, and burned.

South African cops responded with relentless violence. Heavily armed, they opened fire with machine guns on crowds of Blacks. The official death toll was 25. Scores were wounded. The actual figures may never be known because the cops reportedly burned many bodies and secretly buried others.

Despite the cop terror, the Black rebellion continued. The uprising spread to Black townships throughout the country.

By June 19, the official death toll was 109.

On August 2 students formed the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which called a protest for August 4 to demand the release of all Black activists arrested in the June disturbances.

More than 20,000 students attempted to march from Soweto to Johannesburg. Cop violence, which left three Black youth dead, prevented the protest from reaching the city.

The SSRC called a three-day strike on August 23. Between 150,000 and 200,000 Black workers stayed home on the first day. The second day was just as successful. And the third.

While there were protests in Cape Town, workers there didn't join in this strike. Cape Town is South Africa's second largest city and has a large population of Coloureds (a sector of South Africa's Black population, of mixed heritage, who the regime tries to pit against the African majority.)

In a second general strike that the SSRC called for September 13-15, Cape Town responded. On the first day some 500,000 Blacks in Johannesburg stayed home. They were joined on September 15 by 250,000 Coloured and African workers in Cape Town.

The apartheid regime responded to all protests with brutal repression. The U.S. government gave tacit support to South Africa's rulers, with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visiting Pretoria September 17.

The South African government itself admits that nearly 4,200 persons were arrested between June 16 and October 31, 1976. Hundreds were sentenced to whippings. Thousands of activists were forced to flee the country.

By the end of 1976, this police terror had put an end to the massive protests. But no amount of repression could destroy the deep-going Black hatred of apartheid. As a SSRC leaflet distributed in Soweto in December 1976 said, "There is no peace, there shall be none until we are all free."

Supreme Court seniority ruling

Continued from front page

"moot," that is, the workers were back on the job.

The court held that union seniority lists cannot be modified to meet affirmative action quotas. It is not enough, they declared, to prove that Blacks in general have been the victims of discrimination in a particular situation. To justify any modification of seniority, the judges said, each individual involved must be able to prove that he or she personally was the actual victim of the discrimination and, moreover, prove that the discrimination was intentional.

But this begs the real point. Racial discrimination isn't a religious or moral question of intent — it's a fact. Layoffs do not fall evenly. Blacks, Latinos, and women are hit the hardest. Furthermore, this discrimination pervades all facets of life.

The aim of affirmative action — which to be effective must include quotas — is to begin to eliminate the centuries of race and sex discrimination.

After being forced to hire some Blacks and women under affirmative action, the employers have tried to use layoffs to get rid of as many of these workers as they can.

The Supreme Court ruling ratifies this practice and encourages gutting affirmative action as a whole.

Ulysses Jones, a representative of the Memphis Black fire fighters, said, "The ruling is not only affecting Blacks, but all minorities, including women."

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, characterized the ruling as a "backdoor method" for promoting discrimination.

He added, "To uphold the 'last hired, first fired' doctrine in a nation that has a history of excluding classes of people because of race, creed, or sex is to turn our backs on the reality that such discriminatory practices have had and continue to have upon excluded groups."

Judy Goldsmith, president of the National Organization for Women, charged the ruling represented "an erosion of affirmative action as a remedy against race and sex discrimination."

But joining Attorney General Smith in lauding the decision was Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, a member of the AFL-CIO execu-

tive council, and a rabid opponent of affirmative action.

Shanker hypocritically said, "We believe seniority rules are good in the long run for minorities because they're objective."

While seniority is an important gain of the labor movement, it is only an effective weapon when it aids in strengthening the unions.

When this weapon is used to prevent employers from firing union militants, older workers, and others the boss wants to get rid of, it is a valuable tool. But when the employers use it to kick out Black, Latino, and women workers, the interests of the entire union are endangered.

