

Nicaragua refutes lie it attacked Costa Rica

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government has exposed a provocative attempt to blame Sandinista soldiers for a May 31 ambush of Costa Rican troops.

At least one Costa Rican soldier was killed in the assault, and several are missing. The Costa Rican government has accused Nicaragua of the attack.

At a June 2 news conference here, Nicaragua's defense minister, Humberto Ortega, said it was false that Sandinista troops entered Costa Rican territory and carried out the ambush. He revealed evidence establishing that the attack was in fact organized by the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE), a mercenary group based in Costa Rica and financed and supplied by the U.S. government.

Ortega played for reporters a tape of intercepted Costa Rican military communications. This showed that a small Costa Rican military patrol had been drawn to the ambush site, which was only a few hundred yards from the Nicaraguan border, by false reports that 400 Sandinista soldiers had entered the country. The intercepted radio message unmistakably identified the source of the report as Ernesto Chamorro, an ARDE leader.

On June 1 the Nicaraguan government called on the Costa Rican government to permit an immediate, full investigation of the incident. The Nicaraguans proposed that the ambush be examined by both the joint Nicaragua-Costa Rica border commission set up last year, and by a special investigative commission from the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, and Panama.

Instead, in a televised speech June 2, Costa Rican president Luis Alberto Monge announced he would refuse to send a new ambassador to Nicaragua, in order to "reduce to the most minimal level" diplomatic relations between the two countries. He also said Costa Rica would ask the U.S.-dominated Organization of American States to investigate the incident.

Humberto Ortega called Monge's response part of the "anti-Central American, anti-Nicaraguan game sponsored by the Reagan administration."

He explained that many times in the past, the CIA has staged attacks in Costa Rica or Honduras and tried to blame them on Nicaragua, in order to provide a pretext for stepping up U.S. intervention against the Sandinista revolution.

Washington is driven to such tactics, he said, because of "the failure of its mercenary forces on the military terrain, and of the general failure of its efforts to destroy the revolution."

ACTWU workers under attack

BY WENDY LYONS

NEW YORK — On Monday, June 3, 53,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) went to their shops not knowing whether we would set up picket lines that day or go into work. In many places people waited outside as the shop representative called the union headquarters to get word that we were going to work that day.

A temporary agreement had been reached with the Clothing Manufacturers Association in contract negotiations covering mens' and boys' tailored-clothing workers. In the middle of the preceding week, ACTWU members were suddenly

Reagan's tax plan: gift to the rich

BY HARRY RING

President Reagan's proposal for revamping the income tax structure has been the subject of discussion across the country. With taxes taking an ever bigger bite, working people want to know, will this provide any relief?

For many working people, the plan has one real selling point. That's the proposal that the personal exemptions from taxes go up from \$1,040 to \$2,000. This would almost double the amount you can deduct from your income tax before determining how much tax you owe.

Nobody will argue with an increase in the exemption. But, unfortunately, that's only one part of the Reagan plan — a part that's included to help sell the package.

Is the totality of the package a gain for working people? Or does it mainly benefit the owners of big corporations, the banks, and large grain monopolies?

A look at some of the fine print in the proposition will give working people a glimpse of what the Reagan tax overhaul means.

According to White House figures, taxpayers as a whole will save about 6 percent under this plan. But those in the top income bracket paying 35 percent of their taxable income — that is, income above \$70,000 on joint returns and \$42,000 on single returns — enjoy a savings of 10.7 percent.

Put another way, for every dollar you and I may save by being in the lower two brackets paying 15 or 25 percent of our taxable income, those in the top bracket will pocket at least \$1.56.

The basic planks in the Reagan plan will



probably be made into law since both Democratic and Republican leaders have given it their support, with Democrats taking exception only to one or another particular.

Loping dutifully behind the Democratic politicians, the top bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO have given the plan critical support on the grounds that it assertedly contains "key reforms," but doesn't go far enough.

But the real problem is that it goes in the wrong direction.

An example of one of the smaller ways in which the tax load is steadily shifted from the capitalists to working people is the cost of child care. Instead of being a tax

"credit," it would become a "deduction."

The difference? As a deduction, if you're in the lowest income 15 percent bracket, you would save 15 cents on every dollar deducted for child care.

But if you have an income over \$70,000 (the top bracket) you will save 35 cents for every child-care dollar deducted.

A fine-print item: the plan would repeal the present \$5,000 exemption for death benefits paid by employers.

The plan includes a new taxable item that will add up to \$300 to your taxable in-

Continued on Page 13

Youth convention hits war, apartheid

BY HARRY RING

CHICAGO — The 24th national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held here Memorial Day weekend, registered encouraging gains for the organization. In good measure, these gains were made during the past six months, primarily as a result of the upsurge of antiwar and anti-apartheid activity in the country.

The YSA was an active organizer and participant in the April 20 protest against the U.S. war in Central America and Washington's complicity with South African apartheid.

The convention agreed that its top priority in the months ahead is to work energetically to help build a nationwide series of fall antiwar, anti-apartheid demonstrations.

The convention celebrated the 25th anniversary of the founding of the YSA,

which has the longest continuous history of any radical youth group in the country. The YSA stands in political solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party, and collaborates closely with it.

The convention devoted three days of intensive discussion to two principal reports. YSA national secretary Peter Thierjung delivered a report entitled, "The fight against imperialist war and apartheid." National executive committee member Ellen Haywood presented a report, "The Young Socialist Alliance: A Campaigning Youth Organization."

The theme of Thierjung's report, and the discussion that followed, was the U.S.-organized and financed war in Central America and the paramount need for intensified efforts to build a united movement in opposition to it. An important corollary to this, he added, is the fight against U.S. complicity with South African apartheid. The need to bring these forces together is essential, he said.

With the gratifying success of the April 20 antiwar action, he declared, "The biggest challenge is to follow up with local actions across the country this fall" in opposition to the escalating war drive.

Such actions, he said, "will be greeted with enthusiasm" by thousands of young antiwar fighters.

To carry through successful fall actions, he explained, the key job is to strengthen and expand local antiwar coalitions and to help establish them in new areas.

"This," Thierjung declared, "will be a central YSA task."

The fight against apartheid, he continued, "overlaps with and strengthens" the fight against imperialist war.

In her organizational report, Ellen

Haywood emphasized the greater prospects today for winning new members to the organization. During the past six months of antiwar and anti-apartheid activity, the number of young people interested in the YSA has significantly increased. Many of these have already joined the YSA.

As confirmation of the heightened interest in revolutionary ideas, she pointed to the significant response to socialist literature, particularly among young people at the April 20 demonstration in Washington.

She noted that large numbers of the paper, the *Young Socialist*, as well as the *Militant* and its sister Spanish-language biweekly, *Perspectiva Mundial*, had been sold, and that people were able to hawk copies of the new Pathfinder book, *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*, "like 75-cent pamphlets."

And, she reported, more than 400 people jammed into the socialist open house following the D.C. demonstration. Dozens of those attending left their names to receive further information about the YSA. A number of people who first met the YSA on April 20 attended the convention.

The discussion that followed the reports testified to the new opportunities for building the YSA.

The discussion also confirmed that with a majority of its members now industrial workers and union activists, the YSA has been able to participate more effectively in building the antiwar and anti-apartheid movement.

At the same time, YSA members have become increasingly involved in farm-protest movements in a number of areas.

In the discussion, Diane, a delegate from Kansas City, reported that the YSA there

Continued on Page 6

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY MIKE DAVIDSON

BOSTON — *Militant* sales teams are finding an increasing receptivity to the socialist press from workers at the plants where we work and others hit with layoffs in our region.

At General Electric's military production plant in Lynn, contract negotiations recently opened. Workers are concerned that GE (which posted record-breaking profits this year) will use the so-called government "crackdown on waste and fraud" as an excuse to crack down on the workers and impose a takeback contract.

Workers in the plant were especially interested in the *Militant* article explaining the Defense Department's crackdown. On one shift, four workers bought the *Militant*, and a dozen stopped to talk.

Socialist workers here are planning to bring banners and leaflets, as well as adding a new sales team for the third shift during contract negotiations. The Socialist Workers Party's Boston City Council campaign of Kip Hedges, a GE worker, will also help in the discussions in the plant about GE's demands, the government-employer attacks on working people, and the U.S.-organized mercenary war against Nicaragua.

Sales teams also sell at the big textile mill in Lawrence, organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). The composition of the work force is reflected in our sales. Teams at two shifts sell an average of three to four *Militants* and three to four *Perspective* *Mundials*. The teams also sell two to

three *Lutte Ouvrière* (the French-language paper published by cothinkers of the SWP in Quebec) to Québécois workers each week.

Militant sales teams at the huge GM assembly plant in Framingham cover three of the five gates. The team sells several papers each week. Recently one worker, after parking his car, walked back to the gate to talk with a *Militant* salesperson and buy a subscription.

Boston area socialists have begun selling at the General Dynamics shipyard in Quincy, where 3,000 workers are scheduled to be laid off this summer. The first morning the team showed up, two workers bought papers. One 19-year-old welder bought the paper after seeing the cover story on Nicaragua.



Militant/John Cotman
Worker at GM in Framingham, Massachusetts, gets *Militant*.

Militant Bookstore opens in Greensboro, N.C.

BY RICH GORDON

GREENSBORO, N.C. — The Black community newspaper, *Peacemaker*, had a front-page article in its May 18 issue that began, "A black leader of national importance was in Greensboro on Saturday night as the guest speaker at a celebration marking the opening of the new Militant Bookstore in East Greensboro."

Mac Warren, the National Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, gave a public speech here May 11. Warren also gave classes on the history of the civil rights movement. This year marks the 25th anniversary of the sit-in movement to desegregate lunch counters in the South, which began in Greensboro on Feb. 1, 1960.

The new bookstore is located in the heart of the Greensboro Black community, which is one-third of the city's population. The opening is an important advance for the socialist movement here.

Named after the *Militant* newspaper, the bookstore will be a place for working people in North Carolina to learn about and discuss the fights against the U.S.-organized mercenary war in Nicaragua, union-busting, and racist attacks, such as the one that occurred here in 1979 in which

the KKK and Nazis murdered five anti-racist protesters. It will be a place open to those struggling for women's rights and against farm foreclosures.

North Carolina is the home of close to 300,000 textile and apparel workers. Greensboro is the headquarters for Burlington Industries and Cone Mills, two textile giants. In 1984 alone, more than 11,000 North Carolina textile workers lost their jobs and 43 textile mills closed as the companies' greed for profits was put before the workers' well-being.

Members of the Greensboro Socialist Workers Party branch and the chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance here are active in the textile union, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). At area mill gates YSA and SWP members handed fellow textile workers more than 500 announcements of the bookstore opening.

High Point, North Carolina, near Greensboro, is known as the furniture capital of the world. There are some 72,000 furniture workers in North Carolina factories. This industry is totally nonunion in this so-called "right to work" state.

North Carolina, a major agricultural state, has more Black farmers than any

other state in the country. Farm loss in North Carolina is one of the highest in the country. From 1973 to 1983, 43,000 farms went under.

North Carolina is also a leading tobacco producer. The new Militant Bookstore is one block from the big Lorillard cigarette plant organized by the Tobacco Workers International Union. Tobacco farmers, mostly small family farmers, are hard hit by the crisis in agriculture and the government is threatening to wipe out programs that aid tobacco farmers.

The Greensboro chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance organizes political activities at the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, a large, mainly Black school just down the street from the new bookstore.

The YSA chapter participated in the coalition which organized three buses from the area to go to the April 20 antiwar march in Washington, D.C.

And YSA members have traveled to Ft. Bragg, a giant military base near here, to talk to the soldiers about the war in Central America, and to tell the real story of the popular revolution in Nicaragua.

The Militant Bookstore will also be the home of the Militant Labor Forum, a regu-

lar series of discussions on political issues of the day where working people can exchange their views.

Many people have already begun to use the bookstore as a center for discussion and learning. For example, a shop steward from a nearby factory organized by the Teamsters union rushed over during his lunch break to buy three pamphlets containing speeches by Malcolm X.

Books and pamphlets by Malcolm X are the top sellers in the new bookstore. The new Pathfinder book, *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*, has already sold out, with many copies being purchased by area antiwar activists.

At the May 11 rally celebrating the opening of the new bookstore, close to \$700 was pledged to the Socialist Publication Fund by supporters in North Carolina.

Correction

An error appeared in the text of a Pathfinder Press advertisement on page 2 of last week's *Militant*. A corrected version of the ad appears below.

SOUTH AFRICA

White Rule, Black Revolt

by Ernest Harsch

352 pp. \$7.95
Order from Pathfinder Press
410 West St.,
New York, NY 10014

Include .75 for postage and handling

Florida abortion-clinic bombers sentenced

BY PAT SILVERTHORN

MIAMI — On May 30 four convicted abortion clinic bombers in Pensacola, Florida, were given very lenient sentences. The supporters of the clinic bombers were elated with the judge's decision saying, "prayer works."

In April a jury had convicted the two men and two women of the 1984 Christmas Day bombing that destroyed three abortion clinics and women's health centers in Pensacola. The jury convicted the men on seven counts, including possession of bombs and conspiracy. The two women

were found guilty on conspiracy charges. Their convictions were a victory for supporters of abortion rights.

The judge in the case could have sentenced the two men to a maximum of 65 years in prison. Instead he handed down minimal sentences in all four cases, saying he had "agonized over the decision until well after midnight."

Both men, whose defense during the trial was that god had told them to blow the clinics up, were given minimum 10 year sentences. But they will be eligible for parole in 30 months. The judge recom-

mended they serve their sentences at a minimum-security prison for white-collar criminals, referred to as a country club prison. They were ordered to pay \$353,073 each to two doctors whose offices were destroyed in the bombings. They must pay the absurd amount of \$100 a month! The two women were given five-year paroles and ordered to pay \$2,000 each in restitution at \$50 a month.

Sharon Zalkin, administrator of the Ladies' Center, which was destroyed by the Christmas Day attack, said, "It's a minimal sentence for a maximum crime."

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That way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from El Salvador and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the United States. Read our proposals on how to stop the bipartisan U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and the employer offensive here. Read our ideas on what it will take to replace this system of exploitation, racism, and sexism with a system that's in the interest of working people.

At the plant gates, picket lines, and unemployment lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the

news, participating in the struggle. To subscribe today, fill out the attached coupon.

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Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014



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CISPES holds national convention

BY MARGARET JAYKO

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Five hundred people, mostly young, met here May 25-27 to attend the first national convention of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES), which was founded in 1980. Participants represented about 100 different local solidarity committees from across the country.

Also attending were several representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic

Front (FMLN-FDR) of El Salvador, as well as some anti-apartheid and peace activists.

The first day of the convention, Saturday, was a public conference on Central America at American University.

The plenaries and discussions on Sunday and Monday to discuss and vote on perspectives for CISPES and to elect a national leadership were only open to members of CISPES chapters and committees affiliated to CISPES.

Angela Sanbrano, Southwest regional coordinator; Michael Lent, Northwest regional coordinator; and Mary Ann Buckley, organizational development coordinator, were the three national officers elected by the convention.

Solidarity messages

The convention received solidarity messages from the Committee of Political Prisoners of El Salvador; the Constitutional Committee for the Salvadoran Women's Federation, which encompasses five Salvadoran women's groups; the FMLN's two radio stations, Radio Venceremos and Radio Farabundo Martí; the General Association of Salvadoran University Students; the New York-based FDR Solidarity Information Office; the FMLN-FDR Political Diplomatic Commission; and Guillermo Ungo, FDR president.

Washington, D.C., City Council member Hilda Mason told the conference that the U.S. government's intervention in Central America has a serious impact on this city's residents, a majority of whom are Blacks and immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa. Citizens and non-citizens alike, said Mason, will be important allies in the battle against intervention.

"Some people say that Blacks and other working people are too concerned with sheer survival to struggle around Central America. But nothing could be further from the truth," she declared. In Washington, Blacks are involved in the fight against apartheid in South Africa and are getting involved in the struggle around Central America, she said, pointing to Black involvement in the April 20 antiwar march as an example.

Mason concluded by putting forward her view of what kind of movement fighters against war, racism, and sexism should build; she called for "a movement like Rev. Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition."

Nicaragua: 'big hope, great example'

Also speaking were representatives of the revolutionary movements in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

Luis Méndez, the counselor of the Nicaraguan embassy here, told participants that Nicaragua is a "big hope and great example" for all countries dominated by imperialism. Despite a "difficult six years" since its July 1979 revolution, Nicaragua has been able "to maintain our position of standing tall," said Méndez.

Rigoberta Menchú, a Guatemalan Indian, spoke for the United Guatemalan Opposition. "The people of Guatemala are also present in the war in Central America," she said. The liberation struggle there is hard, Menchú pointed out. "You people are the hope that the curtain of silence that surrounds our country can be lifted."

"Central America faces the greatest challenge of its history," FMLN-FDR representative Sonia Baires told the conference, referring to "the defeat of North American intervention" in order to win national liberation.

Baires described El Salvador's Duarte regime as the "new face" Washington has given the same old military dictatorship. She also described U.S. imperialism's attempts to divide El Salvador's resurgent labor movement, and the assassinations and kidnappings of labor leaders.

Recent reports in the U.S. media that the Salvadoran army is winning the war against the FMLN are not true, Baires said. Even with the sophisticated weaponry provided by Washington, the Salvadoran army has not been able to "claim any great victory."

Baires invited everyone to go to El Salvador to see the reality of the war for themselves.

Following this morning plenary, two sets of workshops were held which covered such topics as deportations of Central American refugees; government and right-wing harassment of solidarity activists; union opposition to U.S. intervention; and lessons of the anti-Vietnam War movement.

May Day in El Salvador

At the panel discussion on El Salvador, FMLN-FDR representative Felix Kury explained that given the increased size and fire-power of the army, the FMLN has had to adapt its military strategy. The FMLN "has a presence" in 12 of the country's 14 provinces, he reported. Like many other speakers at the conference, Kury pointed to the significance of this year's May Day march in San Salvador. More than 15,000 workers — many of them currently on strike — and peasants marched and rallied. This was more than three times the size of May Day last year.

Secundino Ramírez spoke on behalf of the El Salvador Human Rights Commission, which is independent of the government. He pointed out that while fewer people are being killed by death squads than in previous years, "the conflict has deepened." One out of every four Salvadoran citizens has become a refugee, with 10 percent of the country's people living in the United States, where "we don't enjoy many rights," Ramírez pointed out.

