

Agent Orange settlement: no justice for veterans

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

In a surprise move on what was to have been the opening day of trial, a federal district court judge in New York announced that the class-action lawsuit filed by 15,000 Vietnam veterans and their families who are victims of Agent Orange, had been settled. This avoided a trial that could have been politically damaging and dangerous to the U.S. government and the seven chemical companies that produced the poisonous-defoliant.

During the Vietnam War the U.S. government sprayed 12 million gallons of Agent Orange on Vietnam causing untold damage and misery to that country and its people. U.S. GIs were also victims of this barbaric policy. Their exposure to the toxic substance, dioxin, resulted in serious illnesses among them and their families, including birth defects in their children.

For years these victims have been waging an uphill battle to bring Dow Chemical, Monsanto, and five other Agent Orange manufacturers to court to win compensation. The out-of-court settlement establishes a \$180 million trust fund to pay claims filed by the 15,000 plaintiffs and countless others who may be eligible.

The deal was worked out under the guidance of a panel of three "special masters" appointed by the court. Among the three were Leonard Garment, former counsel and assistant to Richard Nixon, and one of Garment's law partners.

Attorneys for the veterans, who feared that the giant chemical companies could keep the case in court for years, thus postponing any payments indefinitely, agreed to the settlement. However, not a single veteran was involved in the negotiations.

"I don't think they should get off this easy," said Al Marcotte, one of a dozen veterans in the court room when the surprise deal was announced. "I have no feeling for this country anymore," he continued. "They have total disregard for us when they can plea bargain behind a closed door without notice to us."

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Mel Mason (an Air Force veteran discharged in 1965) was also critical of the agreement. He told the *Militant*, "Of course it's understandable that many Vietnam vets want to force some money out of these chemical companies right now to pay for the suffering these veterans and their families have already endured."

"But why are Dow Chemical and the others so happy with this deal?" Mason asked. "It is not only because this settlement is just pocket change to them, which will be covered by their insurance policies."

"It is not only because, while it sounds like a lot of money, it is only a drop in the bucket compared to the billions these war profiteers raked in off the suffering of the Vietnamese and the U.S. working-class youth who were sent to fight," he said.

"It is also because they feared a trial. They feared it might bring out more of the truth about the genocidal campaign they helped wage against the Vietnamese people," Mason declared.

"More of the truth could have emerged," he continued, "about the indifference of the U.S. government to the suffering of the GIs who were forced to fight a war that was not in their interests."

"It is the government that stands behind this settlement," Mason declared. "The U.S. government does not want the story of the Vietnam War being told through the eyes of Vietnam veterans in the glare of national publicity in a courtroom in New York. Not at the very same time that the government is beginning a new Vietnam-

Continued on Page 15

Salvador election fraud cover for more U.S. war

As the votes were being counted in the U.S.-sponsored elections in El Salvador, Reagan made his May 9 speech on Central America.

Like the Salvadoran elections, the speech was intended to undermine opposition to Washington's swiftly escalating military intervention in Central America.

The speech came two weeks after a CBS poll found that only one person in three supported U.S. policy in Central

EDITORIAL

America and nearly half feared it would bring direct GI involvement in the war.

The central theme of Reagan's speech was the shopworn hoax that "communist subversion" was responsible for the victorious revolution in Nicaragua and for the civil war raging today in El Salvador.

That's standing the truth on its head.

It was imperialism — specifically U.S. imperialism — that created the conditions for the victorious Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. And, by the same token, it is the effects of decades of economic plunder and political repression by U.S. imperialism that sparked the popular rebellion in El Salvador.

For generations, U.S. business has extracted tremendous profits from Central America, leaving the people impoverished in the process. To ensure that flow of profits, Washington installed and supported a series of dictatorships in the various countries of Central America. When needed, U.S. occupation troops were sent in.

Now U.S. guns and dollars are being used to stem the broad revolutionary opposition to what it created. And the plans are already in place for again dispatching



Salvadoran government soldiers and one of their many victims. U.S. money, arms, and soldiers are key prop of brutal dictatorship in El Salvador.

U.S. troops.

Because Reagan can't state that simple truth, he has to lie through his teeth.

For instance, without a blush, he said, "When the Sandinistas were fighting the Somoza regime, the United States policy was: Hands off. We did not attempt to prop up Somoza."

But it was Washington that installed the Somoza family as the rulers of Nicaragua during a U.S. Marine occupation of that country.

When popular opposition to the Somoza

tyranny erupted, Washington did all in its power to save him.

It was only when Somoza was clearly finished that the Carter administration assumed a "hands off" posture. (Meanwhile, Washington's junior partner, Israel, continued to ship arms.)

Today, the CIA has recruited an army of some 11,000 Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary exiles who are massed on Nicaragua's borders with Honduras and Costa Rica.

Continued on Page 18

Police attack copper strike solidarity rally

BY BARBARA GREENWAY
AND KAREN KOPPERUD

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — The National Guard has returned to this copper mining area for the second time during the strike against the Phelps Dodge Corp., the state's largest copper producer. Copper

miners have been on strike against the company since July 1983, for over 10 months.

The Arizona guard was sent in by Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt on Sunday, May 6, on the heels of a police assault led by Department of Public Safety officers

(state troopers) against a May 5 strike solidarity march and rally.

At least 12 strikers and supporters were arrested on trumped-up charges ranging from "unlawful assembly," and "inciting to riot," to "aggravated assault." According to Antonio Bustamante, an attorney for the arrested workers, they have been denied food, the right to telephone calls, and proper medical care for injuries sustained at the hands of the cops.

"There will be no plea bargaining," declared Babbitt. "We will put people in Florence [the state prison] and keep them there," he threatened.

Last August, Babbitt sent hundreds of heavily armed guardsmen into Morenci and Ajo, centers of the copper strike. This move established that the full power of the state would be placed behind the giant corporation in its effort to deny a decent contract to copper workers.

Babbitt took that step after unionists and their supporters staged a series of militant demonstrations that persuaded Phelps Dodge to shut its mining operations for 10 days.

But following a 10-day "cooling off" period, Phelps Dodge reopened the mines and the National Guard and state troopers were on hand to herd scabs into work. Since then no expense or effort has been spared to break the strike and bust the 13 local unions of copper workers led by the United Steelworkers of America.

The embattled strikers have heroically stood up to this union-busting. The latest police assault and deployment of the National Guard is a new attempt to break the

Continued on Page 2



Cop attack on May 5 rally for militant Arizona copper miners is latest chapter in series of government moves to help Phelps Dodge Corp. break strike, which is now in its 11th month.

BY LEE MARTINDALE

Kathleen Denny works at General Electric in Cincinnati and is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 912. Like many other socialist unionists, she is an active member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. In March, she attended CLUW's 10th Anniversary Convention in Chicago.

In its April 20 issue, the *Militant* devoted several pages to coverage of the CLUW convention. Denny saw this extensive coverage as a means to build CLUW among women at the General Motors Norwood plant where she regularly sells the *Militant* at the plant gate. She described the response:

"When the *Militant* carried its coverage of the CLUW convention, I approached all the women I saw going into the plant and said, 'Hi, do you want to read about the Coalition of Labor Union Women's convention?' Of about 12 women I spoke with, 3 bought the paper.

"The plant has about 4,000 workers now. It's an assembly plant that makes Camaros. One of the younger women I talked to told me this was her first day back at work. She had just been called back. But even though GM is calling some people back, there's a lot of forced overtime. One group of Black workers who were waiting to go into work on the second shift told me that when they go in they

never know what time they'll get off."

Involving women workers in building and strengthening the unions is necessary if workers are going to be able to fight back against the bosses' policy of speed-up and forcing some workers to work 60 or more hours a week while others are unemployed. Solidarity within the union movement must be based on a firm commitment to defending the rights of women, Blacks, and Latinos, who are often the last hired and the first laid off.

CLUW advocates union solidarity and increasing the involvement of women in their unions.

CLUW's founding goals, which were discussed and reaffirmed at

the 10th Anniversary Convention, are: organizing unorganized women, affirmative action in the workplace, political action and legislation, and participation of women in their unions.

Denny explained that the CLUW chapter in Cincinnati is working to involve more women auto workers:

"Women in the big auto plants are an important section of union women in the city, and our CLUW chapter has been trying to attract them to CLUW. The local at Norwood, United Auto Workers Local 674, participated in the founding convention of CLUW 10 years ago.

The Cincinnati CLUW chapter dissolved in the late 1970s and

was just rechartered in the last year. None of the women from the big auto plants have joined yet.

"I see selling the *Militant* so these women can read about what CLUW stands for as a good opportunity to start a discussion in this plant about CLUW and the role of working women. The *Militant*'s regular coverage of the problems facing women and the fight for women's rights is also important in discussions.

"I know that the papers I sell at the gate get passed around to more than one person inside. And the response I got showed that these women are interested. I want to bring leaflets with me for these women the next time CLUW sponsors a program."

Police attack copper strike solidarity rally

Continued from front page

miners' spirit and shake their determination.

The May 5 police attack came toward the end of the day's successful and spirited solidarity activities. These had been initiated and organized by the Morenci and Safford Women's Auxiliaries, which have played a key role in keeping the strike alive and visible.

There was a festive atmosphere throughout the day, highlighted by speeches and a videotape that tells the story of the strike.

Women's auxiliary members and their children staffed booths that dispensed food and rally souvenirs, sold to raise much-needed funds.

The strikers' spirits were buoyed by the presence of supporters from New Mexico, California, and elsewhere in Arizona. Some individuals came from as far away as Washington, D.C., and Massachusetts to demonstrate support.

Many strikers and supporters feel the cops engineered a confrontation precisely because the rally had been such a success. Decked out in full riot gear, the state troopers were provocative throughout the day.

At one point a scab brandished a gun. Strikers, who are used to being harassed by the cops over the most minor of incidents, demanded that the cops act. They refused.

A key confrontation occurred about 3:00 p.m. as demonstrators assembled in a few narrow streets to protest scabs entering and leaving the mine. They were met by troopers and local cops armed with rifles, tear gas guns, and clubs.

On a small ridge above the street a group of a few children, most 12 to 14 years old, threw some stones at the cops. The cops seized on this excuse to launch their attack. Eight fully armed state police stormed the ridge chasing after the fleeing young people.

The sight of the cops charging after strikers' children infuriated many in the crowd and they told troopers what they thought about it.

Clifford Hicks, a member of the Interna-

tional Association of Machinists and a rank and file strike leader shouted over a bull horn, "They're pointing the guns at us. Watch what they do!"

Hicks was grabbed, beaten by the cops, and arrested. Hicks' 13-year-old son had his wrist injured by a cop's night stick as he tried to hold on to his father who was being dragged away.

Others who confronted the cops' strong-arm tactics were met with clubs in the neck and forced to the ground.

Those arrested were thrown into a closed paddy wagon and left in the 90-degree heat for more than a half hour before they were carted away.

The strikers and their supporters, who have endured police harassment and violence for months, were not intimidated by the attack. They asserted their legal right to remain in the streets. The cops ultimately decided to retreat and the company canceled the 3:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m. shift changes at the mine. Scabs inside remained overnight.

Glen Phillips, a 60-year-old miner who worked for Phelps Dodge for 28 years, explained bitterly, "The governor, the Department of Public Safety, and the news media, they think we enjoy this — spending all our money on jails and watching them protect Phelps Dodge and destroy our way of life."

Similar themes were echoed at the rally before the cop assault. "We have survived 10 months of being stripped of our human dignity and civil rights, yet now we must continue to be strong," asserted Safford Women's Auxiliary leader Connie Ornelas.

"Does Phelps Dodge really expect us to sit back and watch four generations of blood, sweat, and skills be obliterated?" she asked. "What they fear most is the labor movement," Ornelas continued. "They feel threatened by our solidarity because they hoped to break us long before now. But they have not succeeded. We are still 13 unions standing firm."

Other speakers included Clifton Mayor

Tomás Aguilar, who is the financial secretary of United Steelworkers Local 616, and Vice-mayor Eduardo Márquez, a past president of the Steelworkers local. The crowd gave an enthusiastic greeting to Dr. Jorge O'Leary. "I used to be a company doctor," said O'Leary, a Mexican-born physician who was fired by Phelps Dodge for his support to the strike. "Now I find that I am a soldier of the working class."

O'Leary, who now operates the free People's Clinic for strikers and other townspeople and has been a tireless strike supporter, criticized the national leadership of the AFL-CIO for not taking the necessary action to back the strike and help win it. He also blasted the top labor officials' support to Democratic Party politicians. "We need to build our own party," he told the cheering crowd, "a labor party based on the trade unions."

The small group of much-appreciated out-of-town supporters who came for the day of solidarity were impressed by what they saw. "This is great! I love it here," said Service Employees International Union member Julie McCall. "This is the most courageous group of people I have ever seen."

McCall, of Washington, D.C., first learned of the strike at the national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women held in Chicago in March where two leaders of the Women's Auxiliary appealed for support.

On her trip home from Chicago, McCall was bumped from her seat on the plane and received a free ticket as compensation. She used it to fly to Morenci.

The American Postal Workers Union in Phoenix sent a delegation of five members to the rally. "I wish people nationwide would realize the depths of harassment these strikers have put up with," said the union's state president, Debbie Szeredy. "People should take the time to stop and send money and support," she declared.

As National Guard helicopters buzz over the town and guardsmen patrol the streets armed with automatic weapons, it's clear

that such support is crucial to these heroic strikers who are battling for their union and their dignity as working people.

Mason, González demand halt to terror tactics against copper miners

Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Mel Mason and Andrea González sent the following protest telegram to Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt following the most recent attack on copper strikers.

We protest the brutal police assault on our brothers and sisters, members and supporters of copper unions on strike against Phelps Dodge. This violent provocation against these workers is the latest in the copper bosses' 11-month union-busting drive.

This strike-breaking has been underwritten at every stage by the State of Arizona. This attack, the intervention of the National Guard on two occasions, the evictions of striking workers from company housing, the use of scab labor, and the harassment of Dr. Jorge O'Leary and other strike supporters are all part of the effort to demoralize the strikers and wear down their heroic resistance.

We demand the immediate withdrawal of the National Guard.

The state government must end its support to Phelps Dodge's union-busting and halt the use of terror tactics by police against the copper miners. We call for a swift settlement of this strike, now in its eleventh month, in favor of the just demands of the miners and their unions.

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

SPECIAL OFFER TO MILITANT SUBSCRIBERS

"Maurice Bishop Speaks"

This collection of interviews with and speeches by the slain prime minister of Grenada also includes an introduction explaining the events that led to the overthrow of the revolution, Bishop's assassination, and the invasion by U.S. troops.

We are offering the book to subscribers for a special price of \$4 (a \$2.95 discount!). You can also participate in getting this important book out to others by ordering a bundle of 3 or more copies for \$3.50 each.

Please ☐ begin ☐ renew ☐ extend my subscription:
☐ 3 months/\$6 ☐ I am enclosing an additional \$4.00
☐ 6 months/\$15 for a copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*
☐ one year/\$24

Name _____

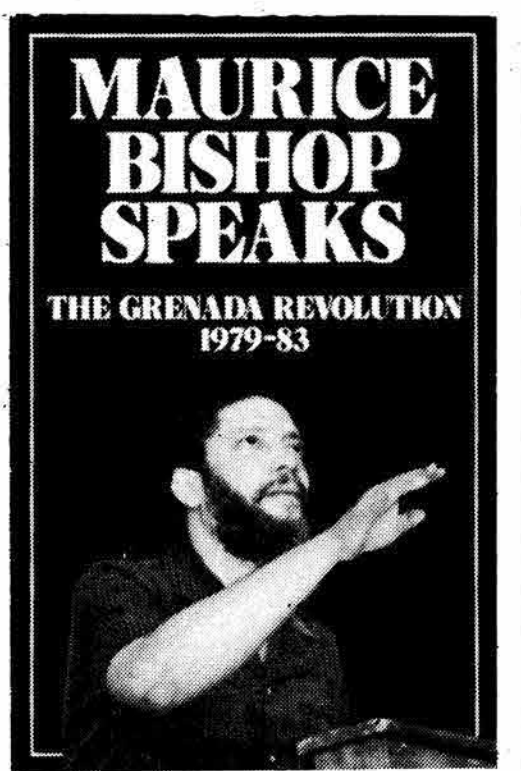
Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____ Union/Organization _____

☐ Enclosed is \$ _____ for a bundle of _____ copies of the book at \$3.50 each to sell to friends and coworkers (minimum of 3 copies).
☐ Enclosed is \$3 for a 12 week introductory subscription (book offer not available).

Mail to: *Militant*, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014.



The Militant

Closing news date: May 9, 1984

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, William Gottlieb, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, Malik Miah, Geoff Mirelowitz, Mohammed Oliver, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Mary-Alice Waters.

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

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

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

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

New York socialists announce '84 congressional campaign

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

NEW YORK — The New York Socialist Workers Party launched its 1984 election campaign at an April 21 rally attended by more than 200 people at the newly renovated campaign headquarters at 79 Leonard Street in Manhattan. The socialist ticket is headed nationally by presidential candidate Mel Mason and vice-presidential candidate Andrea González. The New York SWP is running two congressional candidates — Gerry Kerr, a transit worker and member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 and Nan Bailey, a garment worker and SWP candidate for the 16th Congressional District, which includes Harlem.

In her speech to the rally Bailey sounded some of the main themes of the socialist campaign.

She took up the difference between politics and electoralism. "The bosses present us with Mondale, Hart, Jackson, and Reagan and say: 'Go ahead and choose.'

We're told it's through elections that social change comes about."

As long as workers believe that the important choices and decisions are made on election day, said Bailey, they are successfully diverted from real politics, the fight for their class interests against those of the employers.

"The capitalists use the elections to keep millions of working people out of politics," she explained.

They use the elections to "try to cover up the fact that real political gains for working people, real shifts in the political situation that have benefited us, have only taken place when we have engaged in massive struggle independent of them.

"The fight for the interests of our class — not pulling a lever for a candidate chosen by the wealthy ruling class — is what politics is all about," she said.