Affirmative action has strengthened labor by dealing a blow to the employers' discrimination against sections of the work force — Blacks, Latinos, and women. It has helped bust through the bosses' "right" to lock some workers in the lowest-paid, dirtiest jobs and deny them promotions. As long as such discrimination persists, the employers use it to drag down the wages and working conditions of all workers and to deepen divisions within the labor movement. They use it to pit white workers against Black, male workers against female, higher-paid workers against new hires.

Revising the seniority system to protect affirmative action during layoffs is necessary to strengthen and unify the working class.

Counterposing union seniority to affirmative action, as those officials like Shanker do, is a deadend for the unions.

A positive example of the way for unions to go on this key issue was presented by the National Education Association at its convention last July. The delegates to that union gathering agreed that seniority clauses in union contracts should be modified to protect affirmative action gains of women, Latinos, and Blacks during layoffs. It urged its affiliated locals to bargain for such affirmative action clauses in union contracts.

That should be an important part of the labor response to the reactionary Supreme Court decision. By pressing for seniority agreements designed to help erase discrimination, the unions will be forging the kind of solidarity so urgently needed against the present employer attacks.

Malcolm's memory

I received my second copy of the *Militant*. Both copies are in



various stages of disintegration from the dozens of brothers who've handled each. All expressed approval of the *Militant*.

The article "Malcolm X on elections, Democrats, revolution," has sparked continuing debates (positive) and served to awaken some who knew little or nothing about him.

Before this article came to us, only seven people fasted on May 19, Malcolm's birthday, as a symbolic token to his memory. After reading your article, belatedly 20 more brothers fasted for a day. Of course I refer to the "By Any Means Necessary" column by Mohammed Oliver in the June 1 issue.

The brothers and I have discussed Malcolm in as much detail

as our knowledge and faulty memories would allow. So it has come to me to ask you for further assistance.

We know that Malcolm left speeches, or transcripts of same, and had several books and pamphlets in print, which were in wide circulation when I was in the Kansas State Penitentiary between 1970 and 1979. I am certain that the *Militant*, or its contacts and agencies, were responsible for a friend of mine obtaining these books, speeches, etc. of Malcolm.

We wish here to sponsor a revival of the memory of both the man and his ideas. We know he must have left something for us politically, ideologically. Do you still possess the words of Malcolm X? Can you help us by sending what-

ever is appropriate to an understanding of Malcolm X and what he represented then and now?

Please send us whatever you can.

Why not each week have a half page of the *Militant* deal specifically with a "Malcolmist" view? I'm sure he would have wanted it this way, for your paper to keep a small flame alight that one in a thousand of his people might receive illumination thereby.

In camaraderie,
A prisoner
Soledad, California.

P.S. I specifically recall one book by your founder, Leon Trotsky, *Black Nationalism and Self-determination*. Is it possible that, along with anything by Mal-

colm X you send, we might also be sent this book as well?

As a group we have no access to any but capitalist sources of news and information. This place is virtual intellectual desolation. Yet I believe the land is yet fertile enough to sustain one well-tended seed.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Racists campaign to oust Chicago's Black mayor

Let's just pretend there wasn't any election. That seems to be the attitude of the racist opponents of Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, who is the city's first Black mayor.

On May 23, City Council Alderman Edward Burke, the Democratic Party majority leader on that body, demanded that Washington resign and that Alderman



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY Mohammed Oliver

Richard Mell, the vice-mayor and a Burke ally, take the mayor's place. Burke said Washington had forfeited his job because the mayor failed to file a financial disclosure statement in time to comply with state law.

The city council adjourned rather than act on the issue. Burke then filed suit against Washington in the Cook County Circuit Court, which heard the case on May 24. Circuit Court Judge James Murray threw the case out on technical grounds. Burke, however, says he will appeal Murray's decision.

Illinois law says that any state or local officeholder is ineligible to continue in office if he or she fails to meet an April 30 disclosure deadline or doesn't seek a 30-day extension by May 10.

Washington missed both deadlines, filing his disclosure statement on May 23. But Burke's charges have nothing to do with upholding the supposedly high ethical

standing of the mayor's office. It's a racist attack on Washington, the Black community, and all workers who oppose racial discrimination.

