THEMILITANT

Report on NOW conference 5 Is Duarte turning tide in Salvador? 6 25 years of Cuba agrarian reform law . . . 10

VOL. 48/NO. 27

JULY 20, 1984

75 CENTS

contra camp

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan revolution has recently dealt some serious blows to the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionaries who are attempting to overthrow the Sandinista government here.

Important setbacks have recently been suffered by contra (counterrevolutionary) forces in the three main areas where they have been operating - along the northern border with Honduras, along the southern border with Costa Rica, and in the central part of the sparsely populated Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua.

Hardest hit appears to have been the Costa Rican-based Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE). In a two-week June offensive code-named "Operation Sovereignty," Sandinista forces routed nine ARDE concentrations along the Río San Juan, just north of the border with Costa Rica.

The Nicaraguan government reports that ARDE suffered 200 confirmed casualties. In addition, hundreds of ARDE troops deserted and gave themselves up to Costa Rican authorities.

'The counterrevolutionaries speak of 'a tactical retreat,' but in reality you have to call it a rout," said Capt. Bosco Centeno, head of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) in the area. Centeno said Operation Sovereignty had achieved the "collapse of the ARDE structure in that zone."

Desertions from CIA mercenary forces

In the central part of Zelaya Province (the Atlantic Coast region), the ARDE contras have also been hit hard, leading to demoralization and disintegration among their ranks. Between the beginning of May and the middle of June, the relatively small ARDE units operating in the zone suffered 110 casualties. The remaining bands fled south toward Costa Rica, while at least 16 members of one column decided to take advantage of the amnesty offered by the revolutionary government and turn themselves

The desertions began on June 6 when three former contra soldiers turned themselves in to Sandinista militias. Upon hearing of the demoralized state of the ARDE forces, a contingent of 35 volunteers went into the hills over a wide area in search of other possible deserters. Within 10 days, 13 more contras had given themselves up.

Santiago Pabella, a pastor of the Moravian Church, explained that he and many others had been tricked into joining the contras: "Since we are uneducated, the chiefs take advantage of us.'

"But thanks to the great generosity of the revolution." Pabella said at the ceremony where the 16 deserters were set free, "the Sandinistas have not put us in prison or tortured us. That is why I am calling on those

who are in the contra to leave it. Rolling back contras in north

Meanwhile, near the northern border with Honduras, where the strongest contra group, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), operates, the Nicaraguan government is steadily rolling back the severalthousand-strong force that invaded the country and managed to establish more-orless permanent camps several months ago.

In a 25-day offensive marked by very heavy fighting, Sandinista units were able to drive the contras from entrenched positions at Turuwás in the northern part of Jinotega Province.

Turuwás was the base of the Rafaela Continued on Page 13

Nicaragua smashes CIA-backed Toledo workers indicted for May 21 UAW protest

BY MARK FRIEDMAN
TOLEDO, Ohio — In a major escalation of the assault against the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the entire labor movement here, a grand jury handed down indictments against 37 workers July 3, stemming from the May 21 mass demon-

Defend Toledo unionists! See editorial on page 18.

stration against strike-breaking and unionbusting at the AP Parts plant. Among those indicted is Danny Wilson, chairperson of the 6,200-member Jeep unit of UAW Local

Wilson is charged with "inciting violence," a felony that carries a possible jail sentence of from one to two years. Thirteen other workers also face felony counts, including a charge of "aggravated riot" which carries a possible sentence of from 6 to 18 months. Twenty-three others were indicted for misdemeanors.

The May 21 demonstration was a militant direct action organized to support UAW Local 14 members on strike against **Continued on Page 15**



Cops attacked workers on May 21, but unionists are ones facing possible jail terms.

Grenada airport: U.S. lies collapse

The Militant recently sent two correspondents, Mac Warren and Ernest Harsch, to Grenada. This week we print the second eyewitness story from our reporting team.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

POINT SALINES, Grenada — Once again, large bulldozers are clearing the earth here, leveling hills, and filling in depressions. Trucks rumble back and forth with equipment and broken rock.

Construction on Grenada's international airport — interrupted by the October 1983 U.S. invasion of this eastern Caribbean island - has resumed. It is scheduled to be finished by October.

But instead of being directed by the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) headed by the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, the airport construction is now being supervised by a U.S.-imposed regime and by institutions like the U.S. Agency for International Development

That is not all that is different. The hundreds of Cuban construction workers and technicians who helped to nearly complete this massive development project are gone, expelled shortly after the U.S. invasion.

However, the construction equipment provided by the Cuban government remains. This includes earth-moving equipment, cranes, fuel trucks, water trucks, asphalt paving equipment, and other machinery. The U.S.-installed Interim Advisory Council (which functions as a de facto government) has rejected the Cuban government's request that this Cuban-owned equipment be returned. Although it has given no official reason for this outrageous denial, it clearly views the Cuben equipment among its spoils of war.

U.S. propaganda claims

Nor will resumption of the airport project mean work for all of the hundreds of Grenadian airport workers who were thrown out of their jobs last October. Many of them are considered politically suspect, and have not been able to get rehired.

Nevertheless, the completion of the in-

ternational airport will mark a big advance for the Grenadian economy. The decision to complete it entails a significant reversal of policy by the U.S. occupation au-

Under Bishop's PRG, Washington waged a relentless propaganda campaign designed to portray the airport as a Soviet-Cuban military facility. Its main runway, it was claimed, was 10,000 feet, longer than was needed for commercial use (ignoring the fact that it was actually 9,000 feet and that several other nearby islands have even longer runways).

These claims were used to justify various acts of U.S. aggression against Grenada - including the invasion itself. In the months following the invasion, the U.S. occupation authorities stuck to their propaganda line that the airport project was economically unnecessary - and said it would not be finished.

Vital for economy

But the U.S. claims came up against the reality. All sectors of Grenadian society, from ordinary working people to big businessmen, merchants, and hotel owners. favor the airport's completion - precisely because it is necessary to the development of Grenada's economy, especially its tourist industry. The existing Pearls Airport — a long and difficult drive from the main tourist hotels and beaches, and without the capacity to handle widebody jets or night flights - is simply inadequate.

The first indication of a shift in Washington's stance came on January 30, when a U.S. AID study acknowledged that the airport is "important to the economy of Grenada," is "not overdesigned," and is "a matter of national concern." It recommended "expedited completion" of the air-

A month later, the Reagan administration announced that it would provide \$19 million to help complete airport construction. By April, various institutions - including Canadian, British, and European Common Market sources — had promised additional funding.

In May, a formal agreement was signed **Continued on Page 14**

U.S. socialist candidate addresses Dominican unionists

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic - "In the United States there are two classes — the capitalists and the workers," said Andrea González to a meeting of unionists here. "For the bosses, the U.S. is a land of milk and honey. But for workers, Blacks, Latinos, women, and the undocumented," she said, it is a land of "unemployment, racism, sexism, and war."

González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, was invited by the General Workers Federation (CGT) to speak before its members at the union's main headquarters on July 6. One hundred workers attended the meeting, which was called on just a couple of days' notice.

González went on a 10-day fact-finding

tour of the Dominican Republic sponsored by the Socialist Bloc.

Entering the CGT hall, it doesn't take long to realize that this labor organization, the largest in the Dominican Republic, has a different kind of leadership than the U.S. union movement does today. There are no pictures of labor officials warmly shaking hands with capitalist politicians or government leaders. Instead, the auditorium is lined with colorful posters expressing solidarity with struggles by workers and the oppressed around the world, from Cuba to Haiti to South Africa.

In this spirit of internationalism, CGT General Secretary Julio de Peña Valdez introduced González to the audience. He

Continued on Page 3

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

BY DON MACKLE

NEWARK, N.J. - The Young Socialist Alliance has enthusiasti-. cally taken on the task of organizing youth support for the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president.

A new and important part of that campaign activity in Newark is sales of the Young Socialist, the YSA's newspaper, at area worksites organized by major industrial

As a result of the petitioning drive to get Mason and González on the ballot in New Jersey, and during the spring Militant-Perspectiva Mundial sales drive, YSA members in New Jersey gained experience using the socialist press including the YS as an important part of campaigning.

Twenty copies of the July-August issue of the YS were sold in three weeks at the end of June and beginning of July at plant gates and by socialist campaigners on the job. This has been accomplished through a coordinated effort by YSA members and other supporters of the socialist campaign.

At Ford Metuchen, a United Auto Workers-organized plant where the Militant is regularly sold, campaigners sold three copies of the YS along with the Militant over two weeks. One worker who had bought a copy of the Militant one week decided to buy the YS the next week. Another campaigner encouraged a regular Militant reader at the plant to buy the YS.

At Wallace and Tiernan, organized by the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE), where sales have been taking place weekly for more than a year, the sales team recently sold two YSs and two Militants. "We've been campaigning for the socialist candidates at the gate, and the YS is great for that," said Steve Craine, a sales team member. "I would use the YS centerspread about Mason's campaign to talk to people about the socialist platform."

At another IUE-organized plant where a YSA member works, a campaign team went at lunchtime to help distribute campaign materials. Two Militants and two YSs were sold during the half-hour lunch break.

At a bulk-mail center where postal workers have contract negotiations coming up in August, campaigners have renewed plantgate sales. Standing on an island in the middle of the highway, the sales team sold three YSs along with nine copies of the Militant to workers in their cars who were stopped at a red light. Two more YSs were sold by a team at a garment center in northern New Jer-

Along with the 13 sold at plant gates, 7 more YSs have been sold by IUE members in different plants in New Jersey.

At Edison products, organized by the IUE, Joan Paltrineri sold three YSs to coworkers who already read the Militant. She said it helped not only to explain the socialist election campaign, but also to sell copies of Maurice Bishop Speaks, a Pathfinder Press book about the Grenada revolu-

"Interest in the book is some-

thing that builds up," she said. "First people read the YS with its review of Maurice Bishop Speaks, or the Pathfinder pamphlet with Bishop's June 1983 speech to U.S. workers. Then people are interested in reading even more about the revolution in Grenada, and in reading the whole book of Bishop's speeches."

Six copies of the YS have been sold to workers at Edison, along with seven copies of Maurice Bishop Speaks. One worker bought three extra copies of the book for friends.

YSA members, known in their shops as SWP campaign supporters, are using their newspaper to explain that they belong to an organization, the YSA, which their coworkers are welcome to join if they like the socialist campaign and want to help spread its ideas.

Canadian labor figures endorse Marroquín case

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

MONTREAL, Québec - Many of the 2,300 delegates attending the May 28-June 1 Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) convention here received an open letter in French and English asking them to help stop the deportation of Héctor Marroquín from the United States.

The letter explained the emergency campaign launched by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) "to force the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to grant Héctor Marroquín, a Mexicanborn socialist, a permanent residence visa, or green card as it is commonly known."

Without hesitation, dozens of labor officials from all over Canada discussed Marroquín's case and promised to lend a hand in solidarity. Among the most receptive women, the French-speaking Québécois, native Indians, Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities.

At an evening convention session on women's rights and affirmative action, several women from the Canadian Union of Public Employees agreed that their union should help in Marroquín's fight. Jeff Rose, their union president, explained that he was familiar with the case and had just sent a telegram to the INS asking that they grant Marroquín a green card. Rose is a vice-president of the CLC.

Ed Broadbent, a leader of the New Democratic party, Canada's labor party, has supported Marroquín's case for some time. Broadbent said he had just sent another telegram asking the INS to grant Marroquín permanent residence.

A similar response came from Rick' Jackson, director of Latin American Affairs for the CLC. He said the CLC would send a telegram on Marroquín's behalf.

There were farmers at the convention as well. At a reception for the Canadian Farmers Survival Association, Marroquin's case won support from activists in the Canadian farmers' fight against farm foreclosures and for fair prices.

Farm workers and a member of the United Auto Workers also gave the names of friends and fellow unionists in the United States to contact for support.

Jean Claude Parrot, national president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) was one of those who immediately agreed to send a telegram of protest to the INS supporting Marroquín. He also invited a supporter of Marroquín's case to address a CUPW caucus meeting to explain the issues in the case.

At the caucus meeting, Parrot said that the U.S. government has a "blacklist" of people they try to deport or keep from entering the country. He said he knew of Canadian political activists who had gone to the United States for holidays only to be refused entrance to the country at the bor-

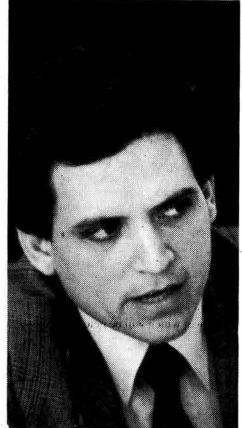
Parrot said "It is easy to lend our support, but any support we can give is tremendously important in stopping the deportation of this brother in the U.S.

After the caucus meeting a president of a CUPW local said he is Québécois, and, as a trade unionist and part of an oppressed nationality, he knows what this fight is all

He said his people suffer discrimination and are told by the government to "learn English." The fight for language and national rights has been a long battle for the French-speaking Québécois.

Yes, he said, I know about the struggle of Mexicans and other Latinos in the United States. He thought Marroquín's fight was very important and promised to send a telegram from his labor council.

Among the others who sent protest telegrams to the INS were Wally Majesky, president of the Labor Council of Metropolitan Toronto; John Fryer, president of



Militant/Ike Nahem

Héctor Marroquín

the National Union of Provincial Government Employees; Gérard Docquier, National Director for Canada, United Steelworkers of America; and the Québec Federation of Labor.

Messages calling on the INS to stop deportation proceedings against Marroquín and to grant him a green card should be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536. Copies of such messages and donations should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Special offer to 'Militant' readers

Major resolutions & reports from 1979 World Congress of Fourth International

Just \$2 — regularly \$4.95

This special supplement to Intercontinental Press contains key documents from the 1979 World Congress of the Fourth International, as well as a major introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. The collection focuses on many political questions being discussed by revolutionists today. Included are resolutions and reports on the world political situation, the turn to industry and tasks of

the Fourth International, the Nicaraquan revolution, women's liberation, working-class strategy before and after the conquest of political power, youth work, Latin America, Indochina, and Europe. Several documents aren't available in print anywhere else.

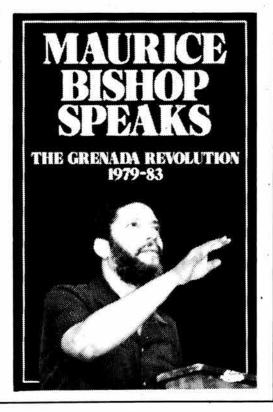
To order, send \$2 to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

SPECIAL OFFER TO MILITANT SUBSCRIBERS

"Maurice Bishop Speaks"

This collection of interviews with and speeches by the slain prime minister of Grenada also includes an introduction explaining the events that led to the overthrow of the

ion:
dditional \$4.00
ce Bishop Speaks
X
The state of the s
34
pies of the book at \$3.50 each to s). otion (book offer not available).
֡֡֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜֜



The Militant

Closing news date: July 11, 1984 Editors: CINDY JAQUITH MALIK MIAH

Business Manager: LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Pat Grogan, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, Geoff Mirelowitz, Mohammed Oliver, Harry Ring.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POST MASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air mail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editor

Dominican unionists hear U.S. socialist

Continued from front page

explained that she was visiting the country to express solidarity with the struggle of the Dominican people against U.S. imperialism.

U.S. labor movement

González gave a brief picture of the U.S. labor movement, going over some of its history.

Today, González said, "the bosses and their government are out to bust our unions. For example, striking copper miners in Arizona and auto workers in Toledo have both faced company and cop violence"

The capitalists, she added, are going after the most oppressed sectors of the working class, such as the undocumented workers.

González pointed out that "Reagan cannot cut social programs, make war in Central America and the Caribbean, or bust unions without the support of the Democratic Party."

González spoke about the need for working-class solidarity, both within the United States and with working people in other countries, including solidarity with the struggle of the Dominican people against the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

González's talk stimulated a lot of interest among the Dominican unionists present. An extensive discussion ensued.

"Why do socialists take part in the U.S. elections?" a young woman asked. "What is the level of political consciousness of U.S. workers?" asked an older man. Others asked: Is there any response to the attacks on undocumented workers? What role do women play in the Socialist Work-



Militant/Martín Koppel

Andrea González, 1984 Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, addressing gathering of Dominican General Workers Federation, whose general secretary, Julio de Peña Gómez, is seated next to her.

ers Party? What is the role of the labor aristocracy in the unions? How does the problem of nuclear arms relate to the fight against imperialist war in Central America?

Most of the workers in the audience were members of the CGT, including several top leaders of the federation. There were several women workers present.

One electrical worker, whose union is not affiliated to the CGT, heard about the meeting through the media.

He came up to González after the meeting and asked about the Black movement and the significance of the Jesse Jackson election campaign. González told him about the revolutionary example of Malcolm X. "Malcolm X is to Black people in the U.S. what Caamaño is to your people," she said, referring to Col. Francisco Caamaño, leader of the Dominican anti-imperialist revolution of 1965.

Anti-IMF protests

De Peña Valdez concluded the meeting for González by announcing an assembly called by the five labor federations to plan protests against new government austerity measures. He explained the regime's moves to raise the price of gasoline by 50 to 100 percent. This is one of the IMF demands in exchange for new loans to the country. Last April, a massive uprising by workers and farmers swept the country, protesting the drastic price increases for basic goods and cuts in government subsidies that had been dictated by the IMF.

González had a chance a few days before to talk with five CGT leaders on the situation facing the Dominican labor movement

De Peña Valdez explained to González that this federation, "with 50,000 members, is the most influential one among the proletariat." It organizes "industrial, mine, agricultural, and service workers" throughout the country. "The CGT is an independent union federation," he said, adding that its members belong to a range of different political parties.

Editors to open SWP convention

BY THABO NTWENG

Militant editor Malik Miah will open the 1984 Socialist Workers Party National Convention and Educational and Activists Conference, which will be held August 4–9 in Oberlin, Ohio.

Miah will give a report from the convention delegates to all conference participants about the schedule and plans for the convention.

Following Miah, there will be a talk celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution and discussing U.S. imperialism's escalating war against the workers and peasants of El Salvador and Nicaragua. This will be given by *Militant* editor Cindy Jaquith.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes will give a report on the fight for a workers and farmers government in the United States. SWP Political Committee member Mac Warren will present a report titled "Polarization, Politicization, and Proletarianization" which will discuss the current political situation in the United States and its world context.

Mary-Alice Waters, national cochairperson of the SWP, will give a report on the workers and farmers government as a popular revolutionary dictatorship.

The SWP's national organization secretary, Craig Gannon, will deliver a report on the political priorities and organization of the party.

Another important feature of the convention will be several workshops that will discuss various aspects of building the socialist movement.

Barry Sheppard, New York City SWP organizer and national cochairperson of the SWP, will lead a workshop on the party's participation in activity against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean.

Intercontinental Press editor Doug Jenness will lead a workshop on the party's work with farmers and farm workers.

Militant staff writer Pat Grogan will lead a workshop on the party's participation in

Subscribe to the Young Socialist

Bimonthly revolutionary youth paper covers the fight against Washington's wars and racism.

\$1 for half-year \$3 for one year

14 Charles Lane New York, New York 10014 the women's liberation movement and Mac Warren will lead a workshop on the party's work in the Black liberation movement.

Additional workshops will discuss building support for the Socialist Workers Party presidential election campaign, organizing sales of the *Militant* at plant gates, and other aspects of building the SWP. There will also be a variety of classes and meetings of members of major industrial unions

A concert by Thiago de Mello and Amazon will celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.

I am interested in attending the 1984 Socialist Workers Party convention and educational and activists conference, August 4–9, in Oberlin, Ohio.

1	Name		
A	Address		
(City	State	
7	Zip	Phone	
τ	Jnion/Organi	zation/School	41
(lin and send	to: SWP National	Office, 14

Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Fourth attack on Atlanta SWP office

ATLANTA, Ga. — The fourth terrorist attack against the Atlanta Socialist Workers Campaign Committee offices this year took place July 4. Early that morning, rocks were thrown through the front-door window.

The smashed window was found by a police officer. He refused to contact the campaign. He claimed he had no "emergency number." But the Atlanta police have a file on these cases, which includes emergency numbers of campaign organizers.

Prior to this attack, the Socialist Workers Party was involved in a successful gathering protesting the U.S. occupation of Grenada and in support of the gains made by the Grenada revolution. The activity was held at the home of campaign director Jon Bixby. Before the event, an unknown person visited Bixby's landlord, making inquiries about Bixby. Right after the event, a hand-delivered threat was left in Bixby's mailbox.

Sara Jean Johnston, Socialist Workers

candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia, said that these attacks are intended to "intimidate us from carrying out anti-capitalist activities." They're designed, she said, "to stop us from supporting civil and democratic rights" struggles.

Johnston linked the rightist attacks on the socialists' headquarters to the racist and antilabor actions of the White House, Supreme Court, and Congress.

"It is this atmosphere — created by the Democrats, Republicans, big-business media, and corporations — that results in such attacks on our headquarters," said Johnston.

Johnston noted that there has been no action from Mayor Andrew Young's office in trying to arrest the perpetrators of these attacks.

"We demand Mayor Andrew Young and Gov. Joe Frank Harris do whatever is necessary to stop the terrorist attacks against my campaign headquarters," Johnston said. "However, the CGT is an organization with a clear class-struggle perspective," he stressed. The CGT has a long experience defending itself from government repression, which is a major obstacle to union organizing, especially since the government is the main employer.

De Peña Valdez added, "There is no law in the Dominican Republic guaranteeing in practice the right to organize unions. On the contrary, the labor laws give a capitalist the right to throw any unionist out on the street without cause." As a result of this situation, he said, "in less than six years the CGT has had more than 100 [local] unions destroyed."

Years of persecution

In the face of this antilabor repression, the CGT has stepped up its organizing efforts, winning more than 40 new local unions in the past two years. And "we have waged a struggle for union rights as well as civil liberties," he said.

Many CGT leaders have suffered years of persecution and jail for their efforts. As several workers remarked to González in the course of her tour, these union officials' fighting leadership has won them prestige and authority among broad layers of the Dominican working class, even though not all workers share the revolutionary politics of many of the CGT leaders.