The workshop on labor opposition to U.S. intervention was addressed by Francisco Acosta from FENASTRAS, a union federation that represents 89,000 Salvadoran workers.

The two dozen participants discussed the openings that exist today to mobilize the union movement against U.S. aggression in Central America, with several people

Continued on Page 15



Militant/Duane Stilwell

CISPES placards at Washington, D.C., April 20 march.

N.Y. hotel workers strike

NEW YORK — After 14 months of fruitless contract talks, 14,000 bellhops, housekeepers, reservation clerks, bartenders, and other employees struck 45 of midtown Manhattan's largest hotels June 2. (Workers at three other hotels were later locked out by management.)

This is the city's first major hotel strike in nearly a half century. It comes at the start of the city's summer tourist season — a \$2 billion-a-year industry.

Strikers carried placards proclaiming, "No contract, no work," and shouted other slogans.

The Hotel and Motel Trades Council, a coalition of nine unions representing 25,000 workers at 165 hotels in the five boroughs of New York City, is asking for a wage increase of 9 percent in each year of a four-year contract. (This was later lowered to 7 percent.) The hotel bosses are offering annual raises of 4 percent and flat weekly increases of \$14.50 in each succeeding year. Workers average only \$315 a week

— many much less.

The employers are also demanding a two-tier wage system under which future employees would be paid less than current ones, the combination of several job classifications, extension of the probation period for new hires, and workers for the first time paying into benefit funds.

Militant picket lines have been set up at the 45 struck hotels. The workers — largely Black, Latino, and female — are receiving some solidarity from other working people. Teamsters who make deliveries and carters who pick up garbage have pledged to honor picket lines. Many taxicab drivers are refusing to pick up or drop off passengers outside the struck hotels.

The bosses have pledged to keep the hotels opened. So far 4,000 scabs have been hired to aid management's union-busting.

Manhattan meeting to boost fund

BY PAT GROGAN

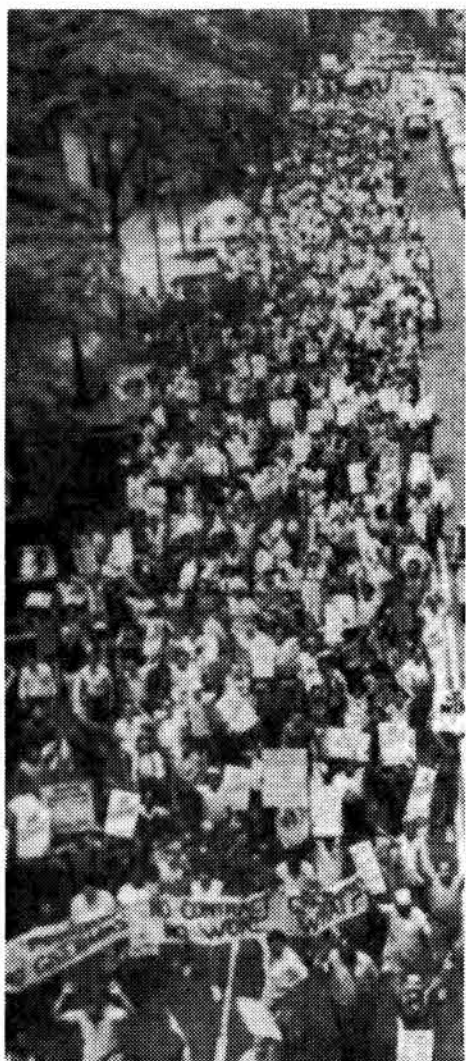
As the leaflet for a June 8 Socialist Publication Fund benefit in New York City explains, the fund "will help Pathfinder Press, the *Militant* newsweekly, *Intercontinental Press*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* to continue and expand their unique documentation and on-the-spot coverage of the living revolutions of today — in Central America, the Caribbean, and Africa. The fund needs your help!"

The benefit is a celebration of the publication of *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution* and an opportunity to give a final boost to the fund-raising effort in the last week of the drive.

Among the speakers will be Grenadian historian Joachim Mark, María Meneses of Casa Nicaragua, and Margaret Jayko, managing editor of the *Militant*.

A number of cities have organized rallies or informal get-togethers to raise money for the fund. Many of them concentrated on the role of socialist books like *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, *South Africa: White Rule*, *Black Revolt* — which was written by *Intercontinental Press* managing editor Ernest Harsch — as well as the new Nicaragua book and the socialist press.

In addition to being excellent educational meetings, these activities have been important opportunities to draw on the broad appreciation for our socialist publications by the many supporters of the Nicaraguan, Grenadian, and Cuban revolutions, as well as antiwar and anti-apartheid fighters. The socialist publications provide invaluable coverage and analysis that are deeply appreciated and utilized by many



Striking hotel workers march on 42nd St.

activists, who are happy to have an opportunity to contribute to the financial effort that makes them possible and to help promote them.

There is just one week left in the fund drive. We know from the generous pledges to the drive that our supporters are inspired by the socialist publications and the response to them. We are making an appeal to everyone who has made a pledge to make a special effort to pay it on time. (See editorial on page 14.)

In the March 22 issue of the *Militant*, we launched the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$75,000 by June 15.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* and other socialist publication projects.

Checks should be made out to: Socialist Publication Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution to the Socialist Publication Fund of \$ _____

I pledge a contribution of \$ _____ to the Socialist Publication Fund to be paid by _____.

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\$75,000

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Rivera breaks off peace talks with FSLN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In late May, the armed Miskito group MISURASATA unilaterally broke off peace talks with the Nicaraguan government.

Led by Brooklyn Rivera, MISURASATA has carried out military attacks on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast for several years, as part of the war being waged by counterrevolutionary mercenaries organized, financed, and supplied by Washington. Last December, MISURASATA began cease-fire talks with Nicaraguan authorities.

Luis Carrión, Nicaragua's vice minister of the interior and chief negotiator in the talks with Rivera, spoke with reporters May 27 on his return from Bogotá, Colombia, where the negotiations were held. He said Rivera's action in breaking off the talks "objectively only benefits the aggressive policy of the U.S. government, to the serious detriment of the Nicaraguan people, who are the victims of that policy."

Mexico accord violated

In April, the Nicaraguan government and MISURASATA signed a joint accord in Mexico, which included an agreement to end "armed offensive actions" against one another.

At a breakfast with foreign correspondents here May 29, Carrión said MISURASATA had carried out several violations of the accord, in particular by attempting to militarily seize the Atlantic Coast city of Bluefields on May 16. The attack was repelled. (See May 31 *Militant*).

"The Bluefields attack was carried out by MISURASATA, according to their own words," said Carrión. "This attack was a shameless and flagrant violation of the Mexico accord. Yet they give no satisfactory explanation. Instead, showing a total lack of seriousness, they say it was a trap by the Nicaraguan Ministry of the Interior to draw them into the city of Bluefields and then deliver them blows."

"In other words, they signed the agreement, attacked the city of Bluefields, and then placed the blame on our government. It's incredible."

For its part, the Nicaraguan government has fulfilled its obligations under the Mexico accord, including granting an immediate amnesty to all Indians and Blacks imprisoned for counterrevolutionary activities and refraining from offensive military operations against MISURASATA.

Carrión said that Rivera has demanded the withdrawal of all Sandinista troops from large parts of the Atlantic Coast as a condition for MISURASATA living up to the Mexico accord. Carrión said this demand lacked any sense of "political and military reality."

MISURASATA also announced it would only be willing to resume talks if the Nicaraguan government "accepts the position that foreign organizations and the Nicaraguan Conference of Bishops act as intermediaries," said Carrión. Among the intermediaries MISURASATA insists on is the human rights commission of the Organization of American States.

The Nicaraguan government flatly rejected this precondition. Carrión explained, "because it is gravely damaging to Nicaragua's national sovereignty."

Rivera blames Nicaragua

Rivera has charged that the breakdown in the peace talks is the fault of the Nicaraguan government. He claims that the appointment of Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge as the government leader overall responsible for the Atlantic Coast signifies important policy changes. The breakdown in talks "is the direct result of the fact that hard-liners are now in charge of the entire region, led by Tomás Borge himself," Rivera said in an interview from Costa Rica.

Carrión answered Rivera's charges, explaining that "the policy of the revolution, of the Sandinista Front, and of the government has not been modified in any way." He explained that Borge had just assumed his new responsibilities a few days earlier. Carrión himself has been reassigned to take charge of regions 1 and 6, which include northern provinces in the Pacific half of the country, where U.S.-funded mercenaries, called *contras*, are also active.

Carrión said that despite Rivera's walk-out from talks with Nicaragua, "the positions of both sides have been coming closer" during the negotiations.

"Basically Rivera's position could be summarized as follows," said Carrión. "That [the Indians] be recognized as indigenous peoples. That their right to a territory be recognized. That their right to the natural resources of that territory, including fishing and mineral rights, be recognized. That their right to cultural, political, social, and economic self-determination be recognized."

Carrión said the Nicaraguan government had "no problem" recognizing the Miskitos and other Indian groups as indigenous peoples.

He also said the government is conscious of the legitimate concerns these national groups have of losing their land. To alleviate this problem the government is already granting legal title over traditional land, including rivers and forests, to Indian communities.

He said the government believes that the nationalization of mineral rights, one of the first acts of the revolutionary government when it came to power in 1979, is an important conquest that must be preserved.

Nevertheless, the government is willing to set up special procedures for the exploitation of resources found on Indian communal lands. These include participation by community leaders in deciding such projects and the granting of a percentage of the profits to the community.

"What we are still not convinced of is including in a document, which is to be signed in a foreign country, the phrase



Militant/José G. Pérez
FSLN leader Luis Carrión said breaking off of talks objectively benefited U.S. aggression.

about 'cultural, social, political, and economic self-determination,'" said Carrión.

"These are strong words, and if one joins them with a territory, then the next step is to demand independence."

The Sandinista leaders say that the demand for independence was never raised by Miskitos or other oppressed groups on the Atlantic Coast during the rule of the capitalist-landlord regime headed by Anas-

tasio Somoza. It has been raised only since the workers and peasants overthrew Somoza and established their own government here. The raising of this demand coincides with military attempts by Washington's *contras* to separate the Atlantic Coast from the Pacific region of the country.

Sandinistas' proposals

Carrión said the Nicaraguan government proposes that what be guaranteed is "the free development of the social and productive forms of organization of the communities."

For example, he explained, Miskitos will be free "to maintain their communal forms of production. The same is true of their social traditions, of their social and cultural organization, and of the forms through which they want to be represented. We have no problem with that. We think that's the way it should be."

Carrión stated that the Nicaraguan government is willing to renew discussions with MISURASATA as soon as Rivera requests it, despite the group's walkout and provocative armed attacks. Carrión said that Nicaragua will also "continue to unilaterally respect the Mexico agreements in relation to all MISURASATA groups, or other indigenous groups who want to adhere to these agreements."

He predicted that MISURASATA as a whole won't necessarily go along with Rivera's decision to break off the talks. Tomás Borge announced May 29 that some MISURASATA detachments had already made agreements with the Nicaraguan government.

Miskitos will return to Río Coco region

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government has announced a major step toward consolidating the Sandinista revolution in the Atlantic Coast half of the country.

Starting in July, Miskito Indians will be able to begin returning to their ancestral homeland on the banks of the Río Coco, the river that marks the boundary between Honduras and Nicaragua.

In 1982 the Nicaraguan government moved the Indians from this river when the area became a major target of U.S.-sponsored and financed attacks by counterrevolutionaries, called *contras*. Many Miskitos opposed being moved. The demand for the right to return to the Río Coco is deeply felt in Miskito resettlement camps and has been voiced at gatherings of the prorevolutionary Miskito group, MISATAN.

The announcement that the Indians can now return to the river was made in a May 29 speech by Nicaragua's minister of the interior, Tomás Borge. He was recently as-

signed overall responsibility for the Atlantic Coast region by the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Borge delivered his speech in the Miskito language, addressing a rally of several hundred people in Puerto Cabezas, the main town on the northern half of the Atlantic Coast. Excerpts from the speech — along with translation into Spanish — were broadcast on national television three days later.

Borge explained that the 1982 removal of several thousand Miskito and Sumo Indians from the Río Coco "was not due to our desires, but to the criminal imperialist aggression."

"It was difficult to abandon the Río Coco," he said. "It was like a bird abandoning its nest. But it was necessary to save the lives of our Miskito and Sumo brothers."

Borge noted that some Miskito families had not wanted to move to Tasba Pri, a settlement for relocated Indians that the gov-

ernment established well away from the Honduran border. "They did not believe the aggression took place and they went to Honduras. Many of those who went to Honduras fell into the hands of the counterrevolutionaries."

"Thus the Miskito family was divided; just like a bolt of lightning that splits a tree."

"At first," Borge continued, "life in Tasba Pri was difficult. Even the indispensable things were lacking. Moreover, people dreamed of the Río Coco. . . . The people wanted to boat on the river and eat fish."

"Isn't it so, brothers?" Borge asked, to shouts of affirmation from the crowd.

The Sandinista leader explained that despite the government's intention of protecting the Miskito people, "we have made errors. And now that we know the desires of the people, and to satisfy the demands of the people, the Sandinista Front has decided that all the communities can return to the Río Coco," he said.

He also announced that the Nicaraguan government was calling on the national and local commissions drafting a plan for local government autonomy on the Atlantic Coast to speed up their work.

Borge also reported that the government had decided to suspend the use of mandatory identity cards and travel permits in the Atlantic Coast region. Neither cards nor travel permits are required in any other part of Nicaragua.

Borge said the return of Miskitos to the Río Coco would be strictly voluntary. "Those who want to return, let them return. Those who want to stay, let them stay."

He explained that the government would provide aid and support to the communities in reestablishing themselves on the river banks. "The return will be gradual, planned, and orderly," he said, "and it should be led by the communities" themselves.

The first Miskitos to return — beginning in the month of July — will be those from the community of Waspán.

Luis Carrión, vice-minister of the interior, told reporters in Managua that Waspán, only a stone's throw from Honduras, had been chosen because that area has been clear of *contra* activity for some time. Also, a road leading to the town from Puerto Cabezas will facilitate supplying and defending the returned residents.

Waspán was the largest Río Coco community before the 1982 evacuation, with some 8,000 inhabitants.

Indian music festival held

BY ELLEN KRATKA

PUERTO CABEZAS, Nicaragua — An international indigenous music festival was held in this Atlantic Coast port city the weekend of April 20-21, organized by the Miskito Indian organization MISATAN, which supports the Nicaraguan revolution.

The festival brought together more than a dozen dancing, singing, and instrumental groups representing indigenous peoples from towns and settlements up and down the Atlantic Coast. Indians living in the Nicaraguan communities of Monimbó and Subtiava on the Pacific side of the country and in the mountainous Matagalpa region participated, as did Caribbean Black groups. Two American Indian Movement members from California gave greetings and performed.

One theme of the festival was ending the war against Nicaragua by mercenary forces armed and supplied by the U.S. government. Banners proclaimed, "The sacred blood of the indigenous people demands peace."

At a press conference in the capital city of Managua a few days before, MISATAN leader Jorge Dixon explained that due to the war, Miskito families have been divided, with members living in Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica. One of MIS-

ATAN's central demands is for reunification of Miskito families. "Through this festival we want those in attendance to become spokespeople for our proposals."

Dixon noted that the festival was an important opportunity for "people from around the world to get to know our cultural reality close up."

Rufino Lucas, MISATAN's secretary for legal and juridical affairs, said the festival organizers hoped, on the basis of a revived cultural identity, that Miskitos could "unite in brotherhood with other groups on the Coast."

Leocayo González, a cultural promoter for MISATAN, told the *Militant*, "Before, the indigenous was hidden." With the help of MISATAN, Miskito culture "is being reborn."

Fornes Rabonias, national coordinator of MISATAN, gave the opening speech to the festival. He pointed out this was an historic event. Through the revolutionary government in Nicaragua, he said, the Miskito people had won the right to organize themselves.

The festival was also addressed by José David Zúñiga, the regional political secretary of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Phila: 200 protest racist cop bombing

BY DOUG COOPER

PHILADELPHIA — Despite a continuing campaign of cop violence and terror directed against the Black and Puerto Rican communities (see story on page 16), nearly 200 people rallied at City Hall on May 30 to protest the May 13 government-cop bombing of a MOVE house in West Philadelphia that killed 11 people, including four children, and destroyed 61 homes.

The protest began with a march from Progress Plaza in North Philadelphia. Marchers carried 11 mock coffins. The lead banner read, "Osage was an outrage. Justice not bombs." (Osage Ave. is where the MOVE house was located.) Many signs protested the use of a bomb by the cops and demanded an end to racist violence and cop terror. One sign said, "Defend MOVE's right to exist. Who's next?"

The marchers chanted "No more bombings!" and "What do we want? Justice! When do we want it? Now!"

The march and rally were sponsored by the Citizens Committee for Humanity and Justice, a coalition of groups and individuals formed on May 17. The Citizens Committee is one of several coalitions that have been formed in response to the May 13 murderous attack. In the course of building the protest, supporters of the Citizens Committee found that a large majority in the Black community oppose the government-cop attack against MOVE.

The City Hall rally was opened by Lenore Friedlander, a spokesperson for the Citizens Committee. She read the group's demands, which included suspending without pay the city's managing director, police commissioner, and fire commissioner; and the establishment of an independent citizens commission to investigate what took place on May 13.

Chauncey Campbell, an executive board member of the NAACP, also spoke. He described how his attempts to negotiate between MOVE and the city government were thwarted by the mayor and the cops.

Many speakers denounced the commission appointed by Democratic mayor W. Wilson Goode to investigate the events of May 13. The commission includes M. Todd Cooke, chairman of PSFS, Philadelphia's largest bank; Neil Welch, former special agent in charge of the FBI's

Philadelphia office in the mid-1970s; and Henry Ruth, Jr., a lawyer whose most recent case was defending the General Electric Co. from charges that it criminally defrauded the U.S. government.

Rev. C. Hamilton Robinson of the Philadelphia Investigation Coalition declared, "Everyone has a right to live. . . . Someone needs to go to jail for this. It was murder. . . ." Harry Lore, a well-known lawyer, described the long history of cop-government violence against Black organizations in Philadelphia, such as the Black Panther Party.

