

GM, Ford contract proposals: slap in face for auto workers

Takebacks on wages, work rules, benefits

BY JEFF POWERS

On August 29, the United Auto Workers (UAW) top leadership selected General Motors and Ford as joint strike targets. This decision came after UAW members at GM and Ford voted overwhelmingly to give the leadership authorization to strike either of the auto giants after the September 14 contract deadline.

The union's decision came the day after takeback contract proposals by Ford and GM. UAW president Owen Bieber said of the offer that it represented "no proposal at all."

Ford and GM are two of the largest corporations in the U.S. In the past year and a half, they have made staggering, record-breaking profits. They are expected to make over \$8 billion in profits in 1984.

This has fueled the anger of UAW members. Under the slogan, "Restore and More in '84," the ranks of the UAW are pressing to win back the massive concessions they made in 1982.

But the auto giants are demanding "More of the same" — more concessions, more takebacks, more profits. And they have stepped up their drive to weaken the union.

One of the key moves by Ford and GM against the union is their insistence on expanding the two-tier wage system that first began in 1982. Under the 1982 contract, new hires start at 85 percent of base rate. It takes 18 months to reach full pay. Under the new proposal, new hires would begin at 75 percent of full pay. It would take five years for a worker to achieve full pay and, it is assumed, full benefits. Two-tier wage set-ups are highly profitable weapons the bosses use to create and deepen divisions among workers.

Ford is demanding no hourly wage increases over the three years of the contract. GM is also set on no hourly wage increases, but offered a meager \$600 lump sum bonus for the first year and a \$300 lump sum bonus for the second year. No bonus is to be given the last year.

Both Ford and GM seek to maintain the much ballyhooed profit-sharing schemes they instituted in 1982 as a substitute for wage increases. UAW members have had some experience with this hoax. The average auto worker lost about \$6,000 during the life of the last contract as a result of concessions in wages and benefits. They got about \$600 — before taxes — in profit sharing.

Both companies are demanding a change in the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA). Although it is not completely clear how they plan to do this, the auto bosses want a provision to limit or "cap" the amount workers receive. Three cents per hour of COLA money will also be used to pay for other benefits.

Ford and GM aim to stiffen an already oppressive absentee program. At present, workers absent over 20 percent of scheduled work days, regardless of the reason, lose that same percentage of all fringe benefits.

Meager increases in pension benefits are offered. At General Motors the amount is \$60 over a three-year period. This will not

Continued on Page 12

Mason urges solidarity with UAW

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

TOLEDO — Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason began his final national campaign tour by marching here in solidarity with unionists at the Labor Day parade.

"I salute the United Auto Workers members of Toledo who are fighting to defend strikers here at the AP Parts plant," said Mason. "Your fight takes on special meaning this month, when hundreds of thousands of auto workers across the country are under attack by Ford and General Motors. These corporate giants, who are raking in vast profits, not only refuse to return the money they stole from auto workers in the last contract, but they're demanding more concessions in the new one!"

"This war against auto workers is a

Continued on Page 4



Militant/Nancy Bayasko

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason (left) and Ohio SWP candidate Mark Friedman (center) talk with auto worker at Toledo Labor Day march. U.S. auto workers are battling same enemy as workers and farmers in Central America, Mason told unionists.

CIA mercenaries bomb Nicaragua town

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Two CIA mercenaries and one other person of unknown nationality died September 1 when their helicopter gunship was shot down during a terrorist air raid against the northern Nicaragua town of Santa Clara.

[On September 4, a U.S. right-wing paramilitary group called Civilian-Military Assistance acknowledged at a press conference that two of its members were the U.S. citizens who were killed. Their names were Dana Parker and James Powell.]

The Hughes 500 helicopter, accompanied by three "Push and Pull" military aircraft, crossed the border from Honduras and attacked a military training camp for draftees at Santa Clara. Launching rockets

and strafing with machine guns, the CIA terrorists succeeded in murdering seven civilians, including four children who were near the facility and two women employed as cooks at the camp. No draftees were hurt.

The soldiers immediately opened fire against the attacking planes. They hit the helicopter which burst into flames and crashed, killing the three crew members.

Announcing the news to reporters accompanying him on an election campaign tour September 1, Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the governing junta, said "This is an action typical of the CIA." He also said one of the crew members — the only one whose corpse escaped being consumed by fire — appeared to be a U.S. citizen.

On September 3, confirmation that two of the crew members had been from the United States came from an unimpeachable source — the CIA.

Speaking to reporters through Democratic Party Sen. Daniel Moynihan, a member of a congressional committee in charge of supervising the CIA war against Nicaragua, the CIA said the two crew members were part of a group of several U.S. mercenaries who had recently gone to Honduras. Incredibly, the CIA claimed that the two weren't working for the U.S. government, even though it is no secret that the war against Nicaragua is a 100 percent U.S. government operation.

Further confirmation that the U.S. citizens were indeed working as part of the CIA war against Nicaragua came at a news conference September 3 by Nicaragua's Defense Minister Humberto Ortega.

Ortega showed reporters pieces of the downed helicopter as well as of the C-47 plane shot down a week earlier while it was dropping supplies to *contra* military units inside Nicaragua. In both cases, the fragments of the craft clearly indicate they came from the United States.

In addition, Ortega made available the map used by the helicopter pilot in flying from Honduras to Nicaragua. It shows that the craft took off from the U.S. airbase at Aguacape and flew directly to Santa Clara after stopping at Jamastrán, a recently-completed U.S. airfield 30 kilometers from the border with Nicaragua.

Commander Ortega lamented "the shedding of North American blood" and said the Reagan administration was solely responsible for the first deaths of U.S. citizens killed in combat in the U.S. war against Nicaragua. Last January, another U.S. citizen was killed after his helicopter was hit by Sandinista ground fire in the same area, but at that time Washington claimed the helicopter had accidentally strayed into Nicaraguan airspace.

Ortega said the bodies of the dead mercenaries had been taken to a morgue and could be claimed either by the U.S. embassy in Managua or relatives of the de-

Continued on Page 3

N.Y. hospital workers win victory for all labor

After striking for 47 days, more than 50,000 New York City hospital workers won a big victory. The strike, which ended on August 27, was the longest and largest health-care walkout in the city's history.

Through their fight, the militant ranks of hospital union District 1199 — primarily women, Black, and Puerto Rican, Dominican, and other Latino workers — set an in-

EDITORIAL

spiring example for unionists and working people in New York City and around the country. From this strike a glimpse was gotten of the determination and unity working people will need to take on the employing class' offensive at home and in Central America.

District 1199 faced a serious union-busting probe by the bosses of New York's private hospitals and nursing homes. Hospital management provoked the strike with a paltry offer of a pay increase that would

have amounted to 2.3 percent in each year of a two-year contract. Then as the strike continued and the workers wouldn't knuckle under, the bosses threatened to bring in permanent scabs.

Management's aim was clear: to deal a serious blow to one of the city's most militant unions and set the stage for further attacks on the labor movement here, most immediately on some 250,000 municipal workers whose contracts expire this fall.

Hospital management was also keenly aware that a blow to District 1199 would be a blow to the rights and aspirations of the millions of Blacks and Latinos in New York City. The stakes in this fight for the Black and Latino communities were highlighted by the support the union won from the *Amsterdam News*, New York's most prominent Black news weekly, which urged, "Strike on 1199 — strike on," in an August 4 editorial.

This linking of the hospital workers' fight to the rights and needs of the Black and Latino communities reflects the fact

Continued on Page 14

BY SAMUEL FARLEY

DETROIT — When the issue of the *Militant* arrived that featured the indictment of United Auto Workers (UAW) union members in Toledo who rallied in solidarity with AP Parts strikers on May 21, a team of *Militant* salespeople and supporters of the socialist campaign took the paper out to workers at the GM Truck and Bus plant. This plant is located about 60 miles from Detroit in Flint, Michigan, and is organized by the UAW. None of the members of this team had been to the plant before.

Mel Mason and Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president, have used their campaign to build support around the country for the Toledo UAW strikers. Sales teams at plant gates use the *Militant* and campaign literature to do the same.

Not setting any particular goal, but being optimistic, the team brought 28 copies of the *Militant* with us, along with literature for Mason and González and the Michigan SWP's candidates for U.S. Senate and Congress, Helen

Meyers and Andrew Pulley.

We found that receptivity to the socialist campaign and the *Militant*, the campaign newspaper, was very good. In about 10 minutes the team sold all 28 copies of the paper and passed out all the campaign literature.

Unlike most plants where we sell each week, many workers at this plant sit in their cars during their breaks. This made it easier for team members to engage in conversations, and to exchange ideas and perspectives with workers at this plant.

We found a lot of working-class solidarity among the Flint workers, who responded favorably to the *Militant*'s front-page story on the bosses' courts' attacks on union brothers and sisters from AP Parts.

Jobs — or the lack of them — and U.S. imperialism's wars against workers and farmers in the Caribbean, Central America, the Middle East, and other places were on the minds of many of the workers we talked to.

The campaign statement we passed out points to how we can

fight for jobs and peace:

"If this country is supposed to be a 'democracy' why do the majority of us make no decisions? We don't decide about plant closings, rights for Blacks, women and Latinos, or whether to go to war."

"No election will win us the right to make these decisions because the rulers won't respect the will of the people. To win we must mobilize our power, as the American revolutionists did against the British colonizers and the slave-masters of the Confederacy, as the working men and women did in the '30s to organize the unions, as we opposed the war in Vietnam. Street demonstrations, strikes, and other forms of mass action like those used by our ancestors are needed to win victories and make another revolution."

Strong signs indicate that the stage is being set for what could turn out to be important confrontations between the employing class and the industrial working class this fall. From the workers, the battle-cry has already been sounded loud and clear: "No backward steps, no takeaway con-

tracts" — the voices of workers in the United Mine Workers of America — and "Restore and More in 84" from the United Auto Workers unionists. This determination sets the tone for the necessary fightback against the incessant attacks from the employing class and their government.

Only by being where major class battles and militant union struggles are developing can socialist workers seize the opportunity to build solidarity, and introduce other workers to the *Militant* and a revolutionary socialist perspective.

Having regular weekly sales and discussions with industrial workers at plants is key to winning workers to an internationalist, a socialist, point of view.

It didn't take much discussion for the socialists in Detroit to decide, in spite of the distance involved, to make GM Truck and Bus a weekly, or as often as possible, plant gate sale.

Samuel Farley is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 12229 at United Technologies in Detroit, Michigan.



Militant/Morrie Dietrich
Striking AP Parts auto workers. *Militant*'s front-page coverage of their fight makes paper important to other auto workers. GM workers in Flint, Michigan, grabbed up 28 copies in 10 minutes at the plant gate there.

Dominican regime jails leaders of unions, left parties

The following article is taken from the September 17 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language U.S. socialist biweekly.

BY CLAUDIO TAVÁREZ

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — On August 29, the National Police of the Dominican Republic began an intensive round-up directed against the leaders of the Dominican Left Front and the major trade unions.

Among those arrested were Rafael "Fafa" Taveras, secretary general of the Socialist Bloc; Leo Mercedes and Wellington Petersen, members of the Political Committee of the Socialist Bloc; José Israel Cuello, member of the Central Committee of the Dominican Communist Party; Julio de Peña Valdez, secretary general of the General Workers Federation; Barbarin Mojica of the Longshoremen's union, as well as dozens of political activists and union militants.

In addition, the government ordered the police to close the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo and suspended classes for two weeks in the public schools.

On August 25, a university student was killed when police opened fire on a student demonstration protesting an increase in bus fares and against the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The IMF has insisted on the imposition of austerity and price increases in the Dominican Republic as a condition of future loans.

The night of August 30, Salvador Jorge Blanco, the president of the Dominican Re-

public, announced increases in the price of fuel. Anticipating the price hike, the major unions in the country, together with the People's Struggle Committees, had been organizing protest activities. After the announcement of the increase in fuel prices, the unions called for a national transport strike for September 3.

Foreseeing an explosion of anger against the price increases, the government carried out a wave of arrests of members of the unions and left organizations, on the pretext that they were "preparing a pre-revolutionary situation."

In the face of this new campaign of political repression, the Socialist Bloc, the Dominican Left Front, and the unions have issued an international appeal for protest telegrams to be sent to the Dominican government demanding the release of those imprisoned and respect for civil liberties.

Messages and telegrams of protest can be sent to: President Salvador Jorge Blanco, Palacio Nacional, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Copies should be sent to the newspaper *El Nuevo Diario*, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

González telegram

The following is the text of a protest telegram sent by Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, to Dominican Re-

public Pres. Salvador Jorge Blanco.

I protest the arrests of Rafael "Fafa" Taveras of the Socialist Bloc, Barbarin Mojica of the Longshoremen's Union, leaders of the Dominican Communist Party, the Dominican Teachers Association, and other unionists and revolutionary fighters.

Hundreds of trade union activists have been arrested and persecuted. These arrests and persecutions are part of the austerity program ordered by the International Monetary Fund, supported by the United States

government.

I visited the Dominican Republic in July and saw the price Dominican workers are paying for these austerity moves.

Your response to the strikes and mass mobilizations against the policies of your government has been repression, arrests, and constant violations of the democratic rights of the Dominican people. These arrests are an attempt to prevent further strikes and mobilizations.

Free those arrested immediately!
IMF out of the Dominican Republic!

Dennis Banks wins a victory

American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks won a victory in his long struggle against government persecution. On September 1, a California court of appeals upheld the dismissal of a weapons charge against him.

Banks was arrested in Oregon in November, 1975, and charged with possession of firearms and dynamite. Because of government delays, the charges hung over Banks' head for more than eight years. Last May, a federal judge ruled that the government had violated his right to a speedy trial and dismissed the charges. The California Court of Appeals upheld this decision.

Banks is still fighting extradition to South Dakota, where he was convicted of assault with a deadly weapon and riot in

1973. The charges resulted from a confrontation between South Dakota authorities and AIM activists who were demanding justice in the murder of John Wesley Bad Heart Bull, an Indian.

Banks' trial was a travesty. Relatives of the man who killed Bad Heart Bull served on the jury. Rightly fearing for his life, Banks fled South Dakota before sentencing. He lived in California until Gov. George Deukmejian ended the previous policy of refusing extradition. Banks then took sanctuary on the Onondaga Indian Reservation in Syracuse, New York.

Banks is fighting a federal indictment against him of "flight to avoid confinement after conviction." The FBI has vowed to arrest him the minute he sets foot off the reservation.

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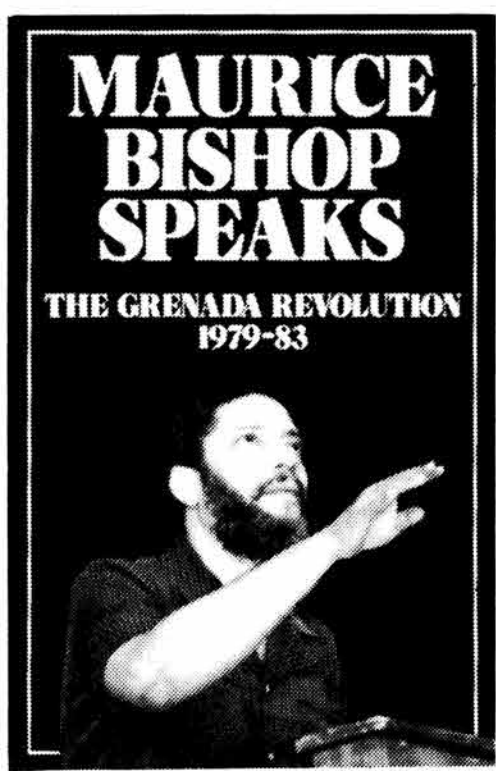
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The Militant

Closing news date: September 5, 1984

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

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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. POSTMASTER: 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 editorials.

U.S. gov't targets tour agency in new curb on travel to Cuba

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — As part of its escalating war in Central America and the Caribbean, the U.S. government is moving to tighten its 1982 ban on travel to Cuba.

The government's immediate target is Marazul Tours, the principal U.S. organizer of travel to Cuba, and Marazul's clients.

Licensed by the government and subject to its regulations, Marazul has been subpoenaed to turn its financial records over to the Treasury Department, along with a list of those who have visited Cuba since the ban. The Treasury Department is responsible for enforcing the travel ban.

Marazul obtained an initial postponement in complying with the subpoena.

Based in New York, Marazul is one of three agencies that organize travel to Cuba. The other two, in Miami, deal almost exclusively in transporting Cuban-Americans who, under an exemption from the travel ban, may visit close relatives in Cuba.

Marazul also handles much of the travel by Cuban-Americans. But, in addition, it is the lone agency in this country providing travel for the scholars, professional people, researchers, journalists, and others who are also exempt from the ban.

Since 1982, Marazul has arranged for nearly 2,000 such individuals to travel to Cuba. These are the names the government wants.

Treasury officials said they want to determine if these travelers actually qualified for the exemptions. One said they want to see "if the spirit and the letter of the regulation are being observed."

Anyone convicted of criminal violation of the ban would be subject to 10 years in jail and a \$50,000 fine. This penalty applies to travelers and those who arrange the travel.

In addition to making it possible for those who qualify to actually get to Cuba, Marazul also organizes tours to Nicaragua. (At the time of the invasion of Grenada, the agency was also readying plans for direct flights from New York to the island.)

According to Marazul's program director, Robert Guild, well over 5,000 people have visited Nicaragua on Marazul tours.

"I think our Nicaragua tours are one reason we've been picked out," Guild told the *Militant*.

A long-standing ban on travel to revolutionary Cuba had been lifted in 1977 and reimposed in 1982. This past June, the Supreme Court saw fit to uphold the ban, declaring it essential to U.S. foreign policy interests — that is, to Washington's unre-

lenting drive to throttle the Cuban revolution.

The anti-Cuba campaign has increasingly come to the fore since the 1979 victories of the Nicaraguan and Grenada revolutions, and the deepening soon after of the Salvadoran liberation struggle.

For Washington, last year's invasion of Grenada was but a single step in a charted program of war to crush the revolutionary process in the Caribbean and Central America.

A corollary to that war drive is the drive against democratic rights at home — including the constitutional right to travel.

For the government, it's hard enough to dragoon working people into a new Vietnam War a lot closer to home. And to the extent that working people learn the truth about the countries that have been targeted, the job of the warmakers is that much more difficult.