This explains why the personality or individual attributes of various candidates is not decisive. "The important thing,"

Bailey stressed, "is the role these individuals play in the broader picture of what is going on in this country."

Bailey is running against Rep. Charles Rangel, a long-time leader of the Congressional Black Caucus and liberal figure in the Democratic Party. "Rangel, and all of the Democrats running for election," Bailey noted, "explain things as if Ronald Reagan is single-handedly responsible for all the problems in this country and the rest of the world. But," she asked, "didn't you have problems before 1980 when Reagan took office?"

Bailey pointed to the depth of the problems facing the working people of her district, most of whom are Black and Latino — the high unemployment, the dilapidated and dangerous housing, the racist cop violence, the proliferation of drug addiction, and the lack of medical care and recreational facilities.

The Socialist Workers Party, Bailey explained, is unequivocally opposed to the racist and anti-working-class policies implemented by the government while Reagan has been in the White House. However, she stressed, the problem is much greater than Reagan the individual.

"Democratic Party politicians, like Rangel, share the responsibility," said Bailey. "They support the same policies."

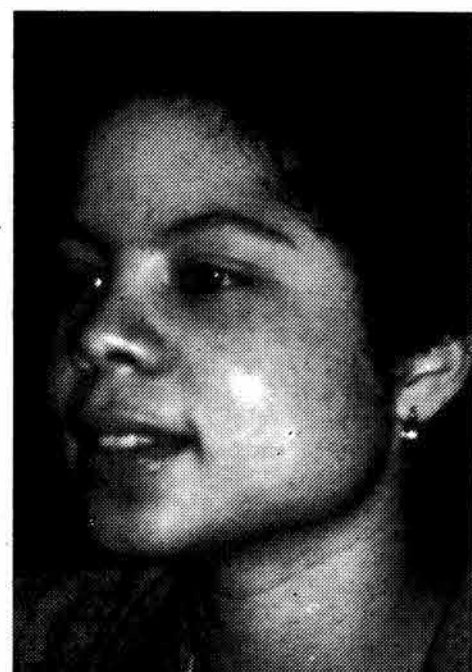
U.S. wars abroad, racism, women's oppression, and exploitation of workers "are part of a planned system, not accidental things," Bailey continued.

"Just as the bosses work hard to squeeze all the profit they possibly can out of us on the job, they work 365 days a year to oversee and sharpen their system of political domination over us. Part of this plan is the fraud of the electoral setup," she said.

Addressing a question that's on the minds of millions of Black people, Bailey asked, "What is Black representation?"

"Is it a Black face in Congress? That doesn't guarantee us Black representation," she maintained.

"Black representation," she insisted,



Militant/Dee Scalera
Garment worker Nan Bailey is Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in New York's 16th Congressional District.

"means representing the interests of Black people. The over 5,000 Black elected officials in the United States does not mean Black representation," said Bailey. In fact these elected Black officials help create an illusion of Black representation where none actually exists.

"Every Black Democrat and Republican," as officials of capitalist political parties, "represents the interests of the capitalists, whose interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of Black people," Bailey declared.

Pointing to the example of the island of Grenada, she asked, "Did Grenadians have Black representation when Black dictator Eric Gairy was in power?"

No, she answered. Real Black representation was only won when a revolutionary victory on March 13, 1979, overthrew the Gairy regime and replaced it with one that defended the interests of the Black working people on that island.

Explaining these lessons is one of the chief jobs of the socialist campaign, Bailey told the rally. Socialists do this as part of participating in and supporting real struggles — the real politics — that are going on today. She pointed to the battles of striking copper miners in Arizona, striking hotel workers in Las Vegas and Blacks who are standing up to police brutality, as examples.

The political discussion that is beginning among these and other fighters is "a necessary prerequisite to massive struggles that are coming," Bailey said.

Others are also participating in these discussions and acting to engage in real politics, Bailey noted. She pointed to the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and affirmed that she is "proud to be a member and part of this process of building a Black independent party."

It is out of struggle, said Bailey, that working people will see the need to form their own political party, based on the unions, independent of the bosses' two parties — the Democrats and Republicans. Bailey said her campaign also advocates the formation of an independent Black party, to help lead the struggle of Blacks for self-determination and to be an example for the entire labor movement.

Gerry Kerr chaired the rally, which was also addressed by Mason and González, as well as SWP New Jersey senatorial candidate Priscilla Schenk.



Militant/Dee Scalera
Several national officers of Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee joined candidates at New York rally. Front row, from left: New Jersey senatorial candidate Priscilla Schenk; George Novack, national treasurer; Peter Thierjung, national youth co-coordinator; vice-presidential candidate Andrea González; New York congressional candidate Nan Bailey; Andrea Morell, national campaign manager. Back row: Andrew Pulley and Fred Halstead, national co-chairs; presidential candidate Mel Mason; New York congressional candidate Gerry Kerr.

Michigan SWP files ballot petitions

BY JOANNE MURPHY

DETROIT — Helen Meyers, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Michigan, filed nominating petitions containing 30,000 signatures April 25. The petitions are to place the party's candidates on the November general election ballot.

"In signing these petitions," Meyers said at a well-attended press conference at the State Capitol in Lansing, "the working people of this state have expressed their desire for a real alternative to the two parties of the ruling rich." Meyers is a laid-off member of the United Auto Workers.

The signatures were collected in a 22-day blitz at shopping areas, plant gates, unemployment offices, and campuses around the state. The drive included a campaign visit by socialist presidential candidate Mel Mason.

The Young Socialist Alliance played a big role not only in helping collect signatures but also in organizing breakfasts and dinners that kept petitioners going and in raising money for the campaign.

Many people wanted to hear what the socialists stand for before signing. When we explained that the SWP thinks working people and farmers could run the country better than the rich who run it now, many would reach for the pen and say something like, "I'm for that."

Others signed after hearing that Mason and vice-presidential candidate Andrea González are campaigning to get the U.S. out of Central America.

Andrew Pulley is the Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the 1st District. He is running against Congressional Black Caucus member John Conyers. Pulley got a good response from Blacks and other working people in downtown Detroit who see that Conyers hasn't been able to accomplish anything for them in his 20 years as a Democrat in Congress.

More than 400 copies of the campaign's newspapers, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, were sold during the petition drive. The rate of sales went up as petitioners started showing everyone the papers — those who weren't sure about signing as well as those who signed immediately.

Interest in the proposals of the socialist campaign was highest at unemployment offices and shopping areas in Black communities. Community college students also signed eagerly.

Teams of campaign supporters travelled across the state. They got an especially good response in Flint, where many auto workers have been laid off permanently and General Motors plans to shut down the two plants that were sites of sit-down strikes in the 1930s.

In Lansing, campaigners met auto workers at the unemployment office who were laid off for plant changeovers. These United Auto Workers members told the socialists that up to half of those on layoff will not be called back because of automation.

One Lansing auto worker and his wife helped out by housing team members and inviting them all over for dinner. He said he's been a socialist for a long time but hasn't worked with an organization.

Senatorial candidate Meyers and a group of supporters petitioned in Kalamazoo and were interviewed by the *Kalamazoo Gazette*.

Three Kalamazoo students sent coupons to campaign headquarters asking for more information. One of them set up a meeting with a local peace group so that Meyers could discuss her recent trip to Nicaragua.

Upon submitting the stacks of signed petitions, Meyers and her supporters learned that the state is threatening to disqualify party petitions based on a "random sample" of 500 names that will be checked for voter

registration.

Any attempt to rule the socialists off the ballot will be blatant political discrimination, since the SWP filed 30,000 signatures, well over the 19,963 required. However, the state's rulers are trying to find some way to limit the ballot to capitalist parties only. Michigan's Public Law 94 did this from 1976 until it was declared unconstitutional in 1982 after a long court battle led by the SWP. This fight had broad backing, including help from the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Michigan legislature is now considering House Bill 4710 that would raise the required number of signatures to 56,246. The Workers World Party, which has also filed petitions for a ballot spot, joined with the SWP in protesting House Bill 4710 in its original form, which called for 112,000 signatures. Continued united action will be necessary to fight for the right of working people to have access to the ballot.

SOCIALIST WORKERS '84 CAMPAIGN

BROCHURES (6 cents each)

"Mason for President; González for Vice-president."

"Mason para presidente; González para vicepresidente."

BUTTONS (75 cents each or 50 cents each for 10 or more)

Mason for President

González for vice-president

Mason para presidente

González para vicepresidente

☐ I would like to be a campaign volunteer.

☐ Enclosed is a \$ _____ contribution to the Mason-González campaign.

Name _____

Address _____

City and State _____ Zip _____

To order, send check or money order to Mason for President, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please specify English or Spanish language.

(paid for by the Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee) 18

MASON FOR PRESIDENT • GONZALEZ FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

Bishop book helps draw lessons of Grenada revolution

BY HARRY RING

The campaign to distribute the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks* was given a boost with a feature review in *Dawn Magazine*.

Maurice Bishop Speaks contains the major speeches by the former Prime Minister of the Caribbean island of Grenada. The murder of this outstanding revolutionary leader, and the subsequent U.S. invasion of the island last October, sparked a discussion among working people — especially Blacks — about the achievements of Grenada's revolutionary government.

Published by the Afro-American chain, *Dawn Magazine* is a monthly supplement to 45 U.S. Black newspapers, with a total circulation of 875,000. This includes all the major Black papers in the country.

In addition to the Afro-American chain, New York's *Amsterdam News*, the Chicago *Defender*, the Pittsburgh *Courier*, and the Los Angeles *Sentinel*, all carry *Dawn Magazine*.

Maurice Bishop Speaks was published in December by Pathfinder Press.

Last month, a meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party decided on an intensive 10-week campaign to back Pathfinder's effort to widely distribute this important work. Branches of the Socialist Workers Party, with the support of the Young Socialist Alliance, have initiated special activities to promote this compilation of speeches by the slain Grenadian leader.

Another important impetus to its sale is a discussion of Grenada and the book by Dr. Manning Marable in his syndicated column, *From the Grassroots*.

The column by the noted Black scholar and author appears in 145 papers in the United States, Jamaica, Belize, and the United Kingdom.

Among the papers in which the column discussing the book has already appeared are the Chicago *Defender*, the San Francisco *Sun-Reporter*, and the Sacramento, California, *Observer*.

Also, Prof. Pedro A. Cabán has written a review for Third World publications. He is director of the Puerto Rican and Latin American Studies Program at Fordham University.

Maurice Bishop Speaks is also one of seven current significant books listed in the May issue of the widely circulated *Ebony* magazine.

These reviews are an indication of the amount of discussion about the Grenadian revolution and its meaning that is taking place today, especially among Blacks in the United States and Caribbean.

They are also an indication of the clarifying role that this collection of speeches by the central leader of that revolution can play in these discussions.

The campaign to distribute *Maurice Bishop Speaks* is more than just a sales effort — it's also an act of solidarity with the fight to rid Grenada of the U.S. troops that are occupying the island.

As virtually all the reviews agree, *Maurice Bishop Speaks* is an unusually valuable book. It provides an illuminating, and inspiring, summary of the aims and achievements of the Grenada revolution.

Reading it drives home a big lesson. In four and a half years, the revolution on that small Caribbean island confirmed that when working people and farmers win political power they can in short order begin to come to grips with the giant social problems which, under capitalism, seem to defy solution.

Grenada's revolutionary government put a big dent in a chronically high unemployment rate.

It began the development of a popular education system in a country where education was almost exclusively a privilege of the small minority who could afford it.

With internationalist aid from Cuba, the revolution initiated a health care program where the majority had been systematically denied decent medical care.

With the revolution, women organized and began making real gains on the road to full equality.

A land reform program addressed itself to the needs of small farmers and the landless.

And, for the first time ever, the mass of the people had a genuine voice in government.

The lessons of how all this was done are timely for working people and farmers in this country. This may be the richest capitalist nation on earth. But yet we are afflicted by all the basic social evils that sparked the revolution in Grenada.

It is this that makes *Maurice Bishop Speaks* so relevant and that makes ensuring its maximum circulation so important.

There are many ways to accomplish this, including encouraging bookstores that haven't yet done so to order the book.

The most valuable way of gaining more exposure for the book and its ideas is the organization of receptions and similar events marking its publication.

One such event is slated for New York. It will be held Sunday evening, June 17, at Brooklyn's Medgar Evers College, with a number of notables participating.

These include: Safiya Bandele, director of Medgar Evers College Center for Women's Development; Joachim Mark, noted Grenadian historian; *Intercontinental Press* editor Steve Clark, author of the introduction to *Maurice Bishop Speaks*; Adeyemi Bandele, vice-chairman of the National Black United Front; and the representative of the African National Congress to the United Nations.

As Dr. Cabán's review puts it, *Maurice Bishop Speaks* "distills important political lessons which will undoubtedly influence other revolutionary struggles."

A successful campaign to circulate *Maurice Bishop Speaks* will help ensure this.



Grenada Government Information Service
Prime Minister Maurice Bishop among banana trees at Bocage estate on Grenada's western coast. Under leadership of Bishop and New Jewel Movement, Grenada's revolutionary government drastically reduced unemployment by developing agriculture and local agro-industries. Since U.S. invasion, unemployment has again increased to more than 30 percent.

Forum hits U.S. occupation of Grenada

BY CHRIS HORNER
AND KAREN RAY

SEATTLE — A public forum here in defense of the Grenada revolution drew 150 people. The meeting was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee in Solidarity With Grenada and endorsed by a number of civil rights organizations, trade unionists, and Central America solidarity organizations. A large number of those in attendance were Black.

The purpose of the April 17 meeting was to get out the truth about the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution, to explain how and why the revolution was overthrown, and to protest the U.S. invasion and occupation of the island.

The audience saw two videotapes and a

slide show and heard several speakers.

Harvey Tottin, a Canadian who worked in the agricultural programs of the revolution for more than two years and who was an eyewitness to the invasion, spoke and gave a slide and video presentation. He described the parish council meetings and the mass organizations that brought Grenadians their first-ever experience of democracy.

The presentation effectively answered the U.S. lies about the international airport, which Reagan claimed was a new military base for the Cubans and the Soviet Union. Tottin showed numerous slides of equipment and machinery from dozens of countries involved in the project to build the civilian airstrip, the purpose of which

was to boost the islands' tourist industry.

Tottin also showed a videotape made up entirely of TV news clips of mass media coverage of the invasion. One section showed a U.S. general explaining to reporters that no air or artillery bombardment was being used, then cut to sequences of U.S. troops firing large artillery pieces at government buildings, reducing them to rubble, and of jets and helicopter gunships firing missiles into blazing buildings, including a hospital.

The main feature of the event was a 48-minute videotape made in Vancouver, Canada, last December of a speech by Don Rojas, former press secretary to Grenada's murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Rojas, also former editor of the New Jewel Movement newspaper, the *Free West Indian*, was expelled by U.S. occupation troops following the invasion and has been denied a visa to come to the United States to fulfill speaking engagements.

Raqib Mu'ied, from the American Muslim Mission, spoke at the meeting. He pointed out that "the relationship between Blacks in the U.S. and in the Caribbean is very close, and the idea that a descendant of slaves like Maurice Bishop could run a nation in the Western Hemisphere without first asking the bidding of his master in the White House was something the U.S. government could not tolerate."

Katalina Montero, a Chicana activist and a leader of the Venceremos Brigade who had visited Cuba, answered the lies about the Cuban role in Grenada. She pointed out that Cuba, a poor country itself, selflessly aided Grenada and scrupulously refrained from any intervention into the affairs of the country.

A collection was taken at the end of the meeting for the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19, 1983, Foundation. The foundation, begun by surviving leaders of the revolution still in Grenada, is raising funds to publish the writings of Maurice Bishop and other Grenadian patriots who gave their lives for the revolution.

Celebrate publication of "Maurice Bishop Speaks"

Sunday, June 17
5 p.m. reception, 6:30 p.m. program
Medgar Evers College Cafeteria
New York City

Speakers:

MFANAFUTHI MAKATINI
director, international affairs
African National Congress,
South Africa

SAFIYA BANDELE
director of Medgar Evers College
Center of Women's Development

JOACHIM MARK
noted Grenadian historian

Sponsored by Pathfinder Press and Medgar
Evers College Center of Women's Development

ADEYEMI BANDELE
vice-chairman of the
National Black United Front

STEVE CLARK
editor of "Intercontinental Press"
author of introduction to
"Maurice Bishop Speaks"

'Grenada becomes a study in revolution'

Reviews of Maurice Bishop Speaks.



The following is excerpted from a review by Jodi Z. Omowale in *Dawn Magazine*.

Maurice Bishop Speaks will leave many readers absolutely angry, and often sad. However, it should leave many hopeful about the future of Third World countries.

This book includes speeches and interviews of Maurice Bishop, the slain Prime Minister of Grenada. It is a timely book, given the October 1983 events when Bishop and other New Jewel Movement leaders were murdered by a clique within their organization, led by Bernard Coard.

The coup led to the October 25, 1983, invasion of this tiny Caribbean Island by the United States and the subsequent occupation of the island.

This collection begins with the statement read over the newly declared Radio Free Grenada by Bishop on March 13, 1979, the date assigned for the initiation of the Grenadian Revolution. The speeches continue to the last public address by Bishop in the United States, at Hunter College in New York City.

For anyone wanting information on the Grenadian Revolution and its subsequent betrayal, this is an excellent book.

Bishop is consistent throughout, and the course of the revolution is recorded well here. Very little rhetoric is present in most of the speeches, just the daily account of the concerns, realities and strategies for change and the betterment of the Grenadian people is dealt with.

The best indicators for what was actually occurring in the daily struggles of the Grenadian people can be best seen in the two interviews in the book. Particularly the interview by Grace Dana of July 1981 called "The Present Stage of the Grenada Revolution."

As in a nutshell, almost everything is here — how and why the Revolution took place, the Eric Gairy regime, and the development of the New Jewel Movement.

Bishop's sometimes seemingly paranoid view of the imminent danger of intervention is explained fully. The United States invasion merely adds the proof in an ironic and tragic way.