International working-class solidarity is another characteristic of the CGT. The main report to the third national congress of the federation, held last December, states in the beginning, "The workers and oppressed peoples of the world have seen with joy how . . . a new revolutionary cycle has begun in Latin America, whose epicenter is Central America, with Nicaragua and El Salvador in the vanguard."

Unity in struggle

Working-class solidarity, de Peña Valdez explained, is especially important in the Dominican Republic, where the 13 percent of the labor force which is unionized is divided into five union federations. "The CGT advocates class unity to confront capitalism and its state. We support the broadest possible unity in struggle by the union movement," said de Peña Valdez.

"This has allowed us to develop an interunion coordinating committee — where all of the country's union federations currently participate — around a seven-point program approved by an assembly of the union ranks on January 26 of this year. This assembly also approved a plan of struggle, which had a lot to do with the events of last April. Beginning on February 4, we built large marches against hunger, involving not only workers, but poor communities as well.

"Here in the capital and the rest of the country we held a national day of protest against hunger on April 7, mobilizing workers and poor neighborhoods in 40 out of 96 municipalities in the Dominican Republic," said de Peña Valdez.

On July 8 González was invited to attend the planning meeting for protests against the announced gasoline price hikes. Although in recent days the police had launched massive raids throughout working-class neighborhoods, arresting hundreds of people, about 60 people met in the Port Workers Union (POASI) hall.

They were mainly leaders of several unions — particularly the bus drivers and transportation workers unions — and the Committees for Popular Struggle (CLP). The CLPs began to develop last year in poor neighborhoods in many cities, helping to mobilize the population against government attacks on their living standards; they played an important role in the April 23–25 rebellion.

The assembly discussed the situation and decided to build a broader meeting with sufficient authority to call a series of coordinated protests, including a possible general strike and mass demonstrations. Protests organized by the Committees for Popular Struggle had already begun in several neighborhoods of Santo Domingo.

After the meeting, the general secretary of POASI approached González and proudly introduced her to a group of about 20 port workers as "the socialist candidate for U.S. vice-president who came to show solidarity with us."

YSA CAMPAIGNS FOR SOCIALISM

This week we are starting a new column, "YSA Campaigns for Socialism," to report on the activities of the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA is a multinational revolutionary youth organization made up of young workers, students, and others. It is actively campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González.

BY STEPHEN BLOODWORTH

CHICAGO — A team of Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party members recently toured the coalfields of southern Illinois. We were campaigning and petitioning to get SWP candidates Mel Mason and Andrea González, running for president and vice-president, and Nelson González, running for U.S. Senate from Illinois, on the ballot.

We traveled for five days through Williamson County, about 250 miles south of Chicago. It's an area of coal miners, farmers, and Blacks. In at least one community, unemployment runs as high as 65 percent.

Going door-to-door in small communities, our discussions with residents would last up to an hour. People listened to and talked about our socialist ideas, asked questions, and related their own experiences to what we are saying with our campaign.

In a small shopping center we met a miner and his wife who said they often vote socialist. They filled out a campaign interest card.

We went to a roadside country bar that miners frequent. On the wall were stickers reading, "Illinois Coal Comes Up UMWA" and "Why Not Coal?"

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) is strong in this

We campaigned in Number 9, an unincorporated community of about 400 people that was once a mining camp. Most of the residents of Number 9 are Black and are working, retired or laid-off

In Number 9 we met William Perkins, a sheet metal worker active in the fight to improve the quality of life there. Number 9 has no paved streets or street lights. It has no sewage system. Raw sewage often runs into open wells and cisterns, posing a serious health hazard.

There are dangerous open mine vents. Scattered about are abandilapidated company doned, houses. There is no park or recreation facility, no fire protection. Number 9 borders Colp, a segregated white community with all the basic municipal facilities.

Perkins said the county government wants to keep Number 9 the 'plantation" of Williamson County.

We told Perkins about Grenada and how it too was a "plantation" until 1979, when the workers and farmers there - most of whom are Black — rose up against their oppression and brought to power a government run in the interests of working people, not profit. Perkins immediately bought the Pathfinder Press pamphlet "Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers."

Residents in Number 9 bought all of our pamphlets on Malcolm X, signed interest cards, bought subscriptions to the Militant, and signed our ballot petitions.

We also petitioned in a poor

neighborhood in Marion, Illinois. Our first discussion here was

with a young, white unemployed mechanic. We told him about the socialist campaign and he said, Yeah, we gotta do something different, they've got things all screwed up!"

We showed him the Militant and he asked for a subscription blank. He noticed the article on the British coal strike and wanted Militants for his next-door neighbor and brother-in-law, both coal

In Marion we stopped in a yard where two young men were helping a farmer who is a retired miner work on his tractor. Due to his reduced income from retirement and the high costs of planting, the farmer told us he was unable to plant this spring. He bought a Militant saying, "I'm not buying this because I don't know what's going on. I'm buying this because I respect what you guys are doing."

We walked to a park where a white woman and her child, a grandmother, and a Black woman were relaxing around a picnic table. We explained the socialist campaign's opposition to the U.S. war in Central America. The young mother said we shouldn't be sending money there.

We talked about the racist attacks on affirmative action, and the Black woman nodded in agree-

We explained how our campaign defends the rights of women, and the grandmother said, "Hell, I'm for that!" She took the petition, signed it, and bought a copy of the Militant. She went on to tell us how deeply the Vietnam War affected these small rural Black and white working class communities and why she was op-

Young Socialist Alliance member Stephen Bloodworth introducing Militant and socialist campaign to worker in Marion, Illinois.

posed to any more Vietnams in Central America.

The last day of our tour was spent in Mt. Vernon, Illinois. Our team ran across a group of Puerto Rican families that had moved from Chicago. We discussed the U.S. war against Nicaragua, and our support for Puerto Rican independence and the Cuban revolu-

Before this trip I had wondered if the enthusiastic response to the SWP campaign in Chicago was

But it's not unique. Especially the antiwar sentiment. It's widespread and runs deep. All over, people are politically thinking about this crisis — the war; unemployment; the attacks on unions, Blacks and women; the loss of the family farm to the banks and corporations.

The socialist campaign offers a fighting program to end this crisis that capitalism brings upon working people. I think that's why we received the response we did, and why one of the most common questions we heard was, "When are your candidates coming down

Stephen Bloodworth is a garment worker and member of the Chicago Young Socialist Alliance.

To find out more about the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential campaign, write to Young Socialist Alliance, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions to the Young Socialist, the YSA's bimonthly newspaper, are \$3 for one year.

Mason speaks in N.Y. on international solidarity

BY YVONNE HAYES

NEW YORK - International workingclass solidarity. This was the theme of a June 24 campaign rally in New York which heard a report from Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, on his recent trip to Ireland and Britain. Mason made the tour to participate in demonstrations in those countries against Reagan's visit.

The rally highlighted the example being set in Ireland, where the many protests against Reagan centered on opposition to the U.S. war in Central America. George Harrison, an activist in the Irish struggle who lives in New York, applauded the "spirited opposition displayed by a broad

cross section of the people." He stated, 'The people who resist British rule in Ireland made it clear where they stand in relation to Reagan's policies in Central America, the Caribbean, and elsewhere."

Harrison explained the history of Washington's collaboration with British imperialism in Ireland. He pointed to the recent deportation from the United States of Michael O'Rourke, an Irish freedom fighter, as an example of Reagan's support to British colonial rule.

O'Rourke is now being held in Portlaoise Prison outside Dublin. The rally sent a protest message to Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald and the U.S.

Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner.

"We must be educated about who our friends are," said Harrison. "They are the people struggling for freedom all over the world. They are those who wish to create social change in America." That is why, Harrison said, he endorses the Socialist Workers campaign of Mel Mason.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who faces possible deportation from the United States for his political views, also spoke at the rally. He explained his support for the socialist campaign, saying that it is the "only campaign that looks to the millions of undocumented workers and immigrants as a part of its consti-

Marroquín explained that "although the so-called 'illegal aliens' can't vote at the ballot box, we can vote with our energy and commitment as part of the U.S. working class by participating in the political struggle to defend the rights of all working people and to advance the fight for real democracy and social justice in the United States.

Mel Mason cited many examples of the internationalism of Irish working people. He noted that the Black civil rights song "We Shall Overcome" has been adopted by the Irish civil rights movement, illustrating the great inspiration that the Irish have received from the struggle of Blacks in the United States.

While in Ireland, Mason pledged to build solidarity in the United States with the struggle against British domination of that country. At the New York meeting he described the determination of Nicky Kelly, who's locked in Portlaoise Prison, and Linda Quigley, a 24-year-old activist who has already been imprisoned twice for her political beliefs. Mason said, "These fighters, rather than being beaten into submission while in jail, have renewed their commitment to the struggle."

Mason described one of the highlights of his visit to Ireland — campaigning in Dublin's poorest neighborhoods with Sinn Féin's candidates in the European Economic Community elections. Sinn Féin is the largest political organization in Ireland that is fighting for a united, socialist Ire-

Noting the identification among Irish activists with the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua, Mason said, "My prediction that Ireland would one day be to Western Europe what Cuba is to the Americas was always met with enthusiastic applause during the tour.'

Mason also found opposition among working people in Britain to the U.S. war in Central America and to U.S. deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe. Striking British coal miners formed one of the contingents at the 200,000-strong Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demonstration in London on June 9, which Mason participated in.

The miners know, he explained, that "the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is out to break the National Union of Mineworkers — the most powerful union in Britain — in order to change the relationship of forces between the ruling class and the working class."

Mason explained, "If the miners are defeated, the international employing class will be emboldened to go after workers in other countries. You can be sure that miners and auto workers in the U.S. would feel the brunt of such a defeat when their contracts come up this fall."

Working people in Ireland and Britain are helping to point the way forward, Mason said, for the kind of struggle it will take to rid the world of the system of profiteering and war. He stated that U.S. working people have a "tremendous responsibility because we live in the heart of the problem. We are the key to the world struggle of the oppressed."

Mason explained that it's necessary to build a movement here which can change the system of rule in this country and bring to power a new government, a government of the majority - a workers and farmers government.

Mason urged everyone to join this struggle by getting involved in the socialisticampaign and joining the Socialist Werkers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

\$2,500 collected in special fund

BY YVONNE HAYES

More than \$2,500 has been contributed to the socialist presidential campaign in the last seven weeks to help cover the costs of Mel Mason's recent trip to Ireland and Britain. Mason was accompanied by Militant correspondent Margaret Jayko.

The socialist presidential candidate went to Ireland in response to an invitation by People's Democracy, the Irish organization affiliated to the Fourth International. Mason participated in protests against Reagan's visit to Ireland and the U.S. war in Central America. He met with leaders and activists in the struggle against the Britishimposed division of Ireland - including current and former political prisoners.

Mason toured Britain at the invitation of the newsweekly Socialist Action. He marched in the June 9 demonstration in London sponsored by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. He spoke with striking coal miners, women strike supporters, and Black activists.

The tour was an important contribution to the process of building international solidarity among working people.

Since his return to the United States, Mason has been speaking on the truth about the struggle for national liberation in

Ireland and the strike battle being waged by British coal miners.

The invitations from Ireland and Britain presented a welcome but unexpected opportunity for the socialist campaign. Because the enormous expense of the tour had not been budgeted, a special \$5,000 fund was established to defray the costs of the trip. The contributions to this fund came from many campaign supporters, especially those who follow the socialist campaign in the pages of the Militant and Perspectiva Mundial.

	I am contributing \$ to help pay for Mel Mason's trip to Ireland and Britain.
	I would like to be a campaign volunteer.
N	вте
A	idress
Ci	ty and State
Zi	p Tel
Pi	ail to: Socialist Workers residential Campaign, 14 harles Ln., New York, NY 10014

NOW discusses women's rights, elections

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

MIAMI BEACH — Abortion rights, affirmative action, violence against women, racism, the U.S. war in Central America - these were among the crucial questions facing participants at the 1984 national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) held here June 28-July

The NOW leadership, however, focused the attention of conference participants almost entirely on a drive to get out the vote for Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale as the key task facing women's rights fighters. Included in this was the idea that Mondale should choose a female running mate.

Like other major women's rights, civil rights, and union gatherings this year, the NOW conference was dominated by this discussion of the need to replace Ronald Reagan with Mondale in November. Last December, NOW's Political Action Committee (NOW/PAC) endorsed Mondale. Four hundred NOW members will be delegates to the Democratic Party convention in San Francisco.

This year's NOW conference, scheduled to precede the Democratic Party convention, was half the size of the 1983 conference. Some 680 delegates and a total of 900 NOW members registered this year. Many of NOW's 800 chapters did not send full delegations. There were very few Black and Latino women in attendance.

Most women at the conference saw voting Reagan out of the White House as a priority, but many were unhappy with the NOW leadership's decision to funnel almost all NOW's activity into the Democratic Party. Given the intensity and scope of the attacks on women's rights, many NOW members wanted NOW to take action independently in defense of women's

'Run with a woman'

The centerpiece of the NOW leadershiip's approach to getting Mondale elected was a womam vice-presidential running mate.

NOW Pres. Judy Goldsmith told the conference, "We're not saying that if there's not a woman on the ticket, we won't play; we're saying that if there's not a woman on the ticket we won't win."

Former NOW Pres. Eleanor Smeal introduced the resolution to the delegates entitled, "Woman Vice-president." The resolution offered the advice to Mondale, "Run with a woman, win with a woman.'

Many NOW members who were unenthusiastic about Mondale were excited by the idea of a woman on the ticket. This helped the NOW leadership sell their strat-

When Mondale addressed the conference Saturday morning, he was greeted by a floor demonstration that had been prepared at NOW regional caucus meetings the night before. NOW chapter and state leaders led chants and songs and waved signs for a woman vice-president.

Following Mondale's speech, a host of women Democrats and one Republican spoke as part of a fundraising event for NOW/PAC.

Questioning of the leadership's strategy and a desire to discuss alternatives was evident in a number of ways throughout the conference.

Sonia Johnson campaign

Two hundred women attended a reception for Sonia Johnson. Johnson is a NOW member who achieved prominence as a result of her expulsion from the Mormon Church for pro-women's rights views. She is running for president on the Citizens

Johnson received strong applause when she criticized NOW for becoming the "handmaiden of the Democratic Party." She said that NOW had been "seduced by the promise of power by the Democrats . . . but the Democrats will never really change the system." She received a good response whenever she raised the idea that NOW should organize direct actions and that women should rely on their own strength.

Johnson also received a good response to her statements in solidarity with the Nicaraguan people. She had just returned from a trip to Nicaragua.



Nine hundred delegates and observers attended 1984 National NOW Conference. Gathering discussed attacks on abortion rights, affirmative action, and other gains. NOW leadership, however, deepened course of subordinating women's rights struggle to support for capitalist parties.

Johnson, however, had no alternative class analysis to that of the NOW leadership. While criticizing some of the more superficial aspects of their subordination of the women's rights struggle to the needs of the ruling class, Johnson didn't point to the working class as the social force with which women can and must ally themselves. She wasn't able to give women a coherent alternative to what the NOW leadership proposed.

Johnson didn't participate in the conference discussions.

Socialist campaign

A clear alternative perspective was presented at the conference by NOW members who are supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-presi-

The socialists explained that the attacks on women's rights are not just the result of one man, Reagan, but are part of an all-out ruling class offensive against working people here and throughout the world. They explained that the Democratic and Republican parties could never represent the interests of women, because these parties administer the capitalist system that is responsible for the oppression of women.

The socialists explained the need for an independent, fighting women's liberation movement which would ally with Blacks, Latinos, and the union movement to conduct an uncompromising fight for women's rights and stand up to the ruling class' of-

A reception for socialist candidates running for statewide offices across the country attracted a number of NOW members as well as immigrant farm workers who were guests at the convention. Four NOW members stayed for several hours talking to Katy Karlin, a striking oil worker, member of NOW, and the Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in Pennsylvania.

Essex County, New Jersey, NOW delegate Mary Roche Eidsvik took the floor during the discussion of the woman vicepresident resolution. Eidsvik, a long-time activist in NOW and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, urged NOW members to "think about how social change and advances for women and working people have come about in the past."

"First, how were civil rights gained?" she asked. "By organizing the Montgomery bus boycott, the massive 1963 March on Washington, Woolworth sit-ins - a massive social movement." It was also a massive social movement - here and in Vietnam — that forced Washington to withdraw from that country, said Eidsvik.

"How were abortion rights won? Under the pressure of the growing women's rights

"The strategy for our activities in this resolution would turn the women's liberation movement and NOW in particular into a vote-getting machine for the Democratic Party, a letter-writing, stamp-licking, doorbell-ringing auxiliary.

"What we need to win our rights is a strong, fighting, women's liberation movement that would counter the assaults on abortion rights and clinics, join with Black and Latina sisters to fight for affirmative action, fight for lesbian and gay rights, for pay equity and child care."

Although most NOW members did not agree with the socialists' opposition to supporting the Democratic Party, many did feel that NOW should be fighting more actively against the flood of attacks on women's rights, including the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean.

Abortion clinic attacks

One indication of this was the big discussion that took place about the rising wave of terrorist attacks on abortion clinics around the country. Four workshops were held on this topic and a major resolution was passed.

The resolution points out that "within the first five months of 1984 there were eight arson attacks on health clinics providing abortion services across the country, in addition to numerous incidents of vandalism, trespass, physical assaults and other vio-

The resolution called on NOW to conduct a comprehensive campaign against antiabortion terrorism and harassment including publicizing and demanding the laws be enforced against antiabortion forces.

Combating racism

A number of workshops on civil rights and combating racism took place. The discussions showed real concern that NOW become an organization that fights for Black and Latina sisters. But little progress has been made in NOW toward this goal, which has been discussed at several previous conferences.

A workshop was organized by Florida farm workers and NOW members to organize opposition to the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill and support to Mexican-born socialist Héctor Marroquín, who is fighting deportation.

A warm round of applause was given to a delegate from the NOW chapter in Puerto Rico when she introduced the first issue of the Spanish-English edition of the National NOW Times.

Mary Francis Berry, who Reagan tried to remove from the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, played an active role at the con-

Berry was greeted with a standing ovation when she took the floor at the resolutions plenary. She introduced and motivated a stongly worded affirmative action resolution and a resolution on the Voting Rights Act.

The affirmative action resolution included supporting the use of goals, timetables and quotas to enforce existing af-, firmative action programs and for modified seniority lists to fight the "last hired, first fired" syndrome.

A delegate rose to speak in favor of the affirmative action resolution as a way of responding to the June 12 Supreme Court decision upholding discriminatory layoffs.

Berry explained that her perspective in presenting these resolutions was to get NOW's backing for parts of the minority plank being pushed at the Democratic Party

Continued on Page 17

Munn. conterence on rurat women neta

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS

MORRIS, Minn. — Morris is a small town in rural Minnesota. The grain elevators start a block away from Main Street. Morris was the site of the June 1-2 Minnesota National Organization for Women (NOW) State Conference. The site emphasized the focus of the conference: the problems facing rural women.

Seventy-six people attended, including some from farms and farm backgrounds. Young union women and members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) were energetic participants in the

The keynote address was given by Anne Kanten, Minnesota Assistant Commissioner of Agriculture and a farmer until re-

"I am a woman and a farmer, and I am angry," she said, explaining that family farmers today face "liquidation [and] fore-

This was new to many women attending

the conference and they listened attentively to the facts that Kanten gave. She reported that farmers are selling their products below cost; that they owe \$227 million to the banks; and that they are paying 20 percent interest while getting a 1.8 percent return on their investment in 1983.

Kanten pointed the finger at Washington's conscious policy of driving the working farmer off the land.

Kanten argued that world hunger and the crisis of U.S. farmers are both rooted in the policies of the U.S. government. This creates a sturdy common bond among farmers internationally.

Kanten noted that in El Salvador 14 families own most of the land and pointed to a statement by FmHA National Director Charles Schuman that "We only need 200,000 farmers in the USA."

'We need to think about that when we think of agriculture," Kanten said. "Small family farms are being destroyed here and abroad at the same time that democracy is destroyed.... The issue is the same in Minnesota, all over America, Africa. The issue is: who will control the gift of land."

Kanten concluded that the crisis in agriculture is not just the farmers' problem. "The control of land and of the food industry of the world is a problem for all of us." She urged NOW to learn more, and support farmers in their struggle, pointing to the fact that half of all women in the world live and work on farms. They produce 80 percent of the food.

Kanten then gave the floor over to Lou Anne Kling, a farmer activist in the Minnesota chapter of the American Agriculture Movement, to explain the specific concerns of farm women.

Kling said that it is the women on farms facing financial ruin who are most often the first to seek help to save the family's farm, to fight for a loan, to break out of isolation, and link up with an organization.

As far as the banks and the FmHA are Continued on Page 16

El Salvador: is Washington's man Duarte turning the tide against rebel forces?

A reply to 'Guardian' writer Robert Armstrong

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Is Washington turning the tide against the liberation forces in El Salvador with the election of José Napoleón Duarte as president of that country?

The U.S. government and media are certainly on a drive to convince public opinion this is the case. Duarte has been hailed in the big-business press as a "strong, courageous, and combative democrat" who will finally bring peace to El Salvador. He is said to enjoy support among the masses, while the rebel forces' popularity is supposedly on the wane.

This pro-Duarte propaganda campaign is designed to justify the escalating U.S. military intervention in El Salvador and to lull the millions of opponents of that intervention into thinking that U.S. involvement in Central America can play a progressive role, at least when it's backing "democrats" like Duarte.

The propaganda is also designed to undercut international support for the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the rebel forces that represent the masses of Salvadoran workers and peasants.

But Duarte's presidency cannot resolve the deep social crisis facing El Salvador or bring an end to the civil war.

Duarte's first month in office has already shown that his new role differs little from the one he played as part of the 1980–82 ruling military-civilian junta: to provide a "democratic" fig leaf for the capitalist dictatorship's war of terror against Salvadoran working people.

U.S. military role

That war can only continue with massive, and increasing, U.S. military support. More and more, in fact, Washington is directly running the war, as the rebel forces continue to advance — both politically and militarily — against the dictatorship.

U.S. military "maneuvers," involving thousands of GIs based at permanent U.S. military installations in Honduras, are being conducted almost continuously. More are planned for this month.

U.S. personnel run reconnaissance flights to gather intelligence on rebel positions for the Salvadoran army.