That's why they put barriers in the way of travel to Nicaragua and would like to

close off the remaining trickle of visitors to Cuba.

Through Marazul, educators, medical and health-care workers, scientists, lawyers, and others have been able to see firsthand the gains being made by the Cuban revolution in general, as well as in their particular fields.

A medical researcher, for example, is able to report in the *New England Journal of Medicine* that Cuba's system of socialized medicine is equal to any.

A delegation like that of the National Conference of Black Lawyers is able not only to observe Cuba's legal system but also how a socialist revolution can uproot racial discrimination.

The scope of the government's fishing expedition against Marazul was indicated when it also subpoenaed a list of people who recently received a circular announcement of a slated mid-September conference on Cuba's legal system.

According to Marazul's attorney, Harold Mayerson, the mailing list was not the agency's and it did not keep a copy.

Mayerson assailed the entire government investigation of Marazul as "an outrageous intrusion."

He charged the government was either trying to force Marazul to stop handling travel to Cuba or lose its license to do so. "Either way," the attorney declared, "the goal appears to be to further limit travel to Cuba."

According to Robert Guild, a letter has been sent to Marazul's mailing lists advising of the federal moves.

The letter notes that the American Civil Liberties Union has declared that it is "profoundly concerned" about the First Amendment issues raised by the scope of the government's subpoena and is interested in hearing from individuals who wish to assert their constitutional claim to privacy.

Editorial protest was registered in the September 4 *Washington Post*.

Summarizing the moves against



Militant/Harry Ring
Robert Guild, Marazul Tours Program Director. "I think our Nicaragua tours are one reason we've been picked out."

CIA mercenaries bomb Nicaraguan town

Continued from front page

ceased. He also requested U.S. government help in establishing the identities of the two men.

Ortega warned that this new attack could represent the beginning of a serious escalation of the U.S. war against Nicaragua. He compared this raid to those that took place

at the beginning of 1984, when Nicaragua's ports were shelled and its harbors mined.

Ortega pointed out that at that time there was a major escalation of the U.S. military presence in Honduras. "The renewal of this escalation today coincides with the increas-

An editorial on the CIA mercenaries who bombed Nicaragua appears on page 14.

ing presence of U.S. military forces in the region."

Escalating U.S. war

Ortega listed several aspects of the growing U.S. military force:

- The reactivation of a radar and communications base at El Tigre Island in the Gulf of Fonseca, a strategic point for coordinating attacks against the Pacific Coast of Nicaragua.

- The arrival of an intelligence battalion at the U.S. Palmerola air force base in Honduras. "This battalion has been constantly carrying out air reconnaissance of Nicaragua, information which the CIA mercenaries then use to plan operations like that of Santa Clara."

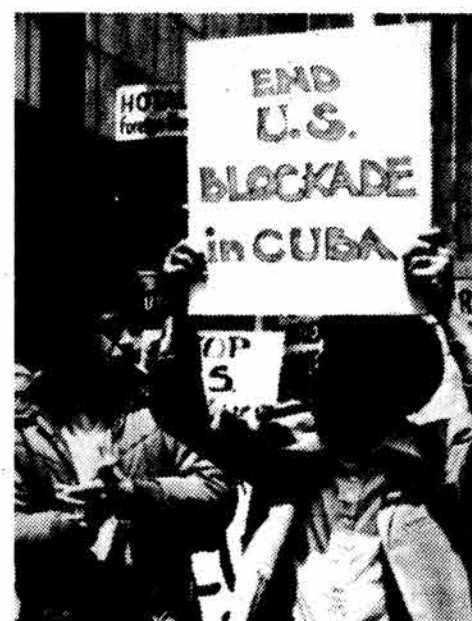
- The stationing of some 2,000 U.S. troops in Honduras.

- The carrying out of joint U.S.-Honduran war games near border areas of El Salvador controlled by the liberation movement.

- The stationing of a naval combat group headed by the battleship *Iowa* near Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

Contra ground offensive

Ortega said that this renewal of pirate raids — like those at the beginning of the year — comes on the heels of a contra



Militant/Lou Howort

Marazul, the editorial declared:

"Though general travel bans such as the one that applies to Cuba have been sustained by the courts, they are bad policy and can lead to the kind of intrusive list-making we now see."

"When the government starts compiling dossiers on who travels where and whether the traveler's reasons for doing so are approved, beware."

The move to victimize Marazul and its clients was assailed by Socialist Workers presidential nominee Mel Mason.

"The rulers of this country don't want working people to see Cuba for themselves," Mason charged. "And their reason is simple enough. It would expose how reactionary their drive to break Cuba really is."

"For the same reason, they don't want us to go to Nicaragua either," he added. "I can testify to that from experience. When I came back from Nicaragua this summer, both myself and one of my campaigners, Sam Manuel, were arrogantly and illegally harassed by U.S. Customs agents. These increasing attacks on travel to Cuba and Nicaragua are a barometer of the escalating war drive."

"For this very reason, it's important to defend Marazul and all other victims of the government's assault on the right to travel."

ground offensive launched last month from Honduras. He warned that this new offensive could become "the spearhead for an imperialist intervention."

One objective of attacks like those against Santa Clara, he said, could be to "relieve the pressure on counterrevolutionary forces in northcentral Nicaragua, which now find themselves in a difficult situation."

He added that, as opposed to a few months ago, "the CIA has taken over the leading of these operations themselves."

Ortega also indignantly denied the claim broadcast on the CIA's behalf by Moynihan that one of the crew members from the helicopter survived the crash but was executed by Sandinista soldiers. Ortega reported that he either jumped or fell from the craft as it was coming down, and died from injuries suffered in the fall before Sandinista soldiers could reach him.

"The truth is that our soldiers arrived in time to pull him away, and if they had delayed a little more he would have been consumed by the flames like the other two. But he was already dead from the blows suffered in falling from the helicopter."

"Who could possibly think that we would have killed him," Ortega continued. "We would have been the most interested in his being alive, so that he could bear live and talking witness of CIA intervention in Nicaragua."

Ortega concluded his remarks by pointing out that the CIA's mercenary army has failed to score major victories against Nicaragua. "They haven't even been able to take the smallest town."

"Now they are trying to deliver a political or moral blow, to put an obstacle in the way of the electoral process in the coming weeks. In September and October, we expect a very tense situation."

"They have their intentions," Ortega concluded, "but against their intentions is our action."



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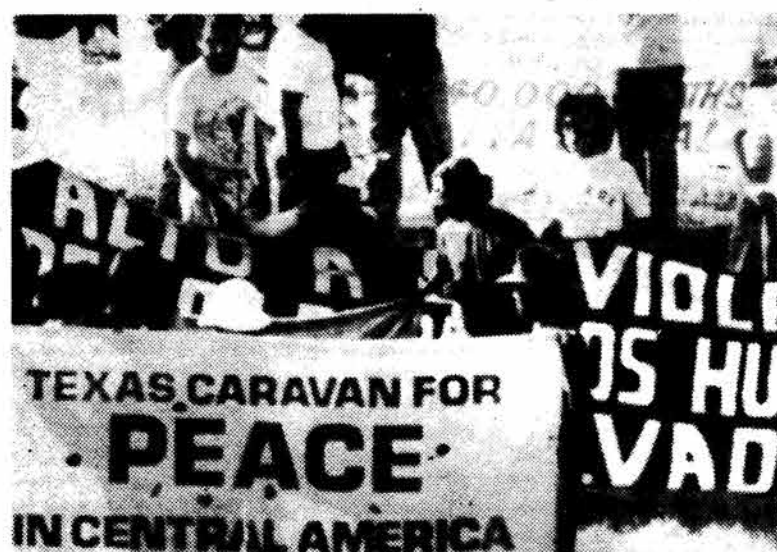
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Protesters at Republican convention. Dallas Young Socialist Alliance found interest among demonstrators in alternative to capitalist parties.

BY BEVERLEY ANDALORA

DALLAS — The Republican National Convention was held here August 20. A week of anti-Reagan events was organized by several local and national groups to coincide with the convention. These activities offered members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) from Dallas and Houston an opportunity to discuss the ideas of the Socialist Workers campaign with many young political activists.

On the Saturday before the convention, a march and rally was held. Fifteen hundred people from across the country participated.

The main slogan of the rally was "Dump Reagan Now!" "Fritz/Ferraro" buttons were a common sight.

The Communist Party and Young Communist League, the Young Democrats, and several antiwar groups were present. All had the same perspective — "Dump Reagan." This, of course, translated into calling for a vote for Mondale, the "lesser-evil" Democrat.

The YSA was the only organization at the demonstration that offered a practical, realistic alternative to the two capitalist parties and their class. This was, in part,

indicated by the fact that the joint YSA/Militant Labor Bookstore table was generally the busiest throughout the day's activities.

Members of the YSA campaigned throughout the day for the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president, Mel Mason, vice-president, Andrea González, U.S. Senate, Beverley Andalora, and the two socialist candidates from Texas for U.S. Congress, Steve Iverson and José Alvarado.

One visitor to the literature table commented, "Isn't it funny how all these radicals ended up supporting [Jesse] Jackson."

This led to a good discussion on why neither voting for Jackson nor voting to dump Reagan would be a step toward solving the crises facing working people, youth, oppressed nationalities, and women in the United States. One YSA member suggested that we have to go beyond simply pulling a lever for some candidate who pretends to represent "our" interests in government.

The fact is, he explained, that this society is structured so as to guarantee support to the wealthy. Government officials, the courts, and the cops all owe their allegiance to the bankers and industrialists. It is "their" interests that Democratic and Republican politicians represent.

Working people cannot rely on elections to change the government and improve the lives of the masses. Only through political ac-

tions, independent of the influence and control of the Democratic and Republican parties, can we make advances.

The Mason/González backers emphasized that we can rely on no one but ourselves — on the collective strength of the workers, the family farmers, the women, the oppressed nationalities, the youth — to win the fight against the rich and the government they control, and to establish a government of workers and farmers that would truly represent our interests.

Many people were drawn to the literature table because of three large banners proclaiming:

"FOR A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT"

"MASON/GONZÁLEZ para presidente/vicepresidente for president/vice-president"

"YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE ALIANZA DE LA JUVENTUD SOCIALISTA"

Over \$230.00 of socialist literature and materials was sold. Introductory readings in socialism and the basics of Marxism were the most popular topics. The YSA's Che Guevara t-shirts and antiwar buttons were also favorite items.

In addition, 70 *Militants*, 30 *Young Socialists*, and 8 *Perspectiva Mundials* were sold. Hundreds of pieces of socialist cam-

paign literature and brochures explaining the views of the YSA were distributed.

A six-foot banner advertised the *Maurice Bishop Speaks* book, published by Pathfinder Press. Four copies were bought.

An open house sponsored by the Socialist Workers campaign the following day drew 12 new people interested in socialism. Among them was a young man who had known of our socialist bookstore for years but had never stopped in. He was amazed to find "that there are others who think like I do."

"I guess I'm a communist," he stated.

The excitement and interest that were expressed for socialist ideas made it clear that many people are looking beyond the Democratic Party for answers. Through the Socialist Workers campaigns, the Young Socialist Alliance is reaching out to them with the only viable answers.

Beverley Andalora is a member of the Dallas chapter of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in Texas.

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 bi-monthly newspaper, are \$3 for one year.

Mason urges solidarity with United Auto Workers

Continued from front page

bipartisan one," the socialist candidate declared. "Both the Democratic and Republican parties are carrying out the assault on working people in the United States, just as they are jointly waging war against the workers and farmers of Central America and the Caribbean.

"I've just returned from Nicaragua," Mason told unionists. "I've seen firsthand the revolution there — the new life it has brought the working people of that nation — which is why Washington arms and organizes the mercenaries who bomb Nicaraguan villages.

"The U.S. labor movement should take the lead in organizing opposition to the war in Central America, for the sake of our sisters and brothers there, and for our own sake."

Mason was joined in Toledo by Héctor Marroquín, the Mexican-born socialist who is fighting for his right to stay in the United States, work, and be active in the labor movement. Like millions of other immigrant workers, Marroquín does not have papers entitling him to legal residency. The U.S. government is trying to deport him because of his socialist views.

Mason, Marroquín, SWP candidates for Congress, Elizabeth Lariscy, and for Ohio state representative, Mark Friedman, took the socialist campaign message to thousands of workers at the Labor Day parade held here September 3. Over 160 copies of the *Militant* were sold during the day.

Many local unions organized contingents and floats for the march. The United Auto Workers (UAW), the largest union in the city, brought out thousands of its members. Supporters of Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale actively distributed material, as did supporters of local Democrats. Many workers accepted the campaign material and donned stickers and buttons.

But many workers also seemed concerned about the wave of union-busting which has hit this strongly prounion town over the past year. Solidarity with UAW strikers who have been on the picket lines at the AP Parts Co. for months was clearly on the minds of many marchers.

The company provoked the strike last spring and since then has been operating with scab labor and a private police goon

squad, the Nuchols company. A militant UAW-organized demonstration last May 21 aimed at backing the strike and rolling back the union busters was attacked by the cops.

The fight against this strike breaking was not an official theme of the Labor Day parade. But many workers carried hand made signs that read, "Scab city," "We support AP Parts strikers — solidarity," and "Nuchols go home!"

The AP Parts strikers themselves, organized in UAW Local 14, had a sizable contingent. Local officer Dick Thompson told the *Militant* that he thought about half of the 400 strikers turned out for the parade. The contingent was warmly hailed by other marchers.

Another contingent that was greeted by the crowd was the members of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-912. This local just ended a bitter strike that succeeded in staving off some of the worst union busting demands of the Sun Oil company.

On the local's parade float were two signs reading: "Thanks for your support.

We won't forget EVER. Hang in there AP Parts."

Supporters of Mel Mason and the other socialist candidates expressed their solidarity with the AP Parts and Sun Oil workers at the march. Later, the socialists held a campaign barbecue. In a short talk at the affair, Mason expressed pleasure at the chance to celebrate Labor Day in Toledo.

Mason debunked the idea that Democrats Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro are friends of labor, Blacks, or women. "It was the Carter-Mondale administration," said Mason, "that began the attacks on affirmative action, on school desegregation, on abortion rights. It was the Carter-Mondale administration that let the Equal Rights Amendment go down to defeat and tried to bust the United Mine Workers during their 1977-78 strike."

"We need to throw our political weight behind ourselves," the socialist candidate concluded. "We need a labor party based on our unions to help lead battles like the one the AP Parts workers are fighting; to help organize and lead the fight against the new Vietnam-style war in Central Ameri-

ca; to lead the fight to take political power out of the hands of the exploiters and establish a workers and farmers government in the United States."

Héctor Marroquín told the campaign supporters he was proud to be an active spokesperson for Mason's socialist presidential effort despite the fact, "I can't even vote — a democratic right denied to over five million immigrant workers."

Marroquín joked that, if elected, Mason had promised to name him Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) commissioner. "But this would only be a one-day job," said Marroquín as he explained that the first order of business would be to completely dismantle the INS and its racist police apparatus. INS agents, he said, could be offered productive work, "building bridges across the Rio Grande so that immigrant workers don't drown on their way to this country."

Mel Mason observed that rather than fall for the anti-immigrant line, the U.S. labor movement "needs more Héctor Marroquíns, who will fight for the rights of the entire working class."

Mich. socialists ask support in ballot fight

DETROIT — The Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign Committee is urging supporters of democratic rights around the country to protest the move by Democratic and Republican officials in this state to keep socialist candidates off the November ballot.

On September 4, the Michigan Board of Elections Division announced it would recommend that the socialists be denied a ballot spot, on the utterly false grounds that they failed to collect enough signatures on nominating petitions. The Michigan Board of Canvassers, which certifies candidates for ballot status, will act on the recommendation September 7.

Michigan Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, Helen Meyers, called the action by state officials "an outrageous attack on the rights of working people to hear, discuss, and vote for a working-class alternative to the antilabor, prowar policies of the Democratic and Republican parties in the elections. They know we have more than enough signatures; these capitalist politicians are simply trying to keep the only socialist campaign off the ballot.

They're trying to discourage all initiatives toward independent political action by labor and the Black community.

"We intend to fight for ballot status all the way to November if necessary — through public protests and in court. And we urge all supporters of civil liberties, all defenders of labor and Black rights, to speak out."

Significant support for the socialists' right to be on the ballot has already come from Detroit Coalition of Black Trade Unionists leader Horace Sheffield; United Auto Workers Local 1200 Pres. James Coakley; Alice Peurla, former president of United Steelworkers Local 65 in Chicago; Merle Hansen, a leader of the North American Farm Alliance; Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.); civil rights leader Robert F. Williams; and attorneys Abdeen Jabara and Ken Cokral.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign in Michigan gathered over 30,000 signatures to place SWP presidential candidate Mel Mason, vice-presidential candidate Andrea González, U.S. Senate candidate Helen Meyers, and Congress-

sional candidate Andrew Pulley on the ballot: This number of signatures far exceeded the 19,963 required.

But Michigan officials, in two separate "random samples" of the socialists' petitions, claim there are insufficient valid signatures. Socialist campaigners examined one "random sample" and proved that the state's check was full of inaccuracies. Election Director Christopher Thomas himself was forced to admit the checking of the socialists' petitions showed "sloppiness and [a] poor job."

This hasn't prevented the bipartisan election board from persistently refusing to put the socialists on the ballot.

Protest telegrams and phone messages demanding that the Socialist Workers candidates be certified for the ballot should be sent to the Michigan Board of State Canvassers, Elections Division, 208 N. Capitol Ave., Lansing, Mich. 48918. The telephone is (517) 373-2540.

Copies should be sent to Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 7146 W. McNichols, Detroit, Mich. 48221.

González: labor must chart new road

Brings campaign message to unionists and Caribbean Day participants

BY YVONNE HAYES

NEW YORK — "There are two different strategies for the labor movement — the one pointed to by the labor officials who organized New York City's Labor Day parade, and the other put forward by my campaign," said Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

Approximately 500,000 unionists paraded up Madison Avenue here on September 3. Rather than mobilizing these workers to protest the bipartisan attacks on the union movement in this country and working people in Central America, labor officials organized the marchers to carry U.S. flags, Mondale-Ferraro and "Dump Reagan" campaign signs, and red, white, and blue balloons. Numerous signs called for "American jobs to keep Americans working" and to "Give America a Chance — Vote Labor's Choice." Bands played "It's a Grand Old Flag" as the Democratic Party presidential candidates and New York Gov. Mario Cuomo took the place of honor at the head of the march.