But the real interest here is that Grenada becomes a study in revolution. A very real program was being carried out in Grenada, a revolutionary process directly related to the lives of the Grenadian people. A process that took into consideration the needs of the people and not just what political line should be espoused.

The book includes a very good introduction by Steve Clark, one of the book's editors, followed by a historical perspective by Arnaldo Hutchinson, which includes updates on what has occurred since the October coup and subsequent invasion/occupation.

The book concludes with a statement by

the Cuban Government, and Fidel Castro, a steadfast friend of the Grenadian people. The addition of these statements lends insights to the dissipation of the Grenadian Revolution itself.

All in all the Grenada Revolution is a clean breath in the staleness of the many bureaucratic solutions proposed and sometimes imposed by governments outside of many Third World countries.



The following is Dr. Manning Marable's *From the Grassroots* column.

The invasion of Grenada has now receded from national debate. The story of Reagan's illegal and unjustified attack on another sovereign nation no longer is reported on the front pages of American newspapers. American troops had seized three of the island's best hotels and had turned the local radio station into a "psychological operations" center. Rewriting recent history, American reporters and officials quickly portrayed the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop as a "moderate socialist" who had been liquidated by "terroristic Marxist Leninists" in a bloody power struggle. To help restore "democracy," the former tyrant, Sir Eric Gairy, was returned to the island.

The media and the U.S. government are now promoting the image of a "safe, pacified Grenada," the perfect little island paradise, just the spot for vacation-bound whites of the upper class. A recent *Washington Post* article presented bikini-clad women posing on Grenada's beaches, in front of strands of barbed wire and armed U.S. troops. Grenada was a suitable setting, the *Post* declared, "because of fashion's turn to primitive prints, often African-inspired or with animal patterns." Hidden beneath the hype, nearly buried under the American propaganda, is the real meaning of the Grenada revolution itself. What was accomplished under the New Jewel Movement's government from 1979 to 1983? Why did the Reagan administration and his puppets in the region, notably Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga, wish to crush this democratic, popular revolution?

Several weeks ago I had the opportunity to discuss these issues with Ian Jacobs, Grenada's Deputy Ambassador to the United Nations in 1983. Jacobs had also served previously as personal assistant to Bishop, and was one of the principal spokespersons for Grenada's revolution.

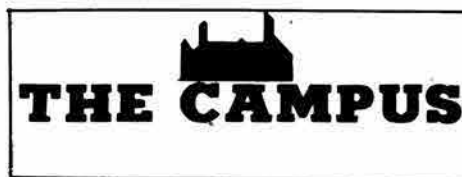
Jacobs noted that neither Grenada's population of 110,000, nor its small size, would have seemed to constitute a threat to U.S. security in the Caribbean. Most of Grenada's weaponry was "of World War II vintage" and the army had no anti-aircraft missiles. Yet the Central Intelligence Agency actively engaged in terroristic ac-

tivities for years to destabilize the government. "The only reason the invasion took place," Jacobs notes, "is because of what the Grenada Revolution represented throughout the Caribbean and in the Third World."

The New Jewel government immediately initiated programs which created a regime "by the people and for the people": free medical care, free dental care, free public education, the construction of new housing and the building of an international airport. Jacobs argued that the "real danger" of the New Jewel's advances was clear to the "rest of the Caribbean and to Latin America. These people might begin to say, 'if the Grenada Revolution could achieve these things, why not us?'" The American media helped pave the way for the invasion by portraying Bernard Coard as a "hardline Soviet Marxist." A group of docile Caribbean leaders led by Seaga were ordered to back the invasion. Any evidence of Grenadian troops who resisted the U.S. army was played down by the press, while the nonexistent "Cuban threat" was blown out of all proportion. News about Grenada today is scarce — and quite deliberately so. As Jacobs argues, "since the invasion the unemployment rate is 33 percent — and it was only 10 percent before. All of the programs of the revolution have been stopped, and human rights are nonexistent."

Yet another source which explains the full meaning of the Grenada revolution is *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, published by Pathfinder Press of New York late last year. Editors Bruce Marcus and Michael Taber present a collection of speeches and interviews by the late Prime Minister, which explain why the New Jewel Movement was able to come to power over the U.S.-backed Gairy dictatorship. Bishop himself repeatedly warned Americans that their government would inevitably try to regain control over his nation by military force.

The real achievement of the Grenada revolution, as *Maurice Bishop Speaks* illustrates, was more than an increase in material benefits and human needs programs. It was, in Bishop's words, the expansion of the very concept of democracy: "people's participation, people's politics... and people's cooperatives for collective development." The government's National Youth Organization and National Women's Organization brought thousands of youth and women into the political process. The various levels of government mandated "the twin principles of accountability and responsibility" between leaders and the masses. An excellent introduction to Bishop's political thought, this book also illustrates the reason why the U.S. was so threatened by the Grenada revolution.



The following is excerpted from a review by Terence Samuel in *The Campus*, the City College of New York student newspaper.

Maurice Bishop was no Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King; nor a Jesse Jackson when it came to making speeches, but he was no slouch either. His speeches had a focus that made him one of the most easily understood in, probably, all of the western world.

Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-83, published by Pathfinder Press, is a collection of Bishop's speeches given during his four years as Grenada's chief executive.

The speeches are direct and to the point. Bishop was seeking quite overtly to, and above anything else, improve the living conditions under which the people of Grenada lived. Part of that task, in his judgment, was to remove Grenada from the chains of U.S. and European imperialism.

"Our success therefore, must be measured in how much we can cut through the chains that have bound us to their system, how rapidly we can immunize our economy to their recessions, how quickly we create our own economic self-reliance that

will keep us strong no matter what happens to the capitalist world."

If you ever heard Bishop speak, you know he had an unrelenting logic that made him seem to bubble over with honesty.

Bishop was a revolutionary by any standard. He was what revolutions were supposed to be about. He cared about what he was doing, he knew what he wanted to do, and he dared to do it. These speeches show what he was about and what the Grenada revolution was about.

The following is excerpted from a review by Prof. Pedro A. Cabán.

Maurice Bishop Speaks is a timely and important collection of documents, which greatly enhances our understanding of the dynamics and significance of the Grenadian people's revolution. More important, the centrality of this revolution as a historic model for national liberation is graphically revealed through the words of Maurice Bishop.

This book is, however, more than a mere compilation of speeches by a major revolutionary figure — it is a document which unravels the complexities of the Grenada revolution and demonstrates how, despite the oppressive poverty and unrelenting external aggression, a unified people were able to partially consolidate their revolutionary struggle.

It was indeed because of the Grenadian people's success in mobilizing international support for their effort to restructure a genuinely just society, that the U.S. state saw as its mission the complete destruction of the revolution. Yet, as is well known, only by the elimination of Bishop and the NJM leadership cadre was U.S. imperialism presented the opportunity to crush this historic struggle for national liberation.

Steve Clark provides a critical appraisal of the fragmentation of the NJM leadership and reveals how a misguided and doctrinaire fraction of this cadre subverted the revolutionary struggle. The essay is an illuminating one because it concretely analyzes how the NJM and Bishop were able to develop the necessary class base to transform the forces and relations of production, while generating the requisite international solidarity in support of this transition.

Clark's essay systematically discusses the role of U.S. imperialism in the unfolding of the Grenada revolution, and makes palpably clear why Washington could not tolerate its consolidation.

Arnaldo Hutchinson's article, which originally appeared in the *Granma Weekly Review*, is a carefully detailed history of the class struggle in Grenada leading to the people's victory over the Eric Gairy dictatorship. It examines the evolution of the New Jewel Movement and how its leaders were able to mobilize the Grenadian people for the historic task of establishing socialism.

The bulk of the book consists of the writings and spoken thoughts of Maurice Bishop. It is the most comprehensive compendium of this important revolutionary leader's speeches. The speeches reveal many facets of this genuinely revolutionary leader's thoughts, and the reader can easily see why Maurice Bishop quickly earned the love and unquestioned loyalty of his people.

But equally as important, these documents demonstrate that Bishop fully appreciated the significance of the Grenada revolution as a people's movement that directly confronted imperialism. The challenge was real because the Grenadian people demonstrated to the oppressed workers of the Caribbean that capitalism could be overthrown, and in its place a socio-economic system based on egalitarianism and collective ownership could be realized. Bishop was a menace to U.S. imperialism precisely because of his unwavering resolve to consolidate the revolutionary struggle.

The appendices, which include Fidel Castro's speeches on events in Grenada, provide an important postscript. The unmitigated distortions and outright lies by Washington in support of its suppression of the Grenadian people are forcefully revealed in this section.

Grenadian paper harassed by gov't

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

MAY 7 — Grenada's U.S.-imposed regime has cracked down on supporters of the 1979 revolution on the Caribbean island. Some of these forces have been publishing a weekly newspaper, *Indies Times*, for the last month. Pressure from the U.S.-backed government forced the paper to stop printing last week.

Indies Times was being printed by the Free West Indian Publishing Co., which is a state-owned commercial print shop. According to people connected with Mace Publishers, which produces *Indies Times*, the Ministry of Information instructed the government-owned print shop to stop printing the paper.

Mace Publishers is currently looking for another printer.

Meanwhile, George Louison, former minister of agriculture in the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada under

slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, has been denied a passport by Grenada's caretaker government. "The government has no grounds whatsoever for denying me the right to travel," Louison told the *Militant* in a telephone interview.

Louison reports that the country's Immigration Office was told by Police Commissioner Mervyn Holder, who the U.S. government brought over from Barbados, not to give Louison a passport. Louison is one of the trustees of the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation and planned to travel abroad to help win support for the foundation and its work.

Louison asked that protest messages be sent to Grenada's Governor-general Sir Paul Scoon, St. George's, Grenada, West Indies. Copies should be sent to the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation, Grenville Street, St. George's, Grenada.

Behind Pres. Reagan's visit to China

BY WILL REISSNER

President Reagan, accompanied by an entourage of nearly 600 people (including a camera crew from the Reagan-Bush campaign committee), visited China April 26 to May 1. Reagan's trip featured meetings with Chinese leaders interspersed with numerous "photo opportunities" aimed at boosting his reelection campaign back home.

During the visit, Reagan and Chinese leaders signed three agreements that had been worked out beforehand: a treaty limiting double taxation of U.S. companies operating in China; an agreement opening the way for U.S. corporations to bid on contracts to build Chinese nuclear power plants; and a resumption of sports and cultural exchanges, which had been frozen since Washington gave political asylum to a visiting Chinese tennis player who wanted to stay in the United States.

In a broader sense, Reagan's trip pointed up the cordial relations that have developed between Washington and the bureaucrats who rule over the Chinese workers state, as well as the limits to that relationship.

For more than two decades after the Chinese workers and peasants came to power in 1949, Washington did everything in its power to isolate and weaken the Chinese revolution. It banned all trade with China and refused any diplomatic relations with Peking, claiming that the proimperialist regime on Taiwan was the "real" China.

In the early 1960s, when the Soviet Union cut off economic and military aid to China, Washington welcomed the split between the world's two largest workers states and sought to deepen this division to further its own imperialist foreign policy.

But in the late 1960s, as it was losing the war against Vietnam, Washington began seeking China's aid in containing the Vietnamese and other colonial revolutions. Nixon went to Peking in February 1972 at the height of U.S. bombing of Vietnam. He held out the possibility of normalized



Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and President Reagan

relations in exchange for Chinese pressure on Vietnam. A few months later he was hosted in Moscow, where he also sought better relations for the same reasons.

Anxious for U.S. development aid, trade, and diplomatic relations, the Chinese bureaucrats sharply increased support for Washington's allies in the colonial world. To show how useful they could be, they immediately established warm relations with the murderous Chilean junta after the 1973 CIA-organized coup there.

The Chinese regime fired verbal barages at Cuban military aid to Angola's struggle against the racist regime of South Africa.

They supported the Reagan administration's arms buildup and called on the imperialist North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-

tion (NATO) to increase its military pressure on the Soviet Union and the Eastern European workers states.

China grew increasingly hostile to the socialist revolution in Vietnam and began supporting the reactionary Pol Pot government in Kampuchea, which was carrying out armed border attacks on Vietnam. In 1979, after Vietnamese troops helped Kampuchean freedom fighters overthrow Pol Pot, China invaded Vietnam in direct collusion with Washington. The invasion was repulsed, but only at great sacrifice by the Vietnamese people.

But the payoff for these betrayals has been less than Peking expected. Despite Peking's slavish parroting of U.S. propaganda lines, little aid has been forthcoming from Washington. Trade relations have

been hampered by the U.S. imposition of quotas on Chinese textile exports to the United States. And Washington continues to arm the proimperialist regime on Taiwan, which the Chinese people consider an integral part of China. In fact, in the past two years, U.S. military shipments to Taiwan have totaled \$1.5 billion.

Moreover, the actions of the Peking bureaucracy have led to its extreme isolation among the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world. The Chinese regime thus began to take more distance from Washington's policies in Africa and Latin America. In late 1982, a meeting of the Chinese Communist Party called for an equidistant policy between the United States and the Soviet Union, branding both as "hegemonists." The first formal talks between Chinese and Soviet officials since 1969 began.

This shift was reflected during Reagan's visit.

Despite repeated attempts, Reagan was unable to get Chinese figures to publicly endorse his anti-Soviet comments in Peking.

On two occasions, Reagan's anti-Soviet diatribes were edited out of Chinese television broadcasts. On a third occasion, the remarks were left in, but the speech was broadcast without any Chinese translation.

Qi Huaiyuan of the Chinese foreign ministry explained that the deletions were made because "it is inappropriate for the Chinese media to publicize the comments by President Reagan on a third country."

In a similar vein, on the eve of Reagan's arrival the Chinese government announced that a high-ranking Soviet official would visit China in mid-May to discuss expanding trade and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and China. (On May 8, the Soviet government announced the visit to Peking would be postponed).

Chinese officials also publicly took their distance from the Reagan administration's policies in Central America, the Middle East, and Korea.

Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang — who had visited Washington in January — criticized the U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua during Reagan's visit.

Zhao also called on Reagan to open discussions with the Palestine Liberation Organization, and PLO leader Yassir Arafat was given an elaborate welcome in Peking on May 5, only days after Reagan's departure.

Hu Yaobang, head of the Chinese Communist Party, told Reagan of Peking's opposition to the presence of nearly 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea. Hu called for three-way talks between the United States, North Korea, and South Korea on the reunification of the Korean peninsula.

That proposal had first been raised by the North Korean government in letters sent to Washington and Seoul on January 10. The Reagan administration, however, wants four-way talks including China.

But there was no change at all in Peking's criminal support to Washington's assaults on Vietnam and Kampuchea. As if to underscore this for the world, the Chinese regime stepped up military attacks on Vietnam right in the middle of Reagan's visit (see story on this page).

Peking launches new armed attack on Vietnam

BY WILL REISSNER

As President Reagan and Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping met in Peking's Great Hall of the People on April 28, far to the south Chinese troops were giving the visiting U.S. president a sample of China's usefulness as an ally.

On the same day that Reagan and Deng had their 90 minute private talk, three regiments of China's 40th Division, 14th Army Corps, were sent into action against Vietnam's Ha Tuyen province. The three regiments, comprising upwards of 3,600 troops, were supported by artillery fire.

The April 28-29 attacks were the largest since Chinese forces stepped up their aggression against northern Vietnam in early April. Between April 2 and April 9, the Chinese army fired more than 10,000 artillery shells into Vietnam and several battal-

ions of soldiers tried to seize two hills in Vietnam's Lang Son province. In all, more than 40 Vietnamese villages were shelled in April.

Vietnam's foreign ministry termed the latest attacks a "serious act of war escalation." Hanoi warned on April 30 that "the Chinese authorities must bear full responsibility for all the consequences" if such attacks continue. It also pointed out that these acts are "detrimental to the interests of the Chinese people and of peace and stability in Southeast Asia."

In recent years China's ruling bureaucrats have shamelessly tried to curry Washington's favor in hopes of securing U.S. development aid and improved trade relations. One way of currying such favor has been to attack the Vietnamese revolution, which defeated U.S. imperialism in the

Vietnam War.

Washington has never given up trying to isolate and "punish" Vietnam at every possible opportunity. The bureaucrats in Peking have been more than willing to help out in this regard.

In 1979, with backing from the Carter administration, Peking sent 600,000 troops across the Vietnamese border, causing widespread destruction and loss of life in Vietnam's northern provinces.

The latest Chinese attacks are also aimed at boosting the sagging morale of former Kampuchean dictator Pol Pot's rightist guerrillas, who are attacking Kampuchea from bases in Thailand. Pol Pot's forces have been hit hard in recent weeks by Kampuchean and Vietnamese troops.

The Deng leadership in Peking also hopes to discourage the growing trend toward dialogue between Vietnam and several member-states of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).



Militant/Diane Wang

Destruction from 1979 attack by Peking is still evident in Lang Son, Vietnam.

Solidarity With the Vietnamese People

Normalize Relations With Vietnam & Kampuchea!

End the Economic Blockade!

No Vietnam Wars in Central America!

Nine years after the end of the war, Washington is still trying to "punish" Vietnam, to prevent its recovery from the ravages of 30 years of fighting. The Vietnamese people need our solidarity.

SPEAKERS

STEVE CLARK

Editor, *Intercontinental Press*. Recently returned from a fact-finding trip to Vietnam and Kampuchea.

A REPRESENTATIVE

of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Mission to the UN.

Special Greetings from a representative of El Salvador's Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Saturday, June 2, 1 pm, Donation \$5

Marc Ballroom, 30 E. 16th St. (Cor. Union Square West), Manhattan

Ausp. MILITANT LABOR FORUM

For more information call 212-226-8474 or 201-643-3341

Workers' needs are priority in new Vietnam

BY DIANE WANG

NAM DINH, Vietnam — "At this factory we celebrate March 25 as our traditional day," our guide said. "Our first strike, against the French owners, began on March 25, 1930."

Steve Clark and I were finishing our visit to the Nam Dinh Textile Factory with a tour of their museum. Here were pictures of nine-year-old workers in the early 1900s; pay stubs showing that French workers earned 45 times as much as the Vietnamese millhands, a time clock used to cheat workers as they punched out from their 15-hour workdays.