U.S. pilots help the Salvadoran air force carry out regular saturation bombings of civilian populations in areas held by the FMLN.

Democrats and Republicans in Congress have allocated millions more in aid to the Salvadoran regime, while an increasing number of U.S. military "advisers" are stationed in El Salvador.

The goal of this massive militarization of the region is to smash the FMLN and the workers and peasants it represents; as well as to overthrow the popular Sandinista government of Nicaragua.



Salvadoran Pres. José Napoleón Duarte, Washington's "democratic" cover for stepped-up military intervention.

Neither the battered Salvadoran army nor the CIA-run mercenaries attacking Nicaragua have any hope of accomplishing these objectives, however. That's why Washington is laying the basis for introducing U.S. combat troops directly into the conflict.

Duarte's role is to provide a slicked up facade behind which to deepen this intervention. Washington has achieved some success in selling Duarte "the Democrat" to liberal and petty-bourgeois circles in the United States, including suckering some on the U.S. left.

'Guardian' buys line

An example is the lead front-page article in the June 27 *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly. The article by Robert Armstrong was titled "What now for the Salvadoran left?"

Armstrong argues that Duarte's election marks a qualitative turning point in the political situation in El Salvador. Stepped-up U.S. involvement, says Armstrong, has led to "an era of good feeling" in the country. Duarte runs a stable, united administration, which has begun carrying out a series of progressive alterations in the gov-

ernment, according to Armstrong. "Some independent observers in San Salvador," he continues, "even see the new government as potentially challenging the FMLN-FDR for mass support for the first time since 1980."

Duarte's election was a "political and diplomatic setback" for the FMLN-FDR, says Armstrong. As a result of this "setback" the rebels must "re-assess their strategy," he argues.

Armstrong's starting point for looking at the situation in El Salvador is the recent presidential elections there. In Armstrong's view, it's the elections themselves that are decisive. As he wrote in the February 15 Guardian, prior to the elections, the stakes in the presidential race "are extraordinarily high; whoever wins, it will be a decisive event."

For Armstrong, the clash of major class forces in El Salvador — the U.S. imperialists and their supporters among the Salvadoran capitalists and landowners, versus the great mass of oppressed and exploited workers and peasants led by the FMLN-FDR — is subordinate to which capitalist politician gets elected.

But making the capitalist electoral set-up a starting point — whether in El Salvador, the United States, or anywhere else — means turning reality on its head. Elections, at best, reflect only in a highly distorted manner the relationship of forces that's already been established on the battlefields and picket lines, and in the workplaces and streets.

Armstrong is preoccupied with the cosmetic changes in the government made since Duarte began his term of office on June 1. The struggles of the workers and peasants get only a passing mention in his article. As a result, he sees bleak prospects for the FMLN. He implies that a "revitalized" Salvadoran army is now beginning to win the war. The picture he paints is of a discouraged and disoriented FMLN. This is the opposite of the assessment the FMLN itself is making of the situation.

The effect of the Guardian running Armstrong's article is to give credence to the myth that the U.S. government is a force for "moderation" in El Salvador and opposes such blatant butchers as former president of the Constituent Assembly Roberto D'Aubuisson. Such a line can only disarm opponents of U.S. intervention pre-

cisely at a time when solidarity with the Salvadoran rebels' struggle is vital to meet the escalating threat of U.S. troops being directly sent into the conflict.

A legitimate government?

Armstrong seems to accept the U.S. government line that Duarte's election is a meaningful index of the relationship of class forces in El Salvador.

"A voter turnout of 1.4 million twice in six weeks has raised questions in several capitals about the extent of rebel support among the general population, despite the well-known examples of government coercion and intimidation to get people to the polls," says Armstrong.

But this election was a farce. It was financed, organized, and run from the U.S. embassy.

The U.S. government, through the CIA, donated large sums of money to the campaigns of both Duarte and Francisco José Guerrero, presidential candidate of the National Conciliation Party, the traditional political instrument of the military during most of the 1960s and 1970s.

In fact, the elections are another example of the degree to which the U.S. imperialists are forced to directly run the show in El Salvador.

The elections took place under a brutal dictatorship, in the midst of a civil war. All newspapers and radio stations independent of the government — except for those in the zones controlled by the FMLN — have been shut down by the army.

Under such repressive conditions the FMLN and the organizations that support it chose not to participate in the elections. The "choice," therefore, was between several proimperialist candidates.

No voting at all took place in 89 of the country's 261 municipalities — those under the control of the liberation forces.

The fact that hundreds of thousands of people did vote tells you little about the level of support for the rebel forces. The FMLN-FDR didn't call on people to boycott the elections. In fact, they urged people to vote in government-controlled areas if they felt it was necessary in order to avoid reprisals against them by the armed forces or right-wing death squads.

Which capitals?

What about the "questions" that Armstrong says the election raised in several "capitals" about the FMLN-FDR's level of support?

How different "capitals" responded had a lot to do with which class in society runs them. Havana, Cuba, and Managua, Nicaragua — capitals where the workers and peasants are in power — pointed out the fraudulent nature of the elections.

It's hardly surprising, on the other hand, that the imperialist governments of France, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries sent delegations to Duarte's inauguration, or that Duarte has the backing of the Christian Democratic International.

Armstrong seems to have been caught off guard by these developments. But they were to be expected. Imperialist governments and parties throughout the world oppose the victory of the workers and peasants in El Salvador. They do not want another Cuba or Nicaragua. At times they have criticized the Salvadoran government and even voiced sympathy for the FMLN-FDR, but only because of the pressure of working people, especially in their wwn countries. Their fundamental interests are the same as Washington's: unyielding opposition to any revolutionary struggle that threatens the right of capitalists to reap profits from the workers and peasants of the oppressed countries.

Surprises

According to Armstrong, Duarte's election provoked "some surprises."

"The most surprising result of the elec-



Salvadoran troops unload U.S.-supplied ammunition. Even with massive infusion of U.S. military aid, army is losing war with liberation forces.

tion is the Duarte government. It has emerged as more coherent and internally consistent than any government that has ruled El Salvador since 1979," Armstrong says. The most important reason for this stability, says Armstrong, is that Duarte's chief opponent in the election, death-squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, has been neutralized by Washington.

Yet during the last week of June, D'Aubuisson was wined and dined by more than a dozen U.S. senators with close ties to the Reagan administration. He was given a visa despite the State Department's knowledge that D'Aubuisson's gang was involved in a plot to assassinate Thomas Pickering, the U.S. ambassador to El Sal-

The sectors of the Salvadoran ruling class and military hierarchy for whom D'Aubuisson speaks remain key collaborators in U.S. imperialism's drive to smash the Salvadoran workers and peas-

The most important fact to know about the Duarte government - which social class it represents — is not mentioned by Armstrong.

The Duarte government is a capitalist government, which wields the state apparatus in the interests of the U.S. imperialists and Salvador's ruling 14 families. All evidence indicates that Duarte intends to continue to defend the interests of those layers of the capitalists and military brass that back D'Aubuisson.

'Surprise' no. 2: the military

"Within the military, there also have been surprising changes," says Armstrong. "The high command has sent into exile three of the officers most identified with death squad activity ... and has reorganized the security forces under the deputy defense minister, Col. Reynaldo Golcher, a particular favorite of the U.S. embassy. It has also abolished the intelligence office of the Treasury Police, the object of repeated charges of death squad ac-

The three officers Armstrong refers to were not exiled - or jailed, for that matter. Rather, they were reassigned to cushy jobs outside the country. They also didn't



Rebels address townspeople in El Salvador. Rebel forces, backed up by workers and peasants, are advancing politically and militarily against dictatorship.

take the death squads with them - those remain to continue their butchery in El Sal-

And what's "surprising" about putting a "favorite" of the U.S. embassy in charge of security forces?

Washington is no newcomer to running the Salvadoran death squads.

The May issue of Progressive magazine reported that "Early in the 1960s, during the Kennedy Administration, agents of the U.S. government in El Salvador set up two official security organizations that killed thousands of peasants and suspected leftists over the next fifteen years. These organizations, guided by American operatives, developed into the paramilitary apparatus that came to be known as the Salvadoran Death Squads.

"Today, even as the Reagan Administration publicly condemns the Death Squads, the CIA — in violation of U.S. law — continues to provide training, support, and intelligence to security forces directly involved in Death Squad activity."

The personnel changes in the military that Duarte has made serve the same purpose Duarte himself does: cover for continued U.S.-backed army terror.

Union officials join government

El Salvador's labor and peasant movements get only one paragraph from Armstrong. This paragraph begins:

'Responding to pressure from its trade union supporters in the Popular Democratic Union, the Duarte government has integrated top labor leaders into important positions in the agricultural ministry and in the agencies responsible for agrarian reform."

This, too, is no surprise. It is, in fact, standard operating procedure for capitalist governments who use the presence of these union bureaucrats in government posts as a way to quell workers' struggles and give the governments more legitimacy in the eyes of the workers.

That's exactly the role these labor fakers are playing in El Salvador today.

This was made clear rather quickly. On June 29, the Legislative Assembly voted to bar further distribution of land to the peasants, thereby putting the last nail in the coffin of El Salvador's land redistribution program.

According to the June 30 Washington Post, "Farm union leaders acknowledged that they had not put up a major fight to win extension of the [land distribution] decree. They noted that they did not organize demonstrations as they had for previous

"Several top farm labor leaders were distracted by their new jobs running much of the government's land reform machinery."

Having a couple of "top labor leaders" in government agencies hasn't ended martial law, which has been in effect since the Duarte-headed junta decreed a state of siege in March 1980. Labor strikes are still banned as "subversive," public demonstrations are still prohibited, collective bargaining is still outlawed, and wages are still frozen. And it hasn't prevented workers from continuing to rise up against the problems they face.

'Alienating the business community'

Armstrong also reports that the Duarte government "has met labor agitation with unexpected calm and achieved the settlement of several strikes and strike threats without violence and apparently without alienating the business community.'

The "labor agitation" Armstrong refers to is a series of strikes involving tens of thousands of workers protesting the government's wage freeze. While some of these strikes have ended, new work stoppages have broken out since Duarte took office, including among postal workers (see story below).

Armstrong doesn't mention these new strikes. He's more impressed with Duarte's alleged ability to deal with labor "without alienating the business community," a delicate term for the gang of thieves, parasites, and murderers who make up El Salvador's ruling class.

'Era of good feeling'

'The principal reason for this era of good feeling," says Armstrong of the situation in El Salvador, "is the increasing U.S. penetration into all areas of the state and civil society in El Salvador.'

An "era of good feeling" for whom? What class? Not for the workers and peasants, who are the victims of increased "U.S. penetration."

"Behind the scenes the political drama is carefully coordinated by U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering," Armstong continues. "His political acumen and deft diplomacy have given the Reagan administration the space it wanted to prevent the collapse of the Salvadoran government before the November presidential elections. Exactly how it has been done is not known, although recent revelations of almost \$1 million in CIA support to Duarte's presidential candidacy suggest the probable method."

But it's not "political acumen" and "deft diplomacy" on the part of U.S. diplomats that has saved the Salvadoran government so far — it's their big bank accounts and tons of weapons.

Contrary to Armstrong's assertion, it is known exactly how the Reagan administration has prevented the collapse of the Salvadoran government — through massive infusions of U.S. money; through the Pentagon increasingly taking over direct command of the war; and through the massive buildup of U.S. forces in neighboring Honduras. The CIA money to Duarte's presidential campaign that Armstrong mentions is just one drop in the bucket of U.S. intervention.

Who's winning the war?

Armstrong acknowledges the increasingly direct U.S. role in El Salvador's civil war.

"The FMLN-FDR political and diplomatic problems, meanwhile, are compounded on the battlefield by a revitalized Salvadoran army now using air power and sophisticated intelligence technology.

"Once again, an increased U.S. presence is the key factor in the change. Officers sympathetic with and loyal to U.S. advisers are gradually taking control of the armed forces....

"U.S. military personnel are reportedly increasingly in the field during combat operations and one report has U.S. pilots flying bombing raids over rebel-controlled

"Saturation bombing of rebel-held areas are now a regular feature of the war. . . .

What the Guardian misses is the reason for the increased U.S. role: the Salvadoran army cannot defeat the rebels on its own. After years of fighting, years in which Washington has financed, trained, and organized the army, the Salvadoran government is losing the war.

The Salvadoran army is not winning a big base of support among the workers and peasants — and the bombing raids Armstrong mentions are more likely to decrease rather than increase support for the

So Washington sooner or later must step in with its own combat ground forces.

Armstrong, however, draws precisely the opposite conclusion.

"For several weeks now, the Salvadoran armed forces have pursued a major offensive in Morazán province, a major afea of FMLN operations.... Perhaps as a response to the pressure, reliable sources report that some FMLN units have forcibly recruited young people to join their ranks.'

Rebels overrun dam

The fact is that while large army units have been conducting operations in northern Morazán and San Miguel in an effort to disrupt the FMLN's supply lines, the rebels have reestablished their presence in the central provinces of San Vicente and Usulután. Those rich agricultural areas had been the scene in earlier months of the army's highly publicized "National Plan" to force the FMLN out permanently.

"A year after the ambitious plan began with the sweep of San Vicente by 6,000 troops, the guerrillas are stationed throughout the two provinces," correspondent Chris Norton reported in the June 27-July 10 issue of the social democratic newsweekly In These Times.

And on June 28, the FMLN demonstrated its continued ability to deal heavy blows **Continued on Page 12**

Salvadoran regime hit by strikes, FMLN offensive

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Only one month after formally taking office, Salvadoran Pres. José Napoleón Duarte is being hardpressed by public employees strikes and a new military offensive by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Thousands of postal employees have been on strike since May 28. Duarte at first denounced the strike as politically inspired, threatening to militarize the post office and crush it by force. Later, he promised to propose to the national legislature a wage increase for all public employees. But neither the carrot nor the stick have succeeded in ending the work stoppage.

In addition, textile workers, construction workers, teachers, and other public employees have carried out brief work stoppages in solidarity with the postal

On June 25, the strike spread to water and, sewer workers. That strike was immediately declared illegal, but it continued nevertheless. Several days later, a strike broke out among 5,000 workers of the Urbanization and Architecture Institute. The workers are demanding immediate payment of back wages. And on July 5, teachers and employees of the Treasury also threatened to initiate strikes around their own demands.

The growing wave of strikes led Duarte to say he would refer the matter to the leg-

islature, which was to have met over the weekend of July 7-8 to discuss a general wage increase for public employees. But as of July 9, the legislature had still not met.

Meanwhile, the FMLN launched a new military offensive June 28 with the occupation of the hydroelectric power station and

The Cerrón Grande installation provides the bulk of El Salvador's electricity. It had been strongly guarded by some 400 government troops in fortified positions.

The FMLN called its new offensive "Long Live the Heroic Struggle of the Workers, Defeat Duarte's Sellout." In a July 9 broadcast monitored here, Radio Venceremos, official voice of the FMLN, said that in the first 10 days of the new offensive, liberation forces had inflicted 579 casualties on the government.

Commenting on the wave of strikes, Radio Venceremos said July 9 that "The unity, the organization, the activity of the workers has proven to be the road for the working class. The strike by the postal workers, which has forced the government to increase wages of public employees, has

At the same time, Radio Venceremos said a wage increase would not, in and of itself, help the condition of the workers much, since it would soon be eaten up by

"The problem goes much deeper. It is Continued on Page 8

> July 20, 1984 The Militant

Vietnamese gov't develops industry

BY DIANE WANG

The Thong Nhat factory in Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam had finished casting metal for the day when former *Intercontinental Press* editor Steve Clark and I visited. They try to fire up the furnace only in the morning before the day gets too hot. Some of the cast pieces were cooling. Workers in other parts of the factory were doing various machinist operations.

The Thong Nhat manufactures agricultural equipment: pipes and pumps for irrigation, sugar cane presses, and the like. The enterprise has 340 workers, 85 of them at this site.

1978: important year

The factory was only set up six years ago in 1978. That was an important year in the southern part of Vietnam, in Ho Chi Minh City in particular. Large merchants who had been hoarding rice and other basic necessities were expropriated. In addition, other capitalists were urged to reorganize, to undertake production that would be useful to the country.

Phan Xuan Nam, director of this division of the Thong Nhat, had been a major in Vietnam's liberation army during the U.S. war. Afterward he had been assigned to help with the transformation of the capitalist enterprises in 1978, he told us.

Mr. Nam said he had discussions with a number of the small owners. In addition, there had been general propaganda to explain the policy. Neighborhood people and relatives had helped persuade these small capitalists to help the state raise production.

Thong Nhat is one of a number of joint venture factories set up in Ho Chi Minh City as part of that process. Sixteen small capitalists who had run small machine shops or repair shops agreed to go in on the project with Vietnam's government to operate this factory.

The capitalists pooled their machines. In return, they get an 8 percent guaranteed return on their investment, paid monthly regardless of how well or poorly the factory has done. In addition, most of those capitalists actually operate machines at the factory, so they get the bonuses and incentive wages paid the rest of the work force.

Government investments

The government invests in buying raw materials, paying wages, as well as in repair and replacement of the machinery.

The factory has a board of directors with three managers appointed by the state, one elected by the capitalists, and one elected by the trade union.

Like workers throughout Vietnam, workers at the Thong Nhat receive a ration for the basic necessities such as rice, fish sauce, salt, and meat. With this ration they can buy food at especially low prices from state stores. They also get lunch free at the factory. They can use their wages to supplement this ration with goods from the private market, but prices there may be as much as 80 times the ration price.

Workers here also have disability and retirement benefits. In addition, each divi-



Workers in Thong Nhat agricultural implements factory. Plant was established in 1978 as a joint venture between Vietnamese government and private business. Such ventures have helped to advance industrial development in Vietnam.

sion has a health station. But, Nam explained, there is not yet any child care organized through the factory, although about one-quarter of the workers at this site are women. South Vietnam lags behind north Vietnam in social benefits like child care, catching up gradually as the economy and organization develop.

Ethnic Chinese workers

The big-business press in the United States portrays Vietnam as a racist society trying to persecute and drive out the ethnic Chinese population in the country. This propaganda barrage was whipped up in part because many of the large rice merchants expropriated in 1978 were of Chinese origin.

In addition, starting in 1978 the bureaucratic misleaders in China began attacking Vietnam to curry favor with Washington. Besides actual military attacks on Vietnam's border, Peking began a massive propaganda campaign aimed at panicking ethnic Chinese to leave Vietnam. While some did leave, the visit to the Thong Nhat showed that there are still many ethnic Chinese doing well in Ho Chi Minh City.

At this factory the majority of the private owners are of Chinese origin. Most of the workers, including a number of the skilled workers, are also ethnic Chinese, since the factory is in a Chinese neighborhood. Houses and stores here have signs and banners in Chinese characters instead of Vietnamese.

Had there been any problems for these ethnic Chinese workers in 1979 when Peking launched its massive invasion against Vietnam? I asked Nam. "There is no distinction between the Vietnamese and Chinese here," he answered. "The distinction is between the Chinese who support

the revolution and the anticommunist Chinese. So in 1979 people here felt at ease and ready to work."

Productivity improving

For the last three years the factory has gone over its goals and increased its productivity. To do this they had to deal with a number of problems. Not only must they cope with the shortages of raw materials, electricity, and fuel that plague all Vietnamese industry, but also because the factory was set up with a hodgepodge of machinery from various shops, it was difficult to organize production. "We certainly couldn't set up a production line easily," Nam explained, "and we had to figure out how to adapt a number of the machines."

Nam suggested that several factors accounted for the increased productivity at the factory. One was that the level of workers' skills improves each year.

More important, though, is that here workers have some responsibility for the factory through their trade union. Before the 1975 liberation there had been no trade union in the shops where these workers were. Now 90 percent belong to the trade union. They elect a representative to the board of directors, as well as representatives in each local site. The trade union gives workers a chance to discuss production problems and make suggestions.

This is different from so-called quality-of-life programs in the United States. When U.S. workers discuss increasing their productivity or factory improvements, it only results in bigger profits for their bosses. In Vietnam, as the factories become more profitable, the resulting surplus goes back to the workers themselves, either through direct bonuses or through improved social services.

"We have a slogan here that sums up how we operate," Nam said. "The factory is the house and the workers are the master."

The final factor accounting for the increased productivity, Nam said, was improved management. The factory learns from the experiences of other factories.

More basically, it now organizes its production around a plan. "Before liberation the capitalists ran their factories on the principle of supply and profit. Now we don't just respond to orders, but have a stable plan of production that fits in with the overall national economic plan.

"It is difficult to transform from capitalist to socialist production," he said, "but we're making progress."

It is a difficult transition, especially in a country as poor as Vietnam, victimized by an economic blockade organized by Washington. But enterprises like the Thong Nhat are helping to make it possible.

'IP' aids Grenada discussion

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Since the U.S. invasion of Grenada last October, a discussion has been taking place — especially in the Caribbean — about the overthrow of the Grenada revolution and the lessons of its defeat.

Intercontinental Press, a biweekly socialist news magazine published in New York, has been featuring many documents, interviews, and articles related to this discussion. This has included interviews with Don Rojas, former press secretary of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, and leaders of Grenada's New Jewel Movement such as George Louison and Kendrick Radix; speeches by Cuban leader Fidel Castro; and statements from the Workers Party of Jamaica and others.

The July 9, 1984, issue of *IP* contains several documents outlining the view of the United People's Movement of St. Vincent on the overturn of the Grenada revolution.

In the March 16, 1984, issue of the the *Militant*, I wrote, "... the United People's Movement (UPM), is conducting Grenada solidarity work. This group, which opposes the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the dismantling of the PRG's [People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada] programs, disagrees with the Cuban leaders and the central leaders of the Grenada revolution who say [Deputy Prime Minister

Bernard] Coard and his followers opened the door to the imperialist assault through their own treacherous betrayal of the revolution. UPM leaders told me that in the dispute between Coard and Bishop they sided with Coard, who, they said, led a principled, Marxist battle against the 'right opportunism' of Bishop."

I had traveled to St. Vincent as a correspondent for the *Militant* and *IP*. An April 2 issue of *IP* carried an article by Ernest Harsch on the discussion in the Caribbean about the Grenada events which quoted from my *Militant* article.