Louise Hannibal of Citizens in Action, a Black community organization, explained the history of cop harassment of MOVE members, including the 1978 cop raid on a MOVE home. This led to the conviction of nine MOVE members on murder charges.

Stanley Branch of Citizens Concerned with Civil Liberties called for a grand-jury investigation of the murders. He reminded the crowd that Mayor Goode had promised "to do it again and again" if necessary.

Sonia Sánchez, the well-known Black activist and poet, said, "It's not just about



Militant

Protest demanded independent committee to investigate cop bombing of Black community

Goode, it's about the businesses . . . it's not the man, it's the system" that is responsible.

A statement by Jerry Africa, a spokesperson for MOVE, was read by Leona Smith, director of a shelter for the homeless. In the statement Africa said, "If this situation is allowed to go unaddressed . . . they will use this as a precedent. They will not only use a bomb, they will use stronger measures to silence free speech." After

reading the message, Smith commented, "The mayor calls us all radicals. Well, he might as well bomb my church, because I am a radical."

The Citizens Committee for Humanity and Justice is planning further activities to protest the bombing and cover-up. The next meeting will be on June 11 at 7:30 p.m. at Calvary United Methodist Church, 48 and Baltimore Ave. in West Philadelphia.

Rally hits right-wing, racist attacks

BY JIM BLACK

ATLANTA — Political activists rallied here May 19 to protest attacks against Atlanta socialists and the recent murderous assault against Philadelphia's Black community.

The spirited rally was chaired by Joan Levitt, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 365. Levitt explained that on the night of May 12, an unknown assailant fired a single bullet through the front door of the Atlanta socialists' bookstore.

The bookstore is also the headquarters for Sara Jean Johnston, SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta and a member of ACTWU Local 365. Johnston has received several letters of harassment. Just days before the office was shot at, her campaign received threatening phone calls. To date no one has claimed responsibility for the

phone calls, letters, or shooting of the bookstore.

Levitt explained how campaign supporters immediately reached out to gather support for Johnston's democratic right to run a campaign without intimidation and violence directed against her. A number of individuals and organizations sent letters of protest to Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and Georgia Gov. Joe Frank Harris. A protest statement was also signed by: the Atlanta Rainbow Coalition; Heather Gray, National Jobs with Peace; Helen Schiff and Rick Congress, Atlantans Concerned about Latin America; Dianne Mathiowitz, All People's Congress; Gloria Gaines, Georgia Coalition on Divestment in Southern Africa; Margaret Roach, Atlanta Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace; John Michael, Georgians Against Nuclear Energy; and Martha Gaines, past-president of the Georgia American Civil Liberties Union.

Levitt explained that Johnston and her supporters attended the May 14 meeting of the Atlanta City Council's Public Safety Committee. At the meeting, Johnston demanded that the police department carry out a serious investigation to apprehend the attackers. Council members Carolyn Long Banks and Thomas Cuffie signed statements sent to the mayor and governor protesting the attack.

Speaking at the rally were Tandi Gcabashe of the African National Congress of South Africa, Gary Washington of the Graphic Communications Union, and Colleen Littlejohn of Atlantans Concerned about Latin America. SWP mayoral candidate Johnston also spoke.

Addressing the murderous cop attack on the Black community of Philadelphia, Ardy Blandford, cochair of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) said, "I'm happy to be here in solidarity with the SWP in defense of the bookstore and in solidarity with the brothers and sisters of Philadelphia." She announced that Atlanta NBIPP will hold a June 8 speakout on cop terror in Philadelphia.

The rally sent a protest telegram to Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode demanding that the cops and city officials responsible be brought to justice.

Atlanta socialists made a special effort to distribute the *Militant* that explained the facts about the Philadelphia cop bombing. Two hundred and seventy-four copies of the May 24 issue were sold.

On Saturday, May 18, socialists talked to hundreds of people at shopping centers, bus and train stations, political meetings, and working-class neighborhoods. *Militant* salespeople went to area auto, steel, and garment plants. Big discussions are occurring inside these workplaces about the government atrocity in Philadelphia.

U.S.-backed 'contras' suffer heavy losses

BY BILL GREYTER

SAN RAMON, Nicaragua — In recent months, Nicaraguan troops have inflicted heavy losses on the mercenary forces armed and organized by the U.S. government. Some 1,200 of the counterrevolutionaries have been killed since the beginning of the year, according to Humberto Ortega, Nicaragua's minister of defense and commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

To a large extent, he said, the Sandinista soldiers have succeeded in pushing the mercenaries out of Nicaraguan territory:

"Since the mercenaries' plans to establish large military units within the country have failed; since their plans to capture territory have failed, and their plans to take major cities have failed; since in the first five months of this year 1,200 mercenaries have died facing the advance of our troops; they have no choice but to flee to the bases they maintain in Honduras and parts of Costa Rica."

Ortega spoke here May 18 at a military camp in the mountains north of Estelí. The occasion marked the 90th anniversary of the birth of August César Sandino, the national hero who defended Nicaraguan independence against U.S. intervention in the 1920s and 1930s. Six hundred new draftees were sworn in to complete their military service.

Ortega warned that Nicaragua's military advances do not mean an end to U.S.-sponsored attacks by the counterrevolutionaries, called *contras* here. He said it must be expected that the mercenary forces will continue to infiltrate Nicaragua and stage raids and ambushes both along the borders and in the interior.

As an example, Ortega cited the recent contra attack on the Atlantic Coast city of

Bluefields. The assault was an utter failure: "The attackers were resolutely driven off by the Blacks, by the mulattos, by the people of our Atlantic Coast."

Analyzing the motives for this "adventure," Ortega said, "The CIA needs propaganda actions. To justify the millions and millions of dollars in aid to these mercenary forces, they have no choice but to carry out adventurist, propaganda actions, even disregarding the fate of their own mercenary forces, who are being annihilated. The object is to confuse public opinion in the United States and justify their policy of aggression against Nicaragua."

Ortega drew particular attention to the danger of confrontations on the Nicaragua-Honduras border. He acknowledged that there have been exchanges of artillery fire in recent weeks, but insisted that Nicaragua could never give up the right to defend its own borders.

He detailed four separate, diplomatic initiatives that the Nicaraguan government has taken to reduce tension on the Honduran border:

- Nicaragua has proposed that the nations of the Contadora group — Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela — establish a commission to oversee the Nicaragua-Honduras border. On the Nicaraguan side, Ortega said, they will find thousands of Nicaraguan soldiers. On the Honduran side, they will find thousands of counter-revolutionary mercenaries from various countries attacking Nicaragua with weapons, airfields, and supplies from the CIA, trained by U.S. advisers, and acting with the complicity of the Honduran military. Honduras has so far refused to accept such a commission.
- Second, Ortega reiterated the Nicaraguan government's proposal to hold talks

directly with Honduran officials. He expressed his own willingness, as commander in chief of the armed forces, to meet with the highest ranking Honduran officers.

- Third, Ortega recalled that Nicaragua had recently sent back 100 Cuban military advisers, while retaining its right "to have any kind of adviser; educational, cultural, or military, from any country." He described the return of the Cubans as "an effort to reduce tension."

- Finally, he mentioned that the Sandinistas continue to offer amnesty to all those who wish to leave the counterrevolution.

Continued on Page 12

FDR leader hits Duarte's U.S. visit

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Guillermo Ungo, head of the Salvadoran rebel coalition, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), called Pres. José Napoleón Duarte's recent visit to Washington, D.C., "The visit by a pupil who is going to give an accounting of himself to his teacher."

Speaking to reporters here May 22, Ungo denounced Duarte for refusing to renew talks with the FDR and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

Twice in recent weeks the Salvadoran liberation forces have proposed to the government concrete dates and places for holding the third round of negotiations. Duarte has rejected these proposals.

Instead, Duarte has demanded that the liberation forces — which control one-third of the country and are disputing con-

trol of more than half the national territory — should lay down their weapons as a precondition for talks.

Asked about the recently announced economic embargo of Nicaragua, Ungo denounced it as "an aggression, an act of war" that has been "internationally disapproved of."

"Duarte has been the only head of government to publicly support the blockade," Ungo noted. "Not even Pinochet — the Chilean butcher — has dared to support it, at least openly."

Ungo was in Managua for a two-day visit to meet with Commander of the Revolution Bayardo Arce and other officials of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in preparation for a Latin American meeting of the Socialist (Second) International to be held in Argentina beginning May 28. Ungo is a vice-president for Latin America of the Socialist International.

YSA discusses fight against war, apartheid

Continued from front page

has participated in farm-foreclosure actions throughout the area. They have been able to do so more effectively as union activists.

Embattled farmers, she said, definitely see the need for an alliance with the organized-labor movement and are very open to new ideas. "They are questioning every aspect of this society," she said.

At a farm protest in Ames, Iowa, she said, many copies of the *Militant* were sold. One of the things that induced people to buy the issue was an article about the gains being won by farmers in revolutionary Nicaragua.

Rutgers sit-in

Don, a Newark YSA delegate, discussed the fruitful way the chapter has related to the anti-apartheid fight at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, where students staged a lengthy sit-in on the issue, and at other area campuses.

They found interest in political ideas very high at Rutgers. In three visits there, 100 copies of the *Militant* were sold. "The hardest thing in the selling," Don said, "was to stop talking to one person and get on to the next."

One night they took a projector to the campus, and a recent visitor to Nicaragua presented slides of the trip for sit-in participants.

From St. Louis, Marea reported that every member of the YSA there has participated in the farm protests. Their experience was that they not only could attract farmers to the antiwar movement, but also that antiwar activists learned the importance of supporting the fight of working farmers.

Ken, a Houston delegate, spoke of the contribution of the local chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and the Free South Africa coalition in building the successful April 20 antiwar protest there.

The point was emphasized by Greg of Los Angeles. When Black YSAers became involved in the local Free South Africa movement, they found that its leadership consisted mainly of procapitalist elected officials who are Black. These officials did not respond very positively to the idea that the anti-apartheid forces should participate in and help build the April 20 coalition, but the membership responded very positively. The result was that the Free South Africa forces built a contingent of 350 in the April 20 demonstration.

War and women's rights

Miami delegate Pat added that feminist activists were also increasingly open to the antiwar issue as the result of the mounting attack on abortion and other women's rights. This is true, she said, among Miami NOW members who had previously shied away from the issue. At one NOW meeting, a recent visitor to Nicaragua was invited to show slides of her trip, and this was followed by an extensive discussion.

The connection is becoming increasingly clear for many women, Pat observed. "They see a story on a bombing of an abortion clinic on one side of the front page, and the war on the other."

Hank from Cleveland noted that the YSA had worked effectively in a number of cities in building youth task forces for April 20. In this ongoing antiwar activity, he stressed, it's important to take the time for political discussion. Many of the young people who become involved want to learn more about the Nicaraguan revolution itself, and YSA members are in a particularly good position on this — especially since such a good number of them have visited Nicaragua.

From Greensboro, North Carolina, Meryl reported that an encouraging number of new activists had been involved in building the April 20 coalition, particularly Black students in the anti-apartheid fight.

Jackie Floyd of the YSA national staff stressed the importance of promoting cooperation between the various Central American solidarity groups and the labor movement and Black organizations.

Lisa of Seattle said that in the coalition there, some were reluctant to accept the idea that labor participants should lead off the march. But nearly 20 striking Alaska Airlines workers were at the front of the march and got a fine reception.

Francisco, a Los Angeles garment worker, described the growing receptivity to antiwar and socialist ideas among Latino workers and students. He described the outraged reaction to the racist police bombing of the MOVE home in Philadelphia. One striking garment union member angrily said, "What you say is true. There is a war here, too!"

Francisco also noted that students active in the campus Chicano organization MeCHA, at the University of California, Los Angeles, were beginning to visit the socialist bookstore, and that this was obviously related to the rise in campus activity.

"We must go to these campuses and aggressively win student activists to the YSA," he said.

GM workers back demo

Another delegate, Kathy of Dallas, told how 80 GM workers had signed a petition calling on their United Auto Workers local to send a delegation to the April 20 antiwar march in Houston. At the union meeting, officials successfully opposed approval, but several coworkers joined the socialists at the plant in the trip to Houston.

As in Houston, she reported, NBIPP and Free South Africa activists were involved in building the antiwar action.

This was also true in Atlanta, reported Kevin. NBIPP played a leading role in the April 20 coalition and divestment activists from Georgia State University were involved.

Rich, a delegate from Miami, pointed to

will give them."

The full text of this speech is exclusively available in the forthcoming June 24 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

The current issue of *IP* includes the second half of Cuban Pres. Fidel Castro's speech to the Federation of Cuban Women.

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Militant/Bob Allen

Participants in 24th national convention of Young Socialist Alliance

the opportunity for discussions with supporters of other radical political tendencies resulting from antiwar activity.

The long bus ride to Washington provided one such opportunity. He said the YSA members were able to bring eight people from the bus to the socialist open house after the march. One of these, he said, was a young Black supporter of the Young Communist League. Afterward, she invited the YSA to participate in a discussion with a group of 50 young people

involved in the fight for lesbian and gay rights.

Mark, a Pittsburgh steelworker, said he had been able to give a presentation on April 20 at his local union meeting, and the union posted leaflets announcing the action.

He pointed to the endorsement of April 20 by his international union. This was the first time that the Steelworkers had endorsed an antiwar action.

Continued on Page 13

'We will not be driven out!'

The Young Socialist Alliance convention voted to step up the nationwide campaign to rally support for socialists in San Jose, California, who have been targeted by right-wing thugs.

The thugs attacked the socialist bookstore and several meetings held there marking the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. Similar unsuccessful attacks were made on like meetings in San Francisco and Oakland.

The declared aim of the San Jose attacks is to shut down the bookstore and drive the socialists out of town. Countering this, support is being solicited in the area and nationwide demanding that San Jose officials defend the democratic rights of the socialists and all others who want to express their views on U.S. foreign policy.

In the convention discussion, delegate Georges from Oakland, California, pointed out that in San Jose there is a reported Vietnamese population of 60,000. The attack on the SWP and YSA, he said, was intended not only to shut up the socialists on this issue, but to stop discussion within the Vietnamese community itself. The right-wing goons, he said, are a small minority

in the Vietnamese community.

In addition to defending their democratic rights, Georges continued, the socialists are responding to the attack by increasing their political presence in the area. "That means more sales of our press, keeping the bookstore open more hours, holding more meetings on Vietnam," he declared.

Marilee, a delegate from San Francisco, explained that the aim of the thugs was not to present a point of view, but to physically stop the socialists from functioning. In this, she emphasized, they have the sympathy of the cops.

The thugs, she said, had been using well-amplified electronic bullhorns. When the socialists responded with their own amplifying system, "the cops tried to silence us, not them."

Miguel from Oakland, California, who works in the big FMC military production plant in San Jose, reported that the extensive media publicity on the right-wing Vietnamese attacks had generated a lot of discussion among his coworkers.

He said that while working inside a tank under construction, he heard a Chicano coworker outside ask a Vietnamese worker what the confrontation had been about. The Vietnamese had answered that the socialists had provoked it by celebrating Ho Chi Minh's birthday. Miguel popped his head out of the tank and responded, "That's not true," and proceeded to explain what the facts actually were. As a result of the ensuing discussion, one coworker came to a YSA class, and another bought some literature to read.

Later, the Vietnamese coworker confided to Miguel that he knew that those involved in the attack also preyed on members of the Vietnamese community, shaking them down for contributions for their "political activity."

Tom, a delegate from San Jose, pointed out that the socialists would have been weaker in fighting back against the goon attacks if they had not been immersed in the local antiwar coalition. Many of the forces in the coalition came to the defense of the socialists. At the same time, he added, the resolute fightback against the right-wingers added to the authority of the SWP and YSA members in the antiwar coalition.

The stand of the YSA convention on the San Jose fight was summed up by Peter Thierjung, YSA national secretary, who declared that it must be a top priority to get organizations and individuals to send messages to the mayor of San Jose.

He vowed, "We will not be driven out."

'IP' prints Sandinista's speech on defense

"The Sandinista Defense Committees are one of the broadest and largest and perhaps the most important form of people's organization," said Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge April 26 at a rally to mark the fourth anniversary of "revolutionary vigilance," a system of neighborhood patrols aimed at preventing sabotage.

Borge explained that, no less than the Sandinista People's Army, the CDSs are involved in the war against the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolution.

He recounted the bloody biographies of all the main *contra* leaders, rejecting Washington's demand that Nicaragua negotiate with these murderers.

Despite the voting down of some U.S. aid to the *contras*, he noted, "the war continues. The counter-revolutionaries will not lack money."

"They are preparing to invade Nicaragua," he added. "But no maneuver, no practice can prepare them for the response this people

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San Jose speak-out on democratic rights set for June 28

BY TERRY APPLIGATE

SAN JOSE, Calif. — Plans are proceeding for a community speak-out here in defense of democratic rights. Set for June 28, the speak-out is being sponsored by the Emergency Committee for Democratic Rights. The group was formed May 8 by community, church, labor, and solidarity organizations in response to recent right-wing attacks on the San Jose socialist bookstore. The bookstore also houses the offices of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The emergency committee met at the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 hall May 29 to discuss the growing support for the speak-out and to prepare materials for the event.

The June 28 meeting will demand the right to free speech and assembly; an end to violent attacks; the right to discuss U.S. foreign policy; and will defend the Bill of Rights. The flier for the meeting explained, "While the immediate target of right-wing violence is the socialist bookstore... attacks are being carried out against the labor movement, abortion clinics, anti-apartheid demonstrations, the sanctuary movement, and those working to stop U.S. intervention in Central America. We must defend with a united voice our right and responsibility to speak out and act on all national and international issues that affect us. An injury to one is an injury to all."

The June 28 San Jose speak-out will be held 7 p.m. at St. Paul's United Methodist church, 405 S 10th Street. A partial list of individual endorsers includes Wilson Riles, Jr., an Oakland City Council member; Gary O'Kihro, director of ethnic studies, University of Santa Clara; Harry Adams, president of International Association of Machinists Local 565; Oba T'Shaka of the National Black United Front; John George, a member of the board of supervisors, Alameda County; William McLean, president of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 265; Stephen Manginelli, vice-president of ATU Local 265; Inéz Gómez, Latina activist; and Andrea Prichett, anti-apartheid leader at University of California at Berkeley.