All opponents of racism must speak out against this latest attack on the democratic rights of Blacks and other workers. To speak clearly, we must recall the evolution of the racist campaign against Washington.

Washington's election as Chicago's first Black mayor in April 1983 was an historic event. The Black Democrat, a former congressman, was put in the mayor's office by an offensive launched against the racist apparatus of the Democratic Party by Blacks and other workers.

Blacks especially viewed Washington's mayoral campaign as a way to win more political representation. Tens of thousands of Blacks registered and voted for the first time. Large numbers of Latinos and many white workers also campaigned for Washington. The AFL-CIO organized a support rally for Washington that drew 18,000 unionists.

Ruling-class circles in Chicago decided that the Democratic Party there had to adapt to remain a viable tool. The employers threw their support behind Washington, a firm supporter of the two-party system. Their hope was — and remains today — to continue corraling within the two-party system the growing ferment among Blacks and other working people set off by the capitalist economic crisis.

Racist, right-wing elements in the city, particularly in the Democratic Party, balked at making any change in the form of capitalist rule in Chicago. Straight-up racism was unfurled as the banner of their campaign against Washington.

Bernard Epton — the Republican mayoral candidate — and his supporters tried to whip up a racist hysteria

against Washington. Once during the campaign, a mob of 200 racist whites — flinging racial slurs and other insults at Washington — assaulted the Black Democrat, who had to be escorted from the area by police.

But the racist initiative failed. Chicago, like the rest of the country, wasn't the same as it was 20 years ago. Working people have undergone a deepgoing radicalization in their consciousness. More and more workers who happen to be white are beginning to see that they have more in common with Black working people than with white employers. While this sentiment has yet to lead to a break with the Democrats and Republicans, the rightists' racist appeal couldn't mobilize enough support to defeat Washington.

While Burke and other leading Democrats either gave their formal support to Washington or remained "neutral" in the 1983 mayoral race, they aided the racist campaign against Washington by refusing to speak out against the attacks. Their actions since Washington's election show where they actually stand. Burke and other racist opponents of Washington are trying to do now what the racist right wing failed to do in April 1983 — keep the "nigger" out of the mayor's office.

Blacks understand this racist attack. "This is ridiculous," said Eva Felton following the May 23 city council meeting. She and other Blacks were protesting Burke's attempt to unseat Washington.

"They tell us where we can live," Felton continued, referring to the two weeks of racist violence that recently forced the family of Dudley Emmons to move from their home on Chicago's Southeast Side, "and now they are telling us who our mayor will be. We didn't vote for Mell, we voted for Washington and we will tear this city up before we allow [Burke] to unseat Harold."

Who really owns Eastern Airlines — not workers

Continued from back page

"How come you're taking such a long break — it comes out of your 18 percent — then let's take an 18 percent longer break."

Actually, the jokes cut both ways and reflect different views among the workers.

Most workers feel that working for Eastern is a good job. For unskilled workers in aircraft service and ramp, which includes a fairly large percentage of Blacks and some women, the pay and benefits are among the best available.

And for all its talk about helping increase company profits, the IAM remains a relatively strong union at Eastern. It still works to protect jobs and working conditions against arbitrary attacks from management.

For or against profits?

The labor struggles over the last few years at Eastern reflected both the strengths and weaknesses of the unions.

The IAM demonstrated its clout against the company in the last contract negotiations. That show of strength still holds back some company attacks against the workers.

In the last few years the union led a campaign to uncover and explain to the membership some of Eastern's real financial dealings. This included publicizing the domination of the company by banks led by Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan. The union uncovered huge pension fund ripoffs by the company. It also revealed that enormous purchases of new planes from Boeing were at least partly explained by the fact that the banks that dominate Eastern also control Boeing.

The union was strengthened by getting out this information. It enabled IAM members to call Borman's bluff several times. In spite of Borman's claimed "willingness" to take a strike and run Eastern with scabs, the union members voted 90 percent in favor of strike authorization during last year's contract negotiations. This forced Borman to crawl back to the negotiating table with an improvement over his "final" offer.