We received a letter from UPM Political Leader and General Secretary Oscar Allen, dated May 23, stating, "No leader of the UPM expressed this view to the *Militant* editor when he visited our offices and spoke with two of our members. Our editorials in *Justice* of November 4th and 18th [1983] are clear statements of the party's considered opinion."

The July 9 issue of *IP* reprints the October 21, November 4, and November 18, 1983, editorials from the UPM's weekly newspaper.

Copies are available from Intercontifiental Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Single issues cost \$1.25 and subscriptions can be purchased for \$12.50 for six months.

Salvador regime hit by strikes

Continued from Page 7

the existence of a war economy. It is the existence of a government which is against the people; a government at the service of the rich; at the service of the economic, political, and military interests of the government of the United States," the FMLN station said.

"As long as there is exploitation, as long as there are corrupt and oligarchic governments, as long as there is imperialist intervention, the workers of El Salvador will continue to struggle."

Radio Venceremos also denounced what it called "the sanctimonious demagogy" of President Duarte who claimed that there had not been a single "abuse of power" on the part of government troops since he took office.

"Duarte is not speaking to the Salvadoran people," Radio Venceremos said.

"Duarte is speaking for Reagan and for the U.S. Congress, for U.S. public opinion."

"When Duarte says he is proud that there have been no abuses of power, he is only saying that to carry out the propaganda objectives of the Reagan administration. Because, after all, it is easier for Reagan to hide from the North American people the violations of human rights, the crimes . . . that are committed daily in El Salvador."

The FMLN station reported that, according to figures compiled by relatives of victims of government repression, during the first 30 days of the Duarte administration 86 civilians were murdered by death squads and 40 others disappeared.

"Duarte forms part of the plan that the Yankees have for El Salvador," Radio Venceremos concluded. "They put him in power so he would tell those kinds of lies. And that's exactly what Duarte is doing."

D.C. rally builds Grenada solidarity

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Metropolitan A.M.E. church here was the site for a June 29 forum and discussion titled "Grenada: Before and After the U.S. Invasion." Some 250 people attended this important event in solidarity with the Grenada revolution.

The forum was initiated by Pathfinder Press and the Caribbean Students Association at Howard University. Pathfinder has been on a nationwide promotional campaign to distribute its new book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. Maurice Bishop was Grenada's prime minister and revolutionary leader who was slain in a counterrevolutionary coup in October 1983.

Sympathy for the Grenada revolution among U.S. working people, especially Blacks, was reflected in the broad sponsorship the meeting received. This included groups and individuals such as Congressman Ron Dellums; the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA); National Black United Front; TransAfrica; D.C. Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador; Harold Massey, coordinator of Political and Human Rights of the United Methodist Church; and others.

Ten solidarity, Black, and socialist organizations set up literature tables. Twelve copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* were sold. Many people said they already had it. The meeting received wide coverage in the local and some national media.

The meeting was cochaired by Howard McIntosh, president of the Howard University Caribbean Students Association, and Prof. Daphne Northington of the University of the District of Columbia.

'Please read these speeches'

Josephine Butler, a founder and current vice-chairperson of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society, thanked Pathfinder Press for "putting together this wonderful book. It is so right that they've done it, so timely that they've done it."

"If I could ask you to do just two things," said Butler, "please read the speeches in this book, re-read them, and read them to our young folk so that they never forget Maurice Bishop. And join us in our petition drive to bring to the Congress by the end of the year two million signatures saying that the U.S. must get out of Grenada, that Grenada be returned to the people and, as Maurice said over and over, let the Caribbean become a zone of peace."

Mohammed Oliver, speaking on behalf of Pathfinder Press, had traveled to Grenada twice since the U.S. invasion. He was there as the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation was formed. He described the beginning of protests, and how hundreds of people began to appear at foundation offices to get literature and other materials on the revolution to distribute throughout the island.

"Now another step forward has been

Rep. Dellums hails Grenada book

Printed below are greetings sent to the June 29 Washington, D.C., meeting in solidarity with Grenada (see story on this page) from Rep. Ronald Dellums of California.

While I am unable to be with you tonight, I wish to express my support of your efforts in keeping the issue of Grenada before the American people. It is important for those who hold the truth to spread it.

Reagan's invasion of Grenada was no accident. From day one his administration has carried out an escalating war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

Publication of the book, Maurice Bishop Speaks, and your event tonight help keep alive the legacy of Maurice Bishop and the New, Jewel Movement. Maurice Bishop has passed into history as a giant of the Caribbean, an example for all oppressed and struggling people.

I warmly support your efforts.

taken with the formation of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement," said Oliver. "The main plank of this party is to fight for the reconquering of sovereignty and political independence. I think that needs to be our main plank also."

Oliver said, "We published Maurice Bishop Speaks for the same reason the Martyrs Foundation was formed: to keep alive the ideas and legacy of Maurice Bishop.

People seeking self-determination

Hilda Mason, a member of the city council, held the book up for the audience as she spoke. "This book is a valuable tool for those who seek the truth.

"The story of the Grenada revolution from 1979 to 1983 is a brave and ultimately sad story of a small nation and its people seeking self-determination, with a socialist form of government. The brief history of this government opens the book and forms a useful background of understanding to the speeches of Maurice Bishop. . . .

"The involvement of the U.S. government in the downfall of the government headed by Bishop is described in this book. In between, Maurice speaks to us of the hopes and plans his government tried to bring to fruition for all the people."

Wyman Hooker, first secretary of the Embassy of Nicaragua, was a special guest and featured speaker of the evening.

"We would like to thank the organizers of this great event and the publishers of this wonderful book. I bring you greetings from the fighting people and revolutionary government of Nicaragua. We are sure you will continue to carry out events like this in favor of the countries struggling for peace and freedom against imperialist domination.

"Just as in Nicaragua, the people of Grenada, and their leader, Maurice Bishop, faced difficulties and problems until he was brutally murdered, and, finally, Grenada was invaded.

"For us, the invasion shows how far imperialist arrogance can reach. For us it was a warning."

Hooker described the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution. "This is the real reason





Hilda Mason, Washington, D.C., city council member (left), and Josephine Butler, vice-chair, U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society. Both praised Pathfinder Press book Maurice Bishop Speaks.

that, like Grenada, we, too, are a 'bad example' for Reagan.... Since 1982 they have invested over \$72 million to murder our people and destroy the effort to rebuild our country.

"More than anyone we need peace. But we are prepared. We are expecting anything after the shameful invasion of Grenada.

"We are sure the North American people — partisans of democracy and freedom — will use their strength to oppose any intervention and war."

'We were inspired in Grenada'

Leonard Harvey spoke for the National Black United Front. "We saw the struggle in Grenada as our struggle," said Harvey. "When we visited there we saw part of our people, who shared with us a history of slavery, colonialism, economic exploitation, cultural oppression. And who spoke the same language. We were very inspired in Grenada and tried to bring it back to our community."

Anselm Remy, executive director of the Haitian Center for Information, Documentation, and Social Action (CHIDAS), an organization of revolutionary-minded Haitians in Washington, also spoke.

Calling the Grenada revolution "a deed for all the wretched of the earth," Remy strongly defended the example of Grenada under Bishop, which, as he said, is now being denigrated in the Caribbean "in a well-orchestrated campaign in some intellectual circles."

Remy explained that "one reason this event is so important is because today we are witnessing a new imperialist offensive against the revolutionary processes in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Cuba. Now more than ever we must raise the banner of internationalism to protect all our revolutions."

Other speakers included Dr. Chigbo Ofong, Director of International Affairs of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees and former president of the Nigerian Aluminum Workers Union, and journalist Cathy Sunshine. Sunshine edited Grenada: the Peaceful Revolution, published by EPICA, on whose behalf she spoke.

Solidarity is crucial

Several messages were sent to the rally. Dessima Williams, former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States, hailed the meeting, saying that "the work you are doing is crucial to the restoration of Grenadian sovereignty, to the continuation of good relations between our two peoples, and to the enrichment and advancement of the struggles of all peoples everywhere for justice, dignity, liberation, and world peace."

Williams explained the central importance of demanding the immediate withdrawal of U.S. and other foreign troops from Grenada. She pointed to the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation and the launching of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) as an augur of the resurgence of the Grenadian revolutionary movement. Williams urged solidarity with these organizations.

The meeting also received solidarity messages from U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums, and Ernest Parker, president of American Federation of Government Employees Local 476.

One special guest who was introduced to the meeting was Angela Whiteman. She is the daughter of Unison Whiteman, who was Grenada's foreign minister and was one of the revolutionary leaders executed along with Bishop on October 19.

The gathering sent a telegram to the MBPM pledging that those attending the meeting would help get out the truth about the Grenada revolution and continue to demand that the U.S. get out of the country now.

Grenada pamphlet in Spanish

Pathfinder Press, publisher of Maurice Bishop Speaks, has recently added another weapon to the arsenal of supporters of the Grenada revolution. It has published a Spanish-language pamphlet, La revolución granadina: 1979-83, which is a collection of speeches by slain Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro.

The new pamphlet contains the June 5, 1983, speech Bishop delivered at Hunter College in New York before 2,500 people. It also contains Castro's Nov. 14, 1983, speech before a massive gathering of one million people in which the Cuban leader discussed the Grenada events.

Both these speeches appear in Maurice Bishop Speaks and were originally published in Spanish in this country by Perspectiva Mundial, the Spanish-language sister publication of the Militant. Perspectiva Mundial also translated the introduction to Maurice Bishop Speaks, by Steve Clark, which appears in La revolución granadina along with the two speeches.

This new pamphlet is an indispensable tool for getting out the truth about the Grenada revolution's accomplishments and overthrow. Spanish-speaking workers, like working people in general, are discussing the Grenada events and trying to draw the lessons of that defeat. The widest possible distribution of this pamphlet should be the goal of all supporters of the Grenada revolution and an essential complement to the campaign to circulate Maurice Bishop Speaks.

La revolución granadina may be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. The pamphlet costs \$2, and 75 cents should be included for shipping. discursos de
Maurice Bishop y Fidel Castro

Celebrate 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Celebrate the Publication of Maurice Bishop Speaks. Speakers: John George, chair, Alameda County Board of Supervisors; Thabiti Mtambuzi, National Black United Front; Cathy Sedwick, Pathfinder Press; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 21. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Bethlehem Lutheran Church, 959 12 St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Pathfinder Press, National Black United Front. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Grenada Before and After the U.S. Invasion: a Celebration of the Publication of Maurice Bishop Speaks. Speakers: William Crawford, Indiana State Representative; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party National Committee; Jim Rose, Committee for Peace in El Salvador; videotape of Maurice Bishop. Sat., July 21, 7 p.m. IUPUI Lecture Hall, room 104. Ausp: Pathfinder Press, Committee for Peace in El Salvador. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

Fidel Castro on Cuba's Agrarian Reformance of Revolution of the Professional Research of Revolution of the Professional Research of the Professional Research of the Professional Research of Revolution of the Professional Research of the Professiona

We are reprinting below a speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro at the main celebration of the 25th anniversary of Cuba's Agrarian Reform Law. The celebration was held in Yara municipality, Granma province, on May 17, 1984. The speech is taken from the May 27 English-language Granma.

Distinguished Guests; Peasants; Compatriots of Yara, Granma and Cuba as a Whole:

Here in these lands of Granma province, where our independence struggles and final liberation war began, we today celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Agrarian Reform Law, the 23rd anniversary of ANAP [the National Association of Small Farmers] and Peasant's Day. (Applause)

In all truth, we could say that today is not only Peasant's Day, but also Farm Worker's Day, (Applause) a day that was fundamental and definitive for the Revolution, a day for all the people given the importance of the Agrarian Reform Law signed at the General Command in the Sierra Maestra. That was the first really profound measure of the Revolution and, as we have said on other occasions, that which pitted us directly against U.S. imperialism.

What had been the situation up until then? To cite only a few examples, we might say that 13 of the main U.S. companies owned some 1,342,000 hectares [1 hectare = 2.5 acres] of land and 40 land-holding cattle farmers owned 25 percent of the country's pastureland. From the beginnings of the Republic at the turn of the century, there had been large-scale investment by U.S. companies buying up the greater and better part of Cuban land at laughable prices. It was a period of land repartition, not land redistribution among the peasants, but repartition of colossal land areas among magnates.

As a result, many of the peasants who

Cuba's agrarian reform laws

On May 17, 1959, the revolutionary government of Cuba adopted the first Agrarian Reform Law. Its goal was to expropriate the large plantations, eliminate the system of rent payments, and guarantee use of the land to those who worked it.

The amount of land an individual could own was limited to 1,000 acres in most cases and 3,300 acres for some types of agriculture such as cattle raising, or where the quality of land yielded less than average.

Over 25 percent of the land was owned by U.S. capitalists, much of that in large plantations. These were expropriated and mainly turned into state farms.

Sharecropping was outlawed and tenant farmers, sharecroppers, sublessees, and squatters working on the land, who had less than 165 acres, were granted lands up to that amount. The law stated that these land grants "may not be transferred other than through inheritance, sale to the state, or exchange authorized by the authorities charged with its enforcement, nor be the subject of lease agreements, sharecropping agreements, usufruct, or mortgage."

Privately owned land could be mortgaged only to the state, which made financing available to poor peasants. Land could not be divided and could be inherited by only one person.

In October 1963, the lands of 10,000 capitalist farmers and landholders, who owned more than 165.5 acres, were seized by the government. This Second Agrarian Reform eliminated the capitalist sector of Cuban agriculture.

The result of both reforms was to wipe out the entire rents and mortgages system as well as land speculation. Land in Cuba is no longer a source of profit for a few and its custody is now in the hands of those

had played a major role in the independence struggles, who had fought first for ten years, then kept up their rebellion to continue the struggle anew in 1895, found at the end of the war that they had lost their lands.

Many of those who had collaborated with the Spaniards, who had become rich on the struggle of those years, ended up owning a good part of the country's agricultural land. Suffice it to say that in 1959 three percent of landowners owned 56 percent of the country's agricultural lands.

Blatant exploitation

Many young people and children here today can't even imagine what such an unbalanced distribution of the country's natural resources meant to our peasants and workers.

We remember the evictions, the crimes committed, the dead season, the hundreds of thousands of workers without a job, miserable family incomes at a time when 70 percent of rural families, peasants and workers included, had a monthly income of 40 pesos and less.

We remember the real hunger, poverty, humiliation, insalubrity and illiteracy of our peasants and workers, victims of not only the most blatant exploitation of labor, but also every kind of abuse and injustice, victims to hoarders, speculators and middlemen.

We were all too familiar with that situation and will never forget how, when we arrived in the Sierra Maestra, thousands of peasants had sought refuge there, fleeing the dead season, unemployment and hunger to settle on and clear a small plot of land, growing root crops and coffee, to then only reap benefit from what they had for only two or three years, if the land had known latifundist owners; or, when they were working state-owned land and had managed at great efforts to raise some crops and coffee, then representatives of the big companies and rich landowners would show up wanting to take over their by then cultivated lands.

This is why there were so many peasant squatters who lived in constant fear of alleged landowners, judges, legal representatives and the Rural Guard showing up to exict them

At the beginning of our liberation war, the presence of the rebel forces was used as a pretext to bomb and evict peasants from their lands. In those days, the enemy underestimated our small force, believing it to be liquidated, yet it took advantage of that revolutionary juncture to carry out mass peasant evictions under the pretext of

No doctors in mountains

The health situation was truly appalling. There wasn't a single doctor, hospital or dispensary anywhere in the mountain areas.

The infant mortality rate was extremely high. There are no reliable data, but it is thought to have been over 60 for every 1,000 live births. Looking at the overall peasant situation, especially in the mountains, it wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that over 100 of every 1,000 live births died each year. We remember the gastroenteritis and typhoid epidemics and other calamities taking thousands of peasant children's lives each year.

If a peasant raised some animal, let's say a pig, it wasn't for his own consumption. It was for an emergency, in case someone in the family fell sick. Then he'd go to the market and sell it for five, or maybe ten pesos to pay the doctor who, in most cases, was very far away and was quite ineffectual, and to pay for medicine which was very expensive.

All of us remember the tragedy and anguish of the peasantry, the scourge the health situation was for our country, but much more so for rural areas, for peasants and agricultural workers in particular.

The situation in education was similar. Whereas in the country as a whole the illiteracy rate was around 30 percent, in the countryside it was between 40 and 50, and over 50 in the mountain areas.

There were practically no schools in the mountains, very few in lower lying rural areas, and very rarely could children stay in school beyond second or third grade. Before the triumph of the Revolution, only 38 percent of rural children had a chance to attend school. For the remaining 62 percent there were no teachers, no schools, no books or any alternative but to remain ignorant for the rest of their lives.

Very often there was no market for peasant produce. Profits went to middlemen, credits were practically nonexistent. Only a few middle and rich peasants could obtain bank credits, at very high interest rates and always liable to confiscation, mortgage and loss of property.

Social security was practically nonexistent in rural areas. When a sugarcane worker retired and after a lot of hard work received a pension, it was around seven pesos a month.

This was the general picture, to which may be added the lack of communications and transportation, the lack of roads, of everything. That was the real situation in our rural areas before the triumph of the Revolution.

The enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law by the Revolution on May 17, 1959, freed peasants and agricultural workers from exploitation: a total of 100,000 tenant farmers, sharecroppers and squatter farmers became owners of their lands by virtue of that law. Also by virtue of that law, the large foreign and national latifundia were doomed to disappear.

The implementation of that law marked the beginning of the liberation of peasants and farm workers, the beginning of the end of the dead season, and of the various devices with which to rob farm workers of their wages. Many were the farm workers who were never paid in cash because when payday came around they already long owed as much as they were paid and, even at harvest time, there were many who never laid their hands on money.

Robbing disappeared

In those days it was common for canecutters to line up waiting for work.

There was no transportation, no decent quarters for the canecutters, no workers' dining rooms, no security or guarantees of any kind for workers in the fields.

All that has changed and we are all witness, those of us who can remember the situation at the time of the Revolution. (Applause) Today the picture is totally different: the speculators, hoarders and middlemen disappeared. A market was guaranteed for all the peasants' produce. It became unnecessary to hold on to the little pig, the hens or goat for when a family health need arose. Worries about education disappeared. The robbing disappeared, along with income for people who didn't work, sharecropping and eviction.

The peasant became the absolute owner of the land worked. And, moreover, in 25 years of the Revolution, he never paid a cent in taxes; taxes began to be collected almost 25 years after the Agrarian Reform Law.

Tens of thousands of kilometers of roads and highways were built. Fifty-two rural hospitals and almost 200 dispensaries and first aid stations were created, apart from the peasants having access to municipal, provincial and national hospitals. A huge battle was launched in the field of health and many diseases disappeared.

For example, gastroenteritis, which still caused the death of more than 4,000 children in 1960, was reduced to 400 - onetenth. Poliomyelitis disappeared, along with typhus, malaria, human rabies and various other diseases. (Applause) Infant mortality progressively decreased until the rate dropped to below 17 in 1983. Life expectancy was lengthened to 73 years. The security which a peasant family now has with regard to the children, the most beloved ones, was experienced for the first time in our countryside. The family not only received medical services, but also dental services, and the progress continues. In the future we will achieve even more successes.

Already in the coming year, here in Granma province, a group of peasant communities will have a resident physician, and we expect to have a doctor for each peasant community in the not-too-distant future, apart from the polyclinics and municipal, provincial and national hospitals. (Applause) For that purpose, we are graduating thousands of doctors every year and more than 5,000 students are enrolling



Peasant receives land title in 1959. As a result of revolution, "speculators, hoarders and middlemen disappeared. The robbing disappeared. The peasant became the absolute owner of the land worked."

m Law: olution

in the medical schools — schools which now exist in the country's 14 provinces so that each province can turn out its doctors and specialists and they will not have to come from the western part of the island, from Havana.

Public health network

With a view to these projects, the work of family doctors began to be tried out last year and will, we are sure, raise considerably further the health levels of our urban and rural population, to the extent that we may well be able to say that no other country in the world will have the public health network that our people will have in the cities and in the countryside. (Applause)

It was not only the handing over of the land to the peasants who worked it, it was not only the freeing of agricultural workers, but rather a number of fundamental aspects that altogether permit us to say that on May 17 began the liberation of our peasants and agricultural workers. (Applause)

I spoke of health, but we could speak about education. Today 100 percent of rural children, children of peasants or agricultural workers, have their education guaranteed and they've had it guaranteed for many years now. I remember the early years, when we didn't have sufficient teachers, or we didn't have teachers to send to the mountains, when we had to turn to students, to voluntary teachers. Those were difficult times when we confronted the problems virtually without the necessary human resources!

The Literacy Campaign began a short time thereafter, by virtue of which illiteracy was practically eradicated in only one year — a truly record time unequaled by any other country. Then came the follow-up courses and today we can not only say that an illiterate peasant no longer exists but also that through ANAP's consistent and tenacious efforts, in cooperation with the educational system, the battle for the sixth grade has been achieved (Applause) and the battle for the ninth grade is being conducted together with the rest of the country's workers. (Applause)

Greater understanding than overseers

Who would have ventured to say that the mass of our peasants would today have a much greater cultural and educational understanding than a large part of capitalist overseers and foremen had! (Applause) And would be even more knowledgeable than many of the landowners. And would have not only higher learning, higher education, but also greater culture — not only general culture, but also extensive political culture. (Applause)

Before, there were the times of the political sergeants and their election campaigns, buying votes and up to other crooked things. That can only happen in the midst of an exploited and ignorant population.

Who can imagine someone in this country today speaking to a peasant, telling him to vote for someone or another, or wanting him to sell him his vote? Or speaking with a peasant so that he hands over his vote in exchange for a hospital appointment, or a recommendation for a government job—and not only a government job, but also work in a private enterprise. Who today can imagine this character, this individual in our cities and in our countryside?

Who today is capable of deceiving any one of our peasants? Who among you could be so miserably deceived (Shouts of 'nobody!") and then told that this is freedom, that this is democracy. No sir, that was exploitation, hunger, injustice, deception, abuse, oppression! (Applause)

Moreover, not only are the educational needs of all children and young people met, not only is study through the sixth grade guaranteed through scholarship programs, but also hundreds of thousands of peasants and peasant youth have been educated and trained over the years.



Farming cooperative established on land confiscated from supporter of U.S.-backed dictatorship.