González and her supporters campaigned among unionists at the parade. Speaking at an open house at the New York socialist campaign headquarters later in the day, González described the perspective offered by the top union officialdom as "the direct opposite of what labor needs to confront the problems facing working people in this country today. We need a fighting strategy to win social change, to combat racism and sexism, and to end the U.S. war in Central America. We need to wage an uncompromising battle against the employing class, the minority that runs society and is responsible for the crisis we face."

González charged that the Labor Day march "pointed in the opposite direction — toward political compromise with the employers and subordination of the needs of working people to the profit-mongering of the bosses."

"The labor officialdom calls on workers to subscribe to the jingoism and patriotism of the employers and to adopt the strategy of voting for the 'lesser evil' of the capitalist candidates," she charged.

"The contradiction between the real interests of U.S. unionists and the strategy put forward by the labor bureaucracy was especially striking in the contingent of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union," said González. "Dozens of workers marched at the front of that contingent dressed in the native costumes of their countries of origin, reflecting the multinational and international character of the U.S. working class."

"But at the same time, these unionists carried signs — in English and Spanish — calling for an end to imports. Rather than trying to forge solidarity among working people in a common battle with the interna-

tional employing class, the authority of the labor movement is used to deepen competition between workers in the U.S. and our brothers and sisters in Central America, Asia, and around the world."

"These divisions weaken our fight against the bosses at home and increase their ability to wage war against workers in struggle in other countries like El Salvador."

González pointed out that workers in New York City have a recent example of struggle in the strike waged by District 1199 hospital workers. These unionists used their collective power to win a round against the employers and their greed, she said. "It is they — not Mondale and Ferraro — who should have led this march."

Several workers in the contingent organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) echoed this idea at the Labor Day parade, carrying hand-lettered signs saying "1199 showed the way. They say 'Take Back.' We say 'Fight Back.'"

"That was a breath of fresh air," said González. She also noted that a few members of AFSCME carried union signs against U.S. intervention in Central America, and hospital workers in Local 420 of AFSCME had a banner denouncing union busting.

After several hours talking with unionists at the demonstration and collecting signatures to put the socialist campaign on the ballot in New York, González spent the afternoon campaigning at the annual Caribbean Day Festival in Brooklyn which drew tens of thousands of participants. Standing at a table that featured the recently published *Maurice Bishop Speaks* and other books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press, González met many people who were interested in discussing the lessons of the Grenada revolution and the need to oppose the continued U.S. occupation of the island.

Among those who signed González' petition for ballot status were several Puerto Ricans who agreed with the socialist campaign's support for Puerto Rican independence. Several Dominicans indicated that they had heard about González' recent trip to the Dominican Republic and were eager to help in the effort to get the socialist candidates on the ballot.

At the table, over 50 copies of the Bishop book were sold, along with nearly \$1,000 of other literature — including writings and speeches of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and Malcolm X.

Seven subscriptions to the *Militant* and numerous single copies of both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, its Spanish-language sister publication, were bought. Teams of petitioners at both the day's events collected over 2,000 toward the 20,000-signature requirement in New York state.

Socialist campaign fund under way

BY YVONNE HAYES

Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan kicked off the fall stating he would use his national campaign to "build a fire of hope that links all America together." Chauvinism and patriotism has become a hallmark of the election campaigns of both Reagan and Democrat Walter Mondale.

The socialist presidential campaign of Mel Mason and Andrea González has a different message for working people in the United States. They are criss-crossing the country, explaining the very different class interests which working people have from the bosses. They are explaining the need for political action by our class independent of the parties of the employers. They are campaigning for a strategy of class struggle, not of class collaboration with the rich minority that rules the United States and maintains a stranglehold on workers and farmers in much of the world.

Over the next eight weeks, the socialist presidential candidates and their supporters will be reaching out to workers, farmers, Blacks and Latinos, women, and youth, discussing the need for international working-class solidarity in the fight against the

U.S. war in Central America and the policies of the employers at home.

To aid this effort, a special fund has been established to raise \$100,000 for the fall socialist campaign. Over \$65,000 has been pledged toward this goal, more than half by industrial workers who form the bedrock of support for the socialist program.

A special effort is needed in the next two weeks to get new pledges that can help put the total pledged over the \$100,000 mark. Campaign coordinators are urging every supporter to get involved in this effort by making a pledge or by sending in a contribution today.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$_____ for the Socialist Campaign Fund.

☐ I would like to help out with the socialist campaign.

Name _____

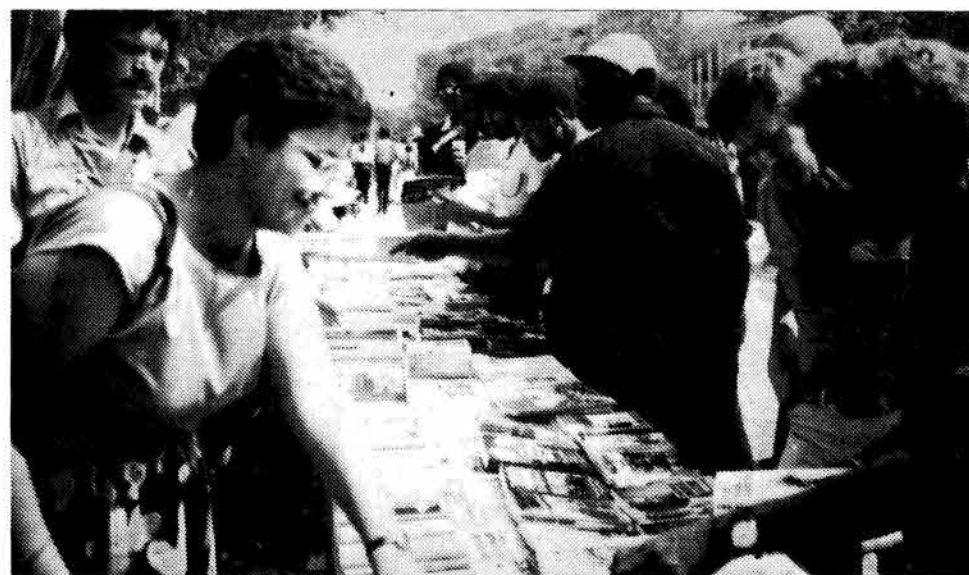
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Mail to: Socialist Campaign Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Paid for by the Socialist Workers' Presidential Campaign Committee



Militant/Yvonne Hayes
Andrea González, left, talks with participants at Caribbean Day Festival in Brooklyn. Many were interested in discussing lessons of Grenada revolution. Over 50 copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, book containing speeches by Grenada's slain prime minister, were sold.

New York ballot drive

BY DAVE PRINCE

NEW YORK — Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González are petitioning among workers and farmers in New York State to put the socialist campaign on the November ballot.

In two weeks of petitioning and campaigning in the Albany and New York City areas, socialists have collected 20,346 signatures, reports Rashaad Ali, New York State coordinator of the campaign. During a final week of petitioning the socialists plan to collect an additional 10,000 signatures, well over the legal requirement of 20,000.

Socialist workers are also petitioning for SWP congressional candidates: Nan Bailey, a garment worker, in the 16th C.D. in Harlem and Richard Ariza in the 23rd C.D. in the Albany area. Ariza, also a garment worker and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, collected 24 signatures from co-workers in his plant.

As part of petitioning, tens of thousands of campaign leaflets with the socialist program have been distributed, as well as 750 copies of the *Militant* and 277 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* sold. Over 200 people have signed interest cards requesting further information on the campaign.

Socialist workers campaigning in Harlem and in the Puerto Rican, Dominican, and other Latino communities in New York City report a growing concern and opposition to the deepening U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. Fifty-four copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold by campaigners at a recent Dominican Day Parade.

Five hundred signatures were collected at the New York City Labor Day demonstration sponsored by the AFL-CIO. Almost all the unionists signing petitions wore Mondale-Ferraro buttons — but many expressed concern that no matter who is elected in November, workers will face increased union-busting and deeper U.S. military involvement in Central America and the Caribbean.

Participating in the Labor Day demonstration were hospital workers from District 1199 who recently ended a successful strike to defend their union and postal workers who are facing attacks on their union. Many of these workers expressed agreement with the idea that more union solidarity is necessary to effectively fight against union-busting and were glad to hear of Mason's and González's support for their struggles.

At the big parade and festival in the Caribbean community in Brooklyn held on the same day, campaigners found a deep interest in the socialists' support for the achievements of the Grenada revolution and its central leader, Maurice Bishop. Over 50 copies of the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks* were sold, as well as 40 copies of the pamphlet *Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers*.

The Young Socialist Alliance has organized a class series on the Grenada revolution during the petitioning campaign.

The campaign has also received support from students at City College and Columbia University.

To participate in the petitioning effort, call the New York City socialist headquarters, which is listed in the directory on page 13.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes
New York garment workers at Labor Day parade sign to put Mason and González on ballot in New York State. Campaigners found union members open to discussing socialist solutions to problems of war, racism, and unemployment.

Rallies hit U.S. occupation of Grenada

Boston

BY ELLEN BERMAN

BOSTON — Some 175 people — about one-quarter of them Black and West Indian — turned out for a meeting on "Grenada Today: the Legacy of Maurice Bishop" here on August 25. The meeting, which launched the New England chapter of the Grenada Foundation, Inc., was sponsored by the Grenada Solidarity Committee, Pathfinder Press, Central American Solidarity Association, American Friends Service Committee, Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Martí, Mobilization for Survival, and others.

The featured speaker at the event was Dessima Williams, who was ambassador to the Organization of American States from Grenada under the revolutionary government of Maurice Bishop. Williams is chair of the Grenada Foundation, which does educational and fund-raising work in this country to keep the spirit of Bishop and the Grenada revolution alive.

A reception was held before the meeting to celebrate the publication by Pathfinder Press of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. This book is a collection of speeches by the popular leader of the Grenada revolution who was slain in a counterrevolutionary coup almost one year ago. Eleven copies were sold at the meeting.

"Take-off From a Dream," a Cuban videotape made in Grenada before and during the U.S. invasion, was shown. The video is a powerful refutation of the lies perpetrated by the U.S. government about the airport that was being built in Grenada.

Williams began her speech by reading an "Open Letter to the Congress and the People of the United States" which traces Grenada's 475 years under colonial and imperialist rule.

She said the government under Bishop gave people the right to a job, the right to popular participation in government, and the right to carry out a revolutionary foreign policy.

Williams explained the need to intensify solidarity with the people of Grenada as well as with the peoples of El Salvador, Puerto Rico, and Nicaragua. She stressed the importance of having solidarity actions

on October 19, the date Bishop and other Grenadian leaders were murdered in the coup led by Bernard Coard; and on October 25, the day of the U.S. invasion of the island.

Jean-Claude Martineau, a Haitian activist and poet, and member of the Grenada Solidarity Committee, paid tribute to the publication of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. He contrasted Bishop's voice as put forward in this book with the kinds of speeches he's heard from other Caribbean leaders such as dictators Rafael Trujillo and Jean-Claude Duvalier. If you compare their speeches, Martineau said, then you will understand why Bishop's voice had to be silenced.

"His voice had to be silenced because it was echoing from island to island in the Caribbean," Martineau said. But, he added, his voice can't be silenced as long as people are willing to continue printing and publicizing the voice. He urged the audience to buy a copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, "to keep the voice alive, to keep the echo travelling."

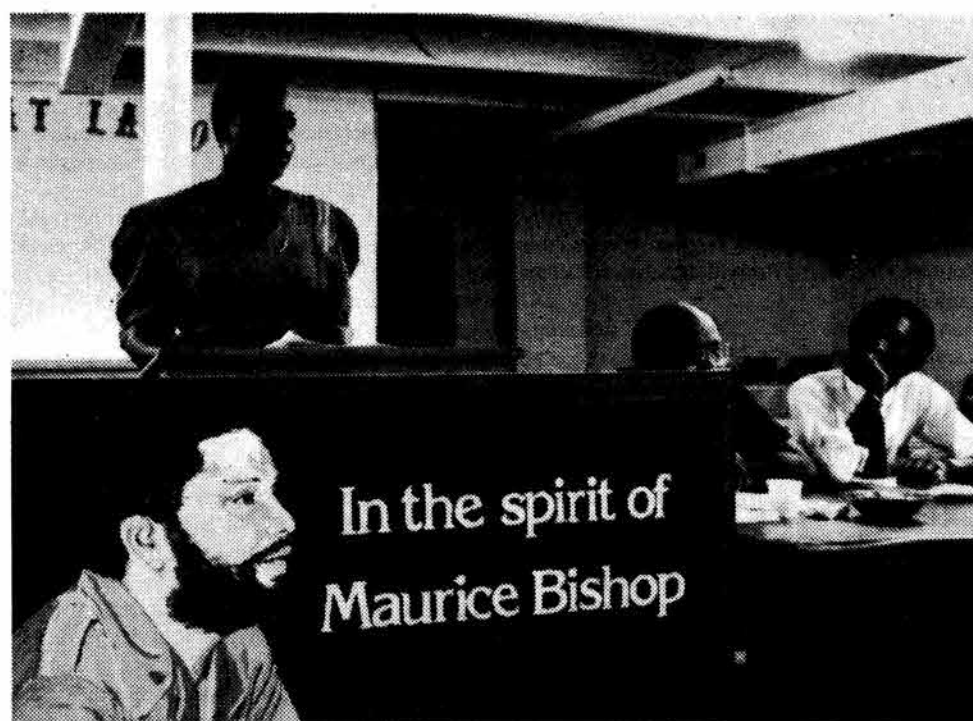
Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, also addressed the meeting. Harsch drew a vivid contrast between the Grenada he visited in 1979 under Bishop's government, and the one he visited recently under the current U.S.-backed puppet regime.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties, Harsch said, supported the U.S. invasion of Grenada. He noted that it was the Carter-Mondale administration in 1979 that initiated the hostile U.S. actions toward the Grenada revolution and Maurice Bishop.

"Our responsibility," said Harsch, "is to get out the truth about the revolution, the U.S. invasion, and to protest the continuing U.S. occupation."

Another featured speaker was Mel King, former Boston mayoral candidate and leader of Boston's Rainbow Coalition. His remarks centered on urging the audience to defeat Ronald Reagan by electing Walter Mondale. "We have a lot of serious work ahead of us," King told the audience. "In the next several weeks we must work like we've never worked before so we can get rid of Ronald Reagan."

Several speakers brought greetings to the meeting. Rene Vallee from Casa El



Militant/Jeff Powers
Lisa Daniel, who was a high school student in Grenada at time of 1979 revolution, speaking at Kansas City rally.

Salvador-Farabundo Martí explained that "The best tribute we can give to Maurice Bishop is the triumph of the people of El Salvador."

Dominique Ghossein of the June 6th Coalition, a group of Arab and North American activists working for peace in the Middle East, pointed to the connection between the U.S. troops in Lebanon and the invasion of Grenada.

Dave Slaney, president of United Steelworkers Local 2431, asked why there wasn't more opposition to the invasion of Grenada in the U.S. labor movement. He said he thought the most important reason was the lack of information.

"Reagan knows if people knew the truth, they would oppose it," Slaney said. But, he pointed out, there is a growing opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America. "We in the labor movement have the responsibility to tell the truth about what's going on."

Kansas City

BY ETTA ETTLINGER

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Solidarity with the people of Grenada was the focus of a meeting here on August 26. The gathering — attended by more than 40 people — also celebrated the recently published book entitled *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a collection of speeches by the Grenadian prime minister who was murdered last October in a counterrevolutionary coup.

Speaking at the meeting were Mickey Dean, international affairs coordinator for the Kansas City chapter of Black United Front; Lisa Daniel, a Grenadian citizen; Lloyd Daniel, an educator who taught in Grenada; Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson,

president of the Kansas City, Kansas, chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Wells Todd, from Pathfinder Press, publisher of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

The meeting was chaired by Norma Hill, representing the National Black Independent Political Party and the Association of Black Social Workers. The speakers outlined the gains the revolution had brought to the people of Grenada and the inspiration it provided to the people of the rest of the Caribbean and the world.

Participants in the meeting donated over \$200 to the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation. "The Foundation was set up to honor Grenada's martyrs," Rev. Sam Mann from SCLC explained as he appealed for funds.

Several copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* were sold.

Dean told the audience that "the invasion of Grenada was an invasion of the human rights and human dignity of African people throughout the world. Its methods and objectives were no different than the assassinations, divisions, and lies hurled at the Black liberation movement in the United States through the FBI-CIA Cointelpro program." He went on to explain that "support to the people and revolution of Grenada is inseparable from our struggle to liberate Black people in America, because the enemy is the same — U.S. imperialism."

Lisa Daniel, a high school student in Grenada at the time of the revolution in 1979, reviewed the events leading up to the U.S. invasion of the island. She explained that a secret faction led by Bernard Coard, deputy prime minister, had placed Maurice Bishop and other leaders under house arrest and then murdered them, giving the U.S. government a pretext to invade.

Feature on Grenada in 'IP'

The September 17 issue of *Intercontinental Press* features an extensive eyewitness report from Grenada, "Bitter fruits of revolution's defeat," by *IP* managing editor Ernest Harsch.

The article explains what the loss of the workers and farmers government headed by the late Maurice Bishop has meant for the people of Grenada, and what life is like under the U.S. occupation. Attacks on the trade unions, abolition of progressive social measures, high unemployment, police brutality — all have returned to Grenada as part of Washington's drive to overturn the surviving gains of the revolution. A new capitalist government has been installed that is protecting the interests of the employers, big landlords, and imperialists.

These attacks, Harsch also reports, are meeting with some resistance from militant trade unionists and from revolutionaries who point to the example of the Bishop-led government.

This issue of *IP* also features a significant part of Fidel Castro's July 26 speech in Cuba, in which he highlights some of the Cuban revolution's economic advances,

the government's willingness to talk with Washington, and its ongoing preparations to defend the revolution from U.S. military aggression.