That contract was accepted. Borman cried that the union had "raped" the airline.

Union revelations of company finances have been valuable, but they have had too narrow a focus.

The union officialdom's approach is that what's good for the company is good for the workers. Union leaders argue, and many members agree, that with more input from the workers, the company can be run more profitably.

There is a grain of truth in this. More input from the workers can correct irrational practices and cut through the incompetent, self-perpetuating management bureaucracy.

What's wrong with this argument is that it is not in the interests of workers to improve profits.

Profits pay for union-busting

There are plenty of examples to show this. The phenomenal profits many U.S. corporations are now enjoying have come at the expense of the workers. Auto company profits, for example, have not resulted in higher pay or more jobs. Increased profits have been a result of lower pay and big reductions in the work force.

The IAM and other unions were formed through solidarity among workers. That is the only way the unions can survive. Low wages, arbitrary firings, dangerous conditions, and absence of benefits were fought by union solidarity. This resulted in gains for all workers.

It is a big retreat for the union officials to look to solidarity with "our" company and view workers at other companies as competitors.

Worker solidarity is desperately needed on the airlines as well as other industries. That's essential to fighting the companies' attacks and defending jobs and working conditions.

'Radical' cheerleaders

There are publications that claim to reflect a more radical, or even socialist, current in the labor movement that have latched onto the Eastern situation as a model for the union movement.

For example, a publication called *Labor Research Review* (LRR) devoted an entire issue to what they call "Aggressive unionism at Eastern Airlines."

An editor's note is tacked on to the *Labor Research Review* introduction reading: "As we went to press, Eastern and its three unions agreed on a 'Wage Investment Program' through which workers will lend the company substantial amounts of money in return for company stock... the new agreement contains unprecedented provisions giving the unions power over company information and planning."

Bryan and the other union representatives on the board probably do have access

to more financial information than in the past. Ironically, there have been no new releases of this information to the union members like there were before the union had anyone on the Board of Directors.

Eastern workers have gone through important experiences that they and other working people are discussing and learning from.

But LRR does a disservice to working people at Eastern and elsewhere by arguing that there is some way to guarantee real security in jobs, wages, or working conditions by becoming partners with Frank Borman and Laurence Rockefeller.

While terms like "capitalism" and "classes" are not commonly used, the workers at Eastern have more of an understanding of class divisions than either some of the union leaders or their "radical" cheerleaders.

For example, there is no way IAM members would have voted to give Borman a \$2 million contract or described it as good for company stability. IAM members would vote by a large margin to send Borman packing, if anyone would give them the chance to vote.

While there is a level of acceptance of the 18 percent pay cut, there would be very strong sentiment in favor of spreading the financial sacrifice around a little. For example, how about cutting interest payments to the banks by 18 percent?

At Eastern, the way forward for the unions is worker solidarity. The challenge is to break out of the procompany, pro-profit, Democratic-Republican framework.

New Orleans cops beat up Black family

BY DERRICK MORRISON

NEW ORLEANS — Naked, unvarnished terror. That's the only way to describe one Black family's experience in this city. Two men dressed in the uniform of the Orleans Parish Sheriff's Department (OPSD) knocked on the door of 64-year-old Margaret Clements this past May 17. What followed was "like a nightmare" according to Clements.

One daughter, Jule Cobb, 36, answered the door downstairs. Another daughter, Sheila Green, 32, recognized one of the deputies and also went down.

The deputies showed up because Cobb owed \$12.50 for a traffic violation. For this they said she was going to jail! Cobb turned to get her wallet, which her mother was handing to her on the stairway. The deputies rushed for Cobb, ignoring the protests of her mother and sister.

The deputies then suddenly turned on Green, kicking and punching her at the bottom of the stairwell. Each cop then grabbed an arm and started ramming her head into the wall. The deputies, who happened to be Black, radioed for help as they beat, punched, and kicked the three women.

As the three were dragged out the door, squad cars of the OPSD and New Orleans Police Department were all around. Under the hot breath of a mounting crowd of Black folk, some of the New Orleans' officers began wondering why they had been called out.