Here too were mementos from the 1930s labor battles and the later U.S. war.

An honor roll listed the 240 workers who died in air raids during the 1960s and 1970s.

There was debris of a U.S. bomber shot down by women at the mill in June 1972.

Coming from the United States, we had never seen a factory museum celebrating the struggles of its workers. But Nam Dinh has many features that would seem unusual to U.S. workers. This mill also has its own 200-bed hospital, 11 clinics, subsidized housing, 5 daycare centers, and an evening school for its 14,000 workers.

Even though Vietnam remains a very poor country, workers' living conditions are the government's priority, not profits for a small minority of capitalists and their families as in the United States.

Legacy of bombing

Nam Dinh Textile Factory, like all Vietnamese industry, must overcome a major handicap — the massive destruction from the U.S. war. It is only this year that the mill will finally reach its prewar levels of production.

From 1965 to 1972 this mill and industrial city, about 60 miles from Hanoi, were prime targets for U.S. bombers. Aside from Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, and Haiphong, Nam Dinh is Vietnam's most heavily industrialized city. There were 218 air raids, dropping 1,200 tons of bombs.

On one day alone, May 23, 1972, some 200 bombs rained down on Nam Dinh.

The raids not only targeted this mill, the city's largest. Sixty percent of the city's housing was lost, as well as five child-care centers, a hospital, a primary school, the electrical and water supply, and the sewage system. Bombers hit the dike along the



Despite massive destruction from U.S. bombing, as seen on Hang Dhao Street (left), textile workers in city of Nam Dinh enjoy many social benefits.



Militant photos by Diane Wang

Red River in an attempt to flood the city. The U.S. airstrikes often came at night. On April 14, 1966, for example, the raid began at 4 a.m., levelling Hang Dhao Street. About 50 people were killed and another 135 wounded. This single raid destroyed 240 houses.

Nam Dinh fought back. The textile mill dispersed operations to 11 different sites. The workers who remained, along with everyone else in the city, organized into anti-aircraft defense teams. Nam Dinh city shot down more than 50 bombers.

Today much of the city has been rebuilt for its 140,000 residents. There are several modern buildings, as well as a playground and park. Hang Dhao Street has rebuilt single-story houses to replace the lost homes. Only along one side of the street does the rubble remain. The city plans to build a monument there.

The mill, too, has restored more than 2,000 machines and obtained some modern equipment from the German Democratic Republic. The factory is clean and safe, al-

though inadequately lit because of Vietnam's shortage of electricity.

The revival is important not only for local residents, but for the country as a whole. Industrial goods account for the majority of yearly production in this province, making it unusual for Vietnam. About 40 percent of its industrial production is for export, making a big contribution to the national economy.

Daily needs guaranteed

Nguyen Van Tuyen, the mill's deputy director; Tran Thi Mai, a member of the women's organization at the factory; and other trade union and management personnel sat down with us to explain how the factory is run.

Workers have seven-and-a-half-hour shifts on a rotation schedule. They earn an average of 300 dong per month, although with incentive bonuses a worker can push that wage up to 400-600 dong. (On the free market, for example, a machine-made men's shirt may cost 200 dong.) In addition, in each of the last three years all the workers received an extra two months' salary as a bonus for going over the production targets.

Nine basic necessities, such as rice and meat, are rationed so that workers can buy them at especially low prices. This is not just a practice at this mill, but is policy for all Vietnamese workers. The kind of work done determines the size of the ration. For example, office workers are guaranteed a monthly rice ration of 29 pounds, while those who do manual labor have a ration of 40 to 46 pounds. Workers can buy more than the ration, but at higher, free-market prices.

When we explained that U.S. workers pay as much as one-third of their wages for rent, a murmur of surprise and pity went around the room. The highest rent they pay is only 12 dong a month, a mere 4 percent of their wages. A portion of the mill's profits goes towards upkeep of the housing units.

No battle for benefits

Workers have 12 vacation days, as well as days off in case of illness. If they choose, they can take their families to one of the mill's two vacation houses, one at the beach and the other in the mountains.

Women retire at age 55, men at age 60. Their last two months of employment are spent at the vacation houses so that they can begin retirement in good health. They are guaranteed a pension, the size of which depends on how many years they worked and what wages they received. Veterans of the liberation war receive an extra payment.

The guaranteed food ration, subsidized housing, free education, and free health care ensure a decent living. As Vietnam's economy has stabilized, benefits have expanded. These workers don't face a fierce battle with a profit-hungry boss over benefits every time a contract is negotiated.

Like textile workers everywhere, they face the threat of "brown lung" from inhaling dust and fiber. The mill encourages workers to wear gauze masks and does yearly medical exams.

The trade unions play a role in developing the national economic plan, and workers discuss their production targets in each of the mill's 11 workshops. They evaluate the proposed quotas for their factory in light of their experience on the job.

Women, a large majority of the workers, play a role in both the trade union and management. The trade union secretary here, and one of the five deputy directors at the mill, are women. The mill's chapter of the Vietnam Women's Union and the trade union's department of women's affairs encourage the development of women leaders.

Where Vietnam is headed

Leaders of the city and provincial People's Committees told us that social benefits are common for workers at the 100 or so factories in this province. Not every factory and province in Vietnam can yet provide the same benefits. The southern part of Vietnam was only liberated nine years ago. The economy and social structure have not yet been developed there to provide all the gains found in the north. But we found the same priority assigned to workers needs in all the industrial areas we visited.

Coal miners at the Ha Tu mine in Hon Gai, for example, get an extra 4 pounds of meat and 22 pounds of rice above the usual ration because mining is such heavy work. Wages are somewhat higher than other industrial workers too. Retirement comes at age 50 for underground miners, age 55 for open pit miners.

There is a clinic and free lunches provided at each mine, and the coal company has a hospital for its 47,000 workers.

At Bach Mai Hospital in Hanoi we had seen sophisticated equipment for evaluating "black lung" among miners who inhale coal dust. Nguyen Ngoc Buu and Bui Nhu Cuong from the mine management told us that workers are examined twice a year.

The rate of black lung has gone down. However, it is a difficult problem to tackle because Vietnam is so poor.

Vietnamese industry gets aid and some raw materials from the Soviet Union and other workers states. In addition, French, Swedish, and Danish companies have helped build various cement, fertilizer, and other plants. The U.S.-organized economic embargo of Vietnam has been broken.

Yet it is clear that the \$3.5 billion in reconstruction aid that the United States promised and then refused to send Vietnam would be a boost to the country's industrial growth.

And, as we saw vividly in the country's mills and mines, industrial growth in Vietnam will be done to benefit workers — not, as in the United States, at their expense.

Miners fuel country's future

HON GAI, Vietnam — Vietnam's energy shortage is apparent throughout the country. Lights in Hanoi flicker on and off some evenings. At a hospital, technicians may use modern equipment but they read the scales by daylight from the windows. Factories cannot illuminate work stations as well as is needed.

Coal miners in this northeastern part of Vietnam are a major part of the effort to solve this shortage. Producing 6 million tons of anthracite coal a year, these workers mine 85 percent of Vietnam's coal supply. According to Nguyen Ngoc Buu, assistant director for foreign trade matters at the Hon Gai Coal Company, the mines have an enormous unrealized capacity and reserves for many years to come.



Hon Gai coal miners

"We would be producing much more if it had not been for the destruction of the U.S. war," Buu said. The city of Hon Gai was completely destroyed in 1972 by bombers from the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Many miners were killed, and survivors fled to the forest.

But even then, while living in the forest, the miners maintained three shifts. And the miners shot down two bombers, capturing one pilot. "We had to work, and we had to fight," Buu said.

Today production is still stunted by the continuing U.S. hostility to Vietnam. The Vietnamese would like to buy modern machinery for the Hon Gai mines from the United States, but Washington will not permit them to buy any equipment or spare parts.

The mines get most of their equipment from Japan. Vietnam sends Japan coal in exchange for the machinery. In addition, the Soviet Union is helping expand the mine.

The bureaucratic misleaders of the Chinese workers state also pose problems for the Hon Gai mines. Peking tries to drive down prices on the coal market in order to put pressure on Vietnam's customers to buy elsewhere. In addition, since Hon Gai is only 58 miles from the Chinese border, there is the threat of military aggression from the north.

When miners returned to Hon Gai city after the U.S. war, they did not attempt to rebuild their former five-story apartment buildings for fear that they would again become a target of attack. Instead the miners were given material to build their own private homes.

— D.W.

New provocation on Costa Rica's border with Nicaragua

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A dangerous provocation against Nicaragua was carried out from Costa Rica on May 3.

CIA-trained Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries based in Costa Rica began firing off mortars inside Costa Rica from a point just south of the Nicaraguan border. This was done to make it appear as if Costa Rica was receiving fire from the Nicaraguan army. The Costa Rican National Guard responded to the mortars with grenades and rifle fire. No one was harmed, but the gunfire had the desired effect. In no time, the international news media was reporting that Nicaraguan troops had opened fire on the Costa Rican National Guard.

Nicaraguan soldiers across the border in Peñas Blancas watched the entire incident. Róger Martínez commander at the Peñas Blancas post, told the Sandinista daily *Barricada*: "We observed what was happening calmly and patiently. At no time did we give an order to fire. We knew this was a provocation. Our reaction was to not respond, because we knew this was what they wanted to provoke us into doing."

The following morning, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto told some 60 international journalists that "the press in Costa Rica is really fanning the flames in an effort to create a sort of panic."

He reported that he had just spoken with Costa Rican Foreign Minister Carlos José Gutiérrez, who agreed that the press accounts of the incident were "incredible." Gutiérrez informed D'Escoto that Costa Rican radio stations were announcing that the Nicaraguans were invading at that very moment.

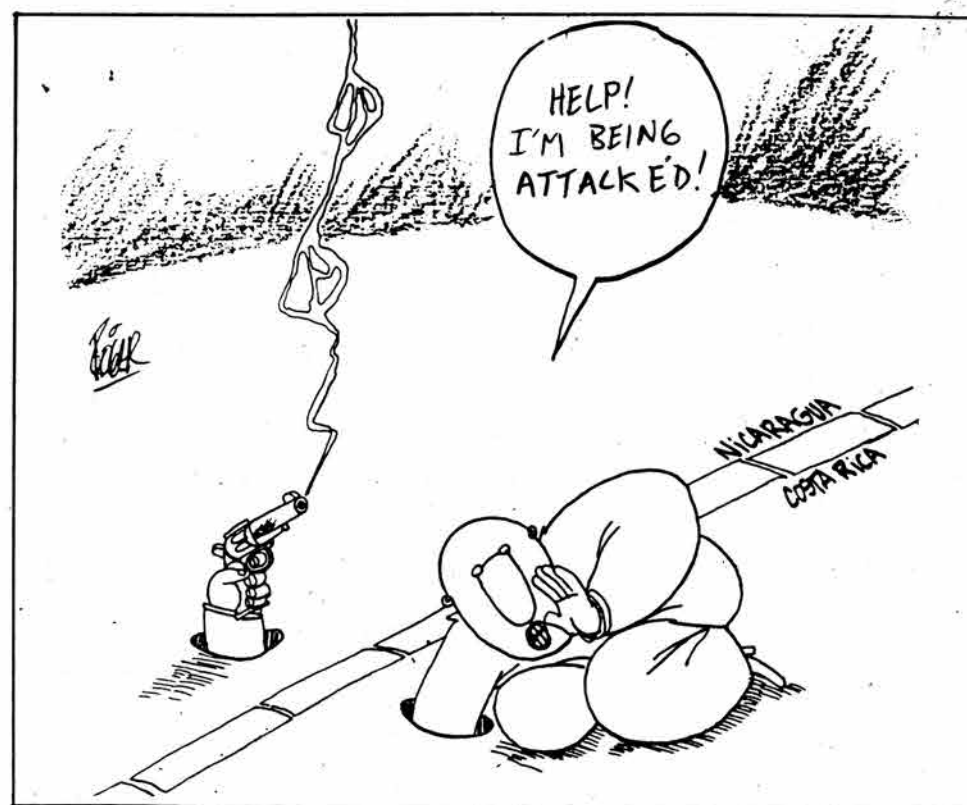
D'Escoto charged that the entire provocation was designed by Washington "to produce a climate inside Costa Rica and especially pressure on the president there to

accept the military assistance offered by the United States."

The Costa Rican government has had an official stance of "neutrality" in the U.S. war against Nicaragua. At the same time, it has allowed CIA-run *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) to launch attacks on Nicaraguan soil from Costa Rica. This has produced debate within Costa Rica. As a result, Washington has been unable to establish the same kind of relationship with Costa Rica that it has with Honduras — where thousands of U.S. troops are installed and airbases have been constructed to facilitate a direct U.S. intervention against Nicaragua and Salvadoran liberation forces.

Washington's goal, D'Escoto said, is to create a climate in which Costa Rica would "lose its independence and sovereignty, and be converted into a second Honduras in Central America."

He noted that the provocation was also designed for U.S. public opinion, calling it a "desperate maneuver to justify and legitimize U.S. military presence in Costa



Rica." He pointed out that the event occurred in the middle of debate in Congress over funding for the *contras* based in Costa Rica and Honduras.

Indeed, two days after the incident the U.S. State Department announced that President Reagan might use executive authority to rush weapons to Costa Rica without having to seek congressional approval. That same day, Costa Rican officials said

they were requesting arms supplies from the U.S., Taiwanese, Panamanian, and Venezuelan governments.

On May 4, the day after the fake "Nicaraguan attack," a supply of U.S. weapons ordered earlier arrived in Costa Rica. It consisted of two helicopters, 80 jeeps, and 25 patrol boats. Washington says it will train the Costa Rican police who are to operate the boats.

'Militant,' 'PM' sales tips from S.F.

BY BRUCE LESNICK

We spoke this week with Sam Manuel, chairperson of the San Francisco Socialist Workers Party. San Francisco has been near the top of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM) sales chart for the past two weeks.

We asked Manuel how they did it. "For one thing, we consciously tie our sales work to our socialist election campaigns. We make sure that the main thing we do each time we go out to sell the *Militant* and *PM* is to see it as a discussion of

particular aspects of our campaign's program," said Manuel.

This way of looking at it, he says, "makes it easier to explain to people what the papers stand for, because what you're really doing is explaining what the Mel Mason and Andrea González campaign stands for." Sales people who used the *Militant* and *PM* in this way had the best results, Manuel said.

Sales of the two publications are also the chief way San Francisco socialists relate to the multitude of political events that occur every week in their city. Leaflets for events are posted in the campaign headquarters, and campaign supporters sign up during the week to sell the *Militant* and *PM* at as many events as possible.

"By making the *Militant* and *PM* available to workers and activists involved in these events we make an important contribution to them," said Manuel.

The biggest sales day in San Francisco is Saturday. Everyone gets a call Saturday morning, reminding them of the time to meet for sales.

A short meeting is held one-half hour before beginning the sales and campaign activities of the day. The contents of the *Militant* and *PM* are discussed, along with the best ways to promote them.

Charts are hung in the campaign headquarters so that salespeople can gauge the overall progress of the eight-week sales drive and see the effect of their contribution as a part of the collective effort.

On the opposite side of the country, socialists in New York City have been involved in the major project of reconstructing their headquarters and expanding the New York Socialist Bookstore. Now that the bulk of the construction work is behind them, sales coordinator Edwin Fruit reports socialists in New York have plans to step up circulation of the *Militant* and *PM*.

Most importantly, they've organized teams to sell at 28 plant gates and have targeted 12 more workplaces for establishing regular plant-gate sales. In addition, socialists in New York have taken on the goal of selling 300 *Militants* and 100 *PMs* a week to working people throughout the New York City area.

Socialist campaigners in Toledo have had a hard time keeping up with the demand for the *Militant* and *PM* in their city. As of the third week of the sales drive, they have already sold 58 percent of their eight-week goal.

Marian Carr, an auto worker, talked with us about sales of the *Militant* in Toledo.

"We planned for two 'target weeks,'" she explained. "We went all-out with sales

in the first and third weeks of the drive. The second week fell on Easter and we consciously decided to rest a bit."

What socialist campaigners in Toledo didn't plan for was the outbreak of two strikes that would lead workers, under fire from the bosses, to seek out radical ideas. These were the strikes of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union members at Sun Oil, and United Auto Workers Local 14 members at AP Parts Co. (See stories on page 17.) The two embattled unions, along with a broad array of other union locals and community groups, held a solidarity rally of 600 on April 28.

Socialist workers sold 165 copies of the *Militant* to those at the rally and signed up 37 on petitions to get the socialist candidates on the general election ballot in November.

Carr explained, "Here in Toledo, if you mention AP Parts, or solidarity, working people will want to read a *Militant* article about it or sign a petition." She noted that "people know they're buying a socialist paper when they buy the *Militant*" because "we've been doing plant-gate sales at AP Parts for some time. When we got to the rally, a number of the AP Parts workers came up to salespeople, thanked them for coming, and thanked them for being at the plant gate."

Mark Friedman, SWP candidate for the Ohio state House of Representatives and a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 12 at AMC Jeep, sold papers to a group from the women's auxiliary of the striking AP Parts local. One member of the auxiliary was particularly happy to see the *Militant*. "Give me the paper," she said. "I saw it last week at the demonstration," she explained, referring to a picket line the previous week at the AP Parts gate. "It was fantastic. Give me another copy of the paper!"

A UAW member from the GM Hydromatic plant approached sales people at the rally, handed over \$5, and asked for as many copies of the *Militant* as the money would cover. He wanted to distribute copies to some of his coworkers. He also bought pamphlets on labor history, he explained, in preparation for upcoming contract negotiations.