Intercontinental Press

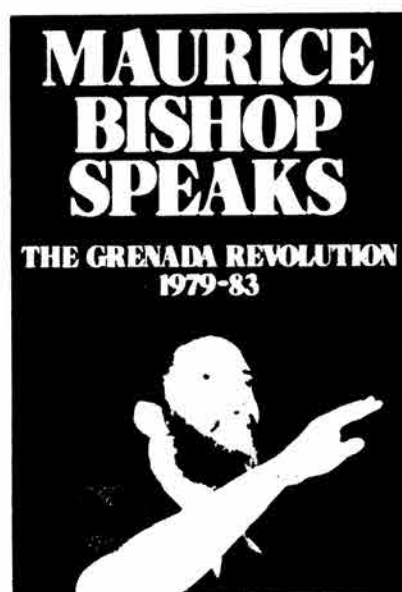
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Salvadoran liberated zones heavily bombed

U.S.-backed forces kill thousands

BY WILL REISSNER

El Salvador's U.S.-backed armed forces are killing "thousands of noncombatants" through "indiscriminate attacks by bombardment from the air, shelling, and ground sweeps," according to an August report issued by Americas Watch and the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights.

The human rights groups add that "these attacks on civilian noncombatants in conflict zones are part of a deliberate policy." The aim is "to force civilians to flee these zones, depriving the guerrillas of a civilian population from which they can obtain food and other necessities."

The report states that "forced displacement through attacks on civilian noncombatants and the treatment of the displaced have become the dominant human rights issue in El Salvador," overshadowing the military death-squad killings that have taken the lives of an estimated 40,000 people since 1979.

Of those, more than 20,000 perished during current president Napoleón Duarte's first period in office from 1980 to 1982.

It is estimated that of El Salvador's nearly 5 million people, some 750,000 have fled the country and 500,000 have become refugees inside El Salvador since the civil war began in 1979.

Duplicating the Pentagon's tactics in Vietnam, the Salvadoran military has turned large areas of the countryside into free-fire zones, where all inhabitants are considered military targets.

"The 'masas' [peasants living in guerrilla-controlled areas] aid and abet an armed rebellion against a legitimate government and clearly cannot be considered 'innocent,'" the U.S. State Department wrote on August 2 in response to questions from Congressman Michael Barnes regard-

ing the status of civilians living in contested areas.

The Salvadoran army's elite U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion has been particularly aggressive in killing civilians during search-and-destroy operations in areas controlled by guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The Salvadoran Catholic Church's human rights monitoring group, Tutela Legal, charges that the Atlacatl Battalion murdered 68 people, including many children, during sweeps through three villages in Cabañas province between July 18 and 22.

The soldiers also destroyed the ripening crops of peasants who fled into the mountains to hide.

The Atlacatl Battalion had previously been accused of a string of massacres, including the murder of some 500 peasants in the village of El Mozote in Morazán province in 1981. No action was taken against any of the soldiers.

Last year, 74 Indians from the government's Las Hojas Indian farm cooperative were massacred by some 200 soldiers of the U.S.-trained Jaguar Battalion following a dispute with a neighboring white landlord over the building of a road.

The soldiers, accompanied by 10 hooded members of the local civil defense patrol, entered the Indian settlement on February 22, 1983, with lists containing the names of those to be murdered. The 74 Indians were marched to a river bank and were shot dead or killed with machetes.

Despite protests by the surviving Indians, no effort has been made to prosecute the officers who led the U.S.-trained unit or any of the soldiers.

Free Fire: A Report on Human Rights in El Salvador is available for \$6 from Americas Watch, 36 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.



Salvadoran children in refugee camp. U.S. government and Salvadoran military consider large areas of country "free-fire zones," where all inhabitants are military targets, just as during the Vietnam War.

Machinists local passes antiwar resolution

The following resolution was sent to the *Militant* by Ted Leonard, a member of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1784 in Baltimore, Maryland. The resolution was passed at the Local Lodge meeting on August 12, and will be sent to the upcoming 31st national convention of the IAM.

WHEREAS the experiences of PATCO, the Greyhound workers and the striking Arizona copper miners bear out that U.S. workers are under heavy attack from company and government organized union-busting and concession contracts while at the same time social services are slashed; and

WHEREAS the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador is co-chaired by our President William Winpisinger and 20 other U.S. labor leaders and sent a fact-finding commission to El Salvador; and

WHEREAS as reported by the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, "there is no trade union freedom in El Salvador, no semblance of the trade union rights we as North American trade unionists consider fundamental to democracy. In El Salvador, we spoke to trade unionists whose wages had been frozen, whose meetings had been disrupted, whose offices had been bombed, whose bodies had

been tortured, whose co-workers had been disappeared — and murdered"; and

WHEREAS the Nicaraguan people, who are rebuilding their country on the basis of encouraging trade unionism and other democratic rights after years of fighting the dictator Somoza are again under attack, this time by terrorists financed by the U.S. government; and

WHEREAS the aid to the CIA-financed terrorists is in violation of international law and has been condemned by the international community of nations; and

WHEREAS these attacks taking place in Central America and at home are in many cases being carried out by the same corporations and in all cases by the same U.S. government; and

WHEREAS solidarity is the strength of the union movement, expressed in the slogan, "an injury to one is an injury to all";

BE IT RESOLVED the Grand Lodge opposes all economic and military aid to El Salvador and all aid to the CIA-led terrorists trying to overthrow the popular Nicaraguan government; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Grand Lodge encourages local lodges, districts and/or regions to send fact-finding delegations to Nicaragua so the membership can learn first-hand what is happening in Central America, and thereby determine a foreign policy in the interests of the labor movement.

New court date for framed Chicano activist Francisco 'Kiko' Martínez

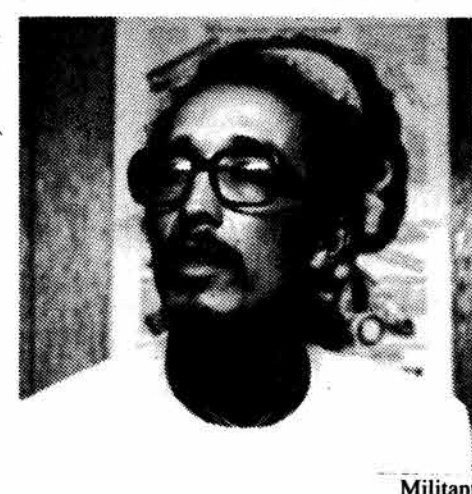
BY MARY GREEN

ST. LOUIS — The eleven year campaign of racist and political persecution of Francisco (Kiko) E. Martínez by the United States government reached a new stage on August 29 when oral arguments were heard in Federal Circuit Court here on the government's third appeal. A decision is not expected for three months.

An hour before the hearing, supporters picketed in front of the courthouse. The demonstrators carried flags reading "Stop the Railroad — Resist Repression" and Mexican flags. A large banner reading "Viva Aztlán Libre" headed the demonstration.

To further show their support for Martínez, the demonstrators packed the courtroom. Represented on the picket line and in the courtroom were the Organization for Black Struggle, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Francisco E. Martínez Defense Committee, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

After the hearing, Rita Melgares, a member of the defense committee, told the *Militant* that to continue to show their support for Martínez in his battle against this government frame-up, people could write letters protesting the case to:



Francisco "Kiko" Martínez

Chief Judge Lay, 1114 Market, U.S. Court and Customs House, 8th Circuit Courtroom, St. Louis, Mo. 63101, and send financial contributions to: Francisco E. Martínez Defense Committee, P.O. Box 753, Alamosa, Co. 81101.

Three days before the hearing, on August 26, Martínez spoke at a Militant Labor Forum, where he reviewed the history of

Continued on Page 13

U.S. plans more air power for Duarte dictatorship

BY WILL REISSNER

In a move to give the U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador more military firepower, Washington may supply the Salvadoran Air Force with three AC-47 gunships capable of firing 18,000 rounds of ammunition per minute, according to U.S. Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering.

The AC-47 gunships, which were heavily used by the Pentagon in Vietnam, can saturate an area the size of a football field with one bullet per square foot.

In the past year, the Salvadoran military has increasingly relied on U.S.-supplied air power to try to stop the advance of the liberation struggle mounted by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front's (FMLN) guerrillas.

Since March, the Salvadoran Air Force has tripled its daily air strikes to 30.

As one FMLN guerrilla explained: "The Army is increasingly using the Air Force to respond to guerrilla strikes. They realize that their troops no longer have the capacity to break the rebel forces."

The Salvadoran Air Force currently uses six U.S.-supplied A-37 jets to drop 500- and 750-pound bombs, and has 22 UH-1 Huey helicopters, 18 of which are armed with machine guns, as well as one helicopter armed with the rapid-fire gun used on

the AC-47 gunship. In addition, it uses five Israeli-made Fougla planes.

The most recent military aid package proposed by the Reagan administration contains funds for another five A-37 bombers and 10 more helicopters.

The increase in Salvadoran air strikes against FMLN positions and against civilians living in liberated zones coincides with stepped-up direct U.S. participation in the air war.

For some time, U.S. reconnaissance flights from Panama have targeted sites for the Salvadoran Air Force. But at least since April, U.S.-piloted flights of OV-1 Mohawk observation planes and C-130 Hercules aircraft from Palmerola airfield in Honduras have been sending immediate intelligence data to the Salvadoran military and have been intercepting and monitoring FMLN radio field communications.

A Reuters report in the September 1 *New York Times* reveals that "Gen. Paul Gorman, the senior United States military commander for Latin America, urged last year that American pilots fly a larger gunship, the AC-130 Specter, against guerrilla strongholds."

The dispatch states that the Reagan administration rejected the proposal as too risky politically.

Human rights groups such as Americas Watch (see accompanying article) have documented charges that the Salvadoran military is engaging in indiscriminate bombing of villages in FMLN-controlled areas to drive out the FMLN's civilian supporters.

Although increased use of air power can inflict tremendous casualties on civilians, the Pentagon's experience in Vietnam shows that it cannot turn the tide in a civil war. As Gregory Lagana of the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador acknowledges, "it is still an infantryman's war." But he added that there are "limits to the size the Salvadoran army can grow."

Only through the direct introduction of U.S. ground troops can the Pentagon hope to decisively defeat the FMLN.

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Nicaragua revolution brings gain

Interview with Mirna Cunningham, Sandinista government rep

The following article was featured in the August 6, 1984, issue of the English-language *Barricada Internacional*, an international weekly of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front. The special report outlines the gains and accomplishments of the Nicaraguan revolution in the Atlantic Coast region of the country, which is inhabited predominantly by Blacks and indigenous peoples. The article is based on an interview with Mirna Cunningham, a Nicaraguan government representative in the area.

The solitary red, yellow and green flashes in downtown Puerto Cabezas don't quite fit the picture.

The huge old frame houses with their sprawling verandas, the flower-fringed lawns, vegetable gardens and tropical fruit trees, the intense quiet, the ragged, gray shoreline, and even the 3,000-foot-long airstrip are in keeping with one's expectations for a Nicaraguan Atlantic coast town. But traffic lights?

"It's called 'progress,'" says Mirna Cunningham, and progress always seems to appear incongruent in the midst of backwardness and poverty, words automatically associated with the Atlantic coast.

The Atlantic coast had a lot in common with other regions in the country as far as poverty is concerned: illiteracy, high infant mortality rates, malnutrition, poor infrastructure. But in 1979, the new government discovered not only this grim panorama, but also a region totally isolated by racial, language, and ideological barriers.

"Bringing the Revolution to the coast was seen as an enormous task. It was going to be hard in the rest of the country, but it was going to be a lot harder here," says Cunningham, recently named as national government representative in Zelaya Norte.

In August 1981, the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN — Sandinista National Liberation Front), published its "Declaration of Principles on the Atlantic Coast," which sets forth two main political goals: to integrate the people into the nation as a whole while respecting their rights and traditional lifestyles, and to make special efforts to speed up social and economic development there.

At an intersection on the only paved road



Militant/Harry Ring
Mirna Cunningham, a Sandinista leader who is Miskitu, explains that "Bringing the revolution to the coast is an enormous task" because of legacy of imperialist exploitation.

in Puerto Cabezas, there is a traffic light — the only such device within the 34,000 square kilometers that make up Zelaya Norte, or Special Zone I.

In mid-1982 Nicaragua was divided administratively into six regions and three special zones. This process was called "regionalization." The Atlantic Coast came under the category of special zones, due to the characteristics that distinguish it from the rest of the country.

Special Zone I covers the part of the Atlantic region extending from the Río Coco bordering Honduras in the north, to the Río Grande de Matagalpa, which divides it from Special Zone II, or Zelaya Sur.

This region accounts for 26 percent of Nicaragua's total land area, yet less than four percent of the population is concentrated there. Of its 90,000 inhabitants, 44 percent are mestizos, 39 percent are Miskitu, 14 percent are Black creoles, and three percent are Sumus. Population density in Zelaya Norte is less than three persons per square kilometer.

Puerto Cabezas is the regional government seat, and since June 1983, it has been headed by Dr. Cunningham.

Doctor on the Río Coco

This petite, cheerful, 36-year-old Miskitu woman worked as a physician in the communities along the Río Coco for eight years before being appointed as the Health Ministry's representative to the zone in 1982.

During the final years of the Somoza dictatorship, Cunningham was the only doctor in the entire Río Coco region, serving some 20,000 Miskitu. Even before then, when two Moravian-run hospitals there were operating with good equipment and staff, only a privileged five percent of the indigenous population could afford such services.

The rest of the people had to depend on the *sukias* or medicine men, whose cures were not always that advisable, explains the Miskitu doctor.

Cunningham is thoroughly familiar with the Atlantic population's main health problems, primarily preventable infectious diseases. Incidence of such diseases has been drastically reduced over the past five years through vaccination drives carried out by popular health brigades. Medical services and infrastructure have been broadened, but more important, improvements have been made in living conditions: housing, running water, and sanitary facilities.

"But before any improvements could be put into effect, we had to deal with the problem of people's resistance to change," says Mirna. This meant everything from teaching mothers the habit of boiling the water used for preparing babies' food to carrying out a counter-campaign to convince people that anti-polio vaccines did not contain "atheistic-communist" substances, as the counterrevolutionaries were asserting.

In 1981, popular health campaigns began throughout the country, except in Zelaya Norte because the grassroots organizations needed to support these efforts were practically non-existent there. But in 1982, health brigades emerged throughout the region. "You can see the results," says Cunningham. "The '84 health campaigns in Tasba Pri (Miskitu settlements) reached 98 percent of those intended; the remaining two percent were covered in a follow-up round."

Today, 85 percent of all children under five in Zelaya Norte have been vaccinated — a difficult task in a region where the population is scattered amid jungles and rivers.

Health problems in this area were only part of the overall problem of historical exploitation and neglect. If that weren't true, she asks, "why was there never a good hospital in Zelaya Norte when U.S. companies were there taking millions of dollars worth of lumber out of the area?"

For over fifty years, the U.S. transna-



Militant/Jane Harris

With aid of Nicaragua's revolutionary government, this Miskitu Indian, like many others, has acquired skills and resources to build homes and other much-needed facilities.

tionals plundered not only forests, but also gold and silver from Atlantic coast mines, as well as bananas.

"Their formula was to invest as little as possible and take out as much as they could in the least amount of time," says Cunningham.

And what did they leave in return? she asks. At one time, Puerto Cabezas was known as "the city of pines;" now nothing is left but old, abandoned sawmills. When the Standard Fruit Company left the region, it took even the railroad tracks from a bridge over the Río Wawa.

"They also left behind a nostalgic impression of glory gone by, and also alienation," Cunningham explains. "Many people would rather recall incidents such as an accountant at the mines becoming president (Adolfo Díaz in 1911)."

By 1979, most established companies were either abandoned or in a state of decay, but today the region's economy is still dependent on mining and forestry.

The Bonanza, Siuna, and Rosita mines, located in an area some 100 km west of Puerto Cabezas, provide 1,950 jobs.

Another important source of production and employment is the lumber industry. The area's eight sawmills have a productive capacity of 73,500 board feet per day. The Bosowás forestry project, which covers about 11,000 square km of woodlands, is also underway, making up an important forest reserve.

Agriculture

The regional representative for the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform (MIDINRA), Alvaro Reyes, explains that Zelaya Norte is completely dependent on "imports" from other regions within the country for its vegetable supply.

Reyes points out that Atlantic coast soil is not suitable for growing basic grains; however, such crops are grown in the Miskitu settlements.

"We seek to respect traditional forms of land tilling," Reyes explains, and so, the agrarian reform in Special Zone I has been carried out by giving land titles on a communal basis to Miskitu settlements.

So far, titles to 56,000 acres have been given out to cooperatives in the area near the mines; 85,000 to the Tasba Pri com-

munities; and 152,000 to farmers on an individual basis.

MIDINRA is also developing agro-industry projects at the settlements. The Miskitu there have planted 10,000 cacao plants in nurseries to be later transplanted as part of a project that will eventually cover 10,000 acres. The cacao grown at Tasba Pri will be exported after processing.

Meanwhile, farming cooperatives at Siuna are in the experimental phase of a forestry project aimed at producing rubber. Once in the production phase, plans are to expand from the current 63 acres to some 17,000.

Reyes adds that the first steps have been taken to develop cattle raising in the zone by introducing new kinds of pasture crops on 3,000 acres of grazing land located near the settlements of Sumubila, Sahsa, Columbo and Washimona. This improvement has also been extended to the area around the mines to meet local demand for meat and dairy products.

In terms of the fishing industry, despite the fact that the most abundant sources of lobster and shrimp are located in waters off Zelaya Norte, this resource is managed by fishing companies based in Bluefields, Zelaya Sur. Puerto Cabezas does, however, have small-scale local fishing to supply the community.

Communication

Mirna Cunningham points out that new communication links between Special Zone I and the rest of the country have been an important gain over the last five years.

In May 1982, a 449 km long all-weather road was completed; it runs from the department of Matagalpa toward Waslala-

Barricada Internacional

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

Access to Miskitus on Atlantic Coast

Representative in Puerto Cabezas region

passes through Siuna, Rosita and Tasba Pri and ends at Puerto Cabezas.

Before, the Pacific region was accessible only by air. There is a 1,200 meter landing strip at Siuna, a 1,400 meter strip at Bonanza, and a 2,000 meter strip currently under construction at Rosita. The airfield at Puerto Cabezas has been upgraded so that it is now longer than the landing strip at Managua's international airport.