The women, under a continual rain of blows, were then thrown up against cars and handcuffed, each put in a separate car.

The cop terrorists allowed Clements, whose feet were bare and whose light dress was torn to the extent of exposing one breast, to receive some garments and footwear.

On the way down to jail Cobb and Green were beaten again and shackles were placed on Green's ankles. Upon arrival Green was pushed out of the car and was knocked unconscious when her head hit the cement. A white female cop then grabbed her by the hair and threw her into a cell. She was later removed and taken to the city hospital.

The cops had left Clements' husband, Frank, and Green's 10-year-old son, Edgar, at the house. Frank Clements is under care for an extreme heart ailment, requiring rest and no excitement! Edgar had been punched in the face by a deputy during the course of the kidnapping.

The two contacted Margaret Clements' sons, Israel, 34, and Carl, 33, and her nephew, Errol, 14, and told them what had happened. When the three went down and tried to find out why the kidnapping took place, they were in turn given the brutal treatment of punches, kicks, and chokes by the deputies. Is this the routine to be used in the City of the World's Fair?

According to the *Louisiana Weekly*, the local Black newspaper that headlined this case, Israel Clements while in the jail cell he had been thrown into, even saw two white men handcuffed and brutally beaten by the cop terrorists that night.

The next morning all the members of the



Family of Margaret Clements (center). Sheriff's deputies burst into their New Orleans home, beat and arrested family members.

family were out of jail, but not before they were charged with several counts of assault and battery. It is the family that suffered all the physical abuse and psychological scars from this incident, not the deputies.

Clements, in her account to this reporter, suffers from blurred vision, heart problems, and back and leg pains. She takes 1,500 milligrams of pills a day. Green has severe headaches, back problems, shortness of breath, general tiredness, and poor blood circulation in the wrists. She just had

a disk removed from her spine less than a year ago. All the members of the family are under medical supervision.

The Clements family has good legal representation, but the Black community and supporters of civil and human rights will have to bring pressure to bear in order to achieve justice.

Derrick Morrison is the Socialist Workers' candidate for Congress in Louisiana's 2nd C.D.

Who really owns Eastern Airlines — not workers

The following article is primarily based on discussions among Eastern Airlines workers organized by the International Association of Machinists in Miami, the company's biggest center of operations.

BY LOUIS LONG

MIAMI — Eastern is one of the largest airlines in the United States. It has had several confrontations between union-organized workers and management over the last few years.

In the same period, other employer and government attacks have hit other airline unions. Airline industry workers suffered serious defeats when Reagan destroyed the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) in 1981. In 1983 Continental Airlines declared a phony bankruptcy and is now operating a 100 percent scab operation with wages cut in half.

The latest stage in the company attack at Eastern is indicated by an advertising campaign promoting the myth that Eastern is owned by the employees. The theme of the commercials is: "Nobody gives you better service than the owners."

This is based on an agreement with the union in which employees now participate in a "stock ownership" plan. The plan is financed by an 18 percent cut in wages.

The commercials show Frank Borman, a representative of the real owners, standing in front of a few hundred people who don't even own the company shirts on their backs.

Who runs Eastern?

Who really runs Eastern Airlines? Banks do, led by the Rockefeller family's Chase Manhattan. In fact, Laurence Rockefeller sits on Eastern's board of directors along with lawyers, bankers, and insurance executives who work for him. They own and control Eastern and they don't give you any service. They don't fly, repair or clean planes, move freight or baggage, attend to passenger comfort and safety, or sell tickets.

Charles Bryan, president of International Association of Machinists (IAM)

District 100, pointed out in a newsletter a few years ago: "All 16 members of the Eastern Board of Directors are affiliated with banks and other institutions of the Super Rich." Charlie Bryan is now a member of that board, but it still acts only in the interests of the super-rich.

They operate Eastern Airlines for one purpose only: to make profits. They do not operate it to provide air transportation and certainly not to provide jobs.