The fourth week of the sales drive coincides with the beginning of petitioning in Toledo and the rest of Ohio to get socialist candidates on the ballot. On the first day of this effort, Toledo socialists collected almost 900 signatures and sold 62 *Militants*, 1 *PM*, and copies of the *Young Socialist*, the newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #3: Totals as of *Militant* issue #16, *PM* issue #8)

| Area | Eight-week Goal <i>Militant</i> / <i>PM</i> | Sold So Far <i>Militant</i> / <i>PM</i> | Total Goal/Sold | % |
|----------------------|--|--|--------------------|----|
| Toledo | 800/40 | 464/3 | 840/467 | 56 |
| Newport News, Va. | 400/0 | 197/0 | 400/197 | 49 |
| Milwaukee | 800/160 | 409/55 | 960/464 | 48 |
| Chicago | 900/300 | 479/94 | 1,200/573 | 48 |
| Albany, N.Y. | 704/56 | 330/20 | 760/350 | 46 |
| Seattle | 760/40 | 336/16 | 800/352 | 44 |
| Seaside, Calif. | 320/200 | 147/79 | 520/226 | 43 |
| Dallas | 400/200 | 134/124 | 600/258 | 43 |
| Greensboro, N.C. | 360/0 | 148/0 | 360/148 | 41 |
| Houston | 555/195 | 208/97 | 750/305 | 41 |
| San Diego | 375/125 | 143/59 | 500/202 | 40 |
| Los Angeles | 840/880 | 388/307 | 1,720/695 | 40 |
| San Francisco | 755/325 | 275/122 | 1,080/397 | 37 |
| Philadelphia | 640/160 | 231/63 | 800/294 | 37 |
| Virginia, Minn. | 500/0 | 183/0 | 500/183 | 37 |
| Cleveland | 675/70 | 258/20 | 745/278 | 37 |
| Baltimore | 800/0 | 298/1 | 800/299 | 37 |
| Minneapolis/St. Paul | 1,120/80 | 410/17 | 1,200/427 | 36 |
| Denver | 800/56 | 285/27 | 856/312 | 36 |
| Phoenix | 600/320 | 217/101 | 920/318 | 35 |
| Miami | 720/80 | 248/29 | 800/277 | 35 |
| Birmingham | 600/0 | 205/0 | 600/205 | 34 |
| Washington, D.C. | 515/105 | 170/35 | 620/205 | 33 |
| San Jose | 480/80 | 137/50 | 560/187 | 33 |
| Albuquerque | 480/120 | 161/36 | 600/197 | 33 |
| Oakland | 800/120 | 250/46 | 920/296 | 32 |
| Louisville | 450/0 | 139/0 | 450/139 | 31 |
| Portland | 320/160 | 107/38 | 480/145 | 30 |
| New Orleans | 720/80 | 218/25 | 800/243 | 30 |
| Morgantown, W. Va. | 400/0 | 121/0 | 400/121 | 30 |
| Atlanta | 760/40 | 226/6 | 800/232 | 29 |
| Price, Utah | 336/24 | 93/7 | 360/100 | 28 |
| Detroit | 1,040/40 | 294/4 | 1,080/298 | 28 |
| Salt Lake City | 400/40 | 99/14 | 440/113 | 26 |
| Indianapolis | 760/0 | 195/0 | 760/195 | 26 |
| Pittsburgh | 850/0 | 176/0 | 850/176 | 21 |
| Charleston, W. Va. | 450/0 | 75/0 | 450/75 | 17 |
| Boston | 640/160 | 110/8 | 800/118 | 15 |
| Kansas City | 650/25 | 95/1 | 675/96 | 14 |
| Cincinnati | 600/0 | 76/0 | 600/76 | 13 |
| Newark | 1250/250 | 158/27 | 1,500/185 | 12 |
| New York City | 1,600/550 | 182/55 | 2,150/237 | 11 |
| St. Louis | */* | 212/0 | */212 | 0 |
| Total sold | | 9,287/1,586 | 10,873 | |

*Goal not yet adopted

Nicaraguan May Day: unite to defend gains

BY JANE HARRIS

CHINANDEGA, Nicaragua — Here in this northwestern agricultural center as well as around the country, tens of thousands celebrated May 1 — International Worker's Day.

Two months earlier, this region was short 25,000 cotton pickers. An emergency call went out for volunteers. Through the efforts of some 75,000 volunteers, this major source of foreign exchange is now ready for export.

That's why the most important May Day celebration in Nicaragua took place here. It was a tribute to those who sacrificed to bring in the cotton harvest, the earnings from which will provide hospitals, roads, schools, and other projects of the revolution.

Some 30,000 Nicaraguans rallied in the town stadium, marched through the main streets, and then congregated in the central park to listen to the featured speaker of the day — Sandinista Commander Jaime Wheelock, who is the minister of agrarian reform.

His remarks were broadcast live on radio across the country. Later that evening, his speech was featured on television. The next morning, the full text was in the hands of some 100,000 readers of the Sandinista National Liberation Front daily *Barricada*.

Wheelock's speech was delivered 10 days after the Nicaraguan Bishops' Conference delivered an Easter message calling for reconciliation with counterrevolutionaries waging war against Nicaragua.

"The moment has come to say that's enough from the reaction!" declared Wheelock. "Why doesn't God have a reconciliation with his enemy, the devil?"

The Sandinista government has already given all counterrevolutionaries — except top leaders — the opportunity to lay down their arms and return to Nicaragua. Wheelock said frankly, "We are going to be inflexible and vigilant toward the attitudes of politicized elements that are mixed up in counterrevolutionary activities, that are using the pulpits that really belong to the Christian people of Nicaragua."

Turning to the problem of inflation and shortages, Wheelock acknowledged that wages in Nicaragua are too low to meet workers' needs.

He attributed the problem to several factors: the world capitalist economic crisis, which has a devastating effect on third world countries in particular; the fact that Nicaragua's exports are selling for less while its imports are becoming more and more costly; and the U.S. war, which forces the government to divert large amounts of funds to feed and equip soldiers and resettle refugees in safe areas. The country's scarce resources, he explained, must be prioritized for defense, investment in production, and health care.

Nicaragua's low standard of living cannot be overcome quickly, he explained. The problem cannot be resolved by workers going on strike or fighting for big wage increases. This would only increase shortages and inflation.

Instead, the government is proposing a modest wage increase for most workers, material incentives for those who produce more, secure channels for food distribution, and a reorganization of the wage policy to ensure that all who perform equal work receive the same pay.

He assured the crowd that "we are going to act with a heavy hand against the speculators, those who are mining the pocketbooks of the people who are fighting, of the people who are producing."

Wheelock explained that promoting economic shortages is one of the CIA's means of war against the Nicaraguan revolution. Along with escalating military attacks on Nicaraguan territory, it is aimed at demoralizing the Nicaraguan people and dividing them from their government.

"The present belongs to revolutionaries who are capable of understanding the difficulties of the revolution, and who later, along with their children and their families, are going to enjoy a future of progress and happiness."



Militant/Michael Baumann

May Day, 1984, Chinandega, Nicaragua. Banner reads "Only the workers and peasants will go all the way. After 50 years, Sandino lives!" This was main slogan of the day.

"Today, on this first of May, we must all be united to defend our conquests. We must be united with the revolution in defense, united with the revolution to increase production, united to raise the levels of discipline in work, the levels of fulfilling production goals."

[The May 28 issue of *Intercontinental Press* will carry the full text of Jaime Wheelock's May Day speech. To order send \$1.25 for a single issue, \$12.50 for six months, or \$25 for one year to: Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.]

Pa. cop guilty of killing Black youth

BY ANDY TOBIN

PITTSBURGH, Pa. — A coroner's jury on April 27 recommended to the Pittsburgh District Attorney's office that one of two white Pittsburgh cops, Bernard Hont, be charged with homicide by vehicle for the murder of a Black youth named Anthony Agurs.

Fifteen-year-old Agurs was killed by Hont and his partner, Robert Matasich, on the evening of April 10. Agurs was hit by a car driven by Hont, who then crashed into a police cruiser driven by Matasich. The jury recommended that Matasich be charged with an offense which carries only a small jail term if convicted.

Sheila Agurs, the victim's mother, said she was relieved by the guilty verdict and "glad that justice has been done so far. We hope it will continue."

"I'm not satisfied with the verdict," said his father, Robert Agurs. "It should have been steeper, like voluntary manslaughter, and both officers should have been held for it. This is only partial justice."

What made this verdict possible was the mobilization of the Black community and others offended by this racist murder.

At least 50 supporters of the Agurs family filled the seats of the courtroom each day of the inquest.

A candlelight vigil of 200 people on the second day of the inquest was held in the rain at the scene of Agurs' death. Those in attendance chanted for justice and called for the indictment of both cops for murder and compensation for the Agurs family. Sheila Agurs told the crowd, "Other people around here have little kids and it could happen to your kids." This view became widespread as more and more facts about how Agurs was murdered came to light in testimony before the coroner's jury.

Agurs' "crime," according to the "official" police story, was that he was riding in an allegedly stolen Oldsmobile Cutlass with three other Black youth, and while fleeing to avoid arrest, Agurs was run down by Hont and Matasich.

In statements that directly contradicted Hont's and Matasich's version of what happened April 10, several witnesses explained how both cops aimed their cars at Agurs in the Stanton Height shopping center parking lot.

"If I didn't know better, I'd have thought I was watching *Starsky and Hutch* on television," is how witness Robert Edmondson described events on that day to the jury.

Edmondson and two other eyewitnesses also told the coroner's jury that they saw Hont smile after the killing.

Confronted with testimony just as damning from others who saw what occurred, both Hont and Matasich changed their stories.

For example, Hont told the jury he was not aware he and his partner were pursuing teenagers. However, the log book, which cops carry in their cruisers and record information such as this on, indicates the opposite was the case. Hont and Matasich knew that the people they were pursuing were teenagers.

While many working people wanted to see these killer cops stand trial for this heinous crime, the big business-owned media and the rulers of this city were not so inclined. From the beginning, the media has tried to make the victim, Agurs, look like the criminal — a job which became increasingly difficult as the coroner's hearing progressed.

An editorial in the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* termed Agurs' death a "tragic accident," thus pretending that he wasn't deliberately run over by the cops.

A statement released by the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Al Duncan in the 14th Congressional District and Clare Fraenzl in the 22nd Congressional District demanded that "the district attorney indict Hont and Matasich for murder, and prosecute them to the fullest extent of the law."

Cincinnati debate on U.S. war in Salvador

BY JOE LOMBARDO
AND PEGGY MOW

CINCINNATI — The Cincinnati Central American Task Force and Xavier University co-sponsored a debate here titled "The crises in Central America, the U.S. role: what next?"

The April 13 debate, attended by 150, featured Arnoldo Ramos, a representative of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) of El Salvador; Wayne Smith, former chief of the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba; Rev. Phil Wheaton, director of the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA); and Robert Webb, member of the editorial board of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*. The *Enquirer* has had an editorial policy that supports U.S. aggression in Central America.

A representative of the U.S. State Department initially accepted an invitation to speak but later declined when he heard that he would have to share the platform with Arnoldo Ramos. The State Department explained that it will not speak on the same platform with representatives of the FMLN-FDR or the Nicaraguan government.

Ramos sketched the history of El Salvador's domination by the 14 land-owning

families of the oligarchy and described the intolerable situation the vast majority of workers and peasants face. He told how these conditions brought people into mass organizations to fight for change under the leadership of the FMLN-FDR.

Wayne Smith spent most of his allotted time refuting the Reagan administration's claim that U.S.-directed military action against Nicaragua is meant to stop a flow of arms to El Salvador's FMLN. He also countered the administration's claim that the Salvadoran land reform program is working.

Smith said, "There has not been one shred of evidence since 1981 that the Sandinistas are sending arms to the FMLN. Reagan's goal is to overthrow the Sandinistas." He said that a number of peace initiatives by Nicaragua have been ignored by the Reagan administration, which has instead escalated its military and economic aggression against that country.

On the land reform in El Salvador, Smith said, "After the 1982 election, the Ministry of Agriculture was given to ARENA, the party of the big landowners. Now most of the peasants who had received land titles have once again become tenants — those who have not been made refugees or killed."

Rev. Phil Wheaton talked about the "un-

holy alliances" between the United States and Central American dictators down through the years. Wheaton said that the United States is "worried about successful alternative models. Most people will be surprised to hear that in 1982 the only thriving economies in the region were Grenada and Nicaragua."

Robert Webb, who has written many editorials denouncing the "spread of communism" in Central America and who supports Reagan's aggression, claimed that the recent Salvadoran elections were a rejection by the people of that country of the policies of the FMLN-FDR. He said that the Kissinger commission report was proof of broad bipartisan support for Reagan's policy in the region, which is allegedly motivated by the need to stop the "Soviet and Cuban threat" in Central America.

Each speaker was given a five-minute rebuttal period. Several pointed out that the recent elections in El Salvador were a fraud. It is impossible to hold democratic elections when the major opposition is not allowed to participate, they said.

The question of the "Soviet threat" was also addressed by several speakers who said that both the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution and Salvadoran civil war were products of internal problems, not intervention by Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Sandinista Cultural Workers invite U.S. delegation to Nicaragua

An official delegation of U.S. cultural workers, Ventana, has been invited by its corresponding Nicaraguan organization, the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association (ASTC), to witness the cultural and artistic reconstruction of Nicaragua.

"... We invite you to come to Nicaragua," says Noel Corea, secretary of international relations for ASTC, "to know first-hand our revolutionary process, our limitations, our achievements... to speak freely with our people, with representatives of our government and Sandinista Liberation Front, with our writers and artists organized in the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association."

Beginning May 18 for 10 days the delegation will meet with Nicaraguan cultural workers — writers, poets, dancers, musicians, painters, theater people, filmmakers and others. Additional participants are welcome by calling Ventana (212) 586-3700.

Ventana, an organization in alliance with cultural workers in Nicaragua, will be organizing cultural exchanges and further delegations to Nicaragua.

Iraq-Iran war: what stand should U.S. workers take?

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Should workers be "neutral" in the war between Iraq and Iran? Most newspapers on the U.S. left today say yes. The *Militant* is virtually the only paper in the U.S. workers movement that defends Iran and the Iranian revolution against aggression from Iraq, the U.S. government, and its imperialist allies.

What stand to take on the war has become increasingly important in recent months. There has been a sharp escalation of both Iraqi and imperialist military intervention against Iran.

Evolution of war

The Iraq-Iran war, in which the two contending sides are both nations oppressed by imperialism, has provoked discussion and debate. Washington's systematic effort to disguise its own role in the conflict has heightened confusion.

The war began in September 1980 when Iraqi Pres. Saddam Hussein ordered an invasion of Iran, declaring his troops would swiftly get rid of the "maniac" Khomeini. Hussein's goal was not only to overthrow the government led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, but to put an end to the revolutionary achievements of the Iranian masses, who had toppled the U.S.-backed shah in 1979 and inspired the workers and peasants throughout the region.

However, Hussein is far from accomplishing this objective. In the past three years, Iranian troops and volunteers have driven out most of the Iraqi forces occupying their territory. Yet the Iraqi government continues its bombardments of Iranian civilian centers and Iranian ships in the Persian Gulf.

In early February of this year, Hussein unleashed a new wave of bombings of Iranian cities and villages. Coupled with this, he announced plans to put a naval blockade around Kharg Island, Iran's main oil exporting facility in the gulf. He also renewed his threat to blow up the island altogether.

Iranian officials responded by mobilizing hundreds of thousands of volunteers and regular troops at the Iraqi border. They declared a final offensive was under way that would force Hussein to surrender. For the first time, Iran also carried out retaliatory bombing of Iraqi cities. The Iranian regime said that if Iraq destroyed Kharg Island, it would close the Strait of Hormuz, the only exit from the Persian Gulf.

The Iranian troops then moved into Iraq, capturing the Majnoon Islands, in an oil-rich marshland area northwest of the Iraqi city of Basra. Despite extensive bombing and use of poison gas, the Iraqis have been unable thus far to dislodge the Iranians from the islands.

The U.S. rulers, while claiming to be

neutral in the war, have favored the Iraqi aggression from the beginning. In recent months, they have stepped up their threats and provocations against Iran. In January, Iran was added to Washington's list of "terrorist nations," which also includes Cuba, Libya, Syria, and South Yemen.

In February, President Reagan threatened to use military force against Iran if the Strait of Hormuz were closed. A fleet of nearly 20 U.S. warships was dispatched to the gulf and surrounding waters. They fired on one Iranian plane.

In April, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz raised the idea of preemptive military strikes against Iran, which he claimed was responsible for "state-supported terrorism," along with Libya, Syria, and North Korea.

The U.S. media has boosted the anti-Iranian campaign by portraying the Iraq-Iran war as a senseless, barbaric slaughter fueled by the "expansionism" and "fanaticism" of the Iranian revolution. The war endangers "our oil" and "our allies" in the Middle East, U.S. workers are told. The "civilized West" needs to intervene somehow in the conflict to prevent the spread of "ruthless repression" and "Islamic terrorism."

The Iranian combatants in the war are painted as frenzied religious zealots. "A Fever Bordering on Hysteria" was the title of a March 12 *Time* magazine article describing Iran. The reporter characterized Iranian volunteers for the war effort as "suicide-driven."

Even the way the press has covered the exposure of Iraqi use of chemical warfare is designed to confuse workers. Statements by the U.S. government against Iraq's use of poison gas have been played up to give the impression Washington is neutral in the war. Reagan's hypocritical grandstanding on the issue of chemical warfare has also been used to resurrect the phony charges that the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and other countries have used "yellow rain," an alleged chemical warfare agent. Washington, in fact, controls the world's largest stockpile of chemical weapons, and Reagan has pledged to build up this supply even bigger.

'Guardian' blames Iran

Proimperialist themes have increasingly been echoed in the coverage of the Iraq-Iran war by the U.S. left. The *Guardian*, an independent radical weekly published in New York, ran an editorial entitled "Slaughter in the Gulf" in its March 14 issue. The thrust of the editorial was to blame Iran for aggression in the Persian Gulf area.

The *Guardian* editors claimed the attitude of U.S. and European imperialist powers has been, until recently, one of

"relative indifference" toward the fighting between Iraq and Iran.

While stating, "Progressive people have little reason to take sides in this conflict," the editorial sharply attacked Iran, which, it said, "is not blameless at this stage, for it has refused to negotiate an end to the war."