Groups that have endorsed include: the Labor Committee on El Salvador and Central America; Mandela Coalition, an anti-apartheid group from San Jose State University; Young Socialist Alliance; Social Education and Action Committee of the Santa Clara County Council of Churches; South Bay National Organization for Women; National Lawyers Guild of San Jose; Committee in Solidarity With El Salvador; Santa Clara County Communist

Salt Lake activists support California democratic rights fight

SALT LAKE CITY — Socialists in Salt Lake City have been organizing to get protest messages sent to the San Jose city administration demanding that it take the necessary actions to guarantee the democratic rights of all people who wish to discuss Vietnam or any other U.S. foreign policy questions.

In just a brief time Salt Lake City socialists have also been able to gather scores of signatures on a petition to the San Jose city government. Signers include leaders of the Central American Solidarity Committee, the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, activists against the deployment of MX missiles in Utah, as well as activists in Amnesty International and the New Jewish Agenda. In addition, John Sillito, cochair of the Democratic Socialists of America here; Jim Camilo, national coordinator of Never Again (a veterans' group); Marc De-xheimer, Utah state chairperson of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, and Wayne Holley, district chairman of the Communist Party, have all added their names to this defense effort.

Party; and Socialist Workers Party.

Speakers will include Andrea Prichett and Don Gómez, a well-known solidarity activist and producer of the film *Death Flights*. Gómez will be the meeting's moderator.

The May 29 planning meeting also heard an update on the campaign to defend the socialist bookstore. Lynda Joyce, chairperson of the San Jose Socialist Workers Party, explained the lack of seriousness of the investigation. She reported that the Juvenile Unit of the San Jose Police Department was sent to investigate the broken windows at the bookstore. Instead of viewing this physical attack as part of a pattern of right-wing violence waged against the bookstore since April 25, the police view the window smashing as an isolated case of vandalism by youths. She reviewed a May 26 *San Jose Mercury News* article, where a San Jose Police Department lieutenant, Richard Couser, is quoted as characterizing the right-wing mob as "the most well-behaved group of demonstrators I think I've ever seen."

Joyce described the weekend of May 18-19 when Couser was at the scene of right-wing activity at the bookstore. The so-called "well-behaved" mob tried to rush the entrance of the bookstore, shouted racist epithets, used obscene gestures, shoved over and kicked a camera person from Channel 2 News, and had signs that said, "Better dead than red," and "Viva los contras."

The meeting heard the latest statements

'There's a pattern' to right-wing thuggery

The following article was printed in the May 15, 1985, issue of the *City Pages*, a Minneapolis newspaper that has a wide circulation throughout the Twin Cities area. The article appeared in the *Prairie Spy* column by Craig Cox under the title "The war comes home to Minnesota."

Ten years after the fall of Saigon, Dr. Khai Vo is still fighting for his homeland. A former medical officer in the South Vietnamese army, Vo and his supporters seek to tell the American people "the truth about the communists."

The organization Vo directs — The United Front for the Liberation of Vietnam — is part of a nationwide network of Vietnamese anti-communist groups, some of which have a history of violent actions against persons they believe are sympathetic to the forces that sent them into exile.

Vo says the United Front is a non-violent organization, but local members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) claim the group disrupted an April 27 rally in St. Paul and may step up its activities against them in the future. "There would have been violence if we had not been prepared to respond to it, if the police had not been prepared to respond to it," says Bill Arth at the local SWP office.

According to SWP reports, two people have been murdered by right-wing Vietnamese political groups in the last few months. Leaflets have been circulated in Massachusetts and California, pronouncing a death sentence on Ngo Vinh Long, a Vietnamese critic of U.S. foreign policy. Outbreaks of violence have been most common in California, New York and Boston, but things could be heating up here as well, according to one observer. "There is a pattern," he says. "All over the U.S. people are getting killed and the killers go free. If that pattern continues, it could happen at any time."

Sources here and from out of state, speaking on the condition they not be identified, say the local United Front has not yet shown itself to have a mean streak. But, according to one person familiar with these groups, they can be pretty intimidating fundraisers. "I know they've come to several business asking for money," he says. "If you don't contribute, you are a communist."



Militant

Right-wing thugs have tried to stop meetings on Vietnam. Broadly sponsored meeting will defend right "to speak out and act on all national and international issues."

of support, which arrive every day at the bookstore. One, from the Labor Network on Central America, condemned the violence and called on Police Chief Joseph McNamara to "do everything in your power to see that those responsible for this attack are prosecuted, and such actions are not allowed to occur again."

The South Bay National Organization for Women sent a statement to Mayor Tom McEnery demanding a "full, expedient, and public investigation and prosecution of the perpetrators of this right-wing attack."

The East Bay Democratic Socialists of America also sent a letter supporting the efforts to "bring public attention to this unac-

ceptable intimidation and violence."

A new fact sheet is available on the case. Joyce emphasized the importance of keeping phone calls, telegrams, letters, and petitions going to the mayor's office and to the police chief to demand investigation and prosecution of those responsible for the attacks and put the maximum pressure on the city administration to defend the June 28 meeting. The addresses are: Mayor Thomas McEnery, 801 N 1st St., San Jose, Calif. 95110; and Police Chief Joseph McNamara, 201 W Mission St., San Jose, Calif. 95110. Copies should be sent to SWP, 46½ Race St., San Jose, Calif. 95126.

The United Front has been around in its current form for about four years, according to another observer. Its membership consists mostly of former army officers and has dwindled in the past year to about 30. "They want to keep the flame," he says. "Hopefully, the younger generation will understand better, be more objective."

It is for the benefit of the younger generation the United Front exists, says Dr. Vo. "They never had the chance to live under the communists and don't have a chance to know about communism," he explains. "Nobody can know the communists as well as we do."

Vo denies there's any direct connection

between his group and those which have claimed responsibility for attacks on so-called communist sympathizers in other states. Contact with the national organization is infrequent, he says, and each organization is free to act on its own. He wouldn't reveal the number of members in the organization and about funding would say only that members contribute "for the just cause."

The group never threatens anybody, Vo says, "but if he or she is in the Communist Party, it's different. We isolate them. We don't cooperate with them, we don't trust them or believe what they say."

And the war goes on.

Seattle: Vietnam victory celebrated

BY DAN FEIN

SEATTLE — Over Memorial Day week-end, some 100 people attended a rally and benefit dance to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the end of the Vietnam War. The event, held May 26, was sponsored by the Northwest Coalition for Peace, Jobs, and Justice and held at the Boilermakers Local 104 union hall.

Because of recent violent disruptions of pro-Vietnam meetings carried out by right-wing Vietnamese goons in California, rally sponsors organized monitors to defend the rally. Two weeks before, the *Seattle Times* ran two full-page articles on tiny groups of right-wing Vietnamese and Kampuchians that operate in Seattle and nearby Bellevue. However, on May 26 the right-wingers were nowhere to be seen.

Jerry Condon, a leader of Veterans Against Intervention in Central America and cochair of the Northwest Coalition for Peace, Jobs, and Justice chaired the rally. He said, "April 30, 1975, was a victory for self-determination. We won and today we celebrate."

Condon continued, "The Vietnam syndrome is a good thing. The U.S. government is conducting a propaganda campaign to discredit Vietnam today. We're told Vietnam occupied Kampuchea and is just one more example of communist aggression. The U.S. government does not say that Vietnam helped rid Kampuchea of the Pol Pot tyranny. The U.S. government is close to giving \$5 million to the Pol Pot

contras. The government violates the [1973] Paris Accords by denying money to help rebuild Vietnam. They prevent Vietnam from getting loans from the World Bank. The U.S. government continues to intervene in Southeast Asia to this day. These attacks are not only against Vietnam, but against us also."

Cindy Domingo spoke for the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP). She noted, "Vietnam's victory was a victory for all revolutionary struggles. The Iranian revolution and the Nicaraguan revolution were inspired by the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. It proved that massive U.S. troop intervention does not guarantee victory for the United States."

Domingo listed the impressive gains in transportation, electrification, and food production that have been achieved in Vietnam in the past 10 years.

The two other speakers were Larry Gossett, cochair of the Rainbow Coalition, and Lyle Mercer of the Central America Task Force of the Church Council of Seattle. Mercer visited Vietnam last winter on a tour sponsored by the U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association. He said, "The only road to peace, jobs, and justice is building stronger coalitions like this one."

Gossett explained how the movement against the Vietnam War learned from the civil rights struggle. We need to use these lessons today in the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Socialist Workers leaders assess farm protests

Nat'l Committee holds meeting, sets SWP discussion, convention

BY MALIK MIAH

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party met in New York City in May. The committee issued a call for the 33rd Constitutional Convention of the SWP to be held August 10-15 in Ohio. A report on preparations for the convention was given by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

Built around the convention will be an educational conference with a wide range of classes. A number of meetings of socialist workers active in nine national industrial unions will be held, as will workshops on organizing party-building activities. There will also be events aimed at winning new members to the SWP from among the guests attending the convention and educational conference who are not yet members.

The focus of the convention will be on several key political questions facing the vanguard of the working class today and around which the SWP has had rich experiences. Two documents will provide the political framework for the convention discussion and will be submitted to a vote. These are: "The Revolutionary Perspective and Leninist Continuity in the United States"; and "The Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States: An Alliance of the Exploited Producers." Both of these appear in the Spring 1985 issue of *New International*. (See ad below.)

The May National Committee meeting heard and adopted reports that deal with the work of the SWP in two important areas. The first report analyzed the state of the farm protest movement today and the SWP's perspectives in relation to it. A second report covered the state of the unions and the party's activity in industrial unions. The accompanying articles here discuss those two reports.

In addition, three other reports were presented and adopted by the meeting. They were: a report by Larry Seigle on stepping up distribution of Pathfinder Press books and pamphlets, including the expansion of the activities of Pathfinder distributors in Britain and Australia, which in turn serve as distributors to Europe, Africa, Oceania, and Asia; a report by Mary-Alice Waters on the election of the SWP's national leadership; and a report by Thabo Ntweng on the April 20 antiwar demonstrations and the SWP's perspectives in the fight against imperialist war in Central America and the Caribbean.

In his report, Barnes explained that the party's goal is to come out of this discussion with a richer understanding of, and more homogenous political approach to, the struggle of a revolutionary workers party to build the fighting worker-farmer alliance. This is at the center of the documents the convention will vote on.

States more competitive on the world market.

This he said, will enrich the big grain monopolies, but won't aid working farmers.

The forging of a workers and farmers alliance, Gaige explained, is at the center of revolutionary strategy. "The basis of a governmental alliance of workers and farmers is their shared exploitation by banking, industrial, and commercial capital," he said.

Class-conscious workers should approach farmers as fellow working people, Gaige explained. The working class has a direct stake in the resistance of exploited farmers against their being forcibly driven into the working class. The larger the number of working farmers who succeed in this struggle, he observed, the stronger will be the worker-farmer alliance, which is essential to advance toward a socialist revolution in this country.

Gaige explained that the rents and mortgages system is one of the principal sources of the exploitation of working farmers. "It is as much a part of capitalism as the wages system," he said. "It is a common error to reduce the totality of capitalist exploitation to the wage-labor and capital relationship, forgetting the massive surplus value that the exploiters wring from producers by means of rents and mortgages and market monopoly power." Under capitalism, Gaige said, land is a major source of profits for landlords, banks, and real estate speculators.

Two important experiences

Gaige singled out the protests to stop the foreclosure sales of the Wilson farm in Missouri and of the Langman farm in Minnesota. These were widely publicized protests nationally, and were particularly important, Gaige observed, because of the significant support from unionists. In the Missouri actions a number of Blacks also participated.

Farm activists and their supporters got a taste of cop violence on March 15 during the first of the protests to try to save the Wilson farm. During the demonstration of 1,000, including 200 United Auto Worker members, the cops staged a violent confrontation by walking into the crowd and prodding protesters with nightsticks. They grabbed eight protesters, dragged them into the courthouse, and beat them up.

Despite rumors about violence and mass arrests spread by the press, the second protest held on April 8 was slightly larger than the first action, with broad participation from the unions and Kansas City's Black community. Protesters refused to be provoked by the state troopers in riot gear. Monitors composed of farmers, unionists, and civil rights activists formed a line between the cops and the crowd. Given the broad support for the action and the discipline of the protesters, the cops decided not to launch a violent attack this time.

In Minnesota, Groundswell, a rapidly growing statewide farm protest organization, organized three protests that successfully postponed the sale of the Langman farm.

At the third protest, Gaige reported, five unions sent support messages, and a representative of the United Food and Commercial Workers, fighting company wage cuts at Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota, spoke to the rally. Jesse Jackson also was a featured speaker.

Violence-baiting

Gaige pointed out that farm activists are having to deal with violence baiting by government officials and the big-business press. This is often combined, he said, with right-wing baiting in order to try to cut off labor support.

In Nebraska one farmer was recently killed by the cops on the excuse that he had some right-wing literature and some guns on his farm.

Farm struggles are also leading to increased governmental harassment, including court actions. Gaige reported that in Kansas three farmers face frame-up charges stemming from a protest of a foreclosure sale. The defense effort currently being organized for these farmers by the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) is

very important, he said.

Gaige explained that while there was some union participation in the early farm protests, it has increased this spring, particularly from the United Auto Workers.

Gaige pointed to the prominent role of union officials in the Jefferson City, Missouri, farm rally on March 4. Out of this rally, a meeting of farmers and union leaders was organized in St. Louis, which formed the Farm-Labor Alliance.

While the gathering called for a moratorium on foreclosures, the union officials' objective was not to organize a fighting alliance of unionists and farmers for this demand, Gaige said. Their goal is to try to organize support from embattled farmers "for the program of the labor bureaucracy, which is based on the continued subordination of the interests of workers and farmers to the needs of capital."

A central demand of the union officials was to oppose imports. Merle Hansen, president of NAFA, spoke against the anti-import proposal, explaining that it pitted farmers in the United States against working farmers in Europe.

In his report, Gaige presented an alternative course for workers and exploited farmers.

"Our view," he said, "is that the building of a workers' and farmers' alliance, a revolutionary anticapitalist alliance, will be intertwined with the emergence of a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement as big battles unfold. What we are doing now is part of the preparation for the powerful alliance that will be built down the road."

Gaige explained that "transforming the unions will not and cannot be accomplished simply by action inside the unions, although, of course, that is essential. The struggle of broad sectors of the working class outside the unions, as well as those of exploited farmers, will have to make their weight felt in this process."

Gaige added that the confidence and clarification that will come out of mounting class combat by workers and farmers will lead to a break by a significant layer of the labor movement toward political action on a class basis. "An independent labor party based on the trade unions" he said, "would help organize and lead the struggles of the oppressed and exploited — in the factories and the fields, in the streets, urban neighborhoods, and in farming communities."

Gaige explained that many farmers are eager to win support from Black organizations and leaders because of their respect for what the civil rights movement accomplished in defeating the Jim Crow system of segregation. He added that "militant farmers and their allies have to reach out in solidarity to exploited farmers who are Black and Chicano. This is a key challenge for building a fighting leadership of the farm protest movement."

Gaige reported that James Hightower, a Democratic politician who is currently Texas agriculture commissioner, is circulating among farm activists the draft of a farm bill.

"The draft bill incorporates a few demands, such as a moratorium on foreclosures, that farmers are supporting and that deserve support," Gaige observed. "However, the entire framework of the bill assumes that the problem is the farmer and that the capitalist system, with a few adjustments, will work in the interests of farmers."

Hightower, misleaders of the farm protest movement, and labor fakers, Gaige said, hope to get farmers out of the streets and into the halls of Congress to promote this bill.

Organizing solidarity with Nicaragua

Important advances have been made in building solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution among farmers, Gaige reported, beginning with a tour of farmers, farm activists, and agricultural students to Nicaragua last January. This tour led to a tour of the United States by Nicaraguan farmers. Another U.S. farmers' tour to Nicaragua is being organized for this summer, Gaige said. Farm tours like this can serve as an example for unionists to organize similar tours to Nicaragua, he added.

Gaige also pointed to the important in-

Farm protest mov't opens way for militant farmer-labor alliance

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

At its meeting last month, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party adopted a report by the party's National Farm Organizer, John Gaige, on the farmers' protest movement. The report reviewed the party's experiences in supporting the struggles of working farmers, and outlined perspectives for continuing this work.

The framework of the report was the resolution, "Revolutionary Perspectives and

Leninist Continuity in the United States," adopted by the party's national convention in January 1985.

Gaige noted that the party's work with working farmers grew out of its decision in 1978 to organize a big majority of its members into industrial jobs to become union activists. Through working in industry, SWP members met working farmers, former farmers, and relatives of farmers. "They helped teach us about the problems and conditions of producers in the countryside," Gaige said. "We started to see more clearly, in real life, the interconnections among capitalist exploitation of agricultural producers and wage workers, the industries we worked in, and the role of our unions in these interrelated struggles."

Gaige pointed out that in the face of increased farm foreclosures and cuts in government farm programs, farm protests increased this spring. Actions were held in many states throughout the country, he said, two of which had a national character — a rally in Ames, Iowa, and an action in Washington, D.C.

The wave of protests this spring, Gaige explained, reflected the attempt by exploited farmers to resist "the capitalist rulers' drive to make them shoulder the burden of capitalist stagnation and of market anarchy."

The farm crisis, he pointed out, is part of the worldwide capitalist crisis with its austerity, sudden shortages, skyrocketing inflation, intensified racism, and imperialist war. The attacks on farmers, Gaige said, go hand in hand with the employers' attempts to weaken and eventually bust the unions.

Gaige explained that the escalating crisis for exploited farmers cannot be solved by either capitalist party — that is, either the Democrats or Republicans — nor by farm bills "that are based on the utopian notion of making capitalism work better for working farmers."

The Reagan administration's proposed cuts in government farm programs, Gaige pointed out, are aimed at lowering the price farmers receive for their products in order to make the grain produced in the United

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The Workers' and Farmers' Alliance in the U.S.

Articles by Jack Barnes and Doug Jenness

Land Reform and Farm Cooperatives in Cuba

- Resolution of Cuban Communist Party
- Two speeches by Fidel Castro

Revolutionary Perspective and Leninist Continuity in the United States

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initiatives that were taken by local coalitions to draw farmers into the April 20 actions against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. A Minnesota Groundswell leader spoke at the Washington, D.C., action. "As a result of this experience," Gaige said, "she is urging farmers to link up with the antiwar forces."

Gaige said that an important part of the SWP's support to working farmers is getting out socialist ideas. The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, he said, have extensive coverage of the farm protests and of the many questions under discussion

among farm activists. Sales of these two publications are a central part of our socialist educational work, he said.