The people who do the work at Eastern do not own it or control it. Their pay is going down and working conditions are getting worse.

For the owners, Eastern remains a source of great wealth. Because of the labor done by Eastern workers, this \$4 billion a year operation helps the Rockefellers live in the style they're accustomed to.

Whether Eastern reports a profit or loss, the real owners come out on top. They manipulate bank loans, collect super-high interest, and set up enormous purchases from other companies they control, such as Boeing Aircraft.

Reports published in the past by the IAM at Eastern reveal that the wealth produced by the company has not yet been distributed through stock dividends. In fact the stock has been greatly diluted in value. Even if employee groups eventually get 25 percent of the stock, as promised, that stock will be of very little value. And employee control of 25 percent of the stock will not mean the airline will operate in the interests of employees or passengers.

The unions representing airline workers can only take one of two directions: help the profit-hungry owners by cutting wages and increasing productivity, or organize all airline workers in order to raise wages and improve working conditions.

Union organization of the nonunion airlines is a big challenge. The defeats at PATCO and Continental make it much harder. But wages in this economic system work in only one way: nonunion wages and working conditions will either be forced up to union levels by union organizing, or the pay and conditions of union workers will be driven down to nonunion levels.

There are constant discussions among Eastern workers about the employee-ownership scheme and about airline economics in general. This reporter talked mostly with aircraft servicers and ramp workers, who clean the planes and handle freight and baggage. Along with mechanics, these workers make up the 5,000 members of Local Lodge 702 of the International Association of Machinists District 100.

Where are the ownership papers?

Most workers don't feel like they own an airline. They took an 18 percent pay cut that comes out to a loss of about \$100 a week on each pay check. The running total on each pay stub for what is called the "Wage Investment Program" is now over \$2,000 per worker for 1984.

But no stock certificates have been distributed. Workers can't sell their shares, and they have no vote on company policies. The 18 percent "investment" cannot be used as collateral for a loan, not even from the Eastern credit union. No one will accept it as down payment on a car or a house.

When the 18 percent pay cut expires at the end of 1984, most workers expect it to be extended for at least another year, with a probable increase to over 20 percent.

There are some tangible results of the employee-ownership scheme at Eastern. But a lot of workers do not see them as big gains.

Top officials of three airline unions now sit on the company board of directors. Charles Bryan, IAM District 100 president, is one of them.

An air freight worker expressed anger at this. He said that six months ago, Bryan was demanding the resignation or firing of company head Frank Borman almost every day. But the Board of Directors just voted to give Borman a five-year, \$2 million contract. While Bryan hasn't said how he voted, he told a Miami newspaper Borman's contract is good for company stability.

Another ramp worker said that Bryan seems to have another job on the Board of Directors. The company newspaper the

Falcon frequently reports on Bryan's trips around the country, speaking at management meetings about the need to increase productivity.

Fewer people doing more work

Union involvement in the company productivity drive seems to be the other tangible result of "employee ownership." One servicer said he sees the main activity of many shop stewards and much of the union leadership as participating in "Employee Involvement Committee" meetings with management.

No big changes seem to have come out of these meetings yet, except that union officials have gotten to know top management better. But there is talk about spreading throughout the airline new work rules agreed to by the unions at Eastern's operation in Kansas City. Both company and union officials deny that the job combinations and other changes there will be imposed elsewhere, but a number of workers are skeptical. Company propaganda keeps making a big deal about how profitable the operation is in Kansas City.

Another change that has been talked about involves the "leads" — union members, usually with the most seniority, who have some responsibility for directing the work of the crew they are on.

There's talk about giving leads more of the responsibility of supervisors and managers. Some workers think this is a good idea. But others don't. One said it would divide the union, forcing some union members to push more work out of others.

Ownership or concession?

Despite all the employee ownership propaganda and the union seats on the Board of Directors, few workers think they own Eastern Airlines. But most feel the 18 percent pay cut was a necessary concession to save jobs when the company said it was losing money.

Jokes about the 18 percent seem to be nonstop. "Turn off that tug — you're burning up my 18 percent."

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