"Ayatollah Khomeini knows that having an external enemy blunts popular opposition to his brutally repressive regime. He says Tehran will settle for nothing short of Hussein's downfall. In the meantime he sees nothing wrong with making martyrs of tens of thousands of poorly trained teenage 'volunteers,' thrown repeatedly against better-equipped forces."

'Workers World': 'religious frenzy'

Workers World, newspaper of the Workers World Party, argued in a February 23 editorial that the Iraq-Iran war "has only served to weaken both countries in relation to imperialism" and that it is "fought over strictly bourgeois interests."

The editorial focused on attacking repression in Iran (saying nothing about the Iraqi regime's attacks on workers and oppressed nationalities).

While acknowledging that "it is the duty of all workers and oppressed people to defend Iran against the attacks of imperialism," the editorial made no connection between imperialism and the Iraqi aggression.

In a follow-up editorial on March 8, *Workers World* asserted that Khomeini has "utilized the horrendous war with Iraq to whip up a religious and patriotic frenzy to distract the Iranian people from their own domestic struggle."

'Daily World': overthrow Khomeini

The U.S. Communist Party's position was outlined in a March 28 article in the *Daily World* by William Pomeroy. In 1980, when Hussein invaded Iran, he "was encouraged in his aggression and given military and economic assistance by the U.S., France, and Britain, which saw it as an opportunity to reverse the Iranian revolution," Pomeroy wrote.

But today, Pomeroy continued, the war is no longer a defensive one on Iran's part: "The war is facilitating the conditions for a return to control by reactionary Iranian capitalist groups who are restoring links with imperialism and transnational corporations. They have savagely repressed the left-wing and bourgeois-nationalist forces, in particular the Communist Tudeh Party."

Pomeroy hailed "revolutionary forces who call for overthrowing both Hussein and Khomeini." "At the present stage of the Iraq-Iran war," he wrote, "the revolutionary and democratic movements in both countries vigorously oppose the war and work for the ouster of both regimes that oppress them as the only certain way to achieve a peace of independence and democracy."

The CP's call for overthrowing the Iranian government is relatively recent. For the first few years of the Iranian revolution, it politically supported the Khomeini regime, including its attacks on oppressed nationalities and other left groups, and it sided with Iran in the war.*

'In These Times': war is a 'diversion'

The March 14-20 *In These Times*, a social-democratic weekly published in Chicago, ran an article by Fred Halliday, a

* Over the last two years, the Tudeh Party in Iran has also made substantial political shifts in its line on the revolution. When the shah was overthrown, the Tudeh Party gave political support to the new regime led by Ayatollah Khomeini. It took a hostile stand toward Kurds who called on the Khomeini government to grant them national rights. It sharply condemned ex-Pres. Abolhassan Bani Sadr and the Mujahedeen as "counterrevolutionary" when they called for the overthrow of the government in 1981.

A December 1983 resolution adopted by the Tudeh Party Central Committee, however,



Iranian volunteers (left) in recent offensive versus gains of revolution.

British intellectual who has written extensively on Iran. Halliday reduced the war to a gimmick by the Iranian government, "a means of diverting attention from the failings of the Islamic Republic at home."

Halliday spelled out his views more fully in the December 1983 issue of *Marxism Today*, the theoretical magazine of the British CP. There he argued that "the Islamic revolution has continued to run its course, revealing an immanent [intrinsic] repressive and antidemocratic character that was temporarily masked at the beginning."

Halliday charged that "a terror of truly fascist proportions has been deployed in Iran" by the Khomeini regime. He compared its repression of the Tudeh Party to Adolph Hitler's Germany of 1933. The lesson to be learned by the left, he concluded, is the danger of Islam: "For all that was positive in the overthrow of the Shah, it is now evident that the Islamic regime represents a force even more reactionary than the Shah's, one nearer fascism than socialism."

While Halliday presents the most extreme view of Iran today, the logic of the articles in the *Guardian*, *Workers World*, *Daily World*, and *In These Times* points in the same direction. All of them capitulate to the pressures of the imperialist propaganda campaign against the Iranian revolution, and all of them echo, to one degree or another, Washington's line that Iran is the source of aggression in the region.

Standpoint of the 'Militant'

The *Militant* has a completely different starting point in looking at the Iraq-Iran war. We view this war — and all war today — from the standpoint of the international fight against imperialism and the struggle to advance the world socialist revolution. Iran is a semicolonial nation that had a deepgoing revolution against dictatorship and imperialist domination in 1979. That revolution succeeded in shattering the 25-year dictatorship of the shah installed by Washington. Ousting the shah opened the door to further mobilizations by

states that the "anti-imperialist, anti-dictatorial, and democratic revolution" in Iran has now been "transformed into a medieval dictatorship with the aim of restoring the dependent capitalist order."

The resolution says that "With Bani Sadr ousted as President, the political leadership of the revolution was in fact mainly put into the hands of Ayatollah Khomeini and his supporters in the ruling apparatus. In these conditions there were hopes of fundamental steps being taken toward solving the socio-economic problems of society to the working people's benefit. But instead there were qualitative changes in the policies of the regime, turning it more toward the right wing than before."

The resolution calls for the Tudeh party to establish "healthy and constructive relations" with the Mujahedeen, which it terms "an anti-imperialist and popular force." It also calls for support to "the just struggle of the Kurdish people for autonomy." On the Iraq-Iran war the document says, "Continuation of the war is to the benefit of imperialism. . . . It is the immediate responsibility of defenders of the country's national interests to fight for an end to the war between Iran and Iraq."





Left, Iranian revolutionaries in a boat during the 1979 revolution. Right, one of mass demonstrations against U.S. domination that led to 1979 revolution in Iran. Washington backs Iraqi attacks on Iran in hopes of re-

the nation's toilers for social, economic, and political demands that posed the need for a workers and peasants government. The overthrow of the shah weakened U.S. imperialism and strengthened the world working class. For this reason, imperialism has been trying to reverse the gains of the Iranian revolution ever since — through overt means and through proxy means, such as the Iraqi war.

The Iraqi invasion of Iran helped serve the interests of U.S. imperialism, which was not in a position to carry out such a military attack itself. Washington hoped Hussein would be able to overturn the revolution. While he has failed, the three-and-a-half-year war has brought enormous destruction to Iran and taken the lives of many of the best revolutionary fighters.

An Iranian victory in the war would be an inspiration for all those fighting imperialist oppression in the Mideast; a defeat for Iran would be a big blow, not only for the Iranian revolution, but for the Iraqi masses; for the Palestinians, Lebanese, and other Arab peoples; as well as for working people around the world. Both Iraq and Iran are semicolonial nations oppressed by imperialism, and both are ruled by capitalist governments that are hostile to the interests of the workers and peasants. By attacking the rights of workers, peasants, oppressed nationalities, and women, the Iranian regime has dealt significant blows to the gains of the revolution. But it has not crushed the revolution, as can be seen by the massive mobilizations of Iranians today to defend their revolution from Iraqi attack.

The *Militant* believes this is decisive in determining which side to support in the war. The most important thing U.S. workers can do to aid the struggle of the Iranian workers for national independence, democratic rights, and an end to class exploitation is to condemn the moves of our own ruling class to crush their revolution.

Tied to this is the responsibility of U.S. labor — and above all, of those who consider themselves socialists — to tell the truth about the Iranian revolution and repudiate the lies of the imperialists.

Worse than the shah?

The most often repeated lie is that the 1979 revolution was a defeat for the Iranian masses, or as Fred Halliday puts it, inherently "repressive and antidemocratic."

What did happen in 1979? Did the Iranian masses end up with something "worse than the shah?"

In order to understand the current situation in Iran, including the meaning of the repression carried out by the government there, we need to first review what has happened in Iran over the five years of its revolution.

The 1979 revolution was and remains a giant blow to world imperialism. Next to Israel, the shah's monarchy was imperialism's strongest ally in the Mideast. Armed to the teeth by Washington and trained in the most sophisticated methods of torture by the CIA and the Israeli secret police, the shah's regime functioned as a cop, not only against the Iranian workers and peasants, but against rebellions in the

region against imperialism and its allies among conservative Arab regimes.

Following his restoration to the Peacock Throne in 1953 through a CIA-organized coup, the shah opened Iran up to thousands of U.S. military personnel and corporate managers. Massive amounts of U.S. surveillance equipment aimed at the Soviet workers state were set up in Iran. U.S. "advisers" trained much of the shah's elite army units. U.S. and European oil corporations reaped huge profits from their plunder of Iranian oil reserves.

Catering to the imperialists, the shah carried out a "land reform" program in the 1960s that destroyed the country's agriculture. Iran was transformed from a nation self-sufficient in food to one that had to import 60 percent of its requirements. Huge numbers of peasants were driven off the land and forced into the cities.

The shah smashed the trade unions that had been established in the 1940s. Agents of SAVAK, the secret police, set up offices in the factories. Strikes were made illegal. All workers parties were forced underground.

The shah sought to give his brutal regime an "enlightened" image, aping imperialist notions of civilization. Expensive consumer goods were imported from the United States and Europe for the shah, his court, and other wealthy families. U.S. "culture" — like American TV — began to dominate the country. Women were encouraged to become "liberated" by donning the latest Western fashions and wearing a lot of makeup. Prostitution flourished in cities like Tehran for the pleasure of U.S. businessmen and local capitalists and landlords.

Attempts by Iran's oppressed nationalities — Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Turkmenis, Baluchis, and Arabs — to speak their own languages or practice their own cultures were ruthlessly suppressed.

The popular uprising against the shah's tyranny involved some of the most massive mobilizations in the history of the Middle East. In 1978 and 1979, millions of people took to the streets to demand "Death to the shah" and "Down with U.S. imperialism."

Proletarian methods of struggle

The Iranian masses fought for an end to the monarchy and imperialist domination with proletarian methods — street demonstrations, a general strike, appeals to soldiers to join the struggle, and insurrection. They set up strike committees in the factories and fuel distribution committees in the working-class neighborhoods. The antidictatorial struggle united various class forces — peasants, shopkeepers, students, soldiers, intellectuals, and bourgeois opponents of the shah. But the working class, particularly the oil workers, was the decisive factor in bringing down the shah. In October 1978, the oil workers began a strike that shut down production, crippling the regime.

They raised not only economic demands, but also political demands against the government — for the overthrow of the shah, for the release of all political prisoners, for freedom of speech and of the press,

for a cutoff of all oil to Israel and South Africa.

Strikes swept the country, from the auto plants, to the coal mines, to the government ministries and banks. The upsurge turned into a prolonged general strike against the monarchy and U.S. domination.

Oppressed nationalities — particularly Azerbaijanis and Kurds — were also in the forefront of the fight. One of the first mass demonstrations calling for the overthrow of the shah took place in Tabriz, the center of the Azerbaijani population. In Kurdistan, peasants began seizing land owned by the shah while the monarchy was still in power.

Women joined in the demonstrations in numbers unprecedented in the Middle East. They often wore the black *chador* (Islamic veil) as a protest against the shah's version of "women's liberation."

Islamic 'reaction'?

The U.S. media attacked the protests from the beginning, echoing the shah's line that because the organized leadership of the demonstrations were figures in the Islamic hierarchy, the masses were really demanding a return to medieval society, reaction, and ignorance. The masses were too backward, the shah explained, to appreciate the benefits of his "modernization."

But when the demonstrators counterposed "Islam" to life under the shah, they were expressing the nationalism and hatred of imperialism felt by Muslims and other oppressed peoples throughout the Middle East. Religious leaders gained popularity among the demonstrators to the degree they gave voice to these nationalist and anti-imperialist sentiments.

A wing of the Islamic hierarchy led by Ayatollah Khomeini emerged as the leadership of the movement. It won deep influence among Shi'ite Muslims, especially workers, semiproletarians driven into the city by the shah's land reform, and peasants. The working class was not strong enough to offer an alternative political leadership. Trade unions had been smashed under the shah. Those groups calling themselves socialist and communist had been savagely repressed and were very weak. Most had been forced into exile, and all of them lacked real roots in the working class.

Some bourgeois forces opposing the shah, such as the National Front, grew increasingly alarmed at the revolutionary character of the demonstrations and sought to slow them down. Khomeini, however, urged the masses to continue their marches and strikes until the shah fell. He consistently denounced U.S. imperialism's role in keeping the shah in power.

Urban insurrection

After the shah fled the country in January 1979, leaving behind him a caretaker government, Khomeini was able to return to Iran from an exile of more than 15 years. He sought to convince the tottering dictatorship to peacefully transfer power to him, thus avoiding a revolutionary overthrow of the regime. But when elite troops

were sent to attack Khomeini supporters at a Tehran air force barracks, the insurrection was on.

The airmen responded to the attack by arming themselves and people in the surrounding neighborhoods. The revolt spread, as regular troops retreated from confronting the masses or joined them. One by one, the people took over the army bases, seizing more weapons.

Crowds of thousands attacked hated symbols of the shah's regime. They stormed the central SAVAK office and tore up files on dissenters. They invaded the Israeli embassy, and renamed it the PLO embassy. They marched to the prisons and freed the thousands of detainees inside.

Independent defense committees sprouted up in the neighborhoods to protect liberated territory from government troops. Massive barricades were thrown up, particularly in the working-class parts of town.

In three days, the dictatorship had fallen. The army officer corps and caretaker government turned the reins over to Khomeini and his supporters.

The workers and semiproletarian masses in the cities had overthrown the shah's regime — practically with their bare hands. But they lacked the organization and leadership to forge an alliance with the peasantry and to take power. Instead of a workers and peasants government, a regime composed of businessmen and religious figures dedicated to preserving capitalist rule was established.

While the new regime's leaders intended to demobilize the masses and restore capitalist stability as quickly as possible, they faced a major problem: they had been brought to power by a massive revolution. A fundamental change in the relationship of class forces had occurred. The Iranian working class and peasantry had been strengthened in relation to the capitalists and landlords, and Iran as an oppressed nation had been strengthened in relation to world imperialism.

It is this change that has stamped Wash-

Continued on next page



Iranian workers and peasants have been backbone of defense effort.

Continued from preceding page

ington's attitude to Iran and its government ever since.

The U.S. government not only lost a valuable ally with the shah's overthrow. The Iranian revolution sent shock waves throughout the Mideast. The Iranian monarchy had been viewed as impregnable. Its ouster by the impoverished Iranian masses was an inspiration for the Palestinians fighting for a return to their homeland and for the millions of other Arabs suffering under conservative regimes.

The Iranian revolution was also hailed by oppressed peoples fighting U.S. puppets in other parts of the world, from Central America to the Philippines. And it had a big impact on working people in the imperialist countries.

The Iranian people effectively exposed for U.S. workers the character of the "democracy" Washington imposes on semicolonial countries. By bringing down the shah they weakened U.S. imperialism and strengthened the U.S. working class.

The revolution was not inherently anti-democratic, as Fred Halliday contends. In fact, democratic demands for the overthrow of monarchy and for national independence from imperialism were at its very center. Only by ridding themselves of the shah and his secret police, and the U.S. forces backing them up, could the Iranian masses effectively organize a struggle to rebuild their country after decades of backwardness imposed by imperialism.

Washington's fears about the Iranian revolution were confirmed by the explosion of social struggles that followed the shah's overthrow.

The struggle to bring the shah down had deeply affected the consciousness of the nation's workers and peasants. Having carried out the insurrection themselves, they knew they had made this revolution and they intended to use their power to drive it forward.

When the new government sought to disband the factory strike committees and appoint new leaders in the workplaces, the workers rejected this. They asserted their demands for major wage increases, for far-reaching social benefits, for workers' control of production, and for a say in how industry should be reorganized to help reconstruct the country.

By July 1979, the government was forced to nationalize a large number of factories. It tripled the minimum wage and granted important concessions on social benefits. Worker-elected factory committees (called *shoras*) were allowed to function and spread.

Exploited peasants responded to the shah's overthrow by seizing land left vacant by counterrevolutionary landlords who had fled. While the government opposed the seizures, it was not strong enough to stop them all. Under pressure from the peasants, it began major construction projects in some parts of the countryside, spearheaded by revolutionary youth from the cities who formed the Reconstruction Crusade.

Oppressed nationalities, particularly the Kurds, took advantage of the new freedom to assert their right to control their own affairs and to rejuvenate their languages and cultures. Kurdish peasants accelerated land takeovers. The central government launched a direct offensive against the Kurds, sending in troops and bombing their villages.

But the attack on the Kurds backfired. Their guerrilla forces successfully resisted the army, provoking debate and opposition to the war among workers in the cities throughout Iran. The central government was forced to pull back from its occupation of Kurdistan in October 1979. It also retreated from attempts to impose full-scale censorship and prohibit legal functioning

of workers parties.

Mobilizations by workers and their allies reached a new high. The focus of their protests was the continued U.S. interference in Iran's affairs and conciliatory moves toward the imperialists by some officials in the Iranian government.

U.S. embassy occupation

In October 1979, Washington allowed the shah, who had been living in exile, to move to the United States. Iranians poured into the streets to protest this blatantly provocative move. Revolutionary students took over the U.S. embassy and held the personnel inside hostage to their demand that the shah be returned to stand trial for his crimes.

Iranian officials caught carrying out secret negotiations with Washington were ousted from their posts on the demand of the Iranian people. The students began releasing CIA files found in the embassy that showed a U.S. campaign to split and overthrow the Iranian government, as well as the complicity of some Iranian officials in Washington's plans.

Workers came to the forefront of defending the embassy occupation, linking the struggle against imperialist attacks on the revolution to their battles against employers and Labor Ministry officials who were trying to block the advance of the revolution. Those bosses who were sabotaging production or refusing to meet workers' demands were denounced as agents of imperialism. The factory shoras mushroomed throughout the country and began to raise broader social demands as well.

Peasants drove their tractors into the cities to show their solidarity with the embassy takeover and to seek support for their own demands.

In December, a united demonstration of all the factory shoras in Tehran marched to the embassy. There the workers presented a program of demands to meet the threat from imperialism and move the revolution forward. They called for resolute action against U.S. imperialism, including the military mobilization of the entire Iranian population. They urged the government to forge "deeper ties" with "other Islamic and anticolonial movements." The program linked stepped-up defense of the revolution with a call for sweeping measures against proimperialist capitalists, landlords, and government officials who were denying rights to the workers and peasants.