"Farmers, like workers, will make individual leaps in consciousness when they see the strategic line of march of the working class towards power. We are beginning to win farmers like this to the revolutionary workers party and will continue to do so. These individuals will become communists who can lead the farmers' movement, the workers' movement, and the party," he said.

Union opportunities to oppose war and fight apartheid on rise

BY TOM LEONARD

There are increased opportunities to organize trade union opposition to the war in Washington is organizing and financing in Central America. This was one of the conclusions drawn by the May meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. The SWP leaders adopted a report on the state of the unions today and the party's tasks. The report was based both on the experiences of socialist workers over the past nine months and on the party's political resolution, "Revolutionary Perspectives and Leninist Continuity."

The report summarized the significant labor participation in the April 20 marches for peace, jobs, and justice that were held to protest U.S. intervention in Central America, apartheid in South Africa, and austerity here at home. It also noted the opportunities to involve rank-and-file workers in union-sponsored activity in defense of Black trade unions in South Africa and in protests against farm foreclosures in this country. Highlighted in the report were important struggles being waged by workers attempting to resist the concessions drive of the employers, exemplified by the fight against wage cuts by United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota; the strike by United Mine Workers members in West Virginia and Kentucky against the A.T. Massey Coal Co.; and the recent strikes by Pan Am workers, Arizona copper miners, and others.

Socialist workers focus their attention today on union fighters like these. Their experiences over time will help bring forward a new leadership in the labor movement, the report explained.

State of unions

Today, the report said, working people are suffering the penalty for decades of class collaborationism by the union bureaucracy.

"The labor officialdom has tried to move the U.S. union movement toward still deeper identification with the bosses and their government," the SWP political resolution states. "Within the trade union bureaucracy, there is no motion by any wing or layer of officials away from their class-collaborationist course that has been institutionalized over the past 45 years. Their policy assumes the permanency of the profit system in the United States."

The trade union report took up the recently released AFL-CIO document "The Changing Situation of Workers and Their Unions" to illustrate the bureaucracy's course.

The document points out that less than 19 percent of the work force is in unions today, down from 24 percent in 1979 and 35 percent in 1954. But while it tips its hat to organizing drives and predicts "a period of resurgence — of sustained growth," the document turns its back on the perspective of a union movement based on the fighting ranks — the young workers, Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women. It offers no perspective of winning workers to the unions by putting labor's power behind the fight against the U.S.-sponsored war in Central America and against farm foreclosures, or of fighting for jobs and the rights of the undocumented, Blacks, and women. Nor does it say anything about the need for an independent labor party to present a

working-class political alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, the parties of the employers.

Instead, what the AFL-CIO bureaucrats have their eyes on is increasing their own bloated salaries, expense accounts, and pensions.

This is what lies behind specific proposals in the document, such as providing medical insurance to workers outside the unions, signing up "associate" members who are not employed in organized bargaining units, and promoting more union mergers. In each case the workers involved are looked upon as prospective customers for a union business. These are not proposals to increase the power of the labor movement or bring union protection to the millions of unorganized workers. The goal is to increase the investment capital available to the bureaucracy.

The language and content of this 1985 AFL-CIO document stands in contrast to the 1955 proposals by the union officialdom when the AFL and CIO merged. At that time, the bureaucracy publicly proposed a massive union organizing campaign directed primarily at the South. While this was never carried out by the AFL-CIO, and the gains made in union organization in the South came mainly at the initiative of Black workers active in the civil rights movement, it was significant that the bureaucrats felt they had to at least claim they were going to fight to expand labor's influence.

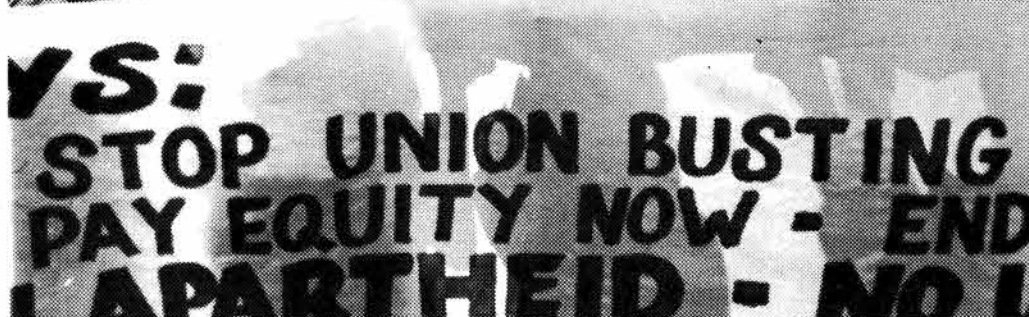
The SWP leaders noted that there is no protest of the 1985 AFL-CIO document coming from anyone in the officialdom. This was true even of those officials who were in currents that advocated greater militancy and union democracy in the mid-1970s, such as the current led by Ed Sadlowski, a candidate for president of the United Steelworkers in 1977. These currents no longer function today and their former leaders have no political or social course fundamentally different from that of the rest of the bureaucracy.

Officialdom's international policy

For their own reasons, the AFL-CIO officials have recently taken part in some of the protests against repression of trade unionists in South Africa. Militant workers have taken advantage of this to get their locals more deeply involved in South Africa solidarity activities. But what the officials have in mind is quite different. Their aim is to help the imperialists keep the class struggle from taking a revolutionary direction in South Africa, by winning a layer of union leaders in that country to a perspective of preserving capitalism through the nonviolent reform of the apartheid system.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats are also supporting imperialism in Central America. AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland promotes the line, shared by the Democratic politicians he backs, that the Nicaraguan revolution is a threat to the "security" of the United States. The AFL-CIO officials have refused to condemn the U.S. trade embargo of Nicaragua.

When unions began endorsing the April 20 antiwar marches, Kirkland's office intervened, attempting to persuade central labor councils and other union bodies that the aims of the march were counter to AFL-CIO policy.



Militant/Fred Murphy

At top, rally in Plattsburg, Missouri, March 15 protested foreclosure on Wilson farm. Auto workers and Blacks joined farmers at action and faced cop violence together. At bottom, ILGWU garment workers joined antiwar march April 20. SWP resolutions and reports say these types of actions indicate way forward for workers, exploited farmers.

Despite Kirkland's efforts, 10 national unions endorsed the April 20 demonstrations. These were: International Association of Machinists; International Glass Workers; United Food and Commercial Workers; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; United Farm Workers; International Chemical Workers; United Furniture Workers; United Electrical Workers; National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; and the United Steelworkers (USWA).

Several USWA officials publicly urged a big turnout for April 20. The union organized contingents from Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Chicago to come to the Washington, D.C., march. This is the first time top USWA officials have ever endorsed an antiwar demonstration.

Local union contingents in the marches also came from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; United Transportation Union; United Auto Workers; and International Union of Electronic Workers; among others.

There are opportunities to deepen this involvement of labor in the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America as the coalitions involved in planning April 20 set further actions. In addition, the report noted, there are opportunities to educate on the war the U.S. government is organizing against Nicaragua. This can be done through activities scheduled for the week of July 15-21, which coincides with the sixth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, and through helping organize tours of trade unionists to Nicaragua.

The openings to involve the unions in antiwar activity offer an opportunity to advance the goal outlined in the SWP political resolution of helping "forge a new union leadership, which will come forward from the ranks and will fight to unleash union power to defend the workers' interests."

Socialist workers are gaining experience, the trade union report said, in learning how to function as revolutionary trade union politicians in the labor movement. Today, the SWP concentrates its forces in

nine national unions: International Ladies' Garment Workers'; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers; International Association of Machinists; United Auto Workers; United Transportation Union; United Mine Workers; International Union of Electronic Workers; United Steelworkers; and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Within these unions, socialists function on three different levels: 1. as SWP members who promote the party's press and activities and seek to recruit other workers; 2. as workers who seek to involve other workers in political activity; and 3. as union activists with ideas for immediate action and a revolutionary perspective for the union movement.

South Africa solidarity

The report called for taking maximum advantage of the opportunities to deepen union participation in protests against South African apartheid. While the pro-imperialist line of the union officialdom poses tactical problems, rank-and-file unionists have an opportunity to educate about the role of the U.S. government in South Africa and to make the connection with U.S. policy in Central America. Socialist workers can help advance the revolutionary viewpoint on the struggle in South Africa through sales of the socialist press at these protests.

South Africa work in the unions has also strengthened the fight for union defense of Black rights in this country, the report noted. Deepening union involvement in the struggles for Black rights on the job, as well as the rights of women in industry, are important tasks of socialist workers.

Despite the setbacks to the union movement and despite the class-collaborationist outlook of the officialdom, there are individual workers who are looking for answers to the problems they face. Systematic work, including regular circulation of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, through plant-gate sales and other means, is indispensable to reaching these workers and convincing them to join the revolutionary party.

'Debtor nations are growing more underdeveloped'

Castro interview on foreign debt

This is the fifth part of a series in the *Militant* in which we are reprinting the entire text of Cuban president Fidel Castro's major interview on Latin America's foreign debt. The first four parts can be found in the May 10, May 17, May 24, and June 7 issues of the *Militant*.

The interview with Castro was conducted by Regino Díaz on March 21 of this year for the Mexican daily *Excelsior*. It is entitled, "How Latin America's and the Third World's unpayable foreign debt can and should be canceled and the pressing need for a new economic order," and has been made available in English in a pamphlet published by the Cuban government.

Analyzing the crushing \$360 billion foreign debt saddled on the Latin American countries, Castro shows how the imperialist system works to rob the wealth of the semicolonial, underdeveloped economies, and how at the cost of human suffering and impoverishment, enormous wealth is taken from these countries to finance the advanced industrialized powers.

Castro demonstrates that it is impossible — as well as unjust — to pay the debt. He discusses the social and political impact of demands by the International Monetary Fund to impose austerity measures on the already impoverished and suffering people of Latin America in order to pay the debt. He points to the social upheavals which must occur in response to the crisis.

He proposes that the Latin American countries unite to refuse to pay the debt and that the industrialized capitalist powers assume the debt by cutting their military expenditures. Castro discusses this as a first step in breaking the hold of the advanced industrialized powers over the underdeveloped and Third World economies. Capitalist countries taking on the debt would be a step towards more just and fair economic relations — a "new world economic order."

Bracketed material and subheads are added by the *Militant*.

* * *

(Fifth of a series)

Castro. We must get to the bottom of the problems that have created underdevelopment, that adversely affect our countries' development, and that are widening the gap between the industrialized countries of the Third World. It has often been said that the gap should and must be closed but, far from being closed, it continues to widen. Now it is wider than ever.

Some industrial countries already have production figures equal to \$15,000 per person. Compare them with Africa's per capita production figures of barely a few

hundred dollars a year and with the figures for Latin America. The ratio was ten to one some time ago, but now it is fifteen, twenty, thirty, and (in some cases) forty or fifty to one. That is, the gap between the industrialized world and the underdeveloped world is widening.

The per capita income gap is also widening. Far from making progress, we are regressing; instead of developing, we are growing more underdeveloped. We have been going through a process of underdevelopment, not development. When the differences between you and the industrialized countries are increasing and you are farther and farther away from them, you are growing more underdeveloped — even if a mathematical index says that you have grown by 2 percent or 3 percent, for the gap has grown even more and your world is becoming poorer in comparison to the developed world. The situation is even worse because, while the population in the industrialized countries is growing by 0.6 percent, 0.7, or 0.8 percent, the population in the Third World is growing by 2 to 3 percent, which means that within the next fifteen years 80 percent of the world's population will be living in the Third World. This is why I say that a new system of international economic relations that will really make development possible is of paramount importance.

It is understandable, then, why I think that if the new world economic order isn't achieved the terrible problems affecting our countries won't be solved just through social changes. I repeat: even in a poor country, social changes can bring about better distribution and solve important problems (among other things, by promoting respect for human life by ending the horrible injustices and inequalities that may exist, in both very rich and very poor countries), but I consider the struggle for the new world economic order to be the most important thing the Latin American and Third World countries can do now, because it can lead to the creation of conditions needed for real independence, real sovereignty, and even the right to carry out social changes — and not only the right but the objective possibility of doing so.

Only a respite

There is one essential thing: the cancellation of Latin America's foreign debt in itself won't solve our problems; it would only offer a few years' respite.

There are several countries in Latin America in which if you canceled their debts tomorrow you'd have solved practically nothing. Problems have become so serious in some countries — Bolivia, for



Poverty in Dominican Republic. Castro explained that debtor nations are becoming poorer as a result of debt crisis.

example — that canceling their debts wouldn't have any impact. They might be able to count on an additional \$200 million, or \$250 million, or \$270 million, which was their favorable balance of trade last year, but the problems that have accumulated in those countries are so serious that \$270 million wouldn't even give them a "breather." I've been told about installations at which it costs \$16 to produce a pound of tin, while the present world market price is \$5 a pound.

There are some countries where canceling the debt would undoubtedly provide a respite; it would give a respite to Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and — yes — Mexico. Mexico isn't one of the countries with the most difficult situations but it would surely provide a respite for Mexico, too.

Now then, we should be aware of the fact that there can be no final solution for our problems as long as the ominous law of sustained deterioration of the terms of trade remains in effect, as long as the industrialized capitalist powers continue to impose the protectionist policies, as long as the practice of dumping subsidized products in order to grab markets and depress the prices of the exports on which many Third World countries depend continues, as long as monetary policies are imposed by means of which a powerful industrial country determines the interest to be paid and we are lent money at one value and expect to repay it at a higher value, as long as the capital we need for development is drained away, and as long as models and methods such as the ones recommended by the Chicago School [of economics] are imposed.

Just yesterday, in a note to the government of the United States, the Andean Pact countries [Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru that are part of an economic pact dating from 1964] expressed their deep concern over the drastic reductions that are being made in their sugar quotas on the U.S. market. The United States — which in 1981 was still importing 5 million tons of sugar — reduced its sugar imports to 2.7 million tons in 1984, and, in the near future, its imports won't go over 1.7 million tons. The countries involved described the situation as terrible. These protectionist measures by the United States will reduce Latin America's revenues by hundreds of millions of dollars and will create surpluses that will further depress the world market price.

A little over twenty years ago, Cuba had a quota of over 3 million tons on that market. One day it was taken away and parceled out among other countries in this hemisphere. The pretext then was the Cuban revolution, which had to be crushed without mercy. Now, when the debt amounts to \$360 billion, what pretext will the United States give for eliminating the Latin American countries' sugar quotas?

Time to wage struggle

If we don't overcome these problems, we will obtain only a respite; a few countries will get a respite, but the real causes of our difficulties won't be solved. I believe that this is the time to wage this struggle. Such a serious crisis situation has been created that the Third World countries are being forced to think, to unite, and to seek solutions, regardless of their political stands and ideologies, as an elementary

matter of survival.

I believe that the Latin American countries need to wage that struggle and that, fortunately, they have excellent conditions for waging it. The struggle to solve the problem of the debt will benefit all the Third World countries — not just the Latin American countries, but all the developing countries in Asia and Africa, as well. I feel that the debt should be canceled. Mathematically it can be shown that it is unpayable.

The problem no longer involves the amount of the debt, but the interest that is paid on it.

I base my view on four hypotheses, all based on the assumption that the debt won't grow.

Debt is unpayable

First hypothesis: that a ten-year grace period is granted for paying the capital; that, during that period, the interest will continue to be paid, as it has been thus far; and that ten years will then be given for the amortization at an interest rate not exceeding 10 percent. Latin America would have to pay \$400 billion in the first ten years and an additional \$558 billion in the next ten years. In twenty years, Latin America would have transferred \$958 billion — nearly \$1 trillion in U.S. terms, or \$1 billion in English terms — to its creditors. That is, nearly a trillion dollars would leave these countries, in spite of their enormous accumulated social problems, their enormous economic problems, and the development they will have had to forgo. In twenty years, they would have to extract nearly \$1 trillion from their modest economies and send it to the industrialized capitalist countries. Is this possible? Is it conceivable? And this, I repeat, is assuming that the debt won't grow and that the interest rate doesn't go over 10 percent during the amortization period. Is this conceivable, especially if the other problems I have mentioned — unequal exchange, protectionism, dumping, and so on — are taken into account? No.

Second hypothesis: that the formula of paying a maximum of 20 percent of the value of each country's exports and each year is applied and that interest rates don't go over 10 percent. The exports of Latin America as a whole are already close to but haven't reached \$100 billion. Let us even assume that even if those exports surpass that figure, no more than \$20 billion will be paid each year. In that case, we would pay \$400 billion in twenty years, and, at the end, we would have a debt of \$1.16185 trillion — that is, after we had paid \$400 billion, our debt would be triple what it is now.

Third hypothesis: that a ten-year grace period is granted, including the interest; an additional ten years is granted for its amortization; and the interest doesn't go over 10 percent in any given year. This would undoubtedly mean a ten-year respite. In twenty years \$1.44731 trillion would have to be paid.

Fourth hypothesis: that the interest rate is lowered to 6 percent; a ten-year grace period is granted, including the interest; and an additional ten years is given in which to pay. This would certainly be the

Continued on next page

'PM' features abortion rights

In Canada, which has extremely restrictive abortion laws, the struggle for abortion rights is on the rise, and can be a source of inspiration to women's rights fighters everywhere.

In an interview in the current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who has been at the center of efforts to establish and keep abortion clinics open in Quebec, explains the evolution of the fight against the provincial and federal governments to provide women with safe and legal means to exercise their reproductive rights.

This issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* also carries the first half of an important interview with Cuban president Fidel Castro, where he gives a graphic description of the desperate economic situation facing the semi-colonial countries of the

world, analyzes the unpayable debt burden imposed on them by the imperialist nations, and proposes solutions to the crisis.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed in the United States and around the world.

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Dominican Republic: 'Situation today is literally a disaster'

Socialist Bloc leader explains impact of debt crisis

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The Dominican Republic, a small island nation in the Caribbean, has been shaken in the last two years by massive protests and national strikes. The target of these struggles has been the government's austerity program, demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) — the imperialist lending institution — as the answer to the Dominican foreign debt.

The Dominican Republic is a good place to look for the real meaning of the debt crisis for the workers and the farmers in imperialist-dominated countries.

Socialist Bloc

Julio Ortega, a leader of the Socialist Bloc (BS), discussed the crisis in the Dominican Republic while in New York to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the revolution and subsequent U.S. invasion of his homeland.