Since 1979, telephone communication has been brought in to Puerto Cabezas, and phone links have recently been made to Tasba Pri and other towns in the region.

Special brigades of the Telecommunications and Postal Institute (TELCOR) are breaking through the dense forests of Matagalpa to complete telephone links from that department to Puerto Cabezas.

Dr. Cunningham points out that substantial achievements in all areas in Zelaya Norte could have been greater if not for the activities of the counterrevolutionaries.

On December 28, 1981, Mirna Cunningham and a nurse were kidnapped near the hospital at Bilwaskarma, on the Río Coco, and taken to Honduras. They were beaten and repeatedly raped by counterrevolutionary Miskitu who carried out these crimes while singing religious hymns.

Both women were sent back to Nicaragua as a warning to supporters of the Revolution. In November 1982, Cunningham filed a suit in a U.S. court against President Ronald Reagan for the injuries she suffered at the hands of these counterrevolutionary forces, financed and directed by the U.S. government. Two years later, the case is still "in process."

The contras

That kidnapping was part of a series of counterrevolutionary attacks known as the "Red Christmas" operation.

It was the largest offensive headed by Steadman Fagoth, and led to the evacuation of all indigenous communities along the Río Coco to settlements later named Tasba Pri (Free Land). It also marked the beginning of more open CIA support to the contras and the constant harassment of communities in Zelaya Norte.

Since 1981, aggressions in Special Zone I have caused almost US\$9 million worth of damages. Hardest hit last year were the port of Benjamín Zeledón, where fuel storage tanks were completely destroyed, and Puerto Cabezas, where docks were damaged by speedboats attacking the port from off the coast.

So far this year, the contras have attacked a forestry project at Simalila, sabotaged the Salto Grande dam near Bonanza, and assaulted the settlements at Sumubila and Columbo on April 17 and July 12, respectively.

Although attacks by mercenary forces in Zelaya Norte have not diminished, the Miskitu have become increasingly involved in the defense of their communities and the region as a whole. Both of the attacked settlements were defended by militia units organized and made up of Miskitu residents.

For Mirna Cunningham, these actions demonstrated that one of the Revolution's main objectives in Zelaya Norte has begun to be fulfilled: involving the Miskitu themselves in confronting the problems facing the nation.

Liaison

During the first months following the triumph, she recalls, members of the FSLN arrived with great enthusiasm to meet the needs of the region's ethnic minorities, who had historically been ignored and isolated. "They came with good intentions, but knew absolutely nothing about the region, the language, the people, their customs or culture. For the Miskitu, it was just one more government," says Cunningham.

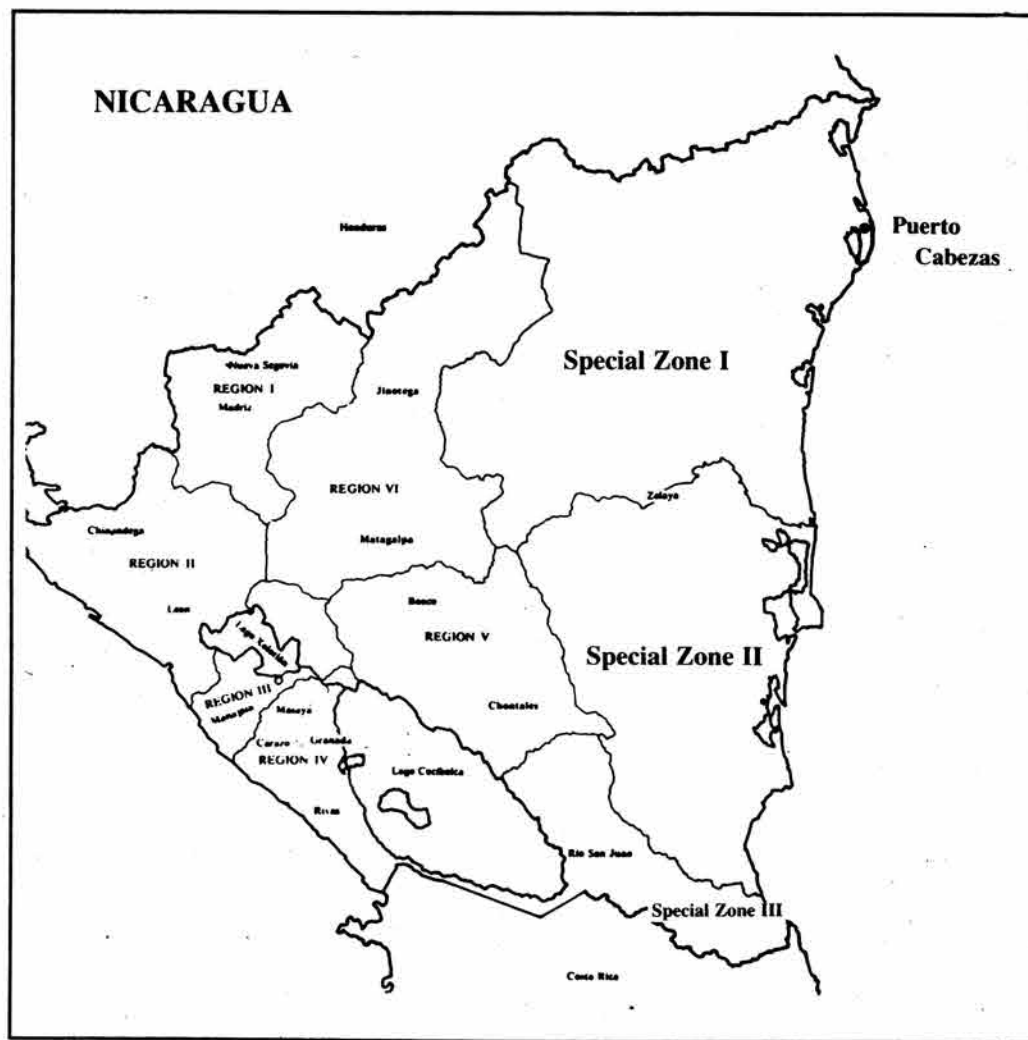
This lack of knowledge and understanding, she emphasizes, caused difficulties from the outset in relations between the people and government authorities, and left an opening for Fagoth's leadership role.

Fagoth was raised in the area and was well acquainted with the situation in the Atlantic coast and Pacific regions. He spoke Miskitu and had academic qualifications. All these factors contributed to his election as coordinator of the MISURASATA (Miskitu, Sumu, Rama, and Sandinistas Together) indigenous organization, and later as representative to the council of state. He took on the role of liaison between the state and the indigenous population.

"People thought that if doctors came to their communities, it was because Steadman had sent them." Such was Fagoth's stature among the Miskitu, states Cunningham. But Fagoth did not encourage people to get involved. "He became the leader who made all the decisions and solved all the problems," but his own interests were not necessarily the same as the Miskitus.

Instead of promoting unity between the Atlantic and the Pacific, Fagoth took advantage of old prejudices among the coastal peoples and errors made by the government to exacerbate antagonisms. The ensuing tensions and provocations led to the dissolution of MISURASATA in 1981. Fagoth fled to Honduras and began a campaign of propaganda and armed aggression against the Nicaraguan government, with the support of the U.S. intelligence apparatus.

Fagoth's actions eventually led up to the "Red Christmas" operation, divided Miskitu families and focused world attention



on the so-called "Miskitu problem" and alleged human rights violations against them by the Sandinista government, states Cunningham.

Mirna Cunningham was born in Waspañ, one of the many communities on the banks of the Río Coco destroyed during Red Christmas. "I am speaking as a government representative and as a Miskitu," she emphasizes, and her perceptions reflect this unity.

Her pride as a Miskitu is the reason for the irritation she often feels at the "altruist" concern by many "humanists" over the situation of Nicaraguan indigenous peoples.

She gives an example: "When the government began repairing the docks at Puerto Cabezas, a group of Dutch anthropologists complained that the Sandinistas were trying to change the 'aborigines modus vivendi.' Don't they realize that our 'modus vivendi' was altered long ago by all of them — the British, the North Americans, and the Spanish," she asks indignantly.

Who knows, she added, how much closer Nicaragua would be to solving the problems of ethnic minorities if Jeane Kirkpatrick and Ronald Reagan had not created the "Miskitu problem" as a way of

attacking the Revolution. "We all know, after all, who makes Fagoth jump," she states.

Any minority group in any corner of the world is subject to discrimination in one form or another, she affirms. But in Nicaragua there is an honest effort to address the matter as a national problem.

In 1983, a qualitative jump was made in this sense as the process of dialogue between the government and Miskitu leaders advanced, not just in the settlements, but throughout the region. The government has named a delegate in each community to coordinate work along with a local representative. In this way, says Cunningham, "there are two bodies in each community that will demand greater attention to development programs."

In addition, MISATAN, the new organization established on July 22, will ensure Miskitu a greater role in any decision taken by the government, and in consolidating the gains already made in land ownership and respect for cultural identity. (See separate article).

Mirna Cunningham considers the dynamics that characterized the Miskitu's efforts to form MISATAN to be the same ones setting the pace of the Revolution's progress in the region.

New Miskitu organization formed, marks advance for revolution

The following article appeared in the August 6, 1984, issue of the English-language *Barricada Internacional*.

"Here are the Miskitu! Here is MISATAN!" exclaimed Fornes Rabonias. At times, the walls of the small school auditorium seemed to shake from the heated debates that took place in the Miskitu language on the aims of the new indigenous organization being formed.

At the end of the meeting, however, all 30 delegates responded to Rabonias's call with a burst of applause to welcome the birth of Miskitu Aslatakanka Nicaraguana Organization of Nicaraguan Miskitu), MISATAN.

The MISATAN constituent assembly was "an exercise in popular elections and democracy," said one of the delegates. Over 60 Miskitu communities from Zelaya Norte and the department of Jinotega were

represented during the meeting held in Puerto Cabezas on July 21-22. It was named in honor of José Cupertino, a Miskitu leader murdered the week before in an attack by counterrevolutionaries on the indigenous settlement of Columbo.

MISATAN'S structure will include a general assembly, which will be formed by one representative from each community and serve as the organization's highest authority, and an executive board elected by assembly members.

Fornes Rabonias was chosen as coordinator of the board. In addition, the positions of deputy coordinator and treasurer were filled along with secretaries of international relations, community development, legal affairs, education and culture. Three of those elected to seats were women.

The Puerto Cabezas assembly resulted from a previous meeting held in the indigenous settlement of Sumubila in mid-June. At that time, 700 Miskitu discussed how to unify their communities, divided since the December 1981 "Red Christmas" counterrevolutionary operation. Other issues addressed during that meeting included land ownership rights and the protection of ethnic-cultural traditions.

Participants reached the conclusion that it was imperative for the Miskitu to form their own organization in order to fill the vacuum left when MISURASATA (Miskitu, Sumu, Rama and Sandinistas Together) broke up after its leaders became involved in counterrevolutionary activities.

At the Puerto Cabezas meeting, the organization's general objectives were ratified and a plan of action adopted. These include mounting a worldwide campaign to counter misinformation on Nicaraguan Miskitu and seek international support for their efforts to facilitate the return of Miskitu taken to Honduras.

A major step toward preserving indigenous culture was being taken as the assembly met, with the initiation on July 21 of a bilingual education program for the Atlantic Coast.

During the first four years of primary school in the department of Zelaya, classes will be given in Miskitu and English, according to a child's native language, as well as in Spanish.

The program had been approved by the Council of State in 1980 and had been operating as a pilot project since early this year with 300 pre-schoolers in Sumubila and first grade pupils in Lanlaya and Puerto Cabezas.

"We will make ourselves heard," summed up Wilson, "and they will listen to us as they never have before... the only ones who have the authority to speak about the Miskitu are ourselves, the Miskitu."

U.S. in Puerto Rico — a brutal history

Andrea González protests repression of independence movement, unions

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — "The political status of Puerto Rico is the number one question here," said Rafael Cancel Miranda, describing the island's colonial status as a "commonwealth" of the United States. "It's what determines everything: the exploitation, repression, corruption, and poverty that the Puerto Rican people are suffering. The problem is that we don't have our national sovereignty. And that's why we need independence."

"For us, independence is not a question of electoralism. It's not a politicking game to catch votes. It's a life and death issue."

Cancel Miranda, who spent years in U.S. jails for his role in the Puerto Rican independence struggle, was speaking at a press conference on July 23 together with leaders of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party to announce a pro-independence rally.

The rally, held July 25, marked the sixth anniversary of the police assassination of two young independence fighters at a mountaintop called Cerro Maravilla. Hundreds of protesters gathered at that site to demand justice in the case.

The speakers at the rally all pointed to the fact that repression is a reality in Puerto Rico, despite it being ruled by an imperialist government — Washington — which claims to be democratic.

One of the speakers was Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, who was on a one-week fact-finding tour of the island. González, who is Puerto Rican, stressed that repression is "used by the U.S. imperialists to enforce their colonialism in Puerto Rico and help carry out their war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean." The cops, courts, and other repressive institutions, she added, are also used "against U.S. working people and all those

who fight for their rights and against U.S. imperialist policies." This is one reason, González stressed, why U.S. working people should support Puerto Rico's right to independence.

FBI involved

The Cerro Maravilla case itself shows the connection between U.S. colonial rule and the attacks on democratic rights here. The two murdered activists, Carlos Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado, were entrapped by an agent provocateur, who led them to the mountaintop to be ambushed and killed by a group of cops.

From day one, the U.S. government — especially the FBI — has been involved in organizing a cover-up of the affair, together with the colonial administration of Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló.

This case has become a national scandal, raising awareness among Puerto Rican working people about the deepening government and employer onslaught against their rights.

But this incident is nothing new in Puerto Rico's history, which is marked by a continuous denial of fundamental rights. After U.S. troops invaded in 1898, usurping the nation's right to self-determination, the island was under direct military rule for two years. Puerto Rico's governors were appointed by the U.S. president until after World War II. U.S. citizenship was imposed on Puerto Ricans in 1917, along with the draft. A foreign language — English — became the official language of instruction for decades in this Spanish-speaking nation.

The independence movement has always been a particular target of victimization. The U.S. government unleashed a fierce campaign against anti-imperialist hero Pedro Albizu Campos after his Nationalist Party led the 1934 sugar cane workers strike. In the following three years, police carried out the infamous Río Piedras and Ponce massacres, where Nationalist demonstrators were shot to death. In 1936, a federal grand jury sentenced top Nationalist Party leaders to long prison terms; Albizu was in jail almost continuously until his death in 1965.

Continued government crackdowns provoked the Nationalist-led insurrection of 1950, which was ruthlessly crushed. Thousands were arrested. The Nationalist Party was virtually destroyed by Washington.

However, over 25 years the cases of five imprisoned patriots — Lolita Lebrón, Oscar Collazo, Irving Flores, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, and Rafael Miranda — attracted world-wide attention as well as mass support in Puerto Rico. International public pressure finally forced the White House to free them.

González's visit to Puerto Rico and her discussions with trade unionists, independence and other political activists brought home the fact that Washington and its colonial administrators continue to crack down on the rights of the Puerto Rican people. In one meeting in San Juan, a group of five trade union leaders, belonging to the health workers and legal services unions, ran down some recent developments.

Political prisoners

Over the past years, they pointed out, the government has used the federal grand jury system to harass independence activists. Currently some 25 supporters of Puerto Rican independence are being held as political prisoners, many for simply refusing to testify before a grand jury.

But much broader attacks are being carried out. The unionists referred to three mass struggles in 1981. During the University of Puerto Rico strike against tuition hikes, police and SWAT teams attacked student strikers. Hundreds of student activists were suspended for up to two years. And in Villa Sin Miedo, heavily armed cops battled some 300 homesteading families, burning down their homes and finally evicting them by force. During her tour, González visited the residents of the newly resettled Villa Sin Miedo community, now down to about 50 families.

In the electrical workers strike, also in



Police with M-16 automatic rifles and clubs threaten homesteading families in Villa Sin Miedo, Puerto Rico, the "town without fear."

1981, the UTIER (electrical union) met cops and scabs with mass mobilizations. The state-run electrical company was able to victimize and fire some 500 strikers.

The UTIER strike helped put the spotlight on the stepped-up antilabor offensive. Miguel Pérez of the National Health Workers Union pointed out to González that in Puerto Rico "the government is the biggest employer. And the 125,000 public employees don't have the right to unionize."

This problem, Pérez added, is tied to the island's colonial situation. "The Wall Street stockholders are the ones who control the government. And they won't allow a labor force of 125,000 government workers to organize," he said.

Imperialism attacks unions

Angel Torres, of the Independent Legal Services Workers Union, explained that the U.S. government's budget cutbacks have hit Puerto Rican workers especially hard. "When Reagan took office in early 1981, they cut back a lot of funds here and started to lay people off, especially unionized workers."

"About 10 percent of our labor force is organized here. But just as in the U.S., the figure is going down. It used to be 20 percent. We have to understand that we're in a period where imperialism has launched the fiercest attacks on the unions. You can see what Reagan did with the air traffic controllers, or what he wants to do now with the postal workers. In Puerto Rico, for instance, they practically made the National Workers Union illegal. They slapped a broad order on it and jailed one of its leaders, Radamés Acosta."

Another attack on labor is the capitalist campaign against immigrant workers in Puerto Rico. "Chauvinism is being fostered against Dominican and Haitian workers," said Edwin Matos, a leader of the health workers union. "These workers hold down the worst jobs." The bosses try to pit workers against each other by claiming that these other Caribbean workers "steal jobs" from Puerto Ricans.

"Repression here is real but it is selective," said another unionist. He gave a few examples of union leaders victimized by the government. "Brother Norberto Cintrón was framed up on a bank robbery charge. Arturo Grant was framed up on a murder charge; he was a leader of the United Labor Movement. Miguel Cabrera of the Tronquistas [Teamsters] was falsely accused of murdering a guy who worked with a union-busting law firm and was a CIA agent besides. In a strike in Ponce, a former security guard later confessed that they [security cops] had placed bombs that union leader Efraín Reyes was accused of planting. It was to discredit the union."

He added, "Another case of repression was that of brother Caballero, a Teamster leader murdered by a death squad which belongs to the same mafia inside the police department that carried out the whole Cerro Maravilla operation."