"Cut off the hands of the capitalists who are sabotaging production!" the program demanded. "Abolish capitalism and plunder. . . . The government should run all the factories in collaboration with the shora in each plant."

The shora program also called for land reform. The holdings of the big landlords with ties to the United States "should be confiscated and divided up. The land and its fruits belong to those who work it!"

Within the government, the shoras demanded immediate action against "traitors" and a purge, "in direct collaboration with the Islamic Workers Shoras," of counter-revolutionary elements in the labor ministries.

The upsurge around the embassy seizure thus saw the emergence of the workers, through their own independent organs, the shoras, attempting to take the lead in pushing the revolution forward.

The inability of the Iranian government to bring the situation under control led the Carter administration to launch its abortive commando raid against Iran in April 1980. Ostensibly a raid to free the U.S. hostages, the operation was clearly planned to spark a coup against the Khomeini regime.

Five months later, Iraqi Pres. Saddam Hussein launched his massive invasion of Iran.

U.S. indifference to war?

The U.S. imperialists feigned "neutrality" on the war, and hoped Hussein could do their dirty work for them. Far from being "indifferent" to the war, Washington saw it as a major opportunity to overthrow Khomeini and reverse the gains of the Iranian revolution without direct use of U.S. troops.

A parallel situation had occurred in the 1970s in the Horn of Africa. In 1974, as part of an upsurge of anti-imperialist forces in Africa, the Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown in Ethiopia. Huge popular mobilizations resulted, compelling the new government, made up of younger army officers, to make major concessions to the



February 1979 insurrection in Iran. Crowd celebrates overthrow of shah, trampling on his statue.

masses, including a broad land reform and nationalization of the banks.

As in Iran, the new Ethiopian government was a capitalist regime that sought to demobilize the masses and curb democratic rights. It refused to grant national rights to the Eritreans, an oppressed people within Ethiopia, for example.

In 1977, Ethiopia was invaded by the army of Pres. Siad Barre of Somalia. Barre claimed to be coming to the aid of Somalis living in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, who also suffered national oppression under the Ethiopian regime.

But the "national liberation" of Somalis had nothing to do with Barre's war. Like Hussein of Iraq, he was seeking to roll back an antidictatorial revolution before it reached his doorstep.

Washington tried to appear neutral in this war also, all the while quietly encouraging Barre's aggression. The U.S. government looked favorably on anything that could push back the anti-imperialist upsurge in Africa, which had now swept Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and other countries.

Washington sent two warships to the Red Sea as a warning to Ethiopia and to back up the Somalis. But with the aid of Cuban troops, Ethiopia defeated the Somali army shortly thereafter, regaining control of the Ogaden.

Many on the U.S. left were confused during the Ethiopia-Somalia war about which of these two oppressed nations to support and where U.S. imperialism's interests really lay. A similar confusion exists today on the Iraq-Iran war.

Washington's relations with Iraq

Prior to the Iranian revolution, Washington had had poor relations with the Iraqi government. Iraq had broken diplomatic relations with the United States over the 1967 Israeli war, and the Iraqi government had been an outspoken opponent of U.S. support to Israel. Iraq had been listed on Washington's roster of "terrorist" nations.

However the Iraqi regime had become more conciliatory toward the imperialists in recent years. In the mid-1970s, Hussein and the shah of Iran jointly stabbed Kurdish liberation fighters in the back and established more friendly relations. One result of this was that in 1978 Hussein expelled Khomeini from Iraq, where he had been living in exile and issuing calls for action against the shah. After the Iranians toppled the shah in 1979, Hussein began military provocations on Iran's border.

Hussein's fear of the Iranian revolution stemmed from its attractiveness to the Iraqi population, which is 55 percent Shi'ite Muslim and 20 percent Kurdish. Monarchical rule was overturned in Iraq in 1958. But the Ba'ath Party, which has ruled ever

since, has refused to solve the huge gap in income between the masses and the wealthy ruling families, despite the radical and sometimes socialist rhetoric employed by various Ba'athist rulers. They have also systematically suppressed the nationalist aspirations of the Kurdish population.

Today the country is run by a military dictatorship. Hussein rules by decree. Trade unions and opposition parties, such as the Communist Party, are severely repressed.

Hussein stepped up attacks on democratic rights when he launched the war against Iran. The Iraqi masses had no interest in fighting their Iranian brothers and sisters, and opposition to the war began to be voiced. Some 100,000 Shi'ite Muslims were expelled from the country by Hussein shortly after the war began. Most went to Iran. An estimated 500-600 Shi'ites have been executed on charges of supporting Iran.

But neither repression nor the fact that Iraq has far superior military equipment has enabled Hussein to win the war. On the contrary, the Iraqi forces have been steadily pushed back by Iranian troops, who do have a stake in winning the war. Those with the greatest stakes are the Iranian workers and peasants, who have been the driving force behind the defense effort from the beginning. When Iraq first invaded, the Iranian army officer corps, made up largely of remnants from the shah's regime, dragged its feet. The Iraqis seized a considerable amount of territory.

Impatient with the response of the army, the workers began organizing independently to beat back the invasion. They set up committees to aid the war effort in the factories. They called on the government to train the population in the use of weapons. They demanded harsh measures against capitalist speculators who were profiting off the war's effects on the economy. Peasants also began to mobilize, collecting huge amounts of food to be sent to the soldiers at the front.

Faced with the demand that it defend the nation, the Iranian government set up a volunteer corps, called the *basesej*. Hundreds of thousands of youth from the cities volunteered. They, along with the Revolutionary Guards established by the government after the revolution, began to push the army brass aside and play the major role on the battlefield. By 1982, the Iraqis had been forced out of much of the territory they had captured.

This has been done at the price of enormous sacrifice by the Iranian working people, who have borne the brunt of the war's destruction. Prior to the recent attacks by Hussein, 250,000 Iranians had died in the war, and another 400,000 were wounded. Hundreds of thousands have been left homeless by bombing. An esti-

Imperialism vs. Iranian Revolution

Which Side for Working People?

By Janice Lynn
and David Frankel

39 pp., \$9.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please enclose \$.75 for postage and handling.

mated 80,000 Iraqis — sent into battle against their will — have also been killed.

The Iranian masses see the invasion as not only a violation of their sovereignty, but an attack aimed at undoing everything they have won with their revolution. They have no illusions that Washington is "neutral" in the conflict — they identified the invasion as imperialist-inspired from the start.

Imperialists step up aid to Iraq

As the Iraqi invasion has lost ground, the imperialists have made their support to Hussein more open. In 1983, the French government of François Mitterrand "loaned" jets and Exocet missiles to Iraq. Washington now provides Hussein with \$840 million in economic aid.

Reactionary Arab regimes in the region stepped in to lend their help too. Such staunch imperialist allies as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other gulf governments now subsidize the Iraqi economy. The governments of Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, and North Yemen have provided soldiers to Iraq.

More naked backing of Iraq has occurred in recent months. This has been linked to the weakening of the rightist government in Lebanon. When the coalition regime established by Washington and Israel in Lebanon began to come unstuck in late 1983 and the U.S. Marines came under attack from the local population, the U.S. government sounded the alarm about "Shi'ite terrorists" in Beirut. It accused Iran of fomenting the attacks on the U.S. Marines, a charge the Iranian government denied.

The fact is that Shi'ite Muslims comprise more than 30 percent of Lebanon's population. The Iranian revolution is popular among Lebanese Shi'ites, who are the most impoverished workers and peasants in the country. Portraits of Khomeini dot houses and shops throughout Shi'ite neighborhoods.

Sensing the impending collapse of the Lebanese rightist regime, along with the steadily deteriorating position of Iraq in its war against Iran, Washington initiated a number of moves to prop up Hussein.

In November 1983, the U.S. Central Command drew up plans to move an armada of warships to the Persian Gulf region. The Central Command, originally called the Rapid Deployment Force, was established by President Carter in 1980 specifically in response to the Iranian revolution. In December 1983, U.S. diplomats visited Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman to inform them, according to the Jan. 1, 1984, *Washington Post*, that an Iranian victory in the war would be "contrary to U.S. interests."

The *Post* explained, "The decision to say the United States opposes the defeat of Iraq was described by officials as reflecting the relative decline of Iraq's fortunes compared with those of Iran as well as the disaster for U.S. interests if the Iranian revolution were to spread triumphantly in the strategic region."

Also in December, U.S. Mideast envoy Donald Rumsfeld visited Iraq, after which Washington announced it was ready to exchange ambassadors with Baghdad.

On February 2, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy went to Iraq for another high-level meeting. By mid-February, U.S. warships were in place in the Persian Gulf and surrounding waters. The U.S. flotilla is far from passive. The April 1 *New York Times Magazine* reported that every morning the U.S. Central Command headquarters in Tampa, Florida, reviews satellite photos of the positions of Iranian troops, the location of Soviet ships and soldiers in the area, the location of U.S. ships, and weather conditions that might affect a military operation. CBS News has reported that satellite pictures of Iranian troop movements are regularly provided to Iraq.

The danger that the U.S. forces will launch a military strike against Iran is real. Washington is less concerned about saving the Hussein regime *per se* than it is about preventing more upsurges by the masses in the region, a danger it foresees if Iran wins the war.

As CIA Director William Casey put it in an interview in the April 23 *U.S. News and World Report*, "If Iran prevails and a radical Shiite regime is established in Baghdad similar to the Khomeini regime in Tehran, there are a lot of people they could turn loose against Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the gulf states, which have supported Iraq."

A blind spot toward imperialism

Imperialism's goal of an Iraqi victory over Iran has never been clearer in the three and a half years of the war. Yet almost the entire U.S. radical press refuses to recognize this. The *Guardian* argues that the U.S. government and its allies have been "relatively indifferent" to which side wins, while *Workers World* claims the imperialist attacks on Iran have no connection to the Iraqi aggression against Iran.

To cover their collapse under the pressure of the imperialist propaganda campaign, these petty-bourgeois radicals hold up other criteria to justify their stand. The *Guardian* complains that Khomeini refuses to negotiate for peace. But the *tactics* the Iranian government employs in the war — whatever one thinks of them — are hardly criteria for deciding which side to support. That decision must be based on what furthers the interests of the working class — in Iran and worldwide.

Nor is the severe repression carried out by both the Iranian and Iraqi governments decisive in determining which side working people should support in the war.

To believe most of the U.S. left, the war continues today for one and only one reason: to "divert" or "distract" the Iranian working masses from ruling-class attacks on their rights at home.

Naturally the Iranian rulers take advantage of the war situation to further their own interests. Capitalist speculators have made millions by hoarding food and raw materials to sell at inflated prices. Employers have urged workers to restrain their demands in the name of "national unity." The government uses the war as a pretext to further restrict democratic rights and persecute opponents of its policies.

But the Iranian workers have their own class interests to pursue in the war. In fact,

it is precisely because the war is *not* fought over "strictly bourgeois interests" — contrary to *Workers World* — that Iranian working people are still willing to fight the Iraqis. They believe there are still gains of the Iranian revolution to defend — and indeed there are.

A two-sided battle

Most of the U.S. left fails to see the recent events in Iran from the standpoint of the working class there. Disoriented by the mass media, they can only see the ruling-class attacks that have hit the workers and therefore conclude that most, if not all, gains of the revolution have been wiped out. The actual situation in the Iranian class struggle is far more contradictory. Let us review what has happened in the past three years.

The demands of the Iranian masses have increasingly come into conflict with the prerogatives of the ruling class. There has been resistance to moves by the government to take back concessions and erode the gains of the revolution.

The Iranian masses have been handicapped in this resistance by the absence of a working-class leadership that could chart a course independent of the ruling Islamic Republican Party (IRP). A layer of proletarian fighters has not yet come forward that is capable of mobilizing the workers and peasants to fight for their own interests and to break politically with the IRP. This has allowed Iran's rulers to deal significant blows to the revolution.

In 1981, the regime took advantage of a terrorist campaign against the revolution — led by a petty-bourgeois radical group called the Mujahedeen — to carry out sweeping arrests and executions. Many young people associated with leftist groups fell victim to the government drive, despite the fact they were not involved in the Mujahedeen's reactionary campaign.

The executions were unpopular with the working class, but they had no party of their own through which to voice their views. They refused to defend the Mujahedeen because they correctly saw its assassination campaign as aiding the imperialists and monarchists.

The government used the Mujahedeen terrorism to set a precedent restricting the democratic rights of everyone. Street demonstrations, except those officially called by the government, became illegal. Many newspapers were shut down. Militants in the workplace got fired and in some cases jailed. Women's rights were further restricted. Socialist groups supporting the revolution were victimized.

These measures did not succeed in stamping out the revolution, however. In 1982, the government attempted to adopt a labor law that contained reactionary planks against workers' rights. Factory shoras organized "seminars" where workers blasted the bill and demanded that the goals of the revolution be incorporated into it — things such as guarantees against arbitrary firings, insurance and unemployment benefits, women's rights, and measures to increase participation in the war against Iraq.

The government finally withdrew the bill under this pressure.



Kargar
1980 demonstration in Tehran in solidarity with Miami Black community rebellion. Identification with struggles by oppressed of world has been hallmark of Iranian revolution.

Peasants, meanwhile, stepped up their demands for land reform. They won the right to form peasant shoras in 1982. A bill that would have provided some land reform, however, was defeated.

Anti-Tudeh campaign

In early 1983, the regime carried out a major crackdown against the Tudeh Party. Its top leaders were arrested and forced to go on television to "confess" that they had spied for the Soviet Union. Thousands of rank-and-file Tudeh members were also jailed, and some Soviet diplomats were expelled. In February 1984, 10 Tudeh members in the armed forces were executed, and dozens of others are currently on trial.

The government coupled its reactionary attack on the Tudeh Party with sharpened polemics against communism and against the Soviet Union. It falsely charged that the Soviet Union is "imperialist" and a military threat to Iran. It argued that communism is inherently opposed to national liberation struggles. These spurious arguments were aimed not just at leftists, but at workers as a whole. They were a warning that anyone attracted to socialist revolution was a potential "spy" and "traitor" to the Iranian revolution.

The Iranian rulers took advantage of the fact that the Soviet Union currently sells arms to Iraq. Prior to the Iranian revolution, Iraq had a weapons contract with the Soviet Union. However, when Hussein invaded Iran in 1980, the Soviet government halted arms sales to Iraq. The arms contract was resumed in 1982 by the Soviet Union when the Iranian government sent troops across the border into Iraq. Statements by the Soviet government adopted an increasingly hostile tone toward Iran.

The Soviet arming of Iraq is neither in the interests of the Soviet working people nor in the interests of the Iranian and Iraqi workers. It is a blow to the Iranian revolution and undermines the international support needed to defend the Soviet workers state. It can only play into the hands of the imperialists and the Iranian rulers.

The Iranian government's anti-Soviet, anticommunist campaign has undoubtedly confused the Iranian masses. But the Iranian workers have not mobilized in support of the regime's persecution of Tudeh members. Outspoken workers in the factories know that when they criticize government policy, they too are labelled "Tudeh" members.

Debate and discussion continue in the factories today. A new labor bill that seeks to extend membership in the shoras to management has been criticized by the workers. Even this bill, however, includes concessions, such as a ban on arbitrary firings.

Women office workers have initiated a fight for government-financed child-care centers.



Peasants (left) and auto workers (right) demonstrate at occupied U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979. Marches called for land reform, harsh measures against capitalists, vigilance in struggle against imperialism.

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Continued on next page



Mural on wall in Abadan, Iran, where many oil workers live. City has been repeatedly bombed by Iraqi regime.

Continued from preceding page

This is an important sign that the drive by women to be full and equal members of society has not been extinguished, despite reactionary assaults on their democratic rights by the regime.

In the countryside, government efforts to help big landlords regain their property are spurring protests from the peasantry. According to the Iranian newspapers, landowners coming back from self-imposed exile have tried to retrieve land taken over by small peasants. Pliant judges have been ruling in favor of the landlords and have jailed some peasants who refuse to give up the land.

One group of peasants wrote a letter to the Tehran daily *Ettela'at*, in which they said:

"The famous feudal landlord of our region, who collaborated with the shah's regime, is back. . . . He has plowed 20 hectares of cultivated land and cultivated 60 hectares with the help of his monarchist friends."

Government's war policy

The fact that the Iranian government is a capitalist regime has also meant it cannot pursue a revolutionary policy on the war. Despite its rhetoric, the actions of the Iranian government weaken the struggle against Iraqi aggression instead of rallying the broadest possible support for victory.

The Iranian government's refusal to recognize the national rights of Kurds, for example, has allowed counterrevolutionary forces to win over some of the Kurdish population. Leaders of organizations like the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Komalah, who initially supported the revolution, are now against it and lean toward Iraq.

The government's attacks on democratic rights have been seized upon by proimperialist forces — from the Mujahedeen to the monarchists — as a rallying point. Raising the banner of "democracy," these groups have attracted significant layers of the urban middle classes away from support for the revolution.

The refusal to carry out land reform and to adopt a prolabor law also weakens the nation in the face of aggression. Carrying out such programs would inspire the masses with new enthusiasm and increase the mobilizations to defeat Iraq. Fresh gains for the Iranian workers and peasants would also have an impact on the Iraqi masses, undercutting Hussein's propaganda against the Iranian revolution.

The Iranian government does not politically motivate the war effort in this way. While it continues to aim its main fire at U.S. imperialism, the regime also raises reactionary arguments. Khomeini, for example, has sought to dilute the working-class and anti-imperialist thrust of the war effort by portraying the conflict as a religious one: "a war between Islam and blasphemy."

Recently, when the foreign minister of Turkey visited Iran, Iranian parliament speaker Hojatolislam Rafsanjani appealed to anticommunism in urging the Turkish dictatorship to support Iran in the war. Rafsanjani claimed that Iraqi aggression "will further Soviet goals in the region." Calling for an Islamic government in Iraq, he said

this would "help eliminate the infiltration of communism into the region."