Before, there wasn't a single junior high school in Cuba's countryside, much less a single senior high. And today our country has 567 junior and senior high schools in the countryside, the vast majority of them with excellent facilities, where more than 20,000 teachers work. And if many young people from the cities are studying there, the young of peasant background have first priority in enrolling in the junior and senior highs in the countryside and every possibility also to study in the urban technological institutes and trade schools.

Real justice and equality

Thousands and thousands, better said tens of thousands of young people from our countryside are now engineers, architects, doctors, teachers, officers of our armed forces and Party and state cadres, thanks to these programs. And with great satisfaction we can now guarantee all the children and young people of our countryside equal, if not greater, possibilities to study than any child or young person of the city.

But there's something more. If we said before that our peasants today know more than many overseers and foremen knew, even more than many landowners, what will the situation be in years to come? We might say that any Cuban child or young person now has more educational opportunities, better educational institutions and better teachers than those the children of the overseers, foremen and landowners had. (Applause)

That really is justice! That really is equality! That really is freedom! That really is dignity! Because we know well what capitalist society imparted to young boys and girls: bad habits, corruption, gambling, drugs and prostitution. That is what capitalism imparts to scores upon scores of millions of people in the world: vices, calamities and tragedies with which our people today are not familiar.

Social security

Today all our agricultural workers are covered by social security and recently a law was enacted providing social security for members of agricultural production cooperatives. But even prior to that law, many thousands of farmers who for one reason or another could not continue working and earning a living have had a form of social security help. Today, the minimum received by a retired agricultural worker is ten or 12 times that received by the few pensioned agricultural workers in the past, in addition to the free services, such as health, the Revolution provides.

Of the nearly 800,000 who receive social security benefits, about 200,000 live in the countryside and were once agricultural workers or peasants. If the average income of the great majority of farm families was previously no greater than 40 pesos a month, now the income of any farm worker is four or five times greater than that of an entire family then, in addition to the fact that there are many more people working in every family.

Nobody wants to even remember the evils or tragedy of the dead season any more. Now there are more than enough job possibilities, in some provinces more than in others, because there is work to be done in agriculture, industry and construction, and when there is no large-scale construction in some provinces, there is in others, in Santiago, Moa, Cienfuegos, Havana or any other part of the country. Ever since unemployment was wiped out, the problem is very different: finding the personnel needed for the many things that have to be done.

There are already more than half a million farm workers. In other sectors, such as education and health, there are some 600,000 workers; hundreds of thousands in construction. We have had no problem with introducing machines, without leaving anybody jobless. With the social conditions under capitalism, who would have introduced a cane harvester, loader or rice harvester? A lot of very hard work had to be done, hard manual labor, to prepare the terrain for the sugar and rice harvesters, in construction, on the docks, and everywhere else.

Revolution not for privileged elite

The Revolution, with its measures of social justice and clear-sighted, revolutionary, socialist policy, not only eradicated the dead season, unemployment, insalubrity and illiteracy. Not only did it provide the mass of the people with health care and education which was previously available only to the privileged elite.

The Revolution has also freed the worker, especially in the countryside, from the most inhuman and difficult labor, by using machines to prepare the terrain, chemicals to combat weeds, loading machines, cane and rice harvesters, along with vehicular transport, bulk shipment of sugar and mechanization of the docks.

Before, people in the countryside would have to work 12, 13 or 14 hours for wretched starvation wages. For the first time in the history of the Cuban countryside, the eight-hour day became a reality and when people work nine, ten, 11 or 12 hours they do so voluntarily, spontaneously, enthusiastically, because they know they are helping the national economy and helping themselves; (Applause) because they know they receive fair retribution. This shows how the work of the Revolution is not for a privileged elite, but for the benefit of all. (Applause)

About 10 billion pesos have been invested in the countryside in the last 25 years since the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law. The number of tractors has increased eightfold, the use of fertilizer tenfold, pesticides fourfold. Herbicides are being used on a large scale, reservoir capacity has multiplied 125 times as compared to before the Revolution, and there has been a fourfold increase in the irrigated land area which now comes to about a million hectares.

Some 3,000 agricultural and industrial installations have been built and, together with cane-conditioning centers, schools in

the countryside and development of the electricity industry, whole rural areas and an enormously increased number of families have been provided with electricity

Now we are working with minihydroelectric plants, and experiments have been undertaken here in Granma province to provide power in this way, several hours a day, to dozens of rural communities in the mountains. In coming months, we plan to extend this experience, which has yielded excellent results, to all the mountains in the eastern region.

According to the data, 82 times more credit is now available than before the Revolution, with 35 times the number of beneficiaries, who receive it under very different conditions. They now no longer have to mortgage or forfeit anything, are given low interest rates, and have special considerations from state financial agencies, everytime there has been a disaster affecting the rural sector.

Increases in production, productivity

All this has meant more humane working conditions for people in the countryside. Virtually nobody milks cows by hand anymore, nearly all cows in the country are milked by machine — this is something I hadn't mentioned previously — not only are there more humane working conditions but also big increases in production and productivity. In 1970, some 350,000 canecutters were needed but in the 1984 harvest it was only 80,000, which means less than 25 percent of the figure 14 years ago. This hasn't left anybody jobless, because there are many other important spheres where people are needed.

Nearly all output has increased, and in some cases quite notably. For example, egg production is 12 times greater than in 1960; poultry production three times greater; pork five and a half times more than in 1960; citrus fruit, four and a half times. This goes to illustrate both the diversification and notable gains in agricultural production and productivity, as in the number Continued on Page 12

For further reading

Marxism and the Working Farmer By Doug Jenness; documents and speeches by Engels, Lenin, and Castro. \$2.50

Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Fidel Castro Speeches Vol. 1 \$7.95

Building Socialism in Cuba *Fidel Castro Speeches Vol. 2*\$7.95

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

Duarte: Washington's man in El Salvador

Continued from Page 7

to the regime's armed forces. In a predawn attack, 400 or more fighters routed army defenders from Cerrón Grande, El Salvador's largest hydroelectric dam, on the Lempa River between Chalatenango and Cabañas provinces.

Troops sent in by land to retake the strategic installation ran into FMLN ambushes on several different roads and suffered heavy casualties. Only when 900 paratroopers were brought in by helicopter did the guerrillas withdraw, leaving the army

with many dead.

The Salvadoran army has not inflicted any comparable setbacks on the FMLN despite the huge quantities of U.S. weaponry it has received - thus highlighting the necessity for Washington to prepare to introduce thousands of its own troops into the war.

What about Armstrong's charge that the FMLN is forcing youth to join up?

This slander, which has become quite popular in the capitalist press recently, was answered forthrightly by FMLN and FDR leaders in a July 3 interview with the press in Mexico City.

In a few parts of the country where the FMLN has won considerable popular support and has been the de facto government for months, the FMLN military forces have recently utilized a limited form of conscrip-

According to a report in the July 4 New York Times, Ana Guadalupe Martínez, a senior FMLN commander, explained that to counter the government's drive to force thousands of young men into the army as a way to keep them from joining the guerrillas, the rebel forces have recently initiated conscription in a few villages. "Young people can be taken by the army, go into exile, or join the rebel forces," Martínez explained. "These are the choices in the countryside. So what we do is to take young people, including some who are not with us. Those who do not want to stay with us can go.

Martínez added that the rebels are only recruiting in this way where they have popular support and where the people fear army rétribution if they decide to fight alongside the rebels.

To give a little cover to his scandalous article, Armstrong quotes a few words and phrases from a recent report by the FMLN-FDR on the Salvadoran situation since Duarte's election. The quotes don't bolster in the slightest his view that the FMLN must change its perspectives.

The report Armstrong cites is apparently a document the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN-FDR released in June. It is titled "Analysis of the new Salvadoran government and its international context." It includes two statements released at the end of May: one by the FMLN and one by the FDR.

The report deals with many of the same questions that Armstrong deals with — the FMLN-FDR's answers, however, are completely different from Armstrong's.

FMLN statement in next 'IP'

The July 23 issue of Intercontinental Press, the biweekly international news magazine, will contain the text of the May 25 statement by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front on the current situation in El Salvador. Be sure to get your copy.

IP regularly features documents and interviews on the Central America revolution that are not available anywhere else in English. To stay on top of developments in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba, you can't just read the Militant. You need a subscription to IP too.

 \square Send me one year of *IP* for \$25 Name Address _ State _ City . Send to: Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

☐ Send me six months of IP for \$12.50

Chapter two of the report, which takes up the Salvadoran presidential election, explains that the election cannot be considered independently of the "militarist and interventionist policies of Reagan.'

The report details and attacks the increasing-U.S. intervention in El Salvador. It explains that real power in El Salvador lies with the oligarchy, the U.S. govern-

ment, and the army.

A key theme of the report, which is emphasized in the May 25 statement signed by the five commanders of the FMLN, is that Duarte has two choices - he can either accept the FMLN-FDR's lonstanding proposal for a dialogue leading to a negotiated political solution to the conflict or he can help open the door to further U.S. intervention "offering himself finally as a carpet for the forces of occupation."

The FMLN statement calls on Duarte to implement three "visible steps" that could create conditions for a dialogue: an end to direct U.S. intervention in the war; an immediate halt to the bombardment of the civilian population; and no more political prisoners, murders, or disappearances.

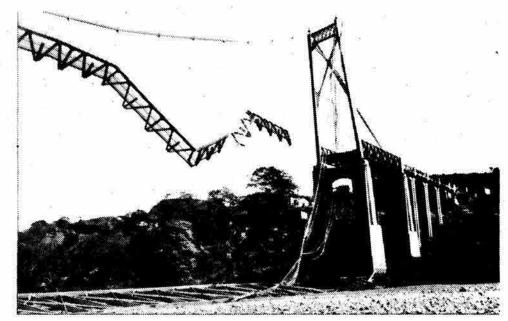
The FMLN statement also calls on workers and other sectors of the Salvadoran population to:

"Intensify preparations to confront intervention and achieve a people's victory.

"Step up struggles for the economic, social, and political demands of the people.

"Actively aid the revolutionary-democratic and patriotic efforts to open a dialogue and negotiated settlement.'

One of the major purposes for releasing the report, it explains, is that, just as after the 1982 Salvadoran elections, many foreign observers and journalists have been taken in by this latest round of elections and "place great hopes in Pres. José Napo-



Cuscatlán bridge after December 1983 FMLN attack

león Duarte."

Armstrong claims that "As happened after the 1982 election, the FMLN-FDR has suffered a political and diplomatic setback. But reports of its demise are prema-

Reports of the FMLN-FDR's "demise" are not "premature" — they are wrong.

Since 1982, the FMLN has achieved a greater unity of the five revolutionary groups making up its front. It has won more support among urban workers and from peasants, and has increased its military and political capabilities and international prestige

The FMLN-FDR report warns over and over again that Washington is preparing, from its base in Honduras, to send U.S.

troops to El Salvador. The FMLN-FDR are preparing themselves and the workers and peasants of El Salvador and the world for this intervention.

Opponents of U.S. intervention in this country must prepare ourselves as well. We need to organize the broadest movement against U.S. intervention possible, a movement that reaches out to the trade unions and the Black and Latino communities.

The starting point in this task is telling the truth about what is happening in El Salvador today, including the truth about the role of U.S. imperialism. Only in that way can we effectively prepare opponents of U.S. intervention for the Vietnam-style war that is coming in Central America.

Killer of Vincent Chin convicted

DETROIT — On June 28, Ronald Ebens was convicted in Federal District Court of violating the civil rights of Vincent Chin by beating the young Chinese-American to death with a baeball bat. Ebens was acquitted on a related civil rights conspiracy charge. His stepson, Michael Nitz, was acquitted on both counts.

The Vincent Chin case received national attention in 1983 when Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Charles Kaufman accepted guilty pleas from the defendents to the charge of manslaughter and then gave Ebens and Nitz - both of whom are white probation and fined them each \$3,780.

Kaufman justified his decision on the grounds that Ebens had worked for 18 years as a foreman for Chrysler, and his stepson Nitz was employed and attending college. These "weren't the kind of people you send to jail," Kaufman said.

The Asian-American community was outraged at the leniency of the sentences as well as the racist conduct of the Wayne County prosecutor's office. Judge Thomas C. Bayles, who conducted the preliminary examination, chastised the prosecution for not bringing charges of first degree murder. Many commentators pointed to the racist nature of the verdict and the context anti-Asian racism generated by the campaign against imported Japanese automobiles.

American Citizens for Justice was formed to press for justice for Chin.

American Citizens for Justice retained attorneys and unsuccessfully pressed to overturn Kaufman's decision. They did succeed, however, in pressuring the U.S. Justice Department to prosecute Ebens and Nitz on the civil rights charge.

Jurors in the Federal District Court trial here heard eyewitness accounts of the events of June 19. Chin and three other male companions, one Asian and two white, were at a bar in the Detroit suburb of Highland Park. The confrontation with Ebens and Nitz began with Ebens verbally abusing Chin.

According to Racine Caldwell, one of the dancers at the bar, Ebens yelled, "It's because of you little motherfuckers that we're out of work." Robert Siroskey, one of Chin's friends, said he heard the word "chink." Jimmy Choi, another friend, said Ebens referred to Chin as a "nip."

Chin then walked over to Ebens and pushed him. They both started swinging chairs at each other, at which point they were ejected from the bar.

In the parking lot, Ebens got a baseball bat out of his car and started chasing Chin and Choi, ignoring their two white companions. After Chin and Choi managed to run away from them, Ebens and Nitz got in their car and set out to search for them. Ebens and Nitz then picked up Jimmy Perry, who testified that they offered him \$20 to help them find "the Chinese guys."

They found Chin and Choi on Woodward Avenue five blocks from the bar in

front of a McDonalds restaurant. There -Ebens clubbed Chin to death with the bat while Nitz, after chasing Choi away, held him to the ground.

The question of who threw the first punch in the bar is irrelevant. The attack on Chin must be seen for what it was, a racist attack against Asians coming in the midst of an anti-Japanese, anti-import campaign conducted by the auto bosses with the aid of United Auto Workers union officials. The attackers singled out Chin and Choi because of their race. They were treated leniently in court because the lives of Asians and other oppressed minorities count for little under the U.S. system of "justice."

Castro speaks on land reform

Continued from Page 11

of canecutters in the sugar harvest 14 years ago and now, as also in development of construction, the docks and industry.

On this 25th anniversary, therefore, we can have a clear and objective picture of what the measures initiated on May 17, 1959, meant for the Cuban countryside. (Applause) Now the peasant movement the National Association of Small Farmers, and farmers as a whole have new tasks.

We are involved in the drive for higher forms of production on peasant land. The cooperative movement advances and is something which is relatively new in the Revolution and has registered a big upsurge in the last three years. Now, some 56 percent of peasant land has been brought into cooperatives, almost a million hectares, of which just over 80,000 were ceded by the state. If we include the state farms and agricultural production cooperatives, we find that about 90 percent of the land is now worked under higher forms of production. (Applause)

In the early years, the biggest investments were made in state agricultural enterprises, which have progressed considerably. Now the stress is on the peasant cooperative movement. There are 1,457 cooperatives with an average land area some more, some less - of over 600 hectares. While it is a new field and we are just setting out, the progress which has been made is considerable. The great majority of the cooperatives have been successful,

made profits and significantly cut down on production costs; we can say they are really doing well in economic terms.

The causes as to why a small group still hasn't made profits are under study, to see the relationship prices and other factors may have on higher production costs, and we have discovered difficulties and problems which can be solved.

The greater part of cane lands are in cooperatives. There are 42 cane cooperatives with a yield of 85 tons per hectare and, since the start of the cane cooperative movement, there has been a 15-ton-perhectare increase and a total crop of 4,600,000 tons of cane, yielding 500,000 tons of sugar.

We know there are problems because the comrades from the National Association of Small Farmers and the Party have been telling us about them, difficulties of different kinds that we are trying to solve. I can assure you we will find a solution to all those problems and difficulties. (Applause)

The big successes scored in all fields encourage us to continue. We believe we should now take this date to undertake a commitment with the farmers to continue advancing toward higher forms of production, to continue promoting the cooperative movement, to see what we will be saying about the fulfillment of such a historic task on the 30th anniversary of the Agrarian Re-

¡Patria o Muerte! ¡Venceremos! (Ova-

Celebrations begin for Sandinista fifth anniversary

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — All over Nicaragua, preparations are under way for the celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the Sandinista People's Revolution. On July 19, 1979, the Nicaraguan masses, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza.

Many cities in Nicaragua have already begun holding local rallies, all to culminate in a mass celebration in Managua on July 19.

The centerpiece of all these preparations is a political campaign that the FSLN is leading around the slogan "Everything for the war front; everything for the fighters!" Thus the mobilizations to celebrate the revolution's fifth anniversary are also a demonstration of commitment to defeat the U.S.-inspired counterrevolutionary aggression that Nicaragua is facing today.

A second call-up for Patriotic Military Service (Nicaragua's draft) has just been completed. The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST, the largest union federation in the country) has also just announced the formation of six companies of militias to be composed solely of industrial workers. Recruitment to these militias has already begun.

People all over the country are taking up collections of money and provisions for the troops. Some neighborhoods have proclaimed themselves the "godparents" of particular battalions.

The government is explaining to the population the need to devote the maximum amount of human and material resources to meeting the needs, not only of

the soldiers, but also of the civilian population in the regions most affected by counterrevolutionary attacks. This is what is meant by the first phrase of the slogan, "Everything for the war front!"

Putting a top priority on these zones requires that residents of other areas make do with less of certain foods and other necessities. For example, government leaders in Managua have been explaining to many people here who need housing that the needs of the war zones must come first.

The Nicaraguan economy itself is another battlefield. On this front, the governing Junta of National Reconstruction has just approved a new Law in Defense of the Consumer, which hits at capitalist hoarders, price-gougers, and speculators who are taking advantage of shortages in basic necessities caused by the war. Leading up to the fifth anniversary, the FSLN is on a campaign to explain to both consumers and merchants the importance of this law and to encourage the neighborhood-based Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS) to be vigilant in applying it.

To increase production, assemblies of different kinds of workers are being held to determine how they can compensate for the absence of coworkers who are fighting in the battle zones.

In a recent interview in *Barricada*, the FSLN's daily newspaper, Commander Dora María Téllez pointed out that there are many kinds of fronts on which the war must be fought.

She took up the political-ideological front. In this period of U.S. military escalation and increasing counterrevolutionary propaganda by the right wing, the San-



Draftees in Nicaraguan army. Slogan of fifth anniversary celebrations is "Everything for the war front; everything for the fighters!"

dinistas are working to further consolidate the unity of Nicaragua's workers, farmers, small merchants, and artisans.

Téllez added, "This is related to the necessity of breaking up any attempt to create an internal front [of the counterrevolution] and of nipping in the bud the attempts of the counterrevolutionary forces to capture a social base that would accompany the war of aggression of the mercenaries with political action in the streets."

Minister of Agrarian Reform Jaime Wheelock recently announced that 12,000 more peasant families will be receiving land titles before July 19. This will bring the total number of families who have benefited from the agrarian reform to 45,000 and the amount of land distributed to 2.42 million acres. This amounts to 20 percent of the land under cultivation in Nicaragua.

This represents a step-up in the pace of land reform, the idea being that "there not remain a single peasant without land to work," as Wheelock put it.

among small shopkeepers and market vendors to demonstrate that the government will continue to provide them with products to sell and to seek their help both in supplying the population and going after the speculators and price-gougers. To this end, various kinds of vendors are being encouraged to organize themselves and take an active part in countering rightist-inspired rumors that the FSLN is out to do away with all small businesspeople. To the contrary, as the Sandinistas explain, the economy could not function without them.

The FSLN is also stepping up its work

Artisans, too, are receiving high priority. Federico López, political secretary of the FSLN in the Masaya region, explained in an interview with *Barricada* that "small industry is not a remnant of underdevelopment, but rather it can and must be an instrument for meeting the actual economic demands of the country.

"We believe that the process of transforming our economy takes place not only through large investments in agriculture and industry, but also through the incorporation of all the existing forms of economy and their transformation in accord with the interests of national development."

This means encouraging the artisans to form cooperatives to help one another, but it also means, right now, giving them greater assistance — for example, helping them to obtain the raw materials they need, in some cases even importing it.

The anniversary celebrations also include events commemorating the history of the revolution and interviews in the press with veteran Sandinista fighters. These are being used to deepen the lessons of the fight against Somoza and demonstrate the proud history of the Nicaraguan people's struggle.

Nicaragua smashes U.S.-supplied camp

Continued from front page

Herrera Regional Command of the FDN and also served as the forward supply center for the contras' other two regional commands that have been operating deeper inside Nicaragua. Each of these commands is composed of three or more task forces of some 300 troops each.

The base consisted of 400 thatched-roof huts spread out over several hills. One large field had been cleared to receive supplies that were air-dropped by CIA planes and helicopters flying from Honduras. Evidence found at the site indicates it had been operating at least since Feb-

The destruction of the Turuwás base marked the culmination of a three-month counteroffensive against the FDN.

As of the middle of June, some 800 contras had been killed or wounded in 156

clashes in the northern front. These figures do not include an additional 278 contras killed in the final push against the Turuwás base.

Crucial role of draftees

Much of the heaviest fighting was carried out by two EPS Irregular Combat Battalions (BLI). These units are composed largely of youth drafted into the army through the Patriotic Military Service. Army officers stress that the draftees "have played a most important role in the destruction of the counterrevolutionary camp."

Lieut. Manuel Vindell, head of the Germán Pomares BLI, added that "the soldiers of the Patriotic Military Service have acquired a great deal of combat experience, and this has also helped them in their education as revolutionaries. "The proof of this is the defeats they have inflicted on the CIA mercenaries in the mountains of Nueva Segovia and Jinotega provinces."

According to the EPS, more than 1,000 contras fled to Honduras following their defeat at Turuwás. In addition, many of the 3,000 contras still inside the north-central region of Nicaragua have been pushed further east, away from the agricultural areas into virtually unpopulated mountains.

Escalation of war expected

Commander Manuel Salvatierra, chief of staff of the army in the region, nevertheless warned that despite these advances, new and even greater attacks can be expected. "It is a reflection of the political will of the Reagan administration to destroy the revolutionary process," he explained.