(The BS was initially formed by several left groups to oppose the bourgeois parties prior to the 1982 elections. The groups later fused into a single organization and retained the name Socialist Bloc.)

"It is hard to understand the actual disaster that exists in the Dominican Republic," Ortega said. "I believe it is no exaggeration to call it a disaster. Even for a country that has always been poor, underdeveloped, and has limited resources, the situation today is literally a disaster."

Using statistics, Ortega described life for Dominican working people.

"Only 27 percent of the people have regular, fixed wages. Some 46 percent are underemployed. They live by *chiripas* that is to say by selling candy, shining shoes, washing cars on corners," he said.

Added to these miserable conditions facing a large number of the Dominican Republic's five and a half million people is the devaluation of the Dominican peso.

Ortega explained that in the Dominican Republic, because of certain U.S. laws such as PL 480 (which gives credit to countries not to produce their own food but to buy U.S. food) "production for domestic consumption has declined and production for export increased. Today," he said, "a significant percentage of goods for popular consumption is imported from the United States. So when the national money has been devalued more than 300 percent, it means higher prices for basic products like rice, bread, oil, milk."

Reduction in consumption

Tied to the devaluation of the peso is that part of the agreement signed with the IMF that calls for the reduction of imports themselves. Ortega said, "The policy of the government has been to eliminate the imports in terms of food ... to reduce the consumption and in this way create a surplus to pay the external debt." He explained that rice in particular has been targeted, but that rice "is the basic food in the Dominican Republic." Even when a shortage of rice recently developed in the country, the president, Salvador Jorge Blanco, refused to import rice.

While prices have gone up, wages rise slowly or not at all. The real wages of the Dominican workers have dropped 60 percent from July 1983 to March 1985.

In human terms, this has meant that some 90 percent of the population is malnourished. Of each 1,000 live births, 104 babies die during their first year. More than 40 percent of the school-age children can-

not attend school.

Since both medicine and medical equipment are imported, health care virtually does not exist for the great majority of working people. Ortega said, "Out of approximately 6,000 doctors in the country, 25 percent are unemployed. The situation in the public hospitals is such that before I left the Dominican Republic, the Dominican Medical Association (AMD) called a strike."

"In a public hospital it is common to see 10 people who need emergency care on the floor, without the slightest possibility of getting help, since hospitals cannot afford to hire doctors."

"In the maternity hospital," Ortega continued, "for those women who can get in, there are two women per bed, no sheets, no food. There is no medicine — absolutely nothing — there is no possibility of even minimal attention by the medical personnel."

"That's why the AMD has gone on strike — to improve wages, to resolve the massive unemployment among doctors, and to improve or at least provide minimal service to the population."

In summary, Ortega said, the accords with the IMF have meant "a drastic reduction in the standard of living of the people ... an economic policy that leaves the poor poorer, and the rich richer, eliminating the intermediate sectors. ..."

"Therefore," Ortega said, "the people demonstrate their opposition in the streets."

1984 rebellion

These protests are met, Ortega explained, with increasing repression. Pointing to the rebellions against the austerity in April 1984, Ortega said that the repression left "approximately 150 people dead, more than 500 wounded, and more than 5,000 were taken prisoner in three days."

He pointed out that even under the repressive Balaguer regime, established by the U.S. government after its 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic, "never were so many people killed, so many people hurt, so many people imprisoned in only three days."

In February 1985, when a general strike was called against the austerity, "the country was militarized. Santo Domingo was occupied by more than 5,000 soldiers. We live in a permanent state of siege."

Ortega explained that this repression points to the total bankruptcy of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), the governing party in the country.

The PRD was the party in whose name the 1965 revolution in the Dominican Republic was made. However, Ortega explained, it politically misled the revolution, refusing to expand the insurrection in Santo Domingo to the countryside.

PRD: capitalist party

The PRD is a capitalist party that had nationalist leanings. It projected developing a capitalist economy with a degree of independence from the imperialists. Then during the years of the Balaguer regime, it degenerated even further. The nationalist wing split and the proimperialist wing took control of the party. "It became more proimperialist, more proboss," Ortega said. It was this shift to a totally proimperialist stance that enabled the PRD to win the confidence of the local capitalists and the U.S. imperialists. When the mass movement experienced an upsurge in 1978, the Dominican capitalists and the U.S. imperialists no longer feared a PRD electoral victory. To break the momentum of the working class struggle, they organized an election.

In the people's minds, Ortega explained, the PRD "inherited the authority and democratic tradition of the revolution of April [1965]," and they won the elections. But in the years they have been in power, the PRD has made not one social reform. "They have only one last banner — democratic liberties. In the first years in power,

the PRD would tell the people that they were the only ones that could guarantee democracy, or the limited democracy we conquered after the Balaguer dictatorship. But today, the PRD cannot raise this banner."

Ortega explained that "there is a situation where a progressively weaker civilian government, incapable of maintaining democratic liberties, gives more and more weight to the military in all its decisions."

The PRD tries to convince the people of the Dominican Republic that there is no other alternative for the country but the accords with the IMF. But, Ortega said, "The politics of the PRD are not simply imposed by the IMF. It's also their politics. It is their conscious policy to defend the interest of the domestic capitalists, the big landlords, foreign capitalists, and to guarantee the debt to the imperialist banks. And for the PRD if the price of the politics is that the people die of hunger, then they die of hunger."

Alternative perspective

Ortega explained that the key campaign today in the Dominican Republic is popularizing an alternative to the agreement signed by the PRD with the IMF. The alternative is entitled, "For economic recovery, popular welfare, and defense of sovereignty." This is a program of the Dominican Left Front (FID), an organization of six groups including the Socialist Bloc, the Dominican Communist Party, the Dominican Workers Party, the Left Unity, and the Patriotic Union.

Some of the FID's specific proposals include demands to renegotiate the foreign debt, either alone or in concert with other Latin American countries, and to win either selective payment of part of the debt, or a moratorium and a lower interest rate. It also calls for taxes on corporations and their profits; renegotiations of contracts with foreign companies operating in the Dominican Republic; state control of the banking system, as well as exports and imports; establishment of a minimum wage commensurate with prices that would be adjusted for inflation; lower prices of basic goods; lowering of rents to 15 percent of the family income; and a land reform including guaranteed prices for farmers for their products that would cover the cost of production, making credits as well as technological aid available.

Castro interview on debt

Continued from previous page

kindest of the four formulas, but in twenty years \$857.471 billion would still have to be paid.

I have put forward four hypotheses. In all, I have assumed that the debt would never exceed 10 percent, and all of them show that the debt and its interest cannot be paid.

Debt taken toll in blood

Based on reality, on all the problems I've mentioned, it is simply impossible to pay the debt. It can't be done from a practical standpoint — our economies couldn't survive it — and it could never solve the problem of development. The debt is an economic and a political impossibility. It is also a moral impossibility. The immense sacrifice that would have to be demanded of the people and the blood that would have to be shed to force them to pay that immense sum of money — which, to a large extent, was drained away, mispent, or embezzled — would be unjustifiable. The debt has already taken its first toll in blood in the Dominican Republic, where dozens of poor people were killed. Any attempt to pay the debt under the present social, economic, and political circumstances in Latin America would cost our suffering and impoverished nations rivers of blood, and it could never be done. Our peoples are not to blame for underdevelopment or for the debt. Our countries are not to blame for



Dominican president Salvador Jorge Blanco with Reagan. Austerity plan is policy of Jorge Blanco government.

"Ultimately," Ortega said, "to end the domination, the hunger, the repression, and the neocolonialism, a revolution is necessary ... the taking of power by workers, peasants, and other oppressed sectors."

"We form part of a region, the Caribbean and Central America," he continued, "that today is in the process of revolution. The influence in our country of the experiences of Nicaragua, of El Salvador, and of Cuba — a country with a great historic influence among our people — expresses itself in the rise of the popular movement."

Ortega continued, "But the masses today do not have a revolutionary leadership. So they, to a certain point, periodically explode, then subside, explode, then subside. This situation will remain and it won't be possible to eliminate the people's suffering until a leadership can ... consciously lead them to take power."

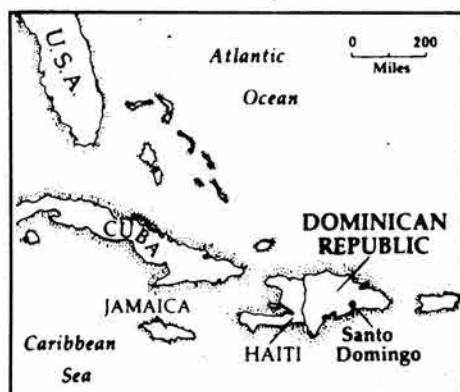
What Ortega says is true. The challenge in the Dominican Republic today is to forge such a leadership — to develop a revolutionary party based on the working class and the exploited peasantry, steered in struggle, and politically homogeneous. A revolutionary party capable of forging an alliance between the working class and the peasantry that can lead these classes to take political power and establish a workers and farmers government, a powerful tool against the exploiters — Dominican and foreign — and lead the struggle for socialism.

having been colonies; neocolonies; banana republics; or coffee, mining, or oil republics whose role was to produce raw materials, exotic products, and fuel at low cost and with cheap labor.

Colonial plunder

Economic specialists and historians tell us that the fabulous amounts of gold and silver that were extracted from the entrails of our nations and amassed over the centuries thanks to our peoples' sweat and blood financed the development of the industrialized world that is now the creditor demanding payment of the debt. The amount wrenched away from our peoples in just the last few decades through unequal terms of trade, high interest rates, protectionism, dumping, monetary manipulations, and the flight of capital is much greater than the total amount of the debt. The riches and well-being of which we have been deprived through the imposition of economic dependence and underdevelopment cannot even be estimated, let alone measured. It is our peoples who, by right, are the creditors of the rich and industrialized Western world, both morally and materially. The FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] has been paying Israel cash compensation for the Nazis' genocide against the Jews. Who is paying compensation for the deliberate destruction of our peoples' lives and riches throughout the centuries?

(To be continued)



CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Nicaragua After the Embargo. An eyewitness report and slideshow in Spanish. Speaker: Seth Gelinsky, recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to English. Sat., June 8, 7:30. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Protest Government Violence in Philadelphia. Speakers: Tandi Geabashe, African National Congress; Mary Cater, victim of cop violence in Marietta; Florence McKinley, Coalition Against Displacement; representative of New African Peoples Organization; representative of Ile-ife-umojah; Rev. Hosea Williams, former state representative; Gary Washington, trade union activist; representative of National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., June 8, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King Community Center, 450 Auburn Ave. Ausp: Atlanta chapter of NBIPP. For more information call (404) 622-4120 or 874-5819.

Socialist Educational Weekend. Forum: "The Rising Tide of Black Power in South Africa." Speakers: Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*; representative of National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

Classes: "Popular Revolution in Burkina." Sat., June 15, 3 p.m. "Ghana: Three Years of Mass Uprising." Sun., June 16, 11 a.m. Both classes by Ernest Harsch. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$1.50 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Divest Now! The U.S. Movement in Solidarity For Black Majority Rule in South Africa. Speakers: Enoch Duma, exiled South African journalist; Mel Reeves, Minnesotans Against Apartheid; Argiris Haras, member National Committee, Young Socialist Alliance; representative of African Students Association of the University of Minnesota. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 9, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Maurice. Cuban documentary film on slain Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop and the Grenada revolution. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 16; buffet, 6 p.m.; film and speakers, 7 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

U.S.-backed contras suffer big loss

Continued from Page 5

tionary forces and rejoin Nicaraguan society.

Condemning the Reagan administration's refusal to resume a "civilized dialogue," Ortega repeated that Nicaragua "is willing to sit down with the United States to talk, to seek reasonable solutions despite the fact that we are the victims of their aggression."

"Of course, like Sandino, we will never accept a cowardly peace, a shameful peace. We will never abandon our principles."

St. Louis

As U.S. Deepens Its War in Central America, Democratic Rights are Under Attack. Program will include videotape of right-wing Vietnamese attempted disruption of San Jose socialist bookstore. Sun., June 9, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, room 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Protest Police Bombing of Philadelphia. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 14; preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (cor. Raymond, one block from Broad St.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Celebrate Publication of Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution. Benefit for Socialist Publication Fund. Speakers: Joachim Mark, Grenadian historian; Nicaraguan supporter of the Sandinista revolution; Margaret Jayko, managing editor of the *Militant* newspaper. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 8, 7:30 p.m.; reception, 6:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Publication Fund and Socialist Bookstore. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Queens

South Africa, and 45 Years After Garvey's Death. Speaker: Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition. Sun., June 9, 5:30 p.m. 176-03 Jamaica Ave. Donation: \$4. Ausp: The African Poetry Theatre Inc. For more information call (718) 523-3312.

OHIO

Cincinnati

U.S. Embargo: Act of War Against Nicaragua.

gna. Speaker: Kathleen Denny, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists, toured Nicaragua in 1983. Chairperson: Devin Oldendick, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sun., June 9, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Unions in the U.S. Today. Speaker: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Sat., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

Hands Off Nicaragua — End the Embargo! Panel discussion on Nicaragua. Sat., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

OREGON

Portland

The Fight Against Police Violence in Portland and Philadelphia. Speakers: Connie Allen, Young Socialist Alliance, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 128; Jim Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Steelworkers Under Attack. Speaker: Mark Weddleton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, member United Steelworkers Local 15018. Sat., June 8, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

ACTWU workers in contract battle

Continued from front page

sending the union's demand for wage increases when negotiations opened, ACTWU secretary-treasurer Jack Sheinkman explained that profits were up in the tailored-clothing industry. He quoted the president of the Clothing Manufacturers Association that "a successful apparel manufacturer this year could expect to see a 10 percent increase in sales."

While the manufacturers are making profits, garment workers, who are already among the lowest-paid workers, are falling behind because of inflation. Many garment workers make slightly above the federal minimum wage. Few make above \$5-\$6 per hour. The bosses were also demanding a two-tier contract to pay new workers even less than the present rates.

While the union had asked for increased medical coverage, including a badly needed dental and eye-care program, the manufacturers had demanded there be no increase and that dependents be cut off the present program. Given the low wages made by many garment workers, this would amount to denying any kind of medical care to thousands of children.

The union had also been demanding Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as a holiday, increased disability and life insurance benefits, paid sick days, increased bereavement pay, and improvement in vaca-

tion eligibility.

The bosses said they could give no increases of any kind.

Preparations for a strike provoked a big discussion among clothing workers. Large membership meetings took place in some cities several days before the deadline to vote to authorize a strike. In others, just shop representatives voted and then reported back to the members. In still others, there were no reports — workers just exchanged information they got from friends in other shops. For many, the strike preparations were the first time they were aware of the issues in the contract negotiations.

Feelings ran high that we badly need to

South Africa Solidarity Speak-out. Speakers to be announced. Sat., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Price

Nicaragua Under Siege. Speaker: Cecelia Moriarity, Socialist Workers Party, member United Mine Workers Local 2176. Sat., June 8, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Protest Cop Bombing of Philadelphia Black Community. Speakers: Ken Morgan, National Black Independent Political Party; Rick Sowell, executive director of Crispus Attucks; Malik Edwards, Malcolm X Cultural Resource Center. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Fight Against Apartheid. A panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Sat., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 611½ A Tennessee Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Vietnam: Setting the Record Straight. A meeting to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the victory over U.S. aggression. Speaker: Bill Breihan, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 15, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Puerto Ricans hit war, cop violence

Continued from back page

posed police repression and government cover-ups.

"The National Congress should condemn the bombing. . . . Our youth are being attacked and rounded up by the Philadelphia police. A moment of silence is not adequate to express our anger and our outrage. . . ." We should join with the Black community nationwide, she said, in demanding a governmental and non-governmental investigation of the MOVE mur-

ders.

"The failure to condemn the repressive police tactics," she continued, "will only open the door to further incidents of this type. We must stand up and say *Basta ya* (enough)."

Martel received a standing ovation and her motion passed unanimously.

The convention included a breakfast presentation by Héctor Rivera Cruz, the secretary of justice of the Puerto Rican government.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

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

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-4434.

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.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

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

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

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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

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

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 2219 E. Market. Greensboro. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Ave., Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611½ A Tennessee Ave. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Guess which you can believe — Hours before the president spoke on national television about the need to make corporations pay



Harry Ring

a fair share of taxes... he told a Cabinet meeting the corporations should pay no taxes, administration officials said. — News item.

Royal welcome — British

Prince Charles and Princess Diana were perhaps taken aback on visiting a housing project in Sunderland when a group of young demonstrators held aloft placards declaring "Go Home parasites" and "Hello Big Ears." (The prince reportedly has large ears.) Police confiscated the placards and a pair of large false ears, plus arresting two demonstrators, one for yelling, "Parasite."

Join the U.S. Navy and live it up — Board a navy plane, draw a cup of java from a \$7,600 coffeemaker. Sit down on a \$640 toilet seat and tamp out your cigarette in a \$659 ashtray. And next April, pay your taxes with a smile.

We should have realized — The above item really isn't fair to the Grumman folk who install quality toilet seats and ashtrays in their planes. A spokesperson explained this results from the navy not buying in quantity and besides when they ordered two of the same ashtrays from Navy manufacturing facilities, they were billed \$900 apiece.

Excuse them — Canadian officials okayed the use of management personnel as scabs at a struck Ontario nuke plant. A scab pulled a wrong lever, degrading 80 tons of coolant for the plant core. A company official explained the mistake was due to the proximity and similarity of two levers, not the inexperience of the scab. He

said the error was "embarrassingly awkward, but can happen to anyone."

Slip of the pen — Owners of Three Mile Island would like a partial refund of a \$100,000 fine. It was imposed because a station manager and supervisor had certified in 1979 that the supervisor had met requirements to renew his license even though both knew he had used someone else's work to pass the test. The company admits this happened, but assures it wasn't "willful."

Besides, it was only workers — Last December four workers at Three Mile Island's Unit 1 reactor ingested some radioactive parti-

cles. They complained to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission that the company had refused to provide them respiratory protection equipment. The NRC decided not to cite the company for this, advising it had merely used "poor judgement" in the matter.

Great work — In New York City (Edward Koch, mayor), diesel powered buses, trucks, and cabs now spew 3,000 tons of toxic material into the air annually, producing added filth and an increased number of cases of lung cancer. A city environmental official assures, however, that "New York is ahead of every other American city in studying the problem."