In addition to the attacks on the labor

movement, the discussion González had with these unionists drew out another fact rarely mentioned in the U.S. big-business media — that labor battles are constantly occurring in Puerto Rico. "There is no truce here," Miguel Pérez stressed. "The employers are always trying to take back more and more rights won by workers. So unionists have to fight the boss all the time."

An example given was a strike last winter "by 800 women workers at the RCA plant in Juncos. The boss wanted to take back some gains such as medical benefits and seniority rights. Many of these women faced the tactical operations unit of the police sent to break the strike. They were beaten with billy clubs. But they stood up to the boss, the cops, and the mayor of the town who was helping the scabs. Finally the boss had to sign a contract without the takebacks."

More examples were given by other workers and unionists in another discussion González had in the city of Mayagüez, which Cancel Miranda helped organize. Held in the headquarters of the India Brewery Workers Independent Union, the meeting included an activist in that union, as well as two garment workers and a local leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The unionists talked about the on-going struggle to organize a union in the local Starkist tuna cannery, where the largely female workforce had carried out occasional work stoppages. They mentioned the fight at the brewery, where the Bacardi company took over the distribution and fired all the unionized distribution workers.

Some of the recent strikes have been successful. Pérez said, "In 1983, 2,400 health workers were thrown out on the street. And our union organized a three-day strike. In this battle with the government, without having the right to strike or to organize, we forced the secretary of health to sit down and negotiate with the union. We were able to get the 2,400 workers reinstated. It was one of the biggest victories here."

At the same time, he pointed out that this is exceptional. The powerful UTIER, for example, is still struggling to reinstate its 500 victimized workers.

Miguel Sánchez, the PSP leader in Mayagüez, pointed to the underlying problem. "We, the Puerto Rican people, don't control our own economy. The corporations are U.S. companies that come in and exploit our resources without paying taxes for ten years. If the workers try to organize a union, they threaten to close down the plant after the ten years and move to another country."

Cancel Miranda took González to see the Wrangler jeans plant in Mayagüez that has just threatened to close and lay off hundreds of workers there.

"Those things don't happen in a country like Cuba," he said. "The U.S. doesn't steal its wealth anymore. The Cubans are a sovereign people."



Militant/Martín Koppel
Puerto Rican independence leader Rafael Cancel Miranda with SWP vice-presidential candidate González during her July tour of Puerto Rico. Cancel Miranda spent 25 years in U.S. jails.

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Regime cracks down on India protests

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

The Indian government, headed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, is continuing its brutal repression of opposition forces in Punjab state and elsewhere. Cops rounded up Sikh political and religious leaders in Punjab on August 28, bringing to 80 the number of Sikhs jailed on that date and the day before.

The arrests followed the Sikh leaders' vow to defy a government ban on holding a world Sikh convention in Amritsar, a city in Punjab. The convention took place September 2, with organizers reporting over 200,000 people in attendance. The gathering adopted a resolution calling for an October 1 march on the Golden Temple by a million Sikhs. The aim of the march will be to liberate the temple from Indian army control.

The Indian army killed more than 1,000 Sikhs when it stormed the Golden Temple in Amritsar on June 6. The attack on the Sikh religion's holiest shrine, supposedly to drive armed Sikh militants out of the temple, was aimed at smashing growing opposition to rule by India's central government in New Delhi. While opposition forces are led predominantly by religious and business figures, masses of workers and farmers — Sikh and Hindu — were being mobilized against the Gandhi regime and raising their own demands.

This increasing opposition to New Delhi's rule led the central government authorities to strip the Punjab state government of its powers in October 1983. Under the Indian constitution, during an "emergency" the federal government can take direct control over all affairs of a state for six months at a time.

After Punjab was put under federal control, the Indian armed forces began breaking into homes to search for and arrest Sikh oppositionists. The June 6 Indian army raid on the Golden Temple was the most brutal repressive act by the Gandhi regime.

On August 23 the Indian parliament voted to extend the federal government's military occupation of Punjab for another year.

Meanwhile, Sikh rebels have staged a number of actions to protest New Delhi's control of the state. There have been repeated demonstrations outside of the Gold-

en Temple demanding that Indian army troops occupying the shrine be withdrawn. One temple official reported that in the two days before such a protest by 125 elderly Sikh women, the central government arrested at least 2,000 Sikhs. That crackdown was aimed at preventing further demonstrations.

Sikh rebels hijacked to Lahore, Pakistan, an Indian airliner July 5. They demanded the Gandhi regime pay \$25 million in reparations and release Sikh prisoners. The eight hijackers freed the more than 260 passengers and surrendered themselves to Pakistani officials on July 7.

There have been two more similar hijackings. In the most recent one, seven Sikhs seized an Indian jetliner on August 23. They surrendered in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, on August 25. They had demanded the release of 14 Sikhs jailed in Pakistan for two previous hijackings, the withdrawal of the Indian army from Punjab, and the creation of a separate Sikh state.

The Sikh rebellion in Punjab is one reflection of India's deep economic and social crisis. Although winning its independence from Britain in 1947, India remains dominated by U.S. and European imperialism. As a result, India — the second most populous country in the world, with over 730 million people — is also one of the world's poorest countries. Average annual income in India is a mere \$260, and that isn't evenly distributed.

Indian workers and farmers have increasingly fought to improve their conditions. Beginning last year 250,000 textile workers waged an unprecedented 18-month strike in Bombay, capital of Maharashtra state. Some 300,000 dock workers paralyzed India's 10 main ports in a March 1984 strike.

India's production is primarily agricultural, and farmers are also hard hit by the worldwide imperialist economic crisis. Farmers in various states have been protesting low prices for agricultural products, farm foreclosures, and the confiscation of land for industrial development.

As in Punjab, there is massive opposition to the Gandhi regime in many of India's 22 states. But, lacking revolution-



ary working-class leadership, this ferment finds only a distorted reflection in religious and procapitalist opposition.

But the Gandhi regime has cracked down on even this bourgeois challenge to the central government.

On July 2, for example, Gandhi ousted Farooq Abdullah, a leader of a rival party to Gandhi's Congress Party, as chief minister of the state government of Jammu and Kashmir. The state is predominantly Muslim. Muslims, who make up 11 percent of India's population, are discriminated against in that country, where 83 percent of the people are Hindus. In May, for example, right-wing Hindus carried out a bloody anti-Muslim pogrom in Bombay in which hundreds died.

Abdullah's ouster followed a similar step in removing the head of the state government in Sikkim.

Many protests answered the central gov-

ernment's attacks on democratic rights, but these have taken on truly massive proportions since the removal of the chief minister of Andhra Pradesh state, N.T. Rama Rao.

Governor Ram Lal, a Gandhi appointee, dismissed Rama Rao on August 16, claiming he no longer held a majority in the state's parliament. Under the Indian constitution, state governors are appointed by and responsible to the central government, providing yet another means for the federal regime to intervene against state governments that aren't to its liking. The new state government in Andhra Pradesh quickly requested federal troops "as a precautionary measure."

Workers and farmers in Andhra Pradesh rose up in rebellion to protest Gandhi's ouster of Rama Rao. On August 17 a day-long general strike closed shops, schools, and rail service in the state. Police gunned down demonstrators in Hyderabad, the state capital, and other cities. Cops killed nine protesters on August 17. Although called for one day, the general strike continued for several more in a number of towns.

More than 27 demonstrators have been killed by police and 470 wounded since Rama Rao was forced out of office. Cops and federal troops have been stationed throughout Andhra Pradesh to combat the protests. Tens of thousands have demonstrated in Anantapur, Hyderabad, and elsewhere in the state.

Only four state governments are now controlled by parties other than the Congress Party — Karnataka and Tamil Nadu in the south, and West Bengal and Tripura in the northeast. Protests to Gandhi's removal of Rama Rao quickly spread to these states, where opposition forces feared they would be the next target of the New Delhi government.

Cops injured more than 50 people in Bombay on August 19 when they attacked a demonstration in front of the governor's residence. Anti-Gandhi demonstrators in Karnataka state blockaded railroads and carried out other protest activity.

Rama Rao and his supporters from the state legislature arrived in New Delhi August 20 to show the central government that he has a majority in the state parliament. Accompanying Rama Rao were Farooq Abdullah of Jammu and Kashmir and Ramakrishna Hegde, current chief minister of Karnataka state.

These and other bourgeois opposition leaders met August 20 and called a national day of protests and a general strike for August 25 to be preceded by a rally in New Delhi. The New Delhi rally held August 22 drew 100,000 people.

Indian workers and farmers see the attacks on Rama Rao as an attack on their own democratic rights. In a move to ap-

Continued on Page 13

Terrorist seeks U.S. aid in anti-Arab drive

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the right-wing Jewish Defense League (JDL) in the United States and recently elected to the Israeli parliament, arrived in New York City August 31. He is on a trip to raise money for his racist campaign to physically drive Arab citizens out of Israel.

The JDL has a long record of carrying out terrorist attacks on supporters of Pales-

tinian and Black rights. Kahane's group organized "Jews Against Jackson," which waged a racist slander campaign to try to paint Jesse Jackson and the entire Black community as anti-Semitic. The reactionary group also attempted to disrupt some Jackson campaign meetings.

Now living in Israel, Kahane complains that Israeli officials aren't moving decisively enough in defending the settler state.



Demonstrators at barricade in Um el Fahm, Israel, where thousands mobilized to block planned visit of right-wing Rabbi Meir Kahane.

"The issue here is will Israel be a Jewish state or not," said Kahane. "The question is whether Israel will be lost to the Arabs through bullets or babies." Kahane said he wants to meet with U.S. officials in Washington about allowing Israeli Arabs to immigrate to the United States.

Kahane and three busloads of his armed thugs tried to terrorize an Arab town in Israel on August 29. The rightists attempted to raid Um el Fahm, Israel's largest Arab town, because, claimed Kahane, it has "no right to exist." Kahane said, "there are no Arab towns, only Jewish towns occupied by Arabs."

"Now we are going to prevent Arabs from entering Jewish towns, whether there is a law or not," said Kahane.

But it was Kahane and his supporters who were prevented from entering Um el Fahm. Thousands of Arabs, and many Jews, mobilized and gathered at the entrance to the town to block the rightists. Many of the protesters wore yellow stars with the Hebrew words for "Racism Won't Pass."

This opposition forced Israeli police to keep Kahane's anti-Arab terrorists from entering the town. Kahane and his supporters were detained at a police roadblock two miles from Um el Fahm. As Arab motorists drove by, they shouted "racist" and "fascist" at Kahane's forces.

Israeli cops, who handled the rightists gingerly, repeatedly pushed and harassed the anti-Kahane demonstrators. Clashes broke out in which Arab youth answered the police tear gas and smoke pellets with rocks and boulders. Eleven cops and some youths were injured. The police arrested 19 Arabs and began a repressive crackdown to "instill order" in the town.

First things first — New Jersey officials may not permit reopening of 200 schools where federal and state inspectors failed to deal with "gross violations" of



Harry Ring

safety procedures in the removal of cancer-causing asbestos. (In some cases, contractors had it flushed down toilets.) Meanwhile, the Denver-area head of EPA

promptly vacated his office when renovations brought falling asbestos fibers from the ceiling.

Remember, too cheap to meter? — The TVA is scrapping four uncompleted nuclear reactors into which it has already sunk \$4 billion. That amount, natch, will be passed on to customers. However, it would have cost them another \$12.5 billion if and when the reactors were completed.

Threatening shoe gap — Urging Congress to curb shoe imports, the U.S. industry warns that in the event of war the military might go barefoot waiting for arrivals from Korea, Taiwan, etc. Noting that plans for war in Europe now in-

clude a de-emphasis on tanks and armored divisions, the shoemakers warn, "This strategy will fail if the foot soldier is without shoes."

Missed the boat — A U.S. traveler who said he'd found remnants of Noah's Ark atop Mt. Ararat in Turkey was detained at the Istanbul airport while geologists and archeologists checked out a bag of dirt and rocks he was toting. He was released when they found nothing of historical value.

A corker — For that \$1.99 bottom-of-the-barrel bottle of burgundy, check out Tiffany's 14-karat gold corkscrew. \$675.

And no muddy tracks — Members of the English, Irish, and French aristocracy have openings for 36 discerning guests for ten days of the fall horse-racing season. Transportation by private jet and limousine. Crash in stately homes and plush hotels. A luncheon at the British House of Lords. Cost, \$6,500 per person, double occupancy. Singles, \$750 extra.

The march of civilization — "Because new diffusive, or powerful, fragrances do not please all detergent buyers, Procter & Gamble, which was a leader in introducing aromatic detergences like Tide, is now riding a new trend with an aroma-free version for

those who don't want their wash to come out with any smell." — A spokesperson for the aroma-making industry.

The bluebloods — His Imperial Majesty, Wladimir Kirilovich, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, waits patiently abroad to return to the throne left vacant by the Russian Revolution. Wladimir established his claim to the crown by disqualifying 18 other Romanoffs. "He simply states we don't exist," one complained. "We admit that he exists. But he doesn't have one thousandth of the rights he thinks he has. To say the family is divided is a euphemism. The family is raving mad."

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Crisis in the Philippines — the Struggle for Democracy. Speakers: Joe Rocamora, Southeast Asia Resource Center; Miguel Zárate, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

Nicaragua Today — the Threat of a U.S. Invasion. Speakers: Lorenzo García, participant in International Trade Union Conference for Peace; Daniella Dixon, Socialist Workers Party member recently returned from Nicaragua. Slide show presentation: "Workers and Farmers in Power." Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president; Dave Ellis, SWP candidate for Congress. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 15. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. Pearl's Lounge, 116 McLean Place (21st and Illinois). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: SWP 1984 Campaign Committee. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

The Fight for Women's Rights and the 1984 Election. A panel discussion. Speakers: Peggy Kreiner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress; Martha Pickering, Pro-ERA Alliance; representative of Jefferson County NOW. Sun., Sept. 9, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 587-8418.

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Andrea González, SWP candidate for U.S. vice-president; Dave Welters, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Peggy Kreiner, SWP candidate for Congress. Sun., Sept. 16, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (512) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Solidarity With British Miners Strike. Speakers: Clare Fraenzl, member Socialist Workers Party and United Mine Workers of America Local 1197, recently toured Britain in solidarity

with striking miners. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 9, 7:00 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0014.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Support the Socialist Workers Party Ballot Fight! Attend a barbecue and hear Andrea González, SWP candidate for vice-president, Helen Meyers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; and Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for Congress. Sun., Sept. 9, 3-6 p.m. River Rouge Park on Trinity between Westfield and West Chicago aves. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Six South African Artists Works on Paper. Through Sept. 16. Wednesday-Sunday, Noon-7:00 p.m. Onyx Art Gallery, 54 Irving Place. Ausp: Art Against Apartheid. For more information call: (212) 505-9001.

Speak-out Against Police Brutality. Sat., Sept. 29, 2-7 p.m. Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center, 208 W 13 St. Ausp: Anti-Police Abuse Coalition. For more information call (212) 807-7269 or 871-3548.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

British Miners' Strike — Lessons for American Workers. Videotape and discussion. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 301 S Elm St. Suite 522. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

My Fight for Political Rights in the U.S. Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party leader fighting deportation. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 14, 7 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

TEXAS

Houston

Nicaragua: Revolution in Progress. Slide show and eyewitness report. Speaker: John Cannon, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367 and Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Almeda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

1984 Texas Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Mel Mason, SWP candidate for president; Beverley Andalora, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate and member of United Auto Workers union; José Alvarado, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.; Hitaji Aziz, Committee for Prison Reform and Defense of Human Rights. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 16. Reception, 4:30 p.m.; program, 6 p.m. South Central YMCA, 3531 Wheeler, rooms A & B. Ausp: Houston SWP 1984 Campaign. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Price

How Labor Can Fight Union-busting and More. Speaker: Cecelia Moriarity, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Utah governor, member of United Mine Workers Local 2176. Sat., Sept. 8, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., rm. 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

Slide Show on Nicaragua. Presentation by Edwin Fruit, unionist recently returned from

Nicaragua. Sat., Sept. 15, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., rm 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Geraldine Ferraro Campaign: An Advance for Women? A panel discussion. Sat., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Simpson-Mazzoli Bill — A Threat to All Workers. Speakers: Irma Guerra, chairperson, Political Action Committee of Coalition for Political Unity; Father Glenn Gessner, pastor of Cristo Rey parish, Racine; Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. Milwaukee Christian Center, 2137 W Greenfield. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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GM, Ford contract proposals slap in face for UAW

Continued from front page
even keep up with inflation.

In addition, GM proposes to maintain the system that penalizes workers who retire before the age of 55. Under current contract provisions, a worker can retire when he or she has 30 years of service, even if that worker is only 47 years old. However, workers who take early retirement receive considerably less. Because of hiring patterns in the auto industry, which brought thousands of young workers into the plants in the early 1950s, this proposal affects a substantial number of workers.

Ford proposes to reduce medical costs by having workers make co-payments with the company for medical benefits. Currently all medical premiums are paid for by Ford and GM.

Both companies insist that they will continue to outsource work to non-union

plants.

According to UAW officials, job security — not wages — was to be the number one priority of the 1984 contract.

But the present offer from Ford and GM explicitly rejects union demands for limits to forced overtime, early retirement, the shorter workweek, limits on outsourcing work, and the return of the nine paid personal holidays (PPH) lost in the 1982 contract.

Back in 1982, Ford and GM cried "unfair competitive edge" because of concessions granted to Chrysler. They got the union to reopen contracts and imposed concessions. All in all, these concessions gave Ford and GM about \$3 billion.

Many workers voted for the 1982 concessions because Ford and GM promised to "save" jobs. Instead, tens of thousands of workers were laid off. And even today,

with the superprofits that are being made, thousands of Ford and GM workers are on indefinite layoff, while many of us work forced overtime.

As the 1984 proposals show, the auto barons will give nothing without a fight. The proposals they made are a slap in the face to auto workers.

As word of the contract proposals began to circulate through the Fairfax and Leeds GM plants in Kansas City, many workers began for the first time to talk seriously about the necessity of a strike.

"We sacrificed when they said they were broke. And when they started to make some money the only thing they did was to pay their executives big bonuses," one worker said. "It's our turn now."