Speaking at a July 4 memorial service for fallen Sandinista soldiers, Brigade Commander Lenín Cerna explained that "the effectiveness of our troops has forced the CIA to cook up a new counterrevolutionary plan called 'Black Moon.'"

The plan, according to Cerna, "consists in launching an offensive along the whole northern border" from Honduras, coordinated with attacks from the smaller concentrations of counterrevolutionaries along the southern border with Costa Rica.

Cerna said the key objective was to take "a piece of the national territory, making it possible for them to establish a 'provisional government.' "This would in turn invite a U.S. military invasion.

Some 4,500 troops of the FDN have been assigned to the operation, Cerna reported.

He added that the Reagan administration "has a strategy of destroying economic objectives that are fundamental to production, to feeding our people, to the health of our people, to the transportation and education of our people, and in this way to wear down our revolution.

"Nevertheless," Cerna said, "it has been demonstrated that the Nicaraguan people are willing to defend and consolidate their revolution."

New International

A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory

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

by Mary-Affee waters

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

The FSLN and the Nicaraguan Revolution by Tomás Borge

Send me the Spring-Summer 1984 issue for \$4.				
Send me the Fall 1983 issue featuring "Their				
Trotsky	and	Ours:	Communist	Continuity
T				

Today," by Jack Barnes, for \$4

To subscribe:

☐ In United States, four issues for U.S.\$12
☐ In Canada, four issues for \$18.50 (Canadian)
Send to: New International, 1317 Est. Ste
Cathorina Montreal DO HOL 2014

Name				ψ()
Address		Ü.		
City/State/Zip			~	
Country	1 0	640	/s	
Send to New Inte	mational,	4 Charl	es Ln.	, New
York, N.Y. 10014				

13

CIA agent is arrested in Managua

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A CIA agent, a U.S. citizen named William Luther, has been caught by the General Directorate of State Security (DGSE) here.

For a year and a half, Luther had been passing information to the U.S. embassy concerning various Sandinista army bases. He also reported on the comings and goings of Sandinista leader Tomás Borge and other officials of the ministry of the interior. The purpose of this information, he said, "was, of course, to be able to make attempts on their lives." Luther was paid \$800 a month.

He also spied on Uruguayan and Salvadoran political refugees resident in Nica-

Luther tried to get a job working for Barricada, the official newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, so he would have the added advantage of a press card to carry out spying activities.

Luther was recruited to the CIA in 1982 by an embassy official named Albert John

Luther said his first contact with the CIA

was with Linda Pfeifel, a U.S. "diplomat" stationed in Managua. She was one of three agents implicated in the June 1983 attempted poisoning of Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto. At that time the three were expelled from Nicaragua.

After the foiled assassination attempt, his contact, Amori, left Nicaragua without telling Luther. After a period of not being able to get in touch with Amori, Luther went directly to the top officials of the U.S. embassy. Amori had told him, "They are like me, agents of the CIA. It would be as if you were talking with me."

The vice-consul, Dexter Nixon Catmann, was very friendly but asked to see Luther's U.S. passport. On the way back from retrieving it from his sister's house, Luther was stopped by Sandinista police, found to be lying about his nationality (he had passed himself off as a Nicaraguan citizen for 10 years), and taken into custody. This was in May of this year.

U.S. embassy spokesman Gilbert Callaway confirmed that embassy officials had met with Luther, but refused to provide any further information.

Antiabortion violence on the rise in Alabama, Florida

BY ANDREA BARON

BIRMINGHAM — Terrorist attacks against abortion clinics have escalated in Alabama and Florida in recent months.

On May 12, two men armed with sledgehammers attacked the Birmingham Women's Medical Clinic, smashing \$10,000 worth of equipment used for abortions

On June 15, a Catholic priest splashed red paint inside the women's Community Health Center in Huntsville, Alabama. The clinic suffered \$2,000 worth of damage. Two employees prevented the priest from pouring the paint on abortion equipment. They were injured in the scuffle.

On June 25, a potentially deadly bomb exploded at the Ladies Center, Inc., an abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida. Damage to the building was estimated at more than \$35,000. Fortunately the clinic was unoccupied and no one was injured.

While no arrests were made in the Birmingham attack, the Catholic priest who attacked the Huntsville clinic has been charged with two counts of assault and a felony criminal mischief charge.

The priest, Rev. Edward Markley, was also arrested in 1978 during an anti-abortion demonstration at a clinic in Birmingham. His \$50 fine was suspended.

The Birmingham News reported that Markley planned to plead not guilty to the charges, although he admitted to the reporters that he damaged the clinic. When asked by reporters if he was involved in the attack on the Birmingham clinic, he said he had "no comment."

In a statement issued by the Catholic Diocese of Birmingham, Bishop Joseph Vath defended Markley's actions. Vath claimed the vandal priest was defending the "right to life."

"If one is convinced that abortion is the taking of innocent life according to God's revealed word, he is not acting unjustly according to God's law in defending the innocent unborn ones," the bishop said. "The right to life certainly supersedes the right to property or to privacy."

These attacks are part of the continuing right-wing campaign of antiwoman violence. These attacks follow months of picketing and harassment of clinics and their patients in Birmingham and Huntsville. The Birmingham clinic has been picketed by right-wing groups for several months. Staff members are forced to wait for patients on the street and escort them past the pickets.

The Huntsville clinic has been picketed by the right-wing Christian Action Council for several months. This group is also trying to get the Huntsville City Council to take action to close the clinic.

The Huntsville clinic staff also must escort patients past the right-wingers and has mobilized support from the women's movement to defend the right to abortion. The Huntsville chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) organized a successful and well-publicized counterpicket at the clinic.

The Birmingham and Huntsville chapters of NOW are discussing further activity to defend against the right-wing attacks.

Mark Curtis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Alabama's 6th C.D., condemned the terrorist campaign. "The events in Birmingham, Huntsville, and Pensacola are part of a nationwide campaign of violence against abortion clinics — a campaign fostered by the antiabortion, anti-women's rights words and deeds of the Democratic and Republican parties. Democrats and Republicans joined hands to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment. Today both parties are gutting affirmative action, slashing social services, and turning a blind eye to violence against women."

In a message to the staff and patients of the Huntsville clinic, Curtis said, "I solidarize with you against the violence, harassment, and abuse by antiwoman, antiabortion groups who seek to terrorize women and close clinics. The Socialist Workers campaign stands firmly in support of women's most basic right — the right to control their own bodies and to choose abortion."

Racist San Diego grand jury calls bilingual education 'un-American'

BY MARY JO VOGEL

SAN DIEGO, Calif. — Bilingual education recently came under attack here when the San Diego County grand jury released a report recommending elimination of bilingual education at federal, state, and local levels.

The report charged that bilingual programs do "a disservice to the student" and have been shown "to be impractical, expensive, and in a sense un-American."

The grand jury's report — released in April — has been met with outrage from educators, including directors of bilingual programs, none of whom were consulted by the grand jury. Representatives from the Chicano Federation, Black Federation, and the Mexican-American Political Association issued a statement saying, "We view the grand jury report as a racist and blatant attack against the right of our children to a full education."

Recognizing the support that exists for the bilingual programs, even the county Board of Supervisors unanimously rejected the grand jury report.

Some 34,000 San Diego county students participate in bilingual programs, which are conducted in many languages, including Vietnamese, Lao, Japanese, and Tagalog. Spanish-speaking students comprise 74 percent of the programs' participants.

The glaring need for bilingual programs was revealed in a report compiled by the American Council on Education. Issued this year, the report reveals that approximately 50 percent of Latino students drop

out of high school. Only 7 percent of Latinos in the United States finish college, compared to 12 percent of Blacks and 23 percent of whites. Nearly 18 percent of Latinos aged 25 and older are classified as functional illiterates, compared to 10 percent of Blacks and 3 percent of whites.

A report distributed by the San Diego County Office of Education explains the benefits of bilingual education. The report notes that students' learning is maximized when they are taught in their native language. When math, science, and other academic subjects are taught in Spanish, for example, Spanish-speaking students learn at the same rate as their English-speaking counterparts.

Denial of bilingual education is a blow to the rights of all working people. It's part of the pattern of attacks on the right to an equal education, like the assault on school desegregation.

Working people should champion the right of Latinos and other non-English speaking peoples to develop and express their language and culture. To say, as the grand jury report does, that English should be the only "official" language in the United States or that it is "un-American" to study, learn, or speak another language is a racist tactic used by employers and the government to confuse, prejudice, and thereby divide working people.

Mary Jo Vogel is the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the 41st Congressional District.



Bomb ripped Pensacola, Florida, abortion clinic June 25. In Alabama a Catholic priest terrorized women's clinic in Huntsville. Bishop justified terror with claim that "right to life supersedes right to property."

Seattle inquest acquits cops in murder of Black worker

BY BILL OSTEEN

SEATTLE — Last March 27, Robert Baldwin resisted being thrown out of his Seattle Housing Authority apartment by two plainclothes police officers. In the struggle, one of the cops was fatally wounded.

The SWAT team was called in. It cordoned off the area to keep out witnesses, broke all the windows of Baldwin's apartment, and kept up the siege for 17 hours. Occasionally, they threw rocks through the windows to "keep him stirred up," according to Sgt. Keith Stringfellow, the chief cop "negotiator."

The police refused to allow Margaret Baldwin to talk to her ex-husband. They refused to allow Baldwin's minister and close friend for 15 years — Harold Hayes — to talk to him. It seems they didn't want Baldwin to surrender and come out alive — they wanted him dead.

At about 6 a.m. — when there weren't too many people around — they dealt out their cop justice. After throwing two stun grenades into the apartment, the police charged in and fired 38 shots, hitting Baldwin 21 times — all in the back. Holes in the floor of Baldwin's apartment suggest the shots were fired as Baldwin lay facedown on the floor.

On June 1, an all-white inquest jury voted 5 to 1 that the cops were justified in shooting and killing Robert Baldwin.

The whole racist killing of Baldwin started over his "crime" of failing to pay \$110.03 in back rent on his housing project apartment. Baldwin was given an eviction notice, but his disability check was late and there was nothing he could do. He told all this to policeman Kenneth Trainor the week before. Trainor testified in court that [Baldwin] said he was waiting for a check." All Baldwin had asked for was a little time.

Baldwin and his wife moved from Texas to Denver and then to Seattle. By the time his brother Willie followed him to Seattle, Robert was working at Boeing. "See, Robert was a smart guy," Willie Baldwin said, "and what he did was get a machinist's book, and when he hired in as a machinist, he learned as he went along."

All this ended when Baldwin broke his wrist at Boeing so badly that he lost use of his right hand. "Boeing never took him back," Willie Baldwin said. "But right in there, about 1978, that's where it started crumbling for him." Robert Baldwin was never again able to get much of a job. He was permanently disabled.

The Seattle Black community is seething with anger over Baldwin's murder. Black activists, community groups, and others have been meeting the last couple of weeks to map out plans for a July 12 demonstration demanding "Prosecute the killer cops!" The protest will take place at the office of the King County prosecutor.

Grenada airport: U.S. lies collapse

Continued from front page

by Nicholas Brathwaite (the chairman of the Interim Advisory Council) and U.S. Ambassador Loren Lawrence. Construction resumed soon after.

An official at the office of the U.S. Information Service (USIS) in St. George's, the capital, admitted to this reporter that the contractors were following the original plans for the airport, without any significant modifications.

By agreeing to finish the airport as it had originally been planned, Washington has implicitly acknowledged that its earlier claims about the airport were false, and that the PRG's explanation that it was needed for economic development was accurate.

Nevertheless, the airport will play a different economic role than had been intended by the revolutionaries who launched the project back in 1980.

Instead of being a keystone for the development of an economy geared toward meeting the needs of the workers and farmers and toward freeing Grenada from imperialist domination, the airport's function will now be different. Washington and its local allies will seek to use it to strengthen the position of the foreign and domestic private sectors, in such a way that imperialist domination will be strengthened. The kind of tourism they have in mind will include gambling casinos, prostitution, and drugs.

The USIS official, in response to a ques-

tion about whether Washington had military plans for the airport, claimed that there would be "no military use."

But the existing portion of the airport's runway is already being put to military use. A day after the USIS official's remark, this reporter observed a U.S. Coast Guard plane land there.

In fact, U.S. military planes have been landing at Point Salines ever since the invasion. The U.S. military headquarters, at the Grenada Beach Hotel, is just a few kilometers away.

As long as Grenada is occupied by U.S. troops, the airport will be used by Washington for military purposes, in addition to its regular commercial functions.

In order to politically counter the U.S. plans for the airport — and to help keep alive the memory of the Grenada revolution — supporters of the policies of the PRG are demanding that the airport be named after the late prime minister: the Maurice Bishop International Airport. That demand features prominently in the recently released manifesto of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), the new revolutionary party launched here in late May.

However, Washington, which would like the Grenadian people to forget about the four-and-a-half years of the revolution, is determined to resist this demand. In response, the MBPM is planning to launch a mass petitioning campaign to mobilize support for the demand that the airport be named after Bishop.

NATIONAL PICKET LINE

General Dynamics workers strike in San Diego

BY DEAN DENNO

SAN DIEGO, Calif. - Four thousand members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local Lodge 1125 struck the Convair Division of General Dynamics Corp. here July 3.

An additional 400 IAM members walked off the job at Convair's test facilities: Vandenberg Air Force Base in California and the Eastern Test Range at Cape Canaveral, Florida.

With over three quarters of the Convair IAM members voting at meetings on July 1, the company's final contract offer was rejected by 91 percent. The vote to strike was 87 percent. The last major strike at Convair was in 1946.

One of the main reasons for the rejection was GD's demand for a dual wage scale. Besides offering no wage increase to current employees, the company demands that new hires start at \$1 per hour below the current rates. The highest rate new employees would be able to reach would be \$3 below the current maximum for most labor grades.

The company proposal is clearly seen by workers as an attempt to divide and weaken the union.

IAM international representative Bob Gregory, who is assisting the local, said the dual wage scale "creates dissension among the workers and creates a particular imbalance regarding the influx of women and minorities."

Another issue is the cost-of-living (COLA) formula. Over the three years of the old contract, total COLA amounted to \$1.26 per hour. But the majority of IAM members do not receive the full amount, and those most recently hired get nothing at all.

GD profits last year were over \$280 million, but the company demands that workers accept only a 3 percent annual bonus instead of a wage increase.

Other important issues in dispute are the company's limit on its payments for health coverage and its refusal to increase pension payments to an acceptable level.

Although opinions vary, many workers expect a long strike. One of the main factors in the union's ability to stay out will be unity among the strikers and solidarity from other workers.

Representatives of IAM-or-GD employees at Pomona, California; Ft. Worth, Texas; and Abilene, Texas; have expressed their support for the Convair strikers.

An important additional show of support has come from the 1,500 workers in the Electronics Division of GD. These workers are also members of Local 1125 and work at the same plants as Convair workers, but their contract does not expire until 1985. The no-strike clause in the contract forces these workers to cross our picket lines and work.

On the first day of the strike, the Electronics workers' negotiating committee passed out a leaflet urging support for the Convair strikers and many Electronics workers wore buttons reading: "Electronics Convair. One company — one fight. SOLIDARITY.

During the first week of the strike the company made an offer with improvements in wages, pension, and health payments. However, the wage offer, existing costof-living formula, and the new pension offer were still considered inadequate. The offer was rejected at a July 8 membership meeting by 78 percent.

A statement issued by Mari Hawkes, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the 44th C.D., expressed full support for the strikers. Hawkes is an assembler for the Electronics Division.

Dean Denno is a member of IAM Local Lodge 1125 and a Convair striker.

Victory in Minnesota nurses strike

BY BILL GOTTLIEB

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. - The Minnesota Nurse's Association ended its five-week old strike in a victory. On July 9 the nurses voted 3,014 to 37 to ratify a three-year contract wth Health Employers,

The key demand of the 6,300 registered nurses was job security. Prior to the strike, the hospitals had the right to lay off and recall nurses without regard to seniority.

The new contract provides that any layoff or reduction in the hours of work are to be based on seniority. No nurse can have their hours reduced if a nurse with less seniority is working more than 32 hours each 80-hour two-week pay

The contract also provides for hospital-wide seniority with the right of a nurse to transfer to a job for which they are qualified or to which the nurse can qualify with up to a three-week training period.

The contract also provides for a wage increase of 4 percent per year for the first two years of the contract. During the third year, there is a wage reopener clause that provides for binding arbitration if the union and the hospital bosses cannot come to agreement on wages.

Solidarity rally with Sun Oil workers in Toledo

BY TOMMYE WIESE

TOLEDO, Ohio - About 150 union members gathered outside the Sun refinery in Toledo on June 30 to protest the company's refusal to compromise in the current round of negotiations.

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-912, on strike since March 21, was joined by members of Local 9 of the Glass Workers, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14 (AP Unit), Teamsters Local 20 (Interstate), and OCAW 7-346.

Brief speeches were made by Ron Rinna, president of Local 7-912, and by the president of the Glass Workers, who presented a check for \$3,040 to the OCAW.

The Glass Workers took up a collection among their members and gathered a total of \$6,080 to be divided between OCAW and the UAW workers on strike at AP

The demonstration began at the one remaining gate where no injunction has been issued against picketing. After the speeches, the participants marched around the refinery past the main gate.

The previous day, June 29, OCAW members marked the 100th day of their strike with an impromptu champagne ceremony at the front gate.

Utility workers strike against cuts in health care

DETROIT — Detroit Edison Utility Workers Local 223 has been on strike for one month. They represent 3,000 mainly skilled-trades workers. The single issue under dispute is the company's demand that the workers pay half of their insurance benefits and half of all increases in insurance premiums that occur.

On June 19, 350 AFL-CIO workers headed by a large United Auto Workers (UAW) contingent demonstrated outside Detroit Edison Co.'s downtown offices to show solidarity. Presently there are no negotiations, but the lines stay staffed 24 hours a day and the strikers are determined.

Helen Meyers, Socialist Workers senatorial candidate from Michigan, went to the picket lines to show solidarity with the striking workers. She was told by one of the strikers, "They better not win this from us or you are next." This was in reference to the upcoming General Motors and Ford contract negotiations this fall. Meyers is a member of the UAW.

Steelworkers Under Attack by Geoff Mirelowitz, 95 cents, 40 pp

In March 1983 the steel corporations imposed big wage, benefit, and work rule concessions on steelworkers Despite their claims, not a single job was saved by these givebacks Steelworkers still face tough times and signs are that they may get worse In this pamphlet, Mirelowitz, a laid-off steelworker, answers the employers' attempts to blame workers for the economic crisis in the steel industry This pamphlet proposes a course for the steelworkers' union and the entire labor movement to fight back

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75

Toledo workers indicted for May 21 UAW protest

Continued from front page

AP Parts. The strike resulted from a new contract imposed by the company that cut wages by \$5.84 an hour and destroyed the seniority system.

AP Parts, a muffler manufacturer and subcontractor for General Motors and other big auto corporations, provoked the confrontation with the union, continued operating with scab labor, and hired the notorious union-busting private cop outfit, Nuchols Inc.

The May 21 action challenged this company strike-breaking. It attracted more than 3,000 auto workers and others from across the city and was attacked by Toledo cops. Forty-one workers were arrested at the demonstration.

The grand jury reviewed video tapes of the action taken by the Nuchols cops. Television news video tapes were also subpoenaed. Some 40 Toledo city cops testified.

The indictments are aimed at intimidating the UAW and workers throughout the city. The auto bosses and city government hope to teach the labor movement a lesson: militant action against strike-breaking will not be tolerated.

The indictment of Wilson and two other members of the UAW shop committee at Jeep is a particularly serious step. Wilson was not one of those arrested May 21. However, the UAW leadership at Jeep was instrumental in organizing the May 21 action and encouraged hundreds of Jeep workers to join the protest.

If the indictments can be made to stick against these UAW leaders, and the other indicted workers, it can have a chilling effect on further solidarity action. Therefore, defense of the indicted workers is now a major challenge facing the union move-

The announcement of the indictments

was timed to coincide with a vacation shutdown at Jeep. There was no immediate response by UAW officials. However, a meeting of the Jeep unit of UAW Local 12 is scheduled for July 13.

The discussion of how to stop AP Parts union-busting has continued over the past weeks in the auto plants here. The grand jury action can be expected to fuel that dis-

One Jeep worker told the Militant, "I am ready to go to AP right now and I don't care if I'm arrested. All of us who were there on May 21 are guilty anyway.'

This worker also referred to a June 24 solidarity protest that was scheduled by the UAW and then postponed by union officials. "We should have had that march anyway," he observed. "Thousands of us would have been there. It would have put tremendous pressure on AP," he said.

In the face of the grand jury indictments the need for a mass action response by the union is even more pressing, both to stop AP Parts' strike-breaking and to demand that the city drop the charges.

Bob Sykes, vice-president of UAW Local 14, has said that the union will seek amnesty for striking workers arrested May 21 as part of any strike settlement. However, most of those arrested May 21 are not AP Parts employees and will not be covered by such an amnesty - if it can be

Little information is available to most workers here concerning the development of negotiations in the strike. It was revealed last week, however, that shortly after the May 21 protest a tentative agreement was reached between AP Parts and UAW officials.

This proposal included an immediate \$3.60 an hour wage cut. On Jan. 1, 1985, if company profit levels remained low, the union negotiations agreed to accept another \$2.24 an hour cut. This would have equalled the total sum originally demand by the company. However, this tentative settlement was scotched when AP Parts backed out.

In other strike news, while the grand jury was sitting, UAW officials proposed legislation to the city council calling for restrictions on police and private security force activity in labor disputes.

The city council is scheduled to discuss these proposals, but there appears to be little likelihood they will be adopted. UAW officials have argued in Local 12's Toledo Union Journal that the cops can be ordered to be less brutal while still maintaining "law and order" and protecting private property. The big-business paper, the Toledo Blade claims the UAW officials' proposals will result in "anarchy."

Protests of the recent indictments and demands to drop the charges can be sent to: Anthony Pizza, Lucas County Prosecutor, Lucas County Courthouse, Adams and Erie Streets, Toledo, Ohio, 43624.

Mark Friedman is a member of the Jeep unit of UAW Local 12 and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for State House of Representatives in District 45.



Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Minneapolis Teamster rebellion — take advantage of special offer from Pathfinder Press

Fifty years ago truckdrivers of Min- drive and a lifelong revolutionist, neapolis began the struggle that made the city a union town. They built a militant union movement that spread across the north-central United States and helped pave the way for the industrial unionism of the CIO.

Farrell Dobbs, one of the central leaders of this Teamsters' organizing

wrote the story of how it was done.

His four volumes on the Teamsters are invaluable in understanding the political tasks facing industrial workers today.

Special offer: \$20 for all four volumes (25% off list price).

Teamster Rebellion 192 pp. \$5.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Offer available only by mail. Please include 75¢ for postage and handling. Offer expires September 1.

Teamster Power 255 pp. \$6.95

Teamster Politics 256 pp. \$6.95

Teamster Bureaucracy 304 pp. \$6.95

THE GREAT SOCIETY

Sounds better too — Jeremiah O'Dowd, of Thurlies in Ireland's County Tipperary, hoped a Reagan-style reception could be



Harry Ring

organized there for his son, Boy George, the rock singer. But the Thurlies city council voted no. Recalling that, for no good reason, the county had tripped all over itself welcoming Reagan, O'Dowd declared, "Reagan may very well blow up the whole world, including Thurlies, whereas all Boy George does is make music and dress up in off-beat clothing."

Be it ever so humble — The average price of a new, single-family home has hit a whopping record of \$101,000. An economist for the National Association of Realtors philosophized, "The median-income family cannot afford the median-priced home at present. But people can get into a little less desirable house."

calling that, for no good reason, And maybe earlier — the county had tripped all over it- Economist Paul Samuelson is con-

cerned about the high cost of housing. One result, he deduces, is that there will be fewer home owners and more renters. This could contribute to tensions. Home owners, he feels, tend to contribute to social stability. But renters "are a more obstreperous type. From the beginning of time, people have hated landlords."

Can't fool them — "We've received a report you may be deceased. Please come in with proof of identity." —Letter to a Ft. Lauderdale Social Security recipient who died last December.

Don't confuse them with the facts — The Santa Clara County,

Calif., school district has introduced a course on moral and ethical responsibility, spotlighting such virtues as honor, integrity, justice, and patriotism. Discussing the course, a school official explained, "We are careful to avoid teaching truth, for instance, because that means different things to different people."

Spiritual justice — The Vatican may release secret records of the 1633 trial in which an Inquisition court found Galileo guilty of heresy for asserting the earth revolved around the sun, not vice versa. Sources indicate that the long-secret trial transcript may confirm Pope John Paul II's hunch

that Galileo may possibly have been the victim of a bum rap.

No muckin' around — If you're concerned that the possible clearance of Galileo may suggest the pontiff is suffering a softening of the theological arteries, not to worry. Last month in Switzerland, the good father delivered a virulent denunciation of pleasure-oriented sex.

True role model — On July 31 Dennis Trotter begins a 15-year term in the slammer. He was convicted of peddling cocaine in east Tennessee where he was sheriff. In 1980, Trotter was elected Sheriff of the Year.

-CALENDAR-

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

In Celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution — Manzana por Manzana: Defending Reconstruction of Nicaragua. A Spanish-language documentary videotape premiered at 1983 Havana film festival. Translation to English. Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

Simpson-Mazzoli Bill: A Threat To All Workers. Speakers: Bill Tamayo, chair, Committee to Combat Simpson-Mazzoli; Martí Cano, immigration counselor for Hispanic Affairs Oakland Diocese; Raúl González, member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 27, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 534-1242.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

How to End Unemployment, Racism, and Sexism: Cuba's Example. A Young Socialist

Vietnam and Kampuchea: an eyewitness report

A slide show and presentation by Diane Wang

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Sat., July 21, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$3. 5517 Rainier Ave. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

Sun., July 22, 10 a.m. "Reconstruction in post-war Vietnam," a class and discussion. Sun., 1 p.m. "Genocide and Recovery in Kampuchea." 5517 Rainier Ave. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA Morgantown

Sat., July 28, 8 p.m. 957 S. University Ave. Donation: \$2. For more information call (304) 296-0055. Alliance class series. Tues., July 17, 6:30 p.m. 4850 N College. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

U.S. War Against Nicaragua: an Eyewitness Account. Speakers: Kathy Owen, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee; Thomas Hunsdorfer, Christian Theological Seminary; both recently returned from Nicaragua. Sun., July 15, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Simpson-Mazzoli Bill: an Attack on All Labor. Speakers: Ellie García, Socialist Workers candidate for Senate; Guillermo de Paz, delegate of Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Arcelia Romo-Pérez, executive director of Legal Center. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 14, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill: an Attack on All Workers. Speakers: Howard Eisberg, immigration lawyer; Diane Shur, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 5th C.D.; Norma Hill, activist with Haitian refugees. Sun., July 15, 7 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Blacks in the Americas: Community Rally in Solidarity With the Cuban and Nicaraguan People. Speakers: Nicaraguan representative; Alimenta Bishop, mother of Maurice Bishop, slain prime minister of Grenada; others. Sun., July 22, 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Medgar Evers College, 1150 Carroll St. Ausp: Caribbean Coalition.

Manhattan

Report from the Dominican Republic. Speaker: Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president of U.S., just returned from tour of Dominican Republic. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 13, 7:30 p.m.

79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution: U.S. Hands Off Central America and the Caribbean! Speakers: Janet Melvin, photo reporter recently resident in Nicaragua; Benjamin Ramos, president, Puerto Rican Alliance; Greg Rosenberg, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Nicaragua; representative of ISTMO Nicaragüense. Translation to Spanish. Fri., July 20, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

British Coal Miners Strike. Speaker: Dave Ferguson, U.S. coal miner recently returned from Britain; film, Harlan County U.S.A. Preceded by dinner and refreshments. Translation

to Spanish. Sat., July 21, 6 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Open House to Celebrate Our Revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Grenada. Speakers: representatives from solidarity groups and visitors returning from Cuba and Nicaragua. Preceded by dinner and refreshments. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 28, 6 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

U.S. War Against Nicaragua: Eyewitness Report and Slide Show. Speakers: Sue Hagen, member of United Auto Workers Local 1866; Norbert Francis, teacher who spent several weeks in Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sun., July 22, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Minn. conference on rural women held

Continued from Page 5

concerned, women have little or no say in the financial affairs of their farms — other than being called in from the waiting room to put their name on the dotted line at the appropriate moment, said Kling. In most places, women cannot conduct farm business in their own name.

Kling raised the need for Social Security benefits to be extended to farmers — men and women alike.

These two talks fit into a lively discussion about NOW's perspectives and the need for alliances with farmers, Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and labor.

Two important additions were made at the conference to Minnesota NOW's basic program. One states that Minnesota NOW "opposes the U.S. war in Central America." The second supports school desegregation through busing.

The conference also voted to establish a Minority Rights Committee, which would generate proposals on joint work with organizations of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities.

NOW also pledged support to the 6,000strong strike of the Minnesota Nurses Association — the largest nurses strike in U.S. history.

Ellie García, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Minnesota, attended the convention. García is a member of NOW, CLUW and the United Steelworkers of America. In her brief address to the closing plenary, García explained that this conference "comes at an important time — when women's rights are under severe attack. There is a need to mobilize the fighting potential of women, who will have to play a central role in social change, otherwise there will be no social change," said García.

"This conference is important," she said, "because of the link with farmers, who are an important ally of NOW, as are oppressed nationalities and workers."

-IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369.

CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408)

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065 **ILLINOIS: Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418. LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141
Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.
NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany):
SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave, 2nd floor, Zip:

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445 or 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 301 S. Elm St., Suite 522. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814)238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O.

Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel. (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 767 S. State. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

NOW meeting discussion on racism is contradictory

The fight against racism was the subject of a number of workshops at the recent National Organization for Women (NOW) conference in Miami Beach, Florida.

The balance sheet is contradictory.

The discussions showed the genuine desire of most NOW members to build a movement that fights for the



WOMEN IN REVOLT Pat Grogan

rights of all women, especially Blacks and Latinas, and that includes large numbers of these sisters in its ranks.

Little concrete progress, however, has been made toward this goal in NOW.

A strong resolution favoring modifying seniority lists to protect the employment gains of women and minorities in the face of layoffs was passed by the convention.

Ginny Montes, Georgia state coordinator of NOW, said that the recent Supreme Court ruling upholding seniority in the Black Memphis fire fighters' case "was no mistake. It was carefully crafted, carefully aimed at breaking the historic coalition of women, Blacks, and unions."

Joyce Johnson, a member of NOW's Minority Rights Action Staff, speaking at a workshop on "What you can do to combat racism," took up the charges of anti-Semitism against Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan and Jesse Jackson. "This whole Farrakhan issue," she said, "is a racist campaign. I'm sick of opening the paper

every day and reading attacks on Jackson because of it. They say 'How dare this Black man run for president?'"

The big majority of women at this workshop agreed with Johnson and were relieved that someone had taken the issue head-on.

A workshop of NOW members who are Jewish, failed to agree on a statement attacking Farrakhan for anti-Semitism, because many of the women did not want to lend themselves to this racist campaign.

Colette Roberts, chair of NOW's Committee to Combat Racism, told the combating racism workshop that the results of a survey on racism sent out to the chapters showed very uneven consciousness in NOW.

A jarring example of this occurred at the convention it-

A restaurant guide prepared by NOW warned its members not to go alone to a certain part of town because there were too many "drunks and a large number of illegal immigrants."

As one woman said, "NOW is not a racist organization, but *this is* a racist statement. There's no such thing as an 'illegal' person. We should have nothing to do with statements like this."

NOW has a strong position opposing the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill. A delegation of farm workers worked with NOW members and a Haitian refugee organization to organize a workshop at the conference on the rights of immigrant workers. The workshop was conducted in Spanish and translated into English. It was an inspiring glimpse of what the women's movement can and must become.

The publication of the first edition of the Spanish-English-language *National Now Times*, NOW's official newspaper, was greeted with enthusiasm.

Panelists and participants in the combating racism workshop stressed that NOW must become an organiza-

tion that concretely fights for the rights of women of the oppressed national minorities if it is to advance.

A member of Miami NOW talked about that chapter's involvement in defense of a victim of racist violence. Others urged that NOW chapters organize to back working women who are fighting for affirmative action, or against sexual harassment on the job, and to work with organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women

"Black women and Latinas are frontline fighters for women's rights. What NOW has to do is get out there and support the day-to-day struggles of these sisters," one NOW member told the workshop.

Mary Francis Berry, a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission who Reagan tried to fire, spoke to a workshop entitled, "Civil Rights in America: An Historical Perspective." "It [the 1965 Voting Rights Act] didn't just happen. Folks died for it. People marched for it... got put in jail for it."

Unfortunately, the strategy the NOW leadership calls for is not the inspiring example of the civil rights movement, a powerful mass mobilization that shook this country and uprooted the Jim Crow system of segregation in the South. It's not a strategy that points toward an alliance of Blacks, Latinos, women, and working people fighting uncompromisingly for our rights.

It's a strategy of subordinating the women's rights movement to the task of gathering support for the Democratic and Republican parties, which administer a system—capitalism—that is based on institutionalized racism and sexism

NOW Pres. Judy Goldsmith told a workshop on fighting racism that a women's rights movement that "doesn't succeed in fighting for all women is doomed to failure." She was right. This is a challenge that feminist fighters must and can meet.

'We cannot be patient . . . we want our freedom now'

Twentieth anniversaries are supposed to be big celebrations. We've just had one that, while it should be commemorated, is a reminder that the victory bash hasn't happened yet.

July 2 marked the 20th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act becoming law. Pres. Lyndon Johnson signed the bill under duress. Hundreds of thousands of Blacks and other



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY Mohammed Oliver

supporters of full equality for Blacks had been marching, boycotting racist businesses, holding sit-ins at lunch counters, demanding desegregated education, and otherwise fighting against the Jim Crow system of legal segregation.

They were winning, and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act reflected that fact.

But winning and having won are two different things. "Segregationist politicians don't stand in the schoolhouse door any more," said civil rights leader Coretta Scott King recently. "But segregated housing patterns and more subtle forms of racism prevent equal access to a quality public education." King also explained that "All too often 'last hired, first fired,' is still the rule for minorities."

The 1964 civil rights law outlaws discrimination in "public accommodations" — hotels, restaurants, theaters,

sports arenas, and other such facilities. It also prohibits discrimination "under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

The Civil Rights Act was the outcome of legislation submitted by Pres. John Kennedy's administration. Most leaders of the civil rights movement praised Kennedy for submitting the bill. There were, however, a few critical voices.

John Lewis, chairperson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was one such voice. He was one of the speakers at the historic August 1963 March on Washington for jobs and freedom.

The speech Lewis gave, however, wasn't the one he wrote. United Auto Workers Pres. Walter Reuther and leading civil rights officials censored parts of Lewis' talk and dictated the rewriting of other sections.

The Sept. 9, 1963, issue of the *Militant* reprinted the talk Lewis was prevented from giving.

Lewis explained that the proposed legislation didn't go far enough in protecting Blacks and other civil rights fighters from police violence. Nor, explained Lewis, did the bill adequately advance the voting rights of Black people.

Rather than rely on capitalist politicians to guarantee Black equality, wrote Lewis, these rights had to be fought for

"The revolution is at hand," wrote Lewis, "and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery. The nonviolent revolution is saying, "We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting for hundreds of years. We will not wait for the president, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands...."

"To those who have said, 'Be patient and wait,' we

must say that 'Patience is a dirty and nasty word.' We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our freedom, and we want it now. We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

"We all recognize the fact that if any radical social, political, and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses, must bring them about."

It was Lewis' harsh criticisms of the Kennedy administration and the Democratic and Republican parties that angered central leaders of the civil rights movement.

But Lewis was right.

Today, gains that we won through decades of hard struggles — including the Civil Rights Act itself — are now under attack from the capitalist class. Affirmative action, voting rights, and school desegregation are being scuttled. Anti-Black terror is on the rise — from the cops, courts, and racist bigots. To defend and extend Black rights, we must, once again, take to the streets, and we must seek to mobilize the U.S. labor movement, which has the potential power to win Black equality.

Lewis warned in his planned speech that "Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the street and put it in the courts." The U.S. rulers operate the same way today, attempting to channel the increasing Black and working-class ferment into the framework of capitalist politics.

Against this perspective Lewis wrote that "All of us must get in the revolution. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village, and every hamlet of this nation, until true freedom comes, until the revolution is complete."

The entire labor movement should heed this advice.

NOW conference discusses women's rights, elections

Continued from Page 5

This perspective of relying on one of the two ruling-class parties is an obstacle to building a strong women's rights movement. It ties NOW further into supporting the reactionary policies of those ruling-class parties.

This danger was illustrated by the other resolution Berry introduced.

Titled "Reduction of Defense Spending," this resolution defended the U.S. government's war policies abroad.

It called for "reductions" in the military budget through "improved defense management, elimination of waste and fraud at the Pentagon, and efforts to make our military more combat-effective and our weapons more cost-effective."

The resolution went on to call for the elimination of "unnecessary" weapons systems, "cutting back our interventionary forces" and negotiating a nuclear weapons "freeze."

To prevent discussion on this prowar

resolution, the question was called immediately and a vote taken. The resolution passed.

Many NOW members, however, don't consider Washington's "interventionary forces" as "ours." In fact, only a concerted effort by the NOW leadership blocked a resolution opposing all U.S. intervention in Central America from reaching the floor, even though well over the required 100 signatures were collected.

A representative from the Association of Women in El Salvador was present. She explained the oppressive situation confronting women and their families under the brutal U.S.-backed Salvadoran regime.

The plenary session passed a resolution on violence against women that urged NOW "to support campaigns of action and education in defense of women who are victims of violence." This followed a discussion in a special interest hearing on the need for a greater response by feminists to the vicious antiwoman propaganda campaign that took place during the trial earlier

this year of several men involved in the 1983 New Bedford, Massachusetts, rape case.

A resolution was also passed urging NOW to organize education and action against pornography.

The backdrop for this discussion was the censorship laws that have recently been discussed in Indianapolis and Minneapolis, which some women's rights activists have supported as a way to deal with pornography.

While the delegates agreed that NOW should campaign against pornography, many opposed putting the weapon of censorship in the hands of government agencies. They sensed that these laws, far from targeting pornographers, would most likely be used against women's rights literature, lesbian and gay bookstores, and other opponents of the status quo.

One pole of attraction for discussion throughout the conference was a *Militant* table with socialist literature. It featured Pathfinder Press's newly published

Maurice Bishop Speaks.

This book contains 27 speeches by Maurice Bishop, who was Prime Minister of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada before its overthrow and the subsequent U.S. invasion in October 1983.

An ongoing slide show on Grenada was set up at the table and socialists explained how the People's Revolutionary Government worked to advance the interests of women.

Five copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* were sold at the conference and many NOW members took a leaflet with an order form for the book.

Fourteen copies of the pamphlet Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution by Sandinista leader Tomás Borge were also sold.

NOW members bought 100 copies of the Militant and 11 copies of the Young Socialist, newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA signed up several people at the conference who wanted more information about the socialist campaign.

Defend the Toledo unionists!

A Toledo grand jury has handed down indictments against United Auto Workers (UAW) officials and rank and filers for their role in the militant May 21 demonstration in solidarity with strikers at the AP Parts Co. This significantly ups the ante in the assault on the union. It calls for a determined response by the entire UAW and the rest of the labor movement.

The fight at AP Parts has had national importance from the beginning. The giant of the auto industry, General Motors, has stood behind AP Parts' union-busting from the start — including awarding a \$30 million muffler contract in the midst of the struggle.

GM's interest goes well beyond the desire to cut AP workers' wages and thus cut the cost of its parts. GM wants to deal a big blow to the UAW, one of the largest industrial unions. It seeks to weaken the union in the parts plants to pave the way for further union-busting moves against the UAW in the upcoming national auto contract negotiations.

The AP Parts strike took on further national significance because of the fightback action led by auto workers in Toledo. When more than 3,000 workers assembled outside the AP Parts gates May 21, determined to challenge the use of scabs and the strike-breaking court injunction limiting picketing, they set an example for the entire labor movement.

That mobilization, and the determination of the working people who resisted the police attack on the action, threw a scare into the employers. But the union-busting at AP Parts has continued. The grand jury action is a serious new escalation.

Among those indicted on felony charges are local UAW leaders who played a prominent role in organizing the May 21 action. The message from the employers and the government could not be clearer: no more May 21s. Militant action in defense of workers' just demands will not be tolerated. Those who organize and participate in such actions will be punished.

This message is not just aimed at the UAW in Toledo. It is aimed at the entire union. It is aimed at all auto workers preparing for the coming showdown with GM and Ford. It is aimed at postal workers whose contract expires next week. It is aimed at coal miners who have promised they will accept "no backward steps, no takeaway contracts," when their national agreement runs out September 30.

It is also aimed at Blacks demonstrating against cop violence. It is directed at women fighting for equality. And it is aimed at working farmers fighting foreclosures.

The employers have not hesitated to use every tool at their disposal in their offensive against the labor movement. Concession contracts, court injunctions, phony bankruptcies, arbitration rulings, scab labor, private strike-breakers, and the brutal force of the cops and the National Guard have all been used against the union movement in the last year. But when workers organize to defend their unions and resist these attacks, they are threatened with jail terms.

The AFL-CIO, every union, and all allies of the labor movement should come to the defense of the indicted Toledo auto workers and the AP Parts strikers. Across the country the demands should ring out: "Drop the charges!" "Justice for the AP Parts strikers!" Protests should be sent to the Lucas County prosecutor. Funds should be raised to aid and publicize the defense.

A good place to begin is the July 23 demonstration scheduled to take place at the General Motors building in Detroit, organized by local UAW officials to support the contract demand "Restore and More in '84" (see page 20)

Other action is also needed. Last month the UAW announced a massive solidarity demonstration with the AP Parts strikers for June 24. This action was then postponed. In light of the new attack by the grand jury, and the lack of any motion toward a just settlement of the strike, it is time to reschedule the protest.

These and other actions can offer a clear reply to the union-busters, that working people will not be intimidated and that union power will be mobilized to answer the bosses' attacks.



Anti-Soviet Sakharov campaign

An anticommunist campaign has been waged by the big-business news media in recent months around Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner. The propaganda drive began in early May when unconfirmed reports began to circulate that Sakharov had launched a hunger strike in the city of Gorky, where he has been forced to live since 1980.

The Reagan administration seized on these reports May 16 and termed the Soviet government's treatment of Sakharov "inhumane and virtually incomprehensible." It called on Moscow to "avert a tragedy" that was supposedly facing "one of the Soviet Union's greatest living scientists."

The Washington Post carried no less than 13 editorials on the Sakharov case in a two-month period in May and June. The Soviet regime, it said May 22, is "playing a sickening game" by "persecuting two old, sick people, two noble people."

The New York Times declared May 25 that "the worsening tragedy of Andrei Sakharov" pointed up "all that is ugly and much that is dangerous in Soviet behavior."

French Pres. François Mitterrand and the foreign ministers of Britain, West Germany, and Australia have all taken the Soviet government to task over the Sahkarovs' alleged plight during their recent visits to Moscow.

And now Democratic Party presidential candidate Jesse Jackson is talking about traveling to Moscow to try to negotiate the Sakharovs' release.

It is not concern for human rights that lies behind this sudden wave of attention to Sakharov by the capitalist press and politicians. Contrast the attention Sakharov is getting to that received by victims of U.S.-backed regimes:

• Hundreds of political prisoners in the jails of the Turkish dictatorship have been on hunger strike since April 11, and at least 10 died in the month of June. Their struggle for humane treatment from the regime in Istanbul has received scant coverage in the U.S. media.

• The Reagan administration backed the British government to the hilt in 1981 when it allowed 10 Irish freedom fighters to die on hunger strike in the H-Block of Long Kesh prison in British-occupied northern Ireland.

When defenders of human rights from Peru, Argentina, and Guatemala testified in early June before the UN Human Rights Commission's Working Group on En-

forced or Involuntary Disappearances regarding the tens of thousands of persons kidnapped by the army and police in their countries, the *New York Times* said not a word.