Young Socialist meeting hits U.S. war, apartheid

Continued from Page 6

From Phoenix, Glenn reported that the YSA played an important role in building an April 20 coalition there, and nearly 400 people turned out for the action. The largest previous one, he said, was 200. An index of the growing political awareness, he said, was that 30 copies of the new Nicaragua book were sold at the march and protest.

Support from ACTWU official

Chris from Portland reported that there a local official of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union had visited Nicaragua, and on her return agreed to cochair the April coalition. This, Chris said, was valuable in bringing the issue into the shops and underlined how important it is to get both rank-and-file unionists and officials to go to Nicaragua.

Chris also said that the Portland YSA had solicited invitations from high schools to speak on Nicaragua. They spoke at three schools and found that at one of them, there was a group of students who had gone to Nicaragua.

Kate from Detroit reported that high school YSAers there had done a particularly good job of building April 20 among other high school students.

She said that Detroit NBIPP had also been very active in building the demonstration and was able to bring people to Washington. She also reported that in building the April 20 coalition, they found it very productive to work with activists in the nuclear freeze movement who had extensive contact with many local union officials.

David, a New York high schooler, said there were several New York high-school buses to Washington April 20.

He said several students from his school marched with the YSA contingent there and were particularly pleased with the opportunity this gave them to meet participants from other parts of the country.

All the students he has talked to since were given a boost by the march. Their reaction, he said, was, "Make sure there's demonstrations in the fall!"

David insisted on the need for regular sales of the *Young Socialist* and other socialist literature at high schools.

Natasha from the Minneapolis-St. Paul

Twin Cities said socialists there had been instrumental in getting the April 20 coalition to include demands relating to the farm crisis, and that farm activists were successfully involved.

From San Diego, Merrill confirmed an upswing in campus activity. At the University of California, San Diego, the YSA has regularly had a literature table at a weekly campus forum. They now find a bigger attendance at these, and an increased sale of socialist literature.

And in one sale recently at City College, she added, they were able to sell 15 copies of the *Young Socialist* in an hour.

Andrew of San Jose said that with the recent gain of new members, it was particularly important to think of the political education of members, new and old. He suggested using material in *Intercontinental Press*, particularly the recent Castro speeches and interviews, which he de-

scribed as a "school of Marxism."

This point was reiterated by Mike from Denver. He saw it as a particular responsibility of chapter executive committees to ensure that meetings include educational discussion. The approach to meetings, he said, should be, "Is this something people will look forward to and get something out of?"

Mike spoke of the prospect of winning young farmers to the YSA. He said Denver YSAers would travel a long distance to a farm demonstration and meet young farmers there who had also come from their area.

The busy convention schedule also included workshops, panel discussions, classes, a disco, and a major rally in solidarity with the people of Central America and South Africa.

The credentials committee reported that 436 people had registered at the conven-

tion. In addition to the delegates elected to represent each YSA chapter, observers included members of the YSA and SWP, and members of sister organizations in France, Great Britain, Canada, and New Zealand.

Also, there were 56 additional guests, a majority of them young people newly interested in the YSA.

The gathering registered its internationalist outlook with a particularly warm greeting to Corrine Alluz, a member of the National Bureau of the Revolutionary Communist Youth of France, sister organization of the YSA. She brought greetings from her organization and invited the convention participants to attend the July 21-28 International Youth Camp, which will be held in the south of France and will feature discussion on a range of international political issues.

Before the convention was over, 10 people had signed up for the trip.

Reagan's tax plan offers little to workers

Continued from front page

come. For the first time such company-paid "benefits" as health insurance would be taxed. For now, the proposed taxable limit is \$300, but you can bet that it won't stay there.

When they first began taxing unemployment insurance a few years back, they put a limit on that, too. You had to have a certain level of income before your jobless check was taxed.

Under the new plan all unemployment insurance will be taxable income regardless of how low your total income is.

Even more outrageous, workers' compensation for job-related illness or injury would be come taxable — including black lung compensation.

The chipping away at workers' income would continue in other ways. For instance, deductions for work clothes, tools, other job-related expenses, and union dues — now fully deductible — would be deductible only beyond 1 percent of income. That means if you had a gross income of \$20,000 and your job expenses added up to \$220, you can only deduct \$20.

Minimum tax on corporations

The plan includes a gimmick designed to cut back further on public services. At first glance it appears aimed mainly at the wealthy families.

Currently, interest from municipal bonds is exempt from federal income tax. Under the new plan, the types of bonds eligible for tax exemption would be sharply curtailed.

What kind of bonds would no longer be tax exempt?

Such bonds as those financing low-cost hospitals, low-income housing, and pollution control. Other kinds of municipal bonds would remain tax exempt.

But as we indicated at the outset, not everyone gets shafted by the new tax plan.

For sure, not big business.

To put a damper on the outcry over revelations that the wealthiest corporate giants often pay no income taxes, the plan proposes to put a minimum tax on capitalist corporations, and some of the corporate tax loopholes would supposedly be narrowed.

This, the White House contends, will generate \$140 billion in tax income over the next five years.

But, at the very same time, the plan proposes that the top corporate tax rate be reduced from 46 percent to 33 percent!

Discussing the supposed added \$140 billion corporate tax bill, the *Wall Street Journal* assured its readers: "Much of that would, however, be offset by the lower corporate tax rate."

Not to mention that for the ultrawealthy families who rule this country, corporate taxes — when paid — are relatively small change, and mainly just one more "cost" to be passed on to working people through higher prices and other means.

And in terms of personal income tax, the new plan gives the rich little to complain about.

According to the government, of those "earning" \$100,000 to \$200,000 a year, 63 percent would enjoy a new tax cut under the plan. For those in the \$200,000 and beyond bracket, it would be 71 percent.

Rich get 35 percent cut in four years

If the plan had been in effect last year, Reagan — with a reported income of over \$400,000 — would have pocketed a savings of \$28,000. That is more than a lot of people make in a year.

Those richer than Reagan will benefit even more.

In 1981, the top tax bracket was reduced from 70 percent to 50 percent. The new plan would cut it from 50 to 35. That's a 35 percent cut in four years. Not bad.

And keep in mind that the 35 percent limit applies to every family with an income of \$70,000 and up, all the way up. With "earnings" of \$10,000,000, the rate is the same 35 percent as for the \$70,000.

As an extra dividend for the wealthy, the capital gains tax, which covers such items as profits from the sale of stocks, etc., would be reduced from a maximum of 20 percent to 17.5 percent.

Plus, it should be remembered, all of this is simply the initial presentation. When the members of Congress start adding the fine print, we can reasonably assume the deductions and loopholes for the rich will

be expanded and the tax noose will draw more tightly around the necks of the rest of us.

Another bit of hype about the plan is that it will allegedly simplify filling out your tax return.

The basis for this claim is that the number of tax brackets would be reduced from 14 to 3. Within your given bracket, however, you would still have the same nerve-racking job of figuring out what you owe.

The effect of reducing the number of brackets is to move toward a "flat" tax.

This would be the "simplest" — and most regressive — of all.

Under a flat tax, everyone — the capitalists as well as workers and working farmers — would pay the same percentage of their income in taxes. This would mean that working people would pay an even greater portion of the taxes collected than they do already.

The present tax system, under which higher incomes are taxed at progressively higher rates, was once denounced by Reagan as "spawned by Karl Marx."

While the idea didn't originate with Marx, he favored progressive tax rates. And he also opposed any form of sales tax, which hits hardest at those with the smallest incomes.

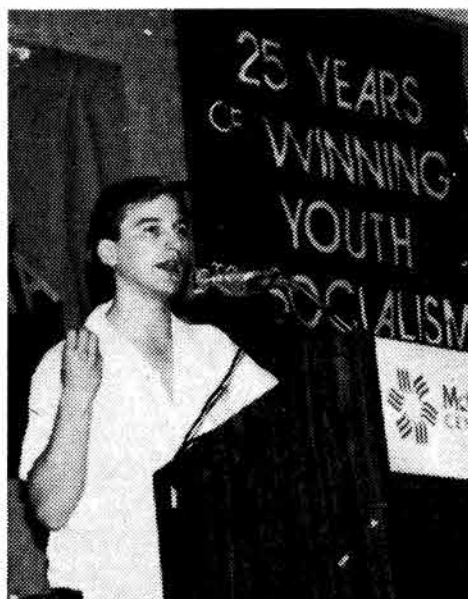
An 1848 leaflet to German workers drafted by Marx proposed:

"The introduction of steeply graduated taxes, and the abolition of taxes on articles of consumption."

In advocating a sharply graduated tax system, for Marx the goal was that the capitalists should bear the burden of taxes, rather than the workers and other exploited producers.

That's a sound idea. Working people produce all the wealth of society, every bit of it. The ruling class lives off the bulk of the wealth created by the workers and working farmers who are compelled to live on only a small fraction of what they produce.

Reagan's tax goal is to put more and more of the brunt on the workers. His tax "reform" swindle makes an already rigged, anti-worker tax structure even worse.



Militant/Lynn Allen
YSA National Secretary Peter Thierjung

Lessons of Philadelphia bombing

Two weeks after the May 13 terror bombing of West Philadelphia's Black working-class community that left eleven people, including four children, dead and 61 homes destroyed, Mayor W. Wilson Goode appointed a city commission to investigate the events. This comes after growing local and national criticism of the Democratic city administration for its support to and organization of the bombing. A local protest of 200 occurred outside City Hall on May 30 (see page 5), and the national convention of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights condemned the murderous attack (see page 16).

A discussion is under way about the meaning of this violent act. What lessons can working people draw? What does it tell us about U.S. society?

Simply put, it gives us an inkling of what capitalism has in store for the working class and other exploited producers. What class but that of a handful of superrich families would bomb a working-class neighborhood?

What class cares so little about the lives of working people?

What class sanctions official murder — in the fields, mines, and factories, in the communities of the oppressed and exploited, in the prisons, and on battlefields throughout the world?

The target in Philadelphia was MOVE, a predominantly Black community group. The "crime" of MOVE was that the way they lived was an embarrassment to the city administration.

The Democratic Party mayor, the cops, and the big-business media all despised the fact that MOVE members used the last name "Africa," wore dreadlocks, and lived communally. They refused to conform to what city authorities deemed socially acceptable behavior in capitalist society. So these officials ordered the cops to fire round after round of ammunition into their home, and then to firebomb it.

The impact of their assault goes far beyond MOVE, however. It is a warning to all those whom the capitalist rulers view as beyond the pale. It is aimed at intimidating militant union pickets, women's rights activists, Black and Latino rights' fighters, and opponents of Washington's interventions around the world — those whom the rulers label as "militants," "subversives," and "terrorists."

The bombing was thus more than a racist assault on the Black community. It was aimed at all working people. It

was aimed at everyone's democratic rights.

The brutality of the capitalist system — its inherent violence — is the real lesson of the bombing attack. This system based on private profit always places the interests of the rich above the needs of working people. The capitalist state will use every weapon at its disposal to protect the rule of the billionaire families and teach working people a lesson.

The Philadelphia Democratic city administration headed by W. Wilson Goode, like city administrations around the country, serves this class. This is true for all Democratic and Republican politicians — no matter the color of their skin or whether they are male or female.

The cops, too, are servants of the capitalist class. They carry out daily violence against Blacks and other working people. Working farmers have been attacked by cops, as have antiwar and anti-apartheid activists, and supporters of abortion rights.

The capitalist class enriches itself from the labor of the vast majority — the working class and working farmers. It profits from our poverty and unemployment, from racial and sexist oppression. To protect this system of exploitation, the capitalists must use violence, repression, and war against working people at home and abroad.

This is clearly true on a world scale, where the U.S. government is organizing and funding the *contra* war against the workers and farmers in Nicaragua and supports the apartheid regime in South Africa — in order to protect the profits of the U.S. capitalists. It is also true inside the United States against the most oppressed sectors of the working class — Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and others. They are the special targets of government violence.

Protests against racist violence such as the murderous attack on MOVE help raise the political price the capitalist class pays for its savagery.

More actions like the May 30 march are needed to unite all those organizations and individuals ready to act against crimes such as these by the government.

As long as the capitalists rule, working people will face a future of violent attacks, growing poverty, and war. Only by the struggle of the working class and working farmers to take political power from this savage ruling class through the formation of our own government — a workers and farmers government — can capitalism be abolished and its violence against us ended.

Need big push to top fund goal

As the *Militant* goes to press, there is just one week left in our drive to raise \$75,000 by June 15 for the Socialist Publication Fund. With an all-out effort, we can reach that goal.

Where do we stand?

Pledges to the Fund went way over our goal of \$75,000. More than \$98,500 has been pledged so far! This is an accomplishment to be proud of.

And to date we have actually collected \$54,530.

This puts us within striking distance of reaching our goal of having \$75,000 in hand by June 15 so we can confidently move ahead with our plans and projects. With a big enough effort, we could even go over the top by June 15.

We are appealing to our supporters to make that special effort to pay their pledges by June 15. It is extremely important that we reach our goal on time. Having the funds in hand by June 15 means that we can confidently make projections and know we will be able to follow through.

The turning point in the fund drive came after the April 20 antiwar actions. The tremendous response of a new generation of antiwar fighters to our socialist publications

and their hunger to know the truth about Nicaragua, South Africa, Grenada, Vietnam — about the struggles of working people throughout the world and in this country — drove home just how important our socialist publications are.

Contributions and pledges, large and small, have come in from members and supporters of the SWP and YSA; from subscribers to our publications and people who read the *Militant* on the job; from unionists and farm activists; antiwar and anti-apartheid fighters on the campuses and in the unions; fighters for the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women; from undocumented workers, and others.

From the Detroit autoworker who walked into the SWP headquarters with a check for \$500, to the garment workers who contributed a week's pay, to the many who contributed \$5 or \$10, the generous response to the fund shows confidence in the socialist publications and the hearing they get among working people. The successful Socialist Publication Fund rallies also show this.

We are urging all of you who have made pledges to the Socialist Publication Fund to make that special effort to send in your pledge as soon as you can. And, if you haven't gotten around to sending a contribution, or are able to send a little extra, now is the time to do it.

Pilots' strike needs solidarity

The union-busting strike provoked by the owners of United Airlines against the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) demonstrates that the capitalist greed for profits is at the heart of the antilabor offensive. Despite over one half billion dollars in profits last year, United is demanding more.

Before the strike, United tried to force a two-tier wage structure onto ALPA under which it would take from 19 to 25 years for a new pilot to receive top pay. ALPA refused this outrageous demand but, despite United's profits, were still willing to make wage and other concessions to the company. The United bosses arrogantly refused their concessions.

To its credit, ALPA responded with some union solidarity moves. This included organizing to win solidarity from other unions and potential allies who are all victims of the anti-labor offensive.

One example of solidarity is ALPA's decision not to agree to a new contract that does not include jobs for 500

pilot trainees who have refused to scab for United.

Another example was the decision of ALPA members to walk the picket line of Coca-Cola strikers in Chicago where members of the Teamster's union were striking against a concessions contract. The Teamster strikers responded by walking on ALPA picket lines.

A third example was the decision of ALPA to provide transportation home for United flight attendants who were left stranded by the company at the beginning of the strike. The attendants' union, the Association of Flight Attendants, responded by pledging support to ALPA.

These concrete acts of solidarity point in the direction of what is needed to stop a hard hitting union-busting attack.

But companies like United are demonstrating that they won't stop their antilabor attacks until they are brought to a stop by a stronger united working-class response. That's one important reason why every effort should be made to win more solidarity for the striking pilots.

Karl Marx answers question 'What are wages?'

Wage-Labour and Capital, a pamphlet by Karl Marx, first appeared as a series of articles in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (New Rhineland Gazette) in 1849. It was based on lectures he had given to the German Workingmen's Club in Brussels, Belgium, in 1847. Below is the first part of the article, "What are wages?" The second part will be run next week. The pamphlet may be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014 for \$1.50 plus 75 cents for postage and handling.

If several workmen were to be asked: "How much wages do you get?" one would reply, "I get two shillings a day from my employer"; another, "I get three shillings a day," and so on. According to the different branches of industry in which they are employed, they would mention different sums of money that they receive from their respective employers for the completion of a certain task; for example, for weaving a yard of linen, or for setting a

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

page of type. Despite the variety of the statements, they would all agree upon one point: that wages are the amount of money which the capitalist pays for a certain period of work or for a certain amount of work.

Consequently, it appears that the capitalist *buys* their labour with money, and that for money they *sell* him their labour. But this is merely an illusion. What they actually sell to the capitalist for money is their *labour-power*. This labour-power the capitalist buys for a day, a week, a month, etc. And after he has bought it, he uses it up by letting the worker labour during the stipulated time. With the same amount of money with which the capitalist has bought their labour-power (for example, with two shillings) he could have bought a certain amount of sugar or of any other commodity. The two shillings with which he bought twenty pounds of sugar is the price of the twenty pounds of sugar. The two shillings with which he bought twelve hours' use of the labour-power, is the price of twelve hours' labour. Labour-power, then, is a commodity, no more, no less so than is the sugar. The first is measured by the clock, the other by the scales.

Their commodity, labour-power, the workers exchange for the commodity of the capitalist, for money, and, moreover, this exchange takes place at a certain ratio. So much money for so long a use of labour-power. For twelve hours' weaving, two shillings. And these two shillings, do they not represent all the other commodities which I can buy for two shillings? Therefore, actually, the worker has exchanged his commodity, labour power, for commodities of all kinds, and, moreover, at a certain ratio. By giving him two shillings, the capitalist has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much wood, light, etc., in exchange for his day's work: The two shillings therefore express the relation in which labour-power is exchanged for other commodities, the *exchange-value* of labour-power.

The exchange value of a commodity estimated in money is called its *price*. Wages therefore are only a special name for the price of labour-power, and are usually called the price of labour; it is the special name for the price of this peculiar commodity, which has no other repository than human flesh and blood.