The suggestion to strike Ford and General Motors at the same time brought rave

reviews. "We should have done this all along," several workers said.

"Why don't we strike Chrysler, too," one worker said. When it was explained to him that Chrysler now had a different contract date, he said, "We should change it and put all the parts plants on the same day. That way we could shut the whole industry down."

"If we do go out, and I still hope we don't have to, it will be a long fight," one coworker told me. "But remember, -GM never gave us anything."

Pointing to the door, he said, "The only thing we ever got was taken out there on the street."

Jeff Powers is a member of UAW Local 93 at the General Motors Leeds Plant in Kansas City, Missouri.

British miner gets warm welcome in U.S.

Continued from back page

anxious to swap union stickers and pins.

While in the St. Louis area, Shukla also spoke to a meeting of some 50 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 282 at Moog Automotive who voted to donate \$200. The UAW's *Missouri State News*, the union's Region 5 newspaper, interviewed Shukla about the issues in the British strike. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* also ran an interview with the British striker.

Shukla also traveled to Viburnum, Missouri, where lead miners who belong to the United Steelworkers have been on strike for over four months. There Shukla heard about a familiar common enemy. Ian MacGregor, head of the British government's National Coal Board, has been leading the fight against the NUM and has also been a prominent figure in the Amax mining company, which owns some of the struck lead mines.

Shukla was impressed by the solidarity shown him by U.S. workers. He was particularly struck by the generous donations by coal miners who face the possibility of their own strike in a few weeks. "Anything

they're sparing is really a great act of generosity," Shukla told the *Militant*.

Shukla also got a warm greeting from workers in Detroit and Toledo. At a meeting of UAW Local 14, which has been engaged in a bitter battle against union busting at Toledo's AP Parts, Shukla told strikers, "We are standing strong and intend to win — and I know you do too."

Shukla was also introduced to an August 18 rally held in Detroit in solidarity with the AP Parts strikers. He spoke to about 25 auto workers at a meeting organized by UAW Local 1200's education committee, and briefly addressed a group of about 150 auto workers at a meeting organized by UAW Local 600 on the topic "Labor's strategy today."

During a brief stop in Chicago the British miner addressed about 200 people at a meeting of UAW Region 4. UAW International Pres. Owen Bieber was among the union officials who led a standing ovation for Shukla.

In Chicago Shukla also visited striking steelworkers on the picket line at Danly Machine. There workers have also been engaged in a militant struggle against ef-

forts to bust their union. While talking with the workers Shukla learned that the hard-pressed strikers, who have been on the picket lines for months, had reached deep down into their pockets to contribute \$113 to the NUM just a week earlier when two members of the British Labor party spoke to the local.

"It is this spirit of international working class solidarity that can help defend all

working people under attack, in any part of the world," Shukla told the *Militant*.

Shukla also spoke at forums sponsored by the *Militant* in St. Louis, Detroit, New York City, and Washington, D.C.

Contributing to this story were *Militant* correspondents Greg Relaford from St. Louis, Randy Warren from Toledo, and Janice Sams from Detroit.

Kiko Martínez frame-up

Continued from Page 7

the case and discussed its political significance.

The case arises out of the government's efforts to frame Martínez and intimidate the Chicano/Mexicano movement in the U.S.

As a lawyer in the early '70s in the Chicano/Mexicano community in Colorado, Martínez represented students, farmworkers, prisoners, and other political activists. Because of his effectiveness as both a lawyer and an activist himself, the government identified him as an individual to be "neutralized." The U.S. government's COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program), aimed at destroying and discrediting dissent in the U.S., was unleashed against him.

In October 1973 Martínez was framed up in both state and federal court on seventeen counts involving the mailing and possession of explosives. When asked at the forum what evidence the government had to prove that he had sent three letter bombs, Martínez touched his finger to a piece of cardboard. The government's case is based on evidence limited to a single, haphazard fingerprint found on the packaging — not the device itself. Government experts agree that the prints could have been placed there innocently up to a year before the device was constructed.

This transparent judicial frame-up was accompanied by a racist campaign in the media. Front page articles described Martínez as a wild-eyed terrorist.

Fearing for his safety and his right to a fair trial under these circumstances, Martínez chose to go into exile rather than be tried in this "hanging court" climate — assuming he ever made it to the jailhouse. He was gone from his community for seven years.

While exploring the possibilities and conditions for his surrender, Martínez was arrested in September 1980.

Victories have been scored in Martínez's battle with the U.S. government. All 10 state charges have been dismissed.

In 1981 a mistrial was declared during a trial on three federal counts. It was later exposed that this mistrial had been part of a conspiracy between the trial judge and the prosecution to discover the defense's strategy. Due to this judicial and prosecutorial misconduct another judge dismissed these three counts.

In 1982, after a six-week trial, a jury found Martínez innocent of two more counts after deliberating less than four hours. In the spring of 1983 a federal judge dismissed the remaining two counts.

However, the government refuses to call off the frame-up. They have appealed decisions against them three times. The August 29 hearing in St. Louis was for oral arguments in the government's appeal of the dismissal of the last two counts.

At stake in this third appeal is the government's effort to continue its frame-up of Martínez at any cost. In particular they are trying to deny Martínez's right not to face prosecution for the same charge twice, which is double jeopardy.

At the forum, Martínez placed his hearing in the political context of the U.S. war drive in Central America. He explained that the United States will play the same role in Central America in this generation that they played in Vietnam. "If Ronald Reagan doesn't do it," he said, "Mondale or Kennedy will."

Regime cracks down on India protests

Continued from Page 11

pease the hundreds of thousands of Indian toilers protesting Rama Rao's dismissal, Governor Ram Lal submitted his resignation on August 24. Gandhi has yet to act on Lal's resignation.

Hundreds of thousands of people took part in the August 25 national day of protest. Large areas of West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Tripura, and Andhra Pradesh states were shutdown in a widely observed general strike. Rail service, for example, came to a halt in much of south, central, and eastern India.

Police repression of the protests was massive. Tamil Nadu officials reported that 10,000 people were arrested August 25 for demonstrating outside government offices.

The Indian ruling class and its imperialist masters are compelled to intensify the exploitation of Indian workers and farmers. They hope the New Delhi regime can survive the current protest wave through having a firmer grip on the state governments.

Striker tours Pa.-W.Va. coalfields

BY CLARE FRAENZL

PITTSBURGH — Mark Hunter, a striking British miner, and his wife, Julie, an activist in the Nottingham women's strike support group, received a warm welcome from coal miners and other workers during their 12-day visit to Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

The Hunters met with United Mine

Workers of America (UMWA) officials of districts 4, 5, 31, and 17. District 31 Pres. Carroll Rogers opened the northern West Virginia headquarters for a press conference.

Interviews with the Hunters appeared in the *Charleston Gazette*, the Washington, Pennsylvania, *Observer*, and the Pennsylvania *Valley Independent*, reaching thousands of coal miners and other workers with the story of the British miners' struggle against massive lay-offs and union busting.

The Hunters attended a UMWA picnic in Pennsylvania, a UMWA local meeting in Phillippi, West Virginia, a bar-b-que in Charleston, and a half-dozen house meetings and breakfasts with local officers and rank and file UMWA members. They also attended a Charleston meeting of the National Organization for Women, where Julie Hunter explained the role women are playing in the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) struggle.

Many miners bought NUM stickers, buttons, and coal lanterns to help support the strike. Several UMWA locals also made contributions. UMWA members presented the Hunters with local union buttons and stickers to show their support.

At a Militant Forum in Pittsburgh, Mark Hunter commented on the broad support he received during his visit. He stressed the need for more international solidarity between workers in Britain and the U.S., explaining the links between coal bosses in the U.S. and the Coal Board in Britain.

Hunter stated that the support he has received here in the U.S. will be a big boost to the striking members of the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain.

Petitions ask UN to seat Kampuchea gov't

Nearly five years after Pol Pot's murderous Khmer Rouge government was driven from power in Kampuchea, Pol Pot's representatives still retain that country's seat at the United Nations.

On the eve of the opening of the 39th General Assembly of the UN, the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos is circulating petitions calling on "the Reagan administration [to] end its support for the Pol Pot group and vote to seat in the United Nations the legitimate government of the Kampuchean people, the People's Republic of Kampuchea."

Also participating in the petition campaign are the U.S./Vietnam Friendship Association and the Indochina Aid and Friendship Project.

Copies of the signed petitions will be presented to the Secretary General and the Credentials Committee of the UN. A vote on Kampuchea's representation is expected in late October or November.

Copies of the petition can be obtained from the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos at 135 West 4th Street, New York, N.Y. 10012.

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CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock 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.

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RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O.

Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

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

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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.

CIA behind Nicaragua bombing

Tom Posey, founder of Civilian-Military Assistance — an ultrarightist paramilitary outfit — claims that his two fellow U.S. mercenaries who were killed September 1 while flying a terrorist raid over Nicaragua were not connected with the CIA in any "way, form, or fashion."

This neatly echoed the previous denials by the White House, CIA, and State Department of any official connections between the dead men and the U.S. government.

To legitimize this disassociation, Democratic Sen. Daniel Moynihan, vice-chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, said his committee would investigate whether there was any CIA connection.

Before the "investigation" even got under way, however, Moynihan expressed full confidence in the CIA's claim that these men had nothing to do with the agency!

Moynihan's investigation, like Posey's and Reagan's denials, is simply part of the attempt to cover up the fact that the Democrats and Republicans are relentlessly escalating the brutal U.S. war against the workers and peasants of Nicaragua. And one form of this escalation is the use of anticommunist terrorist groups — like Civilian-Military Assistance — by the government to help carry out its dirty work.

Far from being "independent," the mercenaries flew their bombing raid — which killed four children — in a CIA-supplied helicopter which took off from a U.S.-controlled air base in Honduras.

There is no such thing as an ultrarightist paramilitary group that operates independently of the U.S. imperialist government.

Such groups — whether of the right-wing Cuban or Nicaraguan variety, or Ku Klux Klanners — operate with virtual impunity. Not because the "authorities" don't

know about their illegal, terrorist activities, but precisely because it's the authorities that give them the lead. U.S. military officers and federal, state, and local cops — these form the backbone of such criminal groups whose ideological underpinnings are always the same — virulent anti-communism and racism.

At a Huntsville, Alabama, press conference on September 4 sponsored by the Nicaraguan Democratic Force — the CIA-organized band carrying out the U.S. war against Nicaragua — Posey and two other members of Civilian-Military Assistance revealed some facts about the dead mercenaries.

James Powell was a flight instructor from Memphis, Tennessee, who had served as an army helicopter pilot in Vietnam. He was training U.S.-paid Nicaraguan mercenaries to fly bombing raids at the time of his death.

Former "Green Beret" Dana Parker was a Huntsville police detective who was given a "leave of absence" so he could go shoot down children in Nicaragua.

Parker was also a part-time captain in the Special Forces Group of the Alabama National Guard in Decatur. The Pentagon announced that Parker was not on Guard duty at the time of his death.

That's not necessarily true. The Alabama National Guard was a prime source of personnel for the CIA's 1961 invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. One reason for their chosen status was that some Alabama Guard personnel had security clearances from other, earlier CIA "projects."

The bombing by these mercenaries should be seen by U.S. working people for what it is: another step by the U.S. government on the road toward introducing U.S. combat troops directly into the battle in Central America. The labor movement should take this as a signal to demand: U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

Malcolm X on '64 elections and 'lesser evils'

The "Stop Goldwater" campaign in 1964 had similarities with the "Dump Reagan" campaign today.

In 1964, most of the forces involved in the anti-Vietnam war movement, civil rights movement, and the left backed Democrat Lyndon Johnson as a "peace candidate" and a "lesser evil" to Republican Barry Goldwater.

Last week, we ran excerpts from a speech by Edward Shaw, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate in 1964. The SWP campaigned in the 1964 elections against both capitalist parties and for independent working-class political action.

The Black revolutionary leader Malcolm X also fought the electoralist lesser-evil trap of the capitalist parties. This week, we are printing excerpts from speeches by Malcolm X in which he exposes the "lesser evil" scam and indicts the racist, imperialist policies of both capitalist political parties. The full speeches are in *Malcolm X Speaks*, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014.

"It isn't a president who can help or hurt; it is the system. And this system is not only ruling us in America, it is ruling the world.

"If Johnson had been running all by himself, he would not have been acceptable to anyone. The only thing that made him acceptable to the world was that the shrewd

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capitalists, the shrewd imperialists, knew that the only way people would run toward the fox would be if you showed them a wolf. So they created a ghastly alternative. And it had the whole world — including people who call themselves Marxists — hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater.

"I have to say this: Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected — because he is supposed to be a man of peace. And at that moment he had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam! He even has troops in areas where other imperialists have already withdrawn. Peace Corps to Nigeria, mercenaries to the Congo!" (Malcolm X's response to a question on the outcome of the 1964 elections. He was speaking at the Presence Africaine meeting in Paris, Nov. 23, 1964)

* * *

"It was the Black man's vote that put the present administration in Washington, D.C. . . . And your and my leaders have the audacity to run around and talk about how much progress we're making. And what a good president we have.

"In this present administration they have in the House of Representatives 257 Democrats to only 177 Republicans. They control two-thirds of the House vote. Why can't they pass something that will help you and me? In the Senate, there are 67 senators who are of the Democratic party. Only 33 of them are Republicans. Why, the Democrats have got the government sewed up, and you're the one who sewed it up for them.

"So it's time in 1964 to wake up . . . you put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last. . . .

"A vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat. You and I in America are not faced with a segregationist conspiracy, we're faced with a government conspiracy.

"The same government that you go abroad to fight and die for is the government that is in a conspiracy to deprive you of your voting rights, deprive you of your economic opportunities, deprive you of decent housing, deprive you of decent education. You don't need to go to the employer alone, it is the government itself, the government of America, that is responsible for the oppression and exploitation and degradation of Black people in this country. (From "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech, April 3, 1964)

* * *

"It's not the nature of power to back up in the face of anything but some more power. And this is what people have realized in Southeast Asia, in the Congo, in Cuba, and other parts of the world . . . all of them who realize this have made gains.

"Now here in America it's different. When you compare our strides in 1964 with strides that have been made forward by people elsewhere all over the world, only then can you appreciate the great doublecross experienced by Black people here in America in 1964. . . .

"In 1964, 97 percent of the Black American voters supported Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic Party. . . . Where were they when the Black man needed them . . . ? (From "Prospects for Freedom in 1965" speech, January 7, 1965)

New U.S. move against Libya

In what a State Department official described as a "tightening up," the U.S. government announced that it will not permit Libyan diplomats at the United Nations to step foot outside of the five boroughs of New York City. The only exception will be official UN business, and even then 48 hours notice and special permission will be required.

Previously, members of the Libyan mission were under lesser — but still outrageous — restrictions that confined them to a 25-mile radius of New York City.

Other missions which are quarantined within the 25-mile zone are those of Afghanistan, Albania, Cuba, Iran, Kampuchea, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Diplomats from the Soviet Union and the People's Re-

public of China may travel beyond the 25-mile zone, but must notify U.S. authorities of their plans.

The U.S. claim that the travel ban is needed for "security" reasons is transparently false. The government uses the ban to attempt to politically isolate governments it wants to muzzle — and to prevent U.S. working people from hearing views that diverge from those on Capitol Hill.

This latest move against Libya is part of a systematic, racist drive by Washington to discredit the Libyan government as a bunch of dangerous terrorists who must be kept under constant scrutiny. That's the price for Libya's refusal to jump at Washington's commands.

All supporters of democratic rights and opponents of Washington's foreign aggression should protest this latest attack on those rights.

N.Y. hospital workers victory

Continued from front page

that 1199 is more than an important union in New York. It is an important organization in the Black, Puerto Rican, and other Latino communities. The union's history, and the real gains it has won for some of the most exploited workers in the city, was integrally bound up with the rise of the civil rights movement in the 1960s. The union and its members were a part of that movement.

District 1199 has also been in the thick of other social struggles. It was an early opponent of the U.S. war in Vietnam. Today it opposes U.S. intervention in Central America.

The employers' probe against 1199 is part of the generalized assault on the union movement that has provoked many important local strikes in the past year, such as the battle by Arizona and Texas copper miners, the United Auto Workers fight against AP Parts in Toledo, and the strike by Chicago steelworkers against Danly Machine Co. Each of these bitter struggles has been an important learning experience. In the 1199 strike the learning experience was combined with a successful outcome.

The union-busting probe was staved off. The union stood firm. Picket lines were militant. Hospital workers went back to work with their heads held high, and some modest but genuine gains. These included a 5 percent wage increase for each of the next two years; every other weekend off, a key union demand; and a pledge from the bosses to take back all striking workers.

Hospital management has made threats to renege on the new agreement. If this happens, the 1199 leadership has declared the union will take whatever steps necessary to enforce the contract.

Hospital bosses may have thought the time was ripe to try to break the union because District 1199 recently separated itself from the national health care workers union that it has long been part of. District 1199 is now a

division of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union, AFL-CIO.

But the bosses were wrong in thinking these divisions meant that the membership would be unprepared to fight back against an assault on their union.

The opposite was the case. Thousands of union members actively participated in the strike. Picket lines were generally not just a few token strikers with signs, but lively, militant demonstrations of the union's determination. At many hospitals the picket lines grew larger at shift changes to discourage scabs — called "volunteers" by the bosses — from crossing them.

The union organized several spirited mass rallies and demonstrations during the strike. Other unionists joined these actions. New York's Central Labor Council Pres. Harry Van Arsdale participated as did Screen Actors Guild Pres. Ed Asner and other top union officials. The national AFL-CIO News highlighted the strike and urged support for it.

The unity and active participation by the union ranks was further evidenced by giant meetings held at Madison Square Garden. After 47 days on the picket lines, some 20,000 workers turned out at such a meeting to vote on the final contract offer.

The union's determined stance set an example that can only encourage other workers to fight — such as postal workers, auto workers, and coal miners who are all in the middle of contract negotiations.

The labor movement and all working people are under sharp attack — from the battlefields of Nicaragua and El Salvador; to the coalfields of Britain; to the mines, mills, factories, hospitals, schools, and office buildings of the United States. But if working people rely on their own independent power, if they appeal for and win solidarity from others, they can deal blows to the union busters and war makers today, preparing the way for bigger battles to come.