But an appearance before the same panel by Andrei Sakharov's relatives received substantial *Times* articles two days in a row

The real purpose of the hue and cry around Sakharov is to spur the U.S. rulers' anticommunist ideological offensive, which is part and parcel of the imperialists' escalating military intervention in Central America. A prime justification for the U.S. military buildup there and around the world is the lie of a "Soviet-Cuban threat" to world peace. What attracts the support of U.S. capitalist politicians and newspapers to Sakharov is his reactionary, proimperialist, anti-Soviet views.

These have been spelled out in articles Sakharov has written for major U.S. publications in recent years. In the June 8, 1980, *New York Times Magazine*, for example, the physicist denounced "covert and overt Soviet expansion" in Southeast Asia and Africa, terming Vietnam and Cuba "proxies" for Moscow.

The same article endorsed U.S. aggression against Iran, hailed the Camp David Middle East accords designed to perpetuate the oppression of the Palestinian people, attacked the West European protests against NATO nuclear missiles, and called for the expansion of nuclear power to safeguard against an alleged Soviet threat to world oil supplies.

Sakharov also urged a conventional arms buildup by the imperialist powers, warning that "the world's sea routes, Arab oil, and the uranium, diamonds and other resources of South Africa are now threatened" by "Soviet expansion on a world scale."

Such reactionary positions make it clear that Sakharov does not speak for or represent the interest of working people in the Soviet Union or anywhere else in the world.

Unfortunately, however, by penalizing Sahkarov and his wife for their ideas and preventing them from emigrating to another country, as they have demanded, the Soviet government gives Sakharov's backers a handle to continue their anticommunist campaign.

Opponents of Washington's war drive around the world should expose the fraud of this imperialist "human rights" campaign for the reactionary, anti-Soviet propaganda that it is.

50th anniversary of San Francisco general strike

July 16 marks the 50th anniversary of the San Francisco general strike.

The San Francisco struggle was one of three key labor battles in 1934 that demonstrated how the union movement could break out of narrow business unionism and fight effectively for the interests of the working class. The two others were the strikes of the Minneapolis Teamsters and the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite workers. All three struggles hold important lessons for labor today.

Previous issues of the *Militant* have reprinted material and commented on the Minneapolis and Toledo examples. Below we reprint an excerpt from *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis. This history of the rise of the CIO has a chapter on "Three strikes that paved the way," which includes a brief description of the San Francisco struggle.

On May 9, 1934, from 10,000 to 15,000 West Coast members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association went on an "unauthorized" strike. Soon the strike included 25,000 workers, many of them members of seamen's organizations who joined in sympathy.

The original demands had been for a coast-wide agreement, union control of hiring halls and a closed shop. The

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

strikers added demands for \$1 an hour instead of 85 cents and the 30-hour week instead of 48.

From the start, the strike was waged with great militancy. Frederick J. Lang, in his book Maritime, a History and Program, wrote: "It was a real rank-and-file strike, with the 'leaders' swept along in the flood. It encountered every weapon then in the arsenal of the employers. The shipowners hired their own thugs who tried to work the docks and man the ships. The city police of every port on the coast were mobilized on the waterfronts to hunt down the strikers. The newspapers, launching a slander campaign against the strikers, called on the citizenry to form vigilante committees to raid strike headquarters, the actual organization of this dirty work being entrusted to the American Legion and other 'patriotic' societies."

ILA President Joseph Ryan hastily flew into San Francisco from New York in an effort to squelch the strike. Over the heads of the strikers and their local leaders, he signed an agreement giving up the main demand — the union-controlled hiring hall. He was repudiated by the strikers in a coast-wide poll.

Ryan — a consort of shipowners, stevedore bosses, gangsters and Tammany politicians, who 20 years later was to be dumped by these elements when he was no longer useful to them — tried to split the strike by making separate settlements in each port. He succeeded only in Tacoma. AFL President William Green joined in denouncing the strike and yelling "reds" and "communists."

On July 5 the bosses tried to smash the strike by attacking its strategic center, San Francisco's waterfront, with calculated force and violence. At the "Battle of Rincon Hill" the police blasted away with tear gas, pistols and shotguns at the waterfront pickets. They killed Howard Sperry and Nick Bordoise and wounded 109 others. As in the third Minneapolis strike and the Toledo Auto-Lite battle, the deliberate massacres perpetrated by the police were the signal for sending in the National Guard.

The murder and wounding of strikers did not crush the workers. Instead, San Francisco labor answered with a tremendous counterattack — a general strike. For two days, the working class paralyzed the city. The workers took over many city functions, directing traffic and assuming other municipal tasks. On the third and fourth days, the general strike petered out when the AFL leaders, who were swept along in the first spontaneous protest against the killings, ordered an end to the stoppage.

The bosses and police, with the aid of organized vigilantes, vented their fear and hatred of the workers on the small radical organizations, not daring to hit directly at the unions. Thirty-five gangs of vigilantes, heavily armed, raided headquarters of Communist, IWW and Socialist groups. They smashed furniture, hurled typewriters and literature out the windows, beat up many defenseless workers. In some instances, the police who arrived after the vigilantes left completed the work of destruction. They jailed more than 300 persons.

After 11 weeks, the longshore strike was ended on July 31 with an agreement to arbitrate. It was a poor settlement, but the workers returned to the job in an organized body. Within a year, in job action after job action, they won the union hiring hall up and down the Coast. Their struggle gave impetus to maritime organization on the East Coast, leading in 1937 to establishment of the CIO National Maritime Union, and opened the way for organization of West Coast industrial labor.

L.A. garment workers

I was recently laid off from my job as a spreader in an International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union-organized garment shop here in Los Angeles. While wages were not the greatest, we had free medical care, paid holidays, and other benefits.

Now, I've begun working in a nonunion shop for one of the 4,000 subcontractors in Los Angeles as a sewing machine

I was not even asked my name until I had worked there for over a week. I've never been asked for my social security number, never filled out a W-2 form, never been given a time card.

My wages average about \$50 to \$60 a week for 45 to 50 hours work. No one is paid overtime, there are no paid holidays, no paid vacations, no medical or dental plans.

From my experience in over a dozen sewing shops in Los Angeles, I think that close to 100 percent of the shops are in violation of the minimum wage and overtime laws.

Gonzalo Egas, president of the Garment Contractors Association of Los Angeles, recently testified at a hearing on the minimum wage laws in California.

Industry representatives argued for lowering the minimum wage Los Angeles, California

across the board. Egas argued for learners wages, so that they could pay new employees even less than that. Egas explained that most garment workers only work to supplement the household income.

Most people I know in garment depend on their wages to survive. Many are women who singlehandedly support their children.

But Egas said, "it's a mistake to think that a person should be able to support or maintain themselves on wages in garment.

The secretary of housing says that Latinos live eight or more to a tiny, cockroach-infested room because they like living together. I suppose workers like \$60 to \$80 a week paychecks, too.

The predominantly immigrant workers in the garment industry are among the most oppressed and exploited in the United States: 80 percent are women; 90 percent are without documents. 120,000 garment workers in Los Angeles, less than 3,000 are unionized.

We work in obscene conditions. But that is not enough for the bosses. They want to knock us down even further.

This situation can't last forever. The garment workers will one day explode. And we will not rest until every shop in the city is union. Seth Galinsky

Likes India Coverage

I have missed the letters col-

I really got a lot out of the articles on the situation in India.

The editorial on the Simpson-Mazzoli bill will be a big help in discussions in garment shops around the country, and in other places with many undocumented workers.

I hope special efforts are made at selling this issue in those areas and if so, I would like to read about the results in a future issue of the Militant.

Lou Howort Brooklyn, New York

British miners strike

I'm in London on a visit and I'm inspired by the coal miners strike. The political atmosphere seems much better than in the United States. The miners are an inspiration to all. Their struggle is at the top of the news every day and night. There are even good programs on TV where the miners tell their side of the story.

I went on the June 9 antiwar demonstration in London while

The most important point about the demonstration was the participation of miners from all over England, with their exceptionally rent people in the street started clapping their hands and welcoming the march when they saw the

THE SUPPEME COURT TIGHTENED THE RULES

FOR POLITICAL REFUGBES WHO WANT TO STAY

WHAT KIND OF EVIDENCE

WOULD BE ENOUGH ?

Many times we passed people on the sidelines who booed, but I noticed the same people greeted demonstration differently when they saw the miners.

The miners' wives are also great. The TV had a special program on how the wives get up at 5 a.m. - young, old, mothers-inlaw, everyone - and round everyone else up for the 6 a.m. picket line. I keep remembering the movie Harlan County, U.S.A. A reader

London, England

Correction

A NOTE FROM YOUR DICTATOR

Last week's Militant carried a story, "Cops riot against copper strikers." In this article Ray Isner was incorrectly identified. He is chief steward of the Operating Engineers Local 428.

A WELL-FOUNDED FEAR OF PERSECUTION

IN YOUR COUNTRY IS NOT ENOUGH

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Reagan was here.

beautiful banners. Even indiffe-

N.Y. transit workers face city antiunion assault

BY GERRY KERR

NEW YORK — If New York City transit workers had any illusions their union might escape the nationwide attacks on unions, those notions are being cruelly dispel-

Following the appointments of ex-CIA employee Robert Kiley as chairman of the regional Metropolitan Transportation Authority and professional union-buster David Gunn as head of the city's Transit Authority, the 35,000-member Transport Workers Union (TWU) has

UNION TALK

been the target of a serious housebreaking campaign. To date, a major focus of the assault has centered on the approximately 1,200 workers at the 207th Street subway car repair shop, where Gunn's henchman, Ronald Davis, is using extreme union-busting tactics.

Davis, who keeps a bullwhip draped around a map of the United States in his office, got down to business quickly following his April 23 appointment as general superintendent. Over a six-week period more than 350 workers have been written up for the slightest offenses imaginable, such as arriving late on delayed trains, not producing enough work even though parts are not available, sitting down briefly between repair jobs, etc. One worker was even written up for washing his greasecovered hands before going to the bathroom. Many workers believe that known union supporters and worker militants are being arbitrarily singled out.

Early on in this assault, the TWU's 207th Street shop committee was beheaded, when the Transit Authority suspended Committee Chairman Robert Kuefner and Recording Secretary Thomas McLaughlin. McLaughlin was threatened with dismissal on phony charges of threatening Gunn's bullyboy Davis. Kuefner was charged with insubordination for refusing to testify against his fellow union officer.

There is a strong impression that Black and Latino workers are the subject of special discrimination by Davis' lieutenants, who patrol the grimy shop in white coats, on the lookout to victimize workers on charges of violating this or that petty rule.

Step 1 grievance hearings on these 350 disciplinary write-ups are resulting in arbitrary and in some cases extremely harsh penalties. Some workers were given as much as 10 days in the street without pay, while others are only receiving a warning for the same charge. Many workers are reluctant to appeal, since all the hearings take place on the workers' own time and it is not until Step 5 that the hearing is conducted before an outside arbitrator. Before that, the review panels consist entirely of management. It is a common experience in these kangaroo courts for the charges to be made more severe from one step to the next.

New York's notorious Taylor Law makes strikes by public workers illegal. Under the terms of this harsh law, workers lose two days' pay for each day out. The law provides for stiff penalties against the union, including the loss of dues checkoff.



600 transit workers and supporters demonstrated June 14 to protest union-busting tactics of Transit Authority.

TWU Local 100 suffered a severe setback in 1980 in the course of that year's transit strike. Taylor Law fines were deducted from workers' paychecks for months and the union eventually lost dues checkoff rights for an extended period of time. The aftermath of this setback left many workers bitter and confused and the membership

The big-business media, with Rupert Murdoch's labor-hating New York Post vociferously leading the pack, has been conducting a long, steady campaign against the TWU. It is aimed at convincing the riders, most of whom are workers, that overpaid transit "goofoffs" are to blame for the aging system delivering less than a bargain in return for the 90 cent fare at the

Despite these obstacles, the workers at the 207th Street shop are waging a courageous and spiritied fightback. Workers have responded by wearing TWU Local 100 buttons and attending union shop meetings to discuss what to do. Outbursts of horn-blowing on the subway cars, hissing, booing, banging, and bedlam follow Davis through the shop whenever he appears with his lieuten-

In the face of extreme company harassment and oppressive conditions, workers have maintained their dignity. Many workers think management wants to create a situation where workers feel compelled to stage an unauthorized walkout, thus bringing the Taylor Law down on

But when the June 5 New York Post ran a photograph of Davis, bullwhip in hand, the city's big-business rulers may have miscalculated. Transit workers in other areas, who up to that point had not felt threatened by the unionbusting at 207th Street, were outraged. Black workers were especially enraged by the whip.

Local 100 Pres. John Lawe stated in a June 5 open letter to New York Gov. Mario Cuomo that the TWU office was being deluged with calls from irate workers. Lawe said he was not sure how much longer he could "keep the lid on the situation."

Responding to the situation Local 100 held a noontime rally on June 14 at the Transit Authority's Brooklyn headquarters. Despite the inconvenient time, about 600 people participated. Solidarity contingents from other unions made their presence felt also. And in addition to Lawe, Central Labor Council head Harry van Arsdale addressed the crowd.

A Socialist Workers campaign leaftet protesting the Transit Authority's union busting received an exceptionally friendly response at this rally.

Unable to attend the rally at the Transit Authority headquarters, workers at the 207th Street shop staged their own impromptu noontime demonstration the same day. Built only by word-of-mouth, as many as 300 workers gave up their half-hour lunch break to march in a body several blocks to a neighborhood flagpole where they heard short speeches from suspended union officials Kuefner and McLaughlin urging people to "stay firm."

Chanting "Davis has got to go," "Whips don't work here," and "Bust the union-busters," the workers marched back to the main plant gate, then onto the shop floor where they continued chanting for 10 minutes outside Davis' office.

When it was learned the following day that the suspended union officials had been reinstated by an arbitrator, workers were elated. They felt a victory had been won and planned a big celebration on the shop floor to greet the returning union officials.

At the same time, 207th Street workers understand that the campaign to housebreak the TWU is by no means over. There is much discussion concerning the course being followed by top union officials. Many workers believe strongly, for example, that President Lawe should put in an appearance at 207th Street where workers are feeling the full force of the housebreaking campaign. Workers want to be kept informed about what is happening. Many wonder whether the strategy of continuing to rely on deals with government officials will work. The lesson of the PATCO air traffic controllers' union being defeated through inadequate labor solidarity is being rapidly absorbed.

In the face of this serious antilabor campaign, the Lawe leadership is projecting a strategy of compulsory arbitration for the 1985 contract. In 1982, workers lost the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) in such arbitration. Many bus drivers had to give up paid "swing time" between runs.

A far better approach would be to mobilize the Local 100 ranks to reach out to other workers, especially those who use the system, to explain why the TWU's fight is in their interests and to win their support in advance of the contract negotiations.

Gerry Kerr is a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 11th C.D.

THEMILITANT

Dock strike backs British miners

Seamen, rail workers, truckers honor pickets as ports shut down

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

SHEFFIELD, England - Britain's 35,000 dock workers started an indefinite strike from midnight, July 10, following the British Steel Corp.'s (BSC) decision to load iron ore destined for the Scunthorpe steelworks. The dockers had joined with the rail workers, seamen, and drivers, in supporting a blockade of power stations and steelworks, called by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

The coal miners are in the 19th week of a national strike against the closure of 20 mines and the loss of 20,000 jobs.

In a move that can be vitally important to the miners struggle, the British seamen and rail workers unions quickly backed the dockers' action. The National Union of Seamen banned freight trucks from using state-run ferries as of midnight July 13. The National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) ordered its 4,000 members who work on the docks to honor the longshoremen's picket lines.

"We support the dockers' action and give it our full backing," declared NUR General Secretary Jimmy Knapp. "It has arisen out of the miners strike and we've been 100 percent behind that from the

The dockers strike has already closed down most of Britain's major ports including London, Liverpool, and Southampton. In another important step, the Transport and General Workers Union (Britain's largest with 1.5 million members) which includes the longshoremen, said it plans to extend the strike to all ports where its members, who also include truck drivers,

The dock strike can quickly have a major impact on the economy of this island country. Imports account for nearly half of Britain's food and most of its industrial raw materials. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government has been using imported coal in an attempt to



British mine workers union Pres. Arthur Scargill speaks to miners at London rally in June.

break the miners strike.

On the day the national dock strike was called, negotiations between the NUM and the National Coal Board (NCB) broke down, although a further meeting was arranged for nine days later.

According to NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill, the union's demand for a withdrawal of the mine closure plan was on the verge of being conceded by the NCB. "But when it came to the crunch of putting on paper the word 'withdraw' they want to change it for 'revise' or 'reconsider,'" explained Scargill.

This would have meant that five mines under immediate threat would still not have had their future guaranteed. Throughout the strike the NUM leadership has made clear that it will settle for nothing less than no mine closures.

Scargill again made this clear on July 7, when he addressed a 20,000-strong rally at Saltley Gates, Birmingham. "The miners are on the road to victory," he said. "There will be no compromise and no sellout."

Despite the length of the strike and the hardships the miners are enduring, the government and the NCB have been unable to break the miners' resolve. The NCB has sent letters to every miner's home aimed at demoralizing the strikers. This has just been followed up by a week of one-page advertisements in every national newspa-

In the areas where some miners are still working, such as North Derbyshire, managers have visited the homes of striking miners who are not out picketing, to try to persuade them to go back to work. Scabs have been bussed to different mines to give the impression of a drift back to work.

One such operation was mounted in the Northumberland and Durham area. The NCB organized 200 special buses to transport scabs into work free of charge. A mere eight miners, out of 22,500, boarded the

One striking miner used the free ride to travel the 20 miles from his village to collect his £4 [£1 = \$1.30] weekly food allowance from the NUM.

Another miner, who was the only one to try to go to work at his pit, got off his bus outside and joined the picket line. And the remaining six who did cross the picket line at Ellington colliery, decided to go home after an appeal from Area Pres. Dennis

Writing in the latest issue of the NUM paper, The Miner, Scargill urged the strikers to "Stand firm, hold your nerve, and we shall register the greatest and most far reaching industrial victory this century."

Messages of support should be sent to: National Union of Mineworkers, St. James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield South Yorkshire, England. Donations should be made payable to: Miners Solidarity Fund.

From Intercontinental Press

July 23 auto worker rally in Detroit will tell GM: 'Restore and more'

BY IGNACIO MENESES

DETROIT - Thousands of auto workers are expected to participate in a July 23 demonstration at the General Motors building here, to demand "Restore and More in '84." On that day the United Auto Workers (UAW) opens national contract negotiations with GM. Negotiations with Ford Motor Co. begin the next day.

The action was called at a national "Restore and More" caucus meeting held June 27 in Flint, Michigan. The meeting was hosted by UAW Local 599, which organizes thousands of auto workers at

"We're going to show GM we mean business and that we're united," said Local 599 Pres. Fred Myers. "We want to show the [UAW] International that the leadership in the field is behind them." Myers said that UAW Pres. Owen Bieber and Vice-pres. Donald Ephlin will receive telegrams asking them to join the protest. The meeting agreed to contact UAW locals at GM plants nationwide to ask them to send delegations to the July 23 demonstration.

The June 27 meeting attracted more than 130 local UAW leaders. The meeting was opened by UAW Region 1-C Director Stan Marshall, who introduced Region 1-E Director Frank Runnels to give an opening talk. Also in attendance were four members of the UAW's GM national negotiating team. A steering committee was established to oversee the organizing effort for July 23, composed of 19 UAW presidents, representing locals that total more than

100,000 union members. Most of those attending the June 27 meeting were from locals in Southeastern Michigan, including the Detroit-Flint-Pontiac area, the heart of GM operations.

Pete Kelly, president of UAW Local 160 at the GM Technical Center in Warren, Michigan, and one of the members of the national negotiating team, addressed the meeting on the meaning of the "Restore we want what GM took from us in 1982," the year of massive contract concessions said Kelly. "'More' . . . means pensions must be raised and an end to the extensive overtime," he continued.

Specific demands discussed at the meeting include: 5 percent annual wage increases for the next three years; restoring Paid Personal Holidays (PPH); doubletime pay for overtime work; and an increase in pension payments to \$1,500 a month or more, for workers with 30 years or more.

Another important discussion at the June 27 meeting concerned the ongoing strike by UAW Local 14 against union-busting at the AP Parts Co. in Toledo. The strike was not originally on the agenda of the meeting, but participants responded enthusiastically when the need for solidarity with the strikers came up. Eighty-eight strike support buttons were sold. On a motion from Pete Kelly, the meeting voted to send a telegram of support to the AP Parts strikers (reprinted elsewhere on this page).

The steering committee set up by the Flint meeting met July 2 at the union hall of UAW Local 594 in Pontiac. At that meeting AP Parts strikers Bob Nearly and Art Young, members of UAW Local 14's shop committee, spoke.

The meeting voted to provide a bus to transport AP Parts strikers to the July 23 action in Detroit. Nearly and Young also described the fund established by their local to defend workers who have been arrested in the course of the strike. Members steering committee agreed to return to their locals and help raise money for this

In the past week events in Toledo have made the connection between the AP Parts battle and the July 23 action even more important. A Toledo grand jury has handed down indictments of UAW officials and rank-and-file members for their role in the militant May 21 strike solidarity action (see page 1).

These indictments are aimed at intimidating the entire UAW as it heads into the confrontation with GM and Ford. The demands of "Drop the charges" and "Justice for the AP Parts workers," are particularly appropriate to raise at the demonstration in front of GM. From the beginning of the strike, GM has stood behind AP Parts in its union-busting against the UAW. In the midst of the fight, GM awarded AP Parts a \$30 million contract to produce mufflers for GM cars.

Ignacio Meneses works at a General Motors plant near Detroit and is a member of UAW Local 408.

UAW leaders send solidarity message to AP Parts strikers

The following telegram was sent to Toledo United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14, which is on strike against AP Parts Co., by the June 27 "Restore and More" meeting held in Flint, Michigan. It was signed by the officers of Flint UAW Local 599, as well as the other UAW officials in attendance at the meet-

We the leadership of Local 599 UAW hosted a Restore Plus More meeting June 27, 1984. All those present from the various UAW locals represented are sending you our support in your union fight.

Your struggle is a struggle for all union brothers and sisters throughout the USA. During this time of antiunion actions and sentiments it is important that we maintain

If there is any way your UAW brothers and sisters from the local union may be of assistance, make us aware of your needs. We are here to lend support in any way necessary.