Let us take any worker; for example, a weaver. The capitalist supplies him with the loom and the yarn. The weaver applies himself to work, and the yarn is turned into cloth. The capitalist takes possession of the cloth and sells it for twenty shillings, for example. Now are the wages of the weaver a share of the cloth, of the twenty shillings, of the product of his work? By no means. Long before the cloth is sold, perhaps long before it is fully woven, the weaver has received his wages. The capitalist, then, does not pay his wages out of the money which he will obtain from the cloth, but out of money already on hand. Just as little as loom and yarn are the product of the weaver to whom they are supplied by the employer, just so little are the commodities which he receives in exchange for his commodity — labour-power — his product. It is possible that the employer found no purchasers at all for the cloth. It is possible that he did not get even the amount of the wages by its sale. It is possible that he sells it very profitably in proportion to the weaver's wages. But all that does not concern the weaver. With a part of his existing wealth, of his capital, the capitalist buys the labour-power of the weaver in exactly the same manner as, with another part of his wealth, he has bought the raw material — the yarn — and the instrument of labour — the loom. After he has made these purchases, and among them belongs the labour-power necessary to the production of the cloth, *he produces only with raw materials and instruments of labour belonging to him*. For our good weaver, too, is one of the instruments of labour, and being in this respect on a par with the loom, he has no more share in the product (the cloth), or in the price of the product, than the loom itself has.

Agent Orange suit: Vietnam vets shafted again

BY DAVID ZILLY

The courts and the U.S. government are once again telling Vietnam vets and their families who were victims of Agent Orange to literally drop dead.

In a May 9 ruling, federal judge Jack Weinstein exonerated the government of any obligation to pay into the \$20 million fund set up to compensate tens of thousands of vets afflicted by the deadly Agent Orange herbicide.

The original settlement between the manufacturers of Agent Orange and lawyers for the vets and their families

AS I SEE IT

was itself a mockery of justice. It was rammed through by Weinstein in an out-of-court, back-room deal that totally ignored the real needs of these victims of the Vietnam War. Virtually every vet and veterans group associated with the original litigation has subsequently disavowed the settlement.

The basis of Weinstein's original ruling was that under the Federal Tort Claims Act "some form of misfeasance" by the government must be shown, as if the Vietnam War

itself were not misfeasance enough to prove the point.

Weinstein further contended in his ruling that the vets had failed to "offer any proof of a causal connection" between Agent Orange and the myriad of cruel and devastating injuries suffered by veteran and their families. This in spite of the fact that it was Weinstein's out-of-court horse-trading that cut short the trial that was to settle the question of causation in the first place.

Based on this same view, Weinstein ruled on May 28 that payments from the fund will be given only to the totally disabled and to the families of those who have died. No direct payments would be made to those who claim injury from Agent Orange exposure but are not totally disabled.

Weinstein's May 9 ruling completely rejected the idea that "matters of good faith and equity" had anything to do with the case, these being outside the framework of "considerations that the court may take into account under the Federal Tort Claims Act."

These attacks by the courts and the government are part and parcel of a massive campaign to rewrite the history of the Vietnam War and to bury the lessons the American people learned from that war. They come at a time when the rulers of this country are carrying out new

attacks against Vietnam and Kampuchea and are preparing for the possible use of U.S. soldiers in Washington's war against the Nicaraguan revolution.

Many antiwar activists, including Vietnam vets and supporters of the Nicaraguan and Vietnamese revolutions, are beginning to see this connection between the Vietnam War and the aggression the U.S. government is waging today.

The fight to see justice done in the case of Agent Orange vets can only be strengthened by linking it to the war drive that's going on right now. It can help to bring thousands more vets into the antiwar movement that's being built today.

In one of the more candid assertions contained in his ruling, Judge Weinstein said, "Undoubtedly, the United States will pay a high price for its present position" of refusing to compensate Agent Orange victims. This warning by the good judge to the ruling class he represents should be taken as accurate by opponents of the government's policies in Central America and Vietnam.

David Zilly is a Vietnam War vet. He was a marine in Vietnam during the 1968 Tet offensive.

Portland: cops go free in murder of Black man

Continued from back page

news got out. The two cops, Richard Montee and Paul Wickersham, expected to sell a hundred shirts in the first printing.

Outrage at this racist attack was expressed throughout the city, not just in the Black community. It forced the mayor to fire the two cops, with letters of reprimand going to cops who bought the shirts.

Vowing to appeal the firings, the police association began to step up its aggressive anti-Black campaign. At a televised press conference, Stan Peters, head of the Portland Police Association, called leaders of the Black community "vultures" and "racial opportunists."

The grand-jury exoneration of the cops who killed Stevenson gives a green light to further police assaults. It also means that only one important battle is still being waged in the struggle to see justice done. This is the Stevenson family's \$15 million damage suit against the three cops most directly responsible for the killing. Also named in the suit are Police Chief Penny Harrington and the City of Portland. The suit can be a major rallying point for the community.

Ron Herndon of the Black United Front blasted the grand jury vote as a "whitewash," and said the decision came as no surprise. "DAs do not want to prosecute cops. You can look at the history in

this city and cops do not get prosecuted," he said.

Since Stevenson's killing, several leaders of the Black community have been critical of the actions of individual police, but all have taken pains not to condemn the police department as a whole.

Rev. John Jackson — who together with Ron Herndon and Urban League president Herb Cawthorne initiated the early protests — declared at the April 25 rally that the police had a problem of a few "bad apples" and called on the city to get rid of these few cops.

Following the public inquest, Ron Herndon stated: "We've never said all officers are bad. Most officers try to do a good job. For those trying to do a good job, we have always said we want to work with them."

Responding to the slanders made against Black leaders by Stan Peters, Herb Cawthorne said it is "unfortunate that some in the official leadership of the association would try to make a racial issue that we never tried to make a racial issue."

Such statements raise a discussion of the character of the Stevenson killing and the role of the police, as many in the Black community remain highly distrustful of the cops. For instance, at the scene of a traffic accident near a neighborhood park, as cops were getting the injured into ambulances, Black youths took up the chant: "Don't choke 'em! Don't choke 'em!"

In the grand jury decision, it claimed the cops were doing their job as they were supposed to, and that no negligence or crime could be blamed on the police. Though Stevenson was brutally attacked and left to die, this was seen by the grand jury as standard operating procedure. Mayor Fred Clark and Police Chief Harrington hailed the decision.

Militant subscription teams got a different response inside the Black community, however. Many expressed anger at the grand jury decision, disagreeing with its stance that deadly force should be excused. Several people told Militant sales teams that justice wasn't served.

CISPES national convention

Continued from Page 3

pointing to April 20 as an example.

In her remarks at the afternoon plenary, Debbie Reuben, coordinator of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, called April 20 and the three related days of protest activities "a tremendous success," saying solidarity activists "need to march, and march, and march again."

Mike Davis, CISPES National Administrative Committee coordinator, told participants that solidarity activists have to unite with labor, Blacks, and others in the fight against U.S. intervention. He pointed to April 20 as a great contribution to the fight against intervention.

The convention voted that upcoming CISPES activities would include raising \$300,000 in material aid for El Salvador; continuing the organization's campaign to publicize the bombings in the countryside; and stepping up its lobbying efforts.

On a national level, and in many local areas, solidarity groups affiliated to

CISPES had participated in the broad national and local coalitions that had come together to build the April 19-22 Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice. The breadth of this coalition of forces and its national scope are what enabled it to organize the April 20 demonstrations in Washington, San Francisco, and several other cities that involved more than 120,000 people — the most important protest actions against U.S. intervention in Central America to date.

Despite widespread recognition at the convention that April 20 was a positive step in the fight against U.S. intervention, the convention did not discuss how to build on that success through building the national and local April Actions coalitions and championing a perspective within those coalitions of calling more protest actions for the fall.

Also speaking at Saturday's conference were American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt; Berkeley, California, mayor Eugene "Gus" Newport; and Joanne Heisel of the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala.

Hundreds rally for United pilots

Continued from back page

Mention was made of the support from some individual members of the International Association of Machinists, which organizes the ground workers at United. It was pointed out that the support from the IAM members came despite the fact that the national IAM leadership has not told its members to honor the picket lines. Some of the other unions supporting the strike include the Teamsters, Screen Actors Guild, Steelworkers, Communication Workers, United Mine Workers, and the Baseball Players Association.

The strike reached a watershed after United refused to agree to normal back-to-work measures. This came after a tentative

accord was reached May 24 on the issue that triggered the strike — a two-tier wage system. Some compromise had been agreed to, although the agreement was not publicly released.

The accord was torpedoed by United's pledge to 200 scabs that they would receive super-seniority rights over striking pilots in exchange for agreeing to strike break. The union said no. The new agreement was then withdrawn by United.

Management now says it will hire 5,000 new scabs as permanent replacements.

"This is no longer an economic strike," the union replied. "We are on strike against the union-busting stance the company has taken."

LETTERS

Death penalty

Two articles side by side in the May 23 *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* clearly show how the death penalty is used in capitalist society. In one article it said, "The death penalty will be sought for a 25-year-old Seattle man charged with killing an off-duty policeman during a bank robbery last month." Ray Albert Lewis, the Black man charged with the crime, has pleaded innocent.

Meanwhile in an adjacent article headed "Officers won't be indicted," it was reported that the grand jury decided against indicting two white cops in the death of an off-duty Black security guard who died as a result of the "choke hold."

It is obvious from these two articles that cops administer the death penalty while Blacks receive

it.

Jill Fein
Seattle, Washington

Breaks isolation

Enclosed is my request to remain on your subscription list. I am a lifer warehoused in segregation and I am unable to contribute anything.

I've been receiving the *Militant* for three years now. And I thank the people who make it possible for me to receive it. I'd lose contact with reality if I had to rely on establishment media for reports on what is taking place out in the world.

And it mitigates our sense of isolation to know that the people are on the move out there. I share the paper with several comrades here, who also look forward to it. And I want to say how deeply

Chicanos appreciate your coverage on the government's relentless efforts to imprison "Kiko" Martinez.

A prisoner
Florence, Arizona

N.Y. Vietnam mtg.

It is unfortunate that the May 24 *Militant* used the May 5 Vietnam Anniversary Committee event, held in New York City, to further its anti-Jesse Jackson political line by falsely charging him with "stating his disagreement with the purpose of the meeting" when he spoke there.

As the member of the 10th Anniversary Committee Executive Committee who made arrangements for Reverend Jackson to speak on May 5, I wish to state emphatically that the Rainbow Coalition leader's speech at the May

5 meeting was totally in accord with the position of the 10th Anniversary Committee. That position stated that the May 5 event "commemorated the 10th Anniversary of the April 30, 1975, Vietnam victory over U.S. military intervention."

At the first meeting of the 10th Anniversary Executive Committee, while discussing how to present the matter of the end of the Vietnam War, a question was raised about using the term victory — period, because of the death and destruction suffered by the Vietnamese people. While a majority felt that it would be in order to use the term victory — period, the executive, in order to achieve unity in the coalition, unanimously accepted the limiting formulation, "to commemorate the 10th Anniversary of the April 30, 1975, Vietnam victory over

U.S. military intervention."

Rev. Jesse Jackson, on May 5, took the same position that resulted in that unanimous decision.

The Reverend Jackson received all the material published by the committee and was aware of its positions. He in no way indicated any reservations regarding the committee's position.

I believe that a retraction of the *Militant's* unwarranted charge against the Reverend Jackson is in order.

Abe Weisburd
Brooklyn, New York

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.

Puerto Ricans hit U.S. war, Philadelphia cop violence

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

PHILADELPHIA — Close to 500 people participated in the Third National Convention of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights (NCPRR) here May 31-June 2. The political focus of the convention was set in a report entitled "Status of Puerto Ricans in the United States," which was distributed to all participants and summarized in a report to the opening plenary by María Canino, recording secretary of the Congress.

In her report, Canino said that Puerto Ricans face an "economic and social situation that continues to worsen... our rights are being stripped away." This situation, Canino explained, is tied to the U.S.-organized war in Central America.

The growing unemployment, increasing poverty, rising high school drop-out rates, and stepped-up racist violence against Blacks and Puerto Ricans have the biggest impact on young people, Canino explained.

Puerto Rican youths are being "set up to be bilingual shock troops for U.S. imperialism in Latin America," she said. As the U.S. escalates its war, Puerto Rico is becoming more and more militarized. Clearly, she said, the U.S. war "has a direct effect on Puerto Ricans here and in Puerto Rico." Canino proposed that Puerto Ricans continue to participate in antiwar protests and urged stepped-up involvement in electoral politics through supporting liberal capitalist politicians, particularly Democratic Party politicians who are Puerto Rican.

The plenary also heard a report on Congress activities over the last two years by NCPRR president, Diana Caballero Pérez. She said that the Congress participated in many struggles around housing and education, worked on court suits against gerrymandering of Puerto Rican electoral districts, defended undocumented workers, and participated in the April 20 antiwar actions and the picket lines at the South African embassy against apartheid. In the course of these activities, Caballero Pérez explained, the NCPRR has strengthened its ties with unionists, Black groups, and other Latino organizations.

At a luncheon program following the plenary, Philadelphia's Democratic mayor W. Wilson Goode spoke. Before introducing Goode, the program's chairperson, Juan González, NCPRR board member, said that the Congress "shared the outrage of the Black community" over the bombing of West Philadelphia and called for a moment of silence for the 11 victims of the cop attack.

When Goode finally spoke, he said, "No one is proud of what happened on Osage Avenue. I ask all those who know me not to judge me on one incident, on one day, but on my record."

Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers (UFW), addressed the luncheon. She told the audience that "the whole Hispanic world is under attack right now by the Reagan administration. We've been put in the position of being the target of hostility. Today we must take on an additional battle and stop the war in Central America."

Huerta reviewed the growing attacks on the unions in general and against the UFW in particular. She announced a new grape boycott by the UFW. She reminded the audience of the stepped-up attacks on undocumented workers and asked their continued support in fighting racist immigration laws.

Piri Thomas, Puerto Rican writer and poet, also spoke at the luncheon. He described the gains of the Nicaraguan revolu-

tion, as well as the cost in human terms of the U.S.-organized and financed war against that country. The crowd stood in an ovation chanting, "USA out of Nicaragua." Salvador Tío, civil-rights lawyer, also spoke.

The fight against the U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua and the government attacks against Puerto Ricans and other working people dominated the discussions in the workshops. The various resolutions brought to the floor centered on these issues. Among the resolutions passed were support for a youth delegation to Nicaragua and for participation in the sanctuary movement, and support for the October 11 National Anti-apartheid Protest Day. The plenary also voted to back both the Campbell and grape boycotts and the hotel workers currently on strike in New York City.

A resolution was also brought to the floor by Esperanza Martel of the New York chapter on the bombing of the Black community in Philadelphia and the recent attacks on the Puerto Rican community of that city (see story on this page). Martel explained that the Congress had always op-

Continued on Page 12



Militant/Lou Howort

National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights helped mobilize for April 20 antiwar action. It sees as priority the fight against U.S.-organized and financed war in Central America.

Cops round up Puerto Rican youth . . .

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

PHILADELPHIA — "It's like the police have begun a war against us," Nomberto Serrano, 26, said in describing the latest wave of cop terror here.

Since the May 13 government-cop bombing of a MOVE house in West Philadelphia that left 11 dead and destroyed 61 homes in that Black community, the police have stepped up their attacks on the Black community and now on the Puerto Rican community. Using an investigation into the slaying of a cop on May 28 as cover, the cops have begun sweeps of the Puerto Rican community here.

On Wednesday, May 29, 60 to 70 youths were picked up by the cops in the Roberto Clemente playground. Communi-

ty residents told reporters that the cops harass them if they so much as stand in groups on street corners to talk. Residents of at least two houses in the community said that cops wielding sledgehammers broke into their homes early Thursday morning, May 30, taking into custody two young men who were later charged with selling small quantities of marijuana to undercover agents.

Cops deny harassing the community. Lt. Al Lewis, a police department spokesperson, told the press that "there have been no roundups to my knowledge. We don't engage in roundups." Yet some 125 people, mostly young Puerto Rican men, have been picked up since May 29.

The youths who have been part of these

raids say that they have been picked up, handcuffed, thrown into a van, and brought to police headquarters. There, they say, they are photographed and questioned for up to two hours.

One youth, David Velásquez, 16, who was picked up by the cops while standing on a corner with his friends, told reporters that "they [the cops] said they are going to keep doing this every single day until they find the cop killer."

Raúl Serrano, president of the Spring Garden United Neighbors, a community organization, told reporters that the residents are being targeted by the cops because they are Hispanic. "We're being victimized," Serrano said.

. . . and go free in murder of Black man

BY K.C. ELLIS

PORTLAND — The Black community suffered a new blow when a grand jury refused to indict any of the cops involved in the April 20 killing of Lloyd Stevenson. Stevenson, a 31-year-old Black man and father of five, was the victim of the choke hold used by Portland cops.

Witnesses said Stevenson, who was watching a scuffle between a store clerk and a suspected shoplifter, was drawn into an argument with two white gas station attendants. When cops arrived they attacked Stevenson, applying the choke hold. According to witnesses, Stevenson had offered no resistance to the cops.

A grand jury was convened to determine whether criminal charges would be brought against the cops.

A public inquest preceding the grand jury found the police guilty of criminally negligent homicide. The inquest exposed the racism underlying events leading to Stevenson's death, and the verdict was seen as an indictment against killer cops. The inquest verdict, however, carries no legal weight and cannot be used in a grand jury or a trial.

The killing of Lloyd Stevenson pro-

voked outrage in the Black community. At an April 25 demonstration of several hundred, protesters shouted, "We want justice!" and called for banning the choke hold. The public inquest and a temporary ban on the choke hold were won as a result of the mass pressure.

Hundreds rally to support pilots

BY ROBERT BYRD

FT. LAUDERDALE, Fla. — Over 400 pilots and their families attended a spirited rally in support of striking United Airlines pilots May 30. Also attending were pilots from Eastern, Delta, Pan Am, and other airlines, as well as a handful of other airline workers.

This was the third national teleconference organized by the Air Line Pilots Association since the strike began on May 17. The teleconference featured a live TV hook-up from Chicago, where one of several rallies around the country was being held. Other meetings took place in Los Angeles, Denver, San Francisco, Seattle, Cleveland, New York, Washington, D.C.,

and Honolulu.

Capt. Roger Hall, the main speaker for the United Airlines pilots, focused his remarks on United's attempt to break the Air Line Pilots Association. Other speakers pointed to the "crash" courses being given to scab pilots and how unsafe this was. Capt. Rick Dubinsky, the head of the strike committee, explained the overwhelming support for the strike among pilots, including the new-hires, who have almost universally refused to cross the picket lines. The biggest applause of the meeting came for the Association of Flight Attendants, which has been among the strongest supporters of the strike.

Continued on Page 15