Labor needs fightback, not media gimmicks

BY ED GOLDMAN

DETROIT — Nearly 200 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) gathered to discuss "Strategies for Labor in the 1980s" at a meeting sponsored by UAW Local 600, which organizes Ford's giant River Rouge complex.

Ray Rogers, an architect of the 1970s boycott of the J.P. Stevens textile company, spoke for three hours on a public relations scheme for labor known as the "corporate campaign strategy."

Rogers sparked a heated debate over his so-called "multifaceted" strategy in which unions would make

The real anti-union content of the "corporate strategy" was shown by Rogers' consistent attacks on "violence" by striking workers. Rogers condemned the Arizona copper strikers for trying to stop scabs from entering the mines, which he said resulted in "bad press."

One unionist in the audience, who had recently lived in Arizona and helped organize solidarity with the strike, took the floor to refute Rogers' slander of the copper miners. She explained that "it is the cops and the scabs who are responsible for the violence, although the big-business controlled media always condemns the strikers for trying to save their jobs and their unions."

She angrily disputed Rogers' arrogant claim that the copper strikers could have beaten Phelps Dodge long ago if they had only followed his "multifaceted" approach. "What is needed," she said, "is 40,000 steelworkers and auto workers marching in the mining towns. Steelworkers and auto workers across this country should back up the copper miners with rallies, demonstrations, meetings and money. Those are the methods that put labor on the map in the '30s."

"Labor solidarity," she continued, "not public relations campaigns, are the key to winning strikes like the one at Phelps Dodge, and AP Parts today."

Another member of the audience who works at a UAW parts plant pointed out, "the J.P. Stevens boycott — Rogers' claim to fame — actually proves the ineffectiveness of his strategy. After 10 years of 'corporate strategy,'" he

explained, "only 10 percent of Stevens workers were unionized — and only after the union agreed not to organize the rest of the company."

"The adoption of public relations methods as a substitute for serious organizing by the textile workers and other unions has been disastrous for the labor movement," he pointed out. "In the past three years, for example, the textile workers have sunk from half a million members to 350,000."

Other workers spoke up for the methods "that have always worked for us" — strikes and demonstrations. "It does no good to take your pension funds out of a bank," said an ex-president of one UAW local. "We need to put 200,000 auto workers on the streets of Detroit," he said.

Although the "corporate strategy" discussion dominated the meeting, the audience also heard messages from unionists who are pursuing quite different kinds of strategies.

A representative of the striking AP Parts workers in Toledo, who have been standing firm against company union-busting since May, announced an upcoming benefit for the strike sponsored by over 20 presidents of UAW locals and other unions. Workers at the meeting lined up afterwards to buy tickets and strike support buttons.

Steven Shukla, a member of the British miners' union now in the sixth month of a bitter strike, also addressed the meeting, seeking solidarity for the miners' struggle, and offering their solidarity to the UAW and U.S. miners.

UNION TALK

banks and insurance companies the target for protest, since they are supposedly the "real" power behind companies like Ford and General Motors.

Rogers minimized labor solidarity as just one aspect of the "multifaceted" campaign, while strikes are to be used only as a "weapon of last resort." He proposed an assortment of consumer boycotts, media gimmicks, pension fund manipulations, and token protests at bank offices and stockholders meetings.

Essentially, Rogers' strategy substitutes Madison Ave. ad agency techniques for the fighting power of the unions and their memberships.

LETTERS

Legalized slavery

At a time when there are nearly three-quarters of a million people behind bars in a nation that holds itself up as the leader and model of the "free" world, the time has long since been with us that such legalized slavery cease to be countenanced and condoned. It must be recognized that prisons present neither a solution nor a cure for crime. The huge bureaucratic prison industry is guilty of perpetuating the myth that prisons deter and punish. Yet such statements belie the continuous call for more and more prison cells to be built. Nearly 1,000 facilities are planned or presently under construction in this country at an estimated cost of more than seven billion dollars. All of this at a time when we are told that the crime rate is actually decreasing.

I firmly believe that this sad state of affairs will never change unless we take it upon ourselves to bring it about, because meaningful change is never imposed by those who profit from the status quo but comes from the desire and determination of those who suffer under it.

Granted that there are some in prison who have become so warped that reason alone dictates their segregation, but the vast majority of prisoners are guilty of little more than being impoverished and downtrodden, victims of a class society that requires villains to punish as much as it needs heroes to worship. As long as this society continues to condemn a portion of itself to enforced poverty, unequal employment and inadequate housing and educational opportunities, the prison industry will succeed in its virtually unrestrained spending. Those in prison, as well as those doomed to follow them, have a right to decent jobs, affordable housing and quality education.

Prisoners, and those now destined to become prisoners, must be organized into a cohesive force so that they may speak and act with authority.

Many things can come with unity, not the least of which are peace and freedom.
A prisoner
Tracy, California

Sends thanks

I am in receipt of my weekly subscription which I greatly appreciated for keeping me abreast of our international and uncompromising struggle.

At this time I'll have to cancel my subscription due to my release from prison at the end of this month.

I will continue to read the *Militant*. Once again, thank you for keeping me abreast of our struggle and I would like to extend to you all my uncompromising support.

Abraham Agostini
Vienna, Illinois

Silicon steppe

One of the hallmarks of the Reagan administration has been the persistent propagation of the "Big Lie." Among the most memorable whoppers were the lies surrounding the downing of the Korean Air Lines jet and the invasion of Grenada. And the myth that the Soviet economy is in a complete shambles and heavily dependent on Western technology for its very survival.

Not so according to an unlikely source and certainly no friend of the Soviet Union, *Inc.* magazine. *Inc.* bills itself as a magazine for small and medium growing companies. A recent *Inc.* article entitled "Silicon Steppe" described how many American companies are "turning communist technologies into capitalist profits." The article cited two examples, Multi-Arc Vacuum Systems, Inc. of St. Paul, Minnesota, and United States Surgical Corp. of Norwalk, Connecticut. The companies obtained the rights for a Soviet technology license from Licensintag, the Soviet foreign trade organization for technological exchange.

In fact the use of technology from the Soviet Union and other workers states has grown to the point that three companies, Control Data Worldtech, Inc., Welt International and Kiser Research Inc. are based primarily on gathering data on technologies and helping to arrange deals with American companies. Jack Heule, president of the Minneapolis based Control Data Worldtech Inc., says, "It's an impressive, rapidly growing, successful business."

Vladimir Kramerov of the state-run Amtorg Trading Corporation explained, "We sell more technology than we buy." According to him the Soviet Union holds fewer than 30 U.S. licenses but has granted more than 50 to U.S. companies.

But the policies of the Reagan administration have done nothing but discourage this type of cultural and technological exchange. In fact during 1983 trade between the

Soviet Union and the United States was down 15% from the previous year. This of course is detrimental to American workers who will have less work because of the reduced level of trade. In addition, a significant new development in science, medicine, or other important technological achievement that could benefit the well-being of American workers will be missed.

But most importantly these policies are an integral part of the Reagan administration's war drive. American workers have no interest in supporting such policies but their interests lie in the opposite direction — supporting increased trade between the Soviet Union and the United States and lifting all the unfair restrictions imposed by the Reagan administration and Congress.

Steve Beumer
Detroit, Michigan

Liberation theology

A couple of issues back, there was an article on Nicaragua in the *Militant*. It called the slogan "Christ yesterday, Christ today, and Christ always" reactionary. Whereas I think the group which used the slogan were counter-revolutionaries, I see nothing reactionary about the slogan itself.

I thought you were for freedom of religion. I tend to follow the Liberation Theology myself, and I know that a lot of "Christians" are bigoted reactionaries who portray Christ Jesus as themselves, but he said "You can not serve God and mammon" (i.e. Capital) and Psalms 9 verse 9 says "The lord also will be a refuge for the oppressed, a refuge in times of trouble."

I don't think any religion should be forced on anyone, including the Humanism and I'm against the "Christians" trying to legislate their "morality." This has caused oppression of Gay people and women, among others. This country was founded as a Democracy not a Theocracy and groups like the "Moral Majority" aren't helping anyone by condemning and judging oppressed people. I find it hard to support any Theocracy, even Iran.

My sisters are involved in the newly-formed Right to Life group in Champaign county, I think abortion is a women's issue so I'm not involved, but I am opposed to Euthanasia against the Elderly and Handicapped. They don't go far enough. They should oppose the Death penalty and war as well.



"Actually, General, what attracts me most is your union-free environment."

They don't recognize them as Pro-Life issues!

The selection of candidates is bad again this year, I can't agree with any of them on everything, but I'll vote for Mason because I like the idea of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

I'm concerned about the controversy about Jewish people and if the SWP is anti-Semitic or not, although Muslims like Farrakhan shouldn't be quiet or hushed up anymore than anyone else. I think the free-speech issue is involved here, too.

Gary McIntire
Saint Paris, Ohio

Festival Latino

Militant readers will be happy to know that despite protests from right-wing Latin American exiles, Joseph Papp's ten-day Festival Latino en Nueva York was a huge success.

Featuring the theater, music, painting, dance, and film of Cuba and Nicaragua and from the rest of the continent, it was more than the right-wing could stomach.

But what a wonderful feeling it was to hear thousands of New Yorkers shout "No pasaran!" to Grupo Pueblo of Nicaragua, "Viva Cuba!" to Manguare, and see Puerto Rican nationalists raise their flag on stage following Lucecita Benitez's performance in Central Park.

Through their compositions, the musicians expressed their solidarity not only with Latin Americans in struggle, but with the Palestinian and African freedom fighters as well.

Jane Harris
New York City

Supports party

Enclosed is a check for \$25 toward the 1984 national election effort. As a subscriber to the *Militant*, I resolved last December when I renewed my subscription, to contribute more — money, persuasion, discussion, action, understanding. This contribution is another part of my resolve.

I hope this contribution is taken as a statement of support for party efforts and for the stated positions in the *Militant*. I expect there will be a large number of supporters who will turn away after the recent ill-timed, poorly presented articles on Jews, Blacks, Zionism, and Farrakhan. I believe I support the views expressed, but will have to see how future articles deal with these views.

James G. Smith
Erie, Pennsylvania

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

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.

British labor federation backs miners Trades Union Congress: miners' strike inspires all workers

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

BRIGHTON, England — "Congress records its total support for the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and its campaign to save pits, jobs, and mining communities — a campaign which has inspired the labor movement, both at home and around the world."

These were the opening words of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) resolution supporting the six-month-long coal miners strike, adopted by the TUC's annual conference here on September 3. More than 10 million workers were represented at the conference, and the delegates voted by a massive 20-1 margin to back the miners.

The miners are fighting a government plan to close some 20 mines in the nationalized coal industry and throw 20,000 miners permanently out of work, with a longer-term plan to shut 70 mines, eliminating 70,000 jobs.

The TUC is now committed to "a concerted campaign to raise money to alleviate hardship in the coal fields" and "to make the dispute more effective" by not moving coal, coke, or substitute oil across miners picket lines.

Up to the TUC conference, the right-wing-dominated TUC General Council had only given token support to the miners. Practical solidarity was made conditional on the miners allowing the TUC a major part in the conduct of the strike and the negotiations with the National Coal Board (NCB). This the miners refused to concede, knowing that TUC General Secretary Len Murray was more interested in ending the dispute than in winning it. Instead the miners made a direct appeal to TUC-affiliated unions, such as the rail workers, dockers, seafarers, print workers, and others, and won their support.

In an attempt to isolate the NUM, right-wing union leaders such as Frank Chapple from the electrical workers union, Bill Sirs



G.M. Cookson

Arthur Scargill, president of striking National Union of Mineworkers, addressing coal miners' rally in London. Miners' militant struggle against British government and National Coal Board won labor federation's support.

of the steelworkers, and Terry Duffy, the engineering workers president, have been given every opportunity by the press and television to attack the miners struggle. But it was they who were isolated. The delegates from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) mandated their officers to vote for solidarity with the miners. The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation delegates instructed Sirs not to speak in the debate on the miners strike,

and to abstain in the voting.

Following the conference vote, several unions announced meetings at which they would be reconsidering their previous position, and discussing how to win support for the miners. Among these were the General and Municipal workers, who organize the majority of workers in coal-fired electricity generating. The steelworkers planned a special executive meeting on September 11.

What has turned the tide in the TUC is the continuing determination of the miners and their families to defend their jobs. As NUM president Arthur Scargill outlined in his speech to the TUC: "For the first time since 1926 [year of a general strike] we have had to establish soup kitchens in every mining village in Britain in order to sustain our people. Our people are starving. They are suffering because they are prepared to fight for their very lives and for generations yet to come."

Scargill explained that the request to stop the movement of coal and coke across picket lines was the most important part of the TUC resolution. "What is wrong with asking this Congress to support the basic tenet of trade unionism? When workers are on strike you don't cross picket lines."

Alongside the miners, the dockers are in the second week of a national strike in defense of jobs. The dispute arose over the British Steel Corporation's use of scab labor to unload coal bound for the Ravenscraig Steel Works. This is the second national dock strike in six weeks. This time the dockers union is having a more difficult task in convincing all dockworkers to take strike action.

On September 4 dockers union leader John Connolly announced that a meeting was planned to strengthen the strike. Pickets have already started to travel to ports that are still working.

The shift in the TUC toward support for the miners was also reflected in the speech to the TUC by Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock, who has buckled in the face of the Conservative Government's offensive against the miners.

It wasn't until more than three months after the strike started that Kinnock would even appear on the same platform with a miner. But while Kinnock was forced to back the miners, the theme of his speech was an attack on "the violence of a tiny few" on the picket lines. Kinnock said that "violence provided the opportunity to our enemies, whose lurid imaginations are bigger than their brains, to pretend that trade unionists are trying to secure power by means other than those of parliamentary democracy."

In the course of the strike, cop violence against miners and their supporters has resulted in 2,000 miners being injured and two killed.

On the question of violence, Scargill had already given the miners' answer: "Is it not an act of violence to threaten to destroy the job of a man and his son and daughter? That is an act of violence to be condemned. It was an act of violence to say to a colliery like Polmaise or Cortonwood one week that it had five or 20 years' life; to transfer men there; and then within a week to announce its closure."

Within hours of the TUC vote to back the miners, the Coal Board proposed to reopen negotiations. Hours later the proposal was withdrawn when it became clear that the NUM leadership was as determined as ever to maintain its opposition to mine closures.

South African cops gun down Blacks

BY ERNEST HARSCH

More than two dozen Black protesters have been cut down by police bullets in South Africa since August 30, in the most brutal crackdown on political unrest in that country in several years.

This bloodletting by the racist apartheid regime has coincided with the inauguration of its new, "reform" constitution, one that has been depicted as granting some rights to sectors of the oppressed Black majority. Although the foundations of white supremacy have not been touched, this purely cosmetic move has been hailed by supporters of the apartheid regime, in South Africa as well as in Washington and other imperialist capitals, as a "liberalization" away from apartheid, one that justifies continued imperialist backing to the regime in Pretoria.

But the true face of this "reform" was evident in the streets of Sharpeville, Tembisa, Mamelodi, Sebokeng, and a number of other Black townships. Heavily armed riot police equipped with rifles, shotguns, tear gas, and sjamboks (ox-hide whips), and backed up by air force helicopters, moved in with massive force to try to crush a new series of Black protests.

Among the dead were many youths, including at least two aged just six and nine years. The hospital in Sebokeng admitted more than 200 injured Blacks, and after it was filled had to divert other wounded protesters elsewhere.

The mass protests culminated several weeks of sharpening tension and conflict, spurred by new hikes in rents and electricity rates, growing discontent with the racist education system, and opposition to the

implementation of the new constitution.

They centered around a number of segregated and impoverished Black townships around the "whites only" cities of Vereeniging, Johannesburg, and Pretoria. One of the townships, Sharpeville, was the site of the infamous massacre in 1960, in which 67 Blacks were killed by police. All of these townships were swept by the massive Black rebellions of 1976, in which more than 600 Blacks were butchered by the apartheid police.

Like the 1976 rebellions, these latest protests were spearheaded by young students, who carried out school boycotts and street demonstrations. But they quickly spread to the population as a whole, as residents joined a "stay-at-home" demonstration — in effect a general strike. As the street mobilizations grew, youths erected barricades to protect themselves from police assaults and vented their anger against government buildings, post offices, and other symbols of apartheid, including stores and homes owned by Black officials working for the apartheid regime.

The key political issue that underlay the initial student actions was rejection of the new constitution. Most Blacks in South Africa see this "reform" as just another version of the regime's longstanding policy of divide-and-rule, which seeks to keep the different sectors of the Black population separate and disunited. Those sectors comprise some 24 million Africans, more than 800,000 Indians, and about 2.8 million Coloureds, who are of mixed ancestry.

The new constitution establishes a tricameral parliament, with separate chambers to represent whites, Coloureds and In-

dians. Whites remain in overall control, while Africans, who make up the big majority of the total population, have no representation whatsoever. This scheme is clearly intended to entrench white supremacy, while winning the collaboration of a few misleaders from the Coloured and Indian communities.

The immense majority of the Coloured and Indian communities boycotted the elections. When the elections for the Coloured chamber were held on August 22 and those for the Indian chamber on August 28, only 18 percent of the eligible voters actually cast ballots.

The Black majority has thus made it clear that it will accept nothing short of abolition of the entire apartheid system. At the polls and on the streets, it has responded to the fraudulent reform with a resounding "No!"

From Intercontinental Press

U.S. workers welcome British miner

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

"Shared plight. British miner finds brotherhood here," was the headline in the *Southern Illinoisan*, a daily widely read in the mining and farming communities of that state.

The article referred to the response to a visit by Steve Shukla, a 25-year-old member of the Armthorpe branch of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). The NUM has been conducting a militant national strike against mine closings for more than 25 weeks. Shukla is traveling in the United States, speaking about the is-

suues in the strike and appealing for support for the NUM and the miners' wives action groups that have sprung up to back it.

Shukla has received a warm response from workers he has met and talked with. While in the southern Illinois coalfields, he addressed a meeting of United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) Local 2295. The 150 miners at the meeting voted to donate \$500 to the NUM and also took up a collection at the mine portal that raised another \$200. The Illinois miners exchanged stories with Shukla about job conditions and picket line battles. Many were

Continued on Page 13