It is useful to note the difference between how the Iranian government attempts to combat imperialist-inspired aggression and the approach of the workers and peasants government in Nicaragua, which is engaged in a war with CIA-trained exiles and the Honduran army. The Sandinistas have sought to protect and expand the rights of oppressed national groupings in their country, such as the Miskito Indians. They have carried out extensive land reform, which has made clearer to the peasants their own stakes in defending the revolution. They have sided with the workers — not the bosses — in the factories and deepened the union organization of the working class. They have armed the people and organized territorial militias, a step the Iranian government has never taken.

In the international arena, the Nicaraguans have made crystal clear who is responsible for the conflict in Central America — the United States. They have appealed to the working people of Honduras and the world by pointing to the positive example of their revolution for oppressed masses everywhere. This has resulted in international condemnation of Washington's role and educated millions about the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution.

It is no surprise, in fact, that the Nicaraguan revolution is quite popular in Iran today.

Internationalism

The internationalism and anti-imperialism of the Iranian masses remains one of the major gains of the revolution that neither Washington nor the native ruling class has been able to stamp out. It finds its reflection in many of the stands the Iranian government adopts on foreign policy.

The Iranian government has established friendly ties with the Nicaraguan government and denounces the U.S.-sponsored aggression against the Sandinistas. In March, Nicaraguan junta member Sergio Ramírez was invited to visit Iran, where he discussed trade and diplomatic ties between the two nations.

A joint communiqué by Ramírez and Iranian officials condemned imperialist attacks on Iran and on Nicaragua. It also denounced "the supplying to Iraq . . . of destructive, lethal, mutilating chemical weapons, both on the front lines of the imposed war and in civilian residential areas, which represents an escalation of the imposed war."

The Sandinista daily *Barricada* quoted Ramírez as saying, "the Iranians hold U.S. imperialism directly responsible for the aggression they are suffering. This nation knows that the bombs that are being dropped on Iranian towns . . . are the direct responsibility of the expansionist ambitions of U.S. imperialism in this region, and this has intensified even more their identification with the struggle of our own people."

The Iranian government also recognizes the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador. Two FMLN representatives were guests of honor at the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Iranian revolution in February.

In the Mideast, where many Arab re-

gimes are seeking a deal with Israel, the Iranian government continues to call for the dismantling of the colonial-settler state in Israel. During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Khomeini sent Iranian troops to aid the Lebanese and Palestinian resistance. The troops are still there.

The regime in Iran is also outspoken against apartheid in South Africa and British colonial rule in Ireland.

It has supported struggles by workers in imperialist countries, such as the strikes by immigrant auto workers in France, the British coal miners fighting union-busting, and the battles of U.S. Blacks against racist discrimination and police brutality.

As a bourgeois government that refuses to break with the capitalists and landlords, the Iranian regime cannot chart a consistently anti-imperialist course, however. It inevitably comes into conflict with the masses as it tries to carry out measures demanded by owners of industry and the land. Ultimately, it must openly turn to the imperialists for support against the workers and peasants.

This conflict has been unfolding in Iran ever since the revolution. The outcome is not yet decided. How the war with Iraq ends up will play an important role in the fate of the revolution.

Iranian workers will be in a *stronger* position to defend democratic rights, social and economic gains, and national self-determination if they can defeat the Iraqi aggression and return their country to peace. Victory in the war would deepen the self-confidence of the masses and raise their expectations for completion of the tasks they overthrew the shah to accomplish. The conditions would be more favorable for advancing the struggle to replace the current bourgeois government with a workers and peasants government in Iran.

A defeat for Iran in the war would spell the decisive defeat of the Iranian revolution. It would mean a bloodbath in both the cities and the countryside to crush the backbone of the revolution — the workers and poor peasants. A proimperialist regime complete with a new SAVAK-style police network would be imposed on the Iranian people.

Marxists oppose the overthrow of the current Iranian government by Washington, Hussein, proshah forces, or petty-bourgeois, proimperialist Iranian groups like the Mujahedeen. The Khomeini regime is *not* worse than the shah. It is a bourgeois government, but it is not a proimperialist monarchy. The workers are in a stronger position to fight for their interests today — under the Islamic Republic — than they were under the shah's dynasty. Under conditions where the Iranian masses are not ready to replace the current regime with a workers and peasants government of their own, overthrow of Khomeini can only be in the interests of imperialism and have reactionary consequences for the entire region.

Defense of the current Iranian government from overthrow has nothing to do with giving *political support* to its antilabor policies or its strategy in the war. Marxists defend the current regime from imperialist attack within the framework of advancing the interests of the Iranian working masses, their fight for a revolutionary war policy, and their struggle for political power.

'Neutral' on side of Iraq

Those U.S. left groups that call for "neutrality" in the war have turned their backs on the Iranian toilers and their struggle. They have lost confidence in the Iranian masses and in the revolution itself. By opposing an Iranian victory and by rehashing the slanders of the bourgeois media against the revolution, they actually end up being "neutral" on the side of the Iraqi regime and its imperialist backers. They reject the idea that an Iranian victory in the war could open the road to the masses overturning the capitalist government. Instead, they counterpose the idea that defeat for Iran would enhance the prospects for revolution.

This call for "revolutionary defeatism" in Iran today is just as wrong as it was when some U.S. leftists raised this call during the Malvinas war of 1982. There, the Argentine dictatorship, under growing pressure from the workers, carried out an anti-imperialist act by reclaiming the Malvinas Islands, Argentine territory stolen by the British imperialists. Britain went to war against the Argentines to regain its colony. The British rulers sought to justify their aggression by portraying the war as one of

"democracy" against "fascist dictatorship."

Some U.S. radicals fell for this line. They shrank from mobilizing to defend Argentina, an oppressed nation, from British imperialism and its U.S. allies. Instead, they argued that a defeat for Argentina could be progressive because of the repressive character of the Argentine regime.

The Argentine workers, however, did not call for "revolutionary defeatism." They knew the military attack by Britain was expressly aimed at them. They mobilized against British aggression and condemned their own government for *failing* to adequately fight the war. Britain finally defeated Argentina. A victory for Argentina in the war would have put Argentine working people in a better position to overturn capitalist rule.

The Iraq-Iran war, like the Malvinas war, offers important lessons for U.S. workers, who will be confronted with more such wars in the future. The starting point for Marxists is the fact that imperialism is at war around the world against the advance of the socialist revolution. It is in the interests of U.S. workers to defend every step forward by workers and peasants in oppressed nations toward breaking the grip of imperialist domination, in order to seize political power in their own name. Every victory for the colonial revolution weakens imperialism and brings the day closer when working people in the United States will ourselves be able to replace the world's strongest imperialist government with a government of workers and farmers.

This means examining concretely imperialism's relationship to every war that breaks out. It means studying the specific relationship of class forces within each nation at war. Only by determining where the *workers'* interests lie in each case can a correct position be determined.

Will a defeat for Iran strengthen or weaken the workers in that country? Will it help or hurt the fight against dictatorship in Iraq? Will it advance or set back the national liberation struggle in the Middle East? Will imperialism emerge stronger; if Iran is defeated, in relation to its other wars around the globe? These are the decisive questions for us.

Role of U.S. workers

The principal contribution that U.S. workers can make to the struggle of Iranian working people is helping them get the imperialists off their backs. The U.S. labor movement and those parties claiming to speak in its interests should be demanding the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. warships from Iran's coasts and an end to U.S. aid to the Iraqi regime. We should demand full restoration of U.S. trade and diplomatic ties with Iran. We should expose and demand a halt to the Reagan administration's efforts to overthrow the government of Ayatollah Khomeini.

In this context of *defending* the Iranian revolution from imperialist attack, U.S. labor should also support workers and peasants in Iran whose democratic rights are under attack from the government there. These attacks weaken the revolution in the face of imperialist-inspired aggression. The repression against the Tudeh Party, supporters of the Fourth International, and other currents in the working class must be opposed.

Finally, the U.S. workers movement should go on a campaign to repudiate the lies about the Iranian revolution and its goals. Spreading the truth about the revolution is the best aid U.S. workers can give to advancing it.

Iran-Nicaragua communiqué in 'IP'

The May 14 issue of *Intercontinental Press* includes the full text of the joint communiqué signed by Iranian and Nicaraguan officials during the visit to Tehran by Nicaraguan junta member Sergio Ramírez. Also contained in this issue of *IP* are selections from various left-wing papers around the world on the Iran-Iraq war, and excerpts from a December 1983 resolution by Iran's Tudeh Party. To order a copy send \$1.25 to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

S. Africa regime in new drive against ANC

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

South African pressure against the African National Congress (ANC) continued to mount last month. One reflection of the apartheid regime's drive was shown in the recent actions of the Swaziland government. Swaziland shares borders with South Africa and Mozambique.

Swazi cops have fired on people they say are ANC members. Swazi officials have also ordered the expulsion of at least 50 South African refugees from the country. ANC officials in the group's office in Lusaka, Zambia, reported May 5 that the Swazi government had already handed over four ANC members to the South African regime.

The ANC is the central national liberation group fighting to overturn South Africa's apartheid regime. Pretoria's moves against the ANC have escalated since the apartheid regime signed a "nonaggression" pact with the government of Mozambique March 16. In late March the governments of South Africa and Swaziland announced they had signed a similar agreement.

Attacks on ANC in Swaziland

Last month Swazi cops began rounding up suspected members of the ANC. On April 3, for example, 21 South African refugees who tried to enter Swaziland from Mozambique were arrested. Sixteen of the refugees managed to escape.

On April 11 shooting broke out in a suburb of Mbabane, the Swazi capital, as police and paramilitary forces searched for the escapees. On April 14 one cop was killed and another seriously wounded in a shootout with presumed members of the ANC in the town of Manzini. In another gun battle in Manzini on April 19, cops murdered two other presumed members of the ANC and wounded two more.

In its treaty with South Africa the Swazi regime agreed to deny the ANC any official presence in Swaziland.

Meanwhile, as reported in the April 6 issue of the *Militant*, Mozambican forces raided homes of ANC activists on March 24 and 25. Four ANC members were detained by Mozambican police.

These raids followed the signing of the accord between the South African and Mozambican governments at the Nkomati River along the border. The treaty commits both sides to stop their territory, waters, or air space from being "used as a base, thoroughfare or in any other way by another state, government, foreign military forces, organizations or individuals which plan or prepare acts of violence, terrorism or aggression" against the other.

ANC leader on pact

Mfanufuthi Makatini, the director for international affairs of the ANC and a member of its National Executive Committee, explained in an interview in the May 14 issue of *Intercontinental Press* that, through its pact with Mozambique's government and a troop withdrawal agreement with Angola, the South African regime "hopes to cause these countries to abandon their traditional positions . . . in order to enable the reestablishment of a buffer zone that would stretch right across from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean, for the preservation of the apartheid system."

Of all the governments in southern Africa, those in Mozambique and Angola have had the closest political relations with the ANC.

Makatini, who was the ANC representative to the United Nations from 1978 to 1984, also said that South Africa hopes "to seal off the ANC, because it believes that the mounting armed struggle inside the country can be stopped if the ANC is denied transit facilities through other countries."

The ANC doesn't have any bases in Mozambique, but its fighters have used the country as a thoroughfare in the past.

The Mozambican government signed the treaty after coming under intense pressure from the South African regime. In the past several years, South African forces have launched air strikes into Mozambique and provided training, arms, and logistical support for pro-South African terrorist bands known as the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo, or the MNR).

ANC president Oliver Tambo explained

in a March 21 London news conference, "... it must be accepted that the South African government, the South African regime, had decided to destroy Mozambique, to kill it as a state, and got pretty close to doing so. Mozambique, the leadership of Mozambique, were forced to choose, as it were, between life and death. They chose life, and life meant talking to the butchers of southern Africa, it meant hugging a hated hyena, and they had to do that.

"For the rest of us," continued Tambo, "we must accept that position, but defend our own positions, defend our struggle."

Mozambican government officials hope that the March 16 treaty means South Africa will end its support of Renamo. At a March 17 rally of 70,000 in Maputo, the Mozambican capital, Pres. Samora Machel hailed the accord as a "victory" that had "turned off the tap" on the Renamo bands.

South African terrorism will continue

"We are convinced," said ANC representative Makatini, "that the [South African] regime will not stop its support of the MNR."

Moreover, explained Makatini, agreements such as the Nkomati accord "do not address the central issue, which is the problem inside the country. . . . Even if all the countries in the region were to capitulate and enter into such agreements, once the ANC goes into action, Pretoria will pick on some country to attack."

The ANC's activities in Mozambique, said Makatini, were severely limited in the

wake of the treaty. "We are now limited to about 10 people inside the country. The rest must either register as refugees — and then cannot even be in contact with the ANC — or leave the country. And in leaving the country, they may not go to any country that shares a border with South Africa," said Makatini.

Over the weekend of April 14-15, about 25 ANC members left Maputo for Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. They were the first of at least 200 adults and 50 children expected to leave the country.

Makatini explained that the U.S. government plays a key role in advancing the apartheid regime's aims. "Without the U.S.," said Makatini, "the [South African] regime would not have succeeded in doing this."

Inadequate aid to Angola, Mozambique

The ANC leader said, "The international community as a whole has not given adequate assistance" to Angola and Mozambique, which "are in fact spearheading what should be seen and treated as an international fight for the eradication of the system that everybody agrees is a crime against humanity, a threat to world peace."

Makatini also pointed to the lack of support from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which "did not respond as it had promised to. I'm referring to its own resolution of 1976 in which it declared that aggression against one frontline state would be treated as aggression against all member states. That raised our hopes. But Mozambique — and Angola — have been alone, alone, alone." The "frontline" states



are those African countries, like Angola and Mozambique, that are near South Africa and provide political or other backing to the southern Africa liberation movements.

The impact of recent developments in southern Africa "is going to slow down the pace" of the ANC's struggle, said Makatini. "But it cannot be considered a fatal blow. It is serious, but not fatal."

"We are inside South Africa and among the people. The ANC for some time now has had cells inside the country. So the struggle will continue."

Iowa Pork workers fight union-busting

BY BILL ARTH

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Two rallies in support of striking United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 4-P at Iowa Pork Industries (IPI) here drew 300 strikers and other supporters on April 4. The morning rally was attended by about 50 people, and an afternoon rally drew 250 including a number of officials and members from other unions in the Twin Cities area.

IPI workers have been on strike since they were locked out on February 13. The company has replaced the 210 striking workers with scabs and has refused to negotiate.

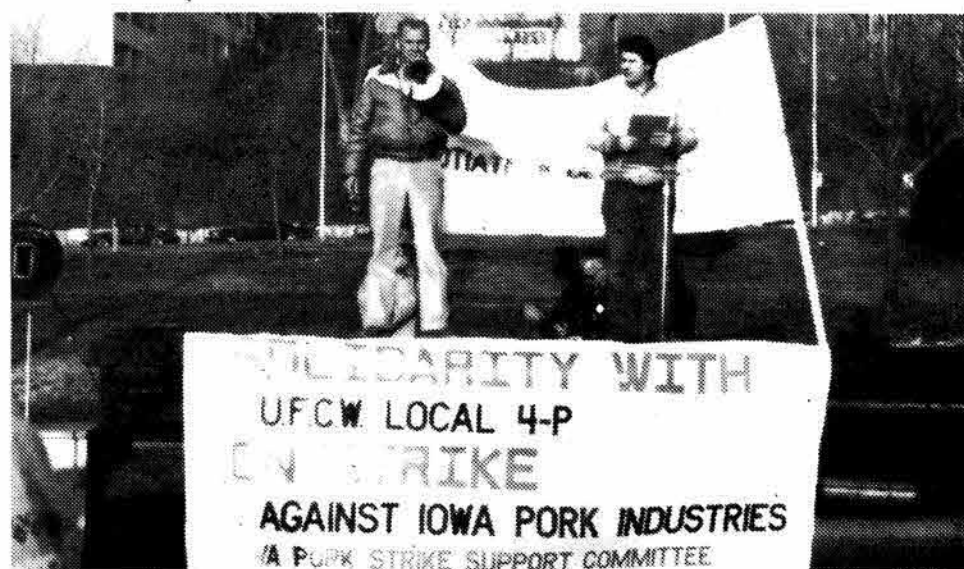
Bud Schulte, a strike picket captain, chaired the afternoon rally. "Not one production worker has crossed the picketline. We remain strong and solid," reported Schulte. He said the main issue in the strike is the company's attempt to introduce a two-tier wage system by paying new hires \$1.75 an hour less than the current rate. He said the union membership "saw this as the first step for shoving the union out the door."

"The union's response is a three-pronged offensive," he continued. "First, to reach out to the labor movement, to our brothers and sisters for support and solidarity. Second, to alert the unemployed to the union message and the union goal — don't be a sucker for IPI's empty promises. And third, to mount a product boycott."

Joe Hansen, director of Region 13 UFCW, said union meatcutters will be asked not to handle IPI products. Dave Roe, president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, pledged the support of all organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO in the state. The UFCW alerted consumers that IPI hams are marketed under the Golden Prairie and Golden Superb Labels, or are coded EST #1811 on the package.

Other unions represented at the afternoon rally included United Auto Workers Locals 879 and 125; United Steelworkers Local 7263; International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1042; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2047; and Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1150, which represents Greyhound workers.

Contributions to the strike fund by various locals were announced over the course of the afternoon program. Wendell Olson of Region 13 UFCW pledged to continue the \$65 a week strike benefits "as long as is possible and necessary."



Solidarity rally for striking pork packers in St. Paul drew 300 supporters April 4.

The strikers expect a long battle. One worker with many years in the plant said, "All of us who went out have been thinking about what this strike is all about. What the company is doing makes no sense — unless you understand what they're after is to

get rid of the union. I read a lot and see it happening all over." Referring to the copper miners on strike against Phelps Dodge he said, "I know about the brothers on strike in Arizona. It's the same thing: 'Get rid of the union.'"

Agent Orange settlement: no justice

Continued from front page

style war against the people of Central America."

Turning back to the financial terms of the deal Mason noted a report in the May 8 *Wall Street Journal* that the settlement "wouldn't materially affect [the] financial positions," of the seven chemical companies.

"There is no way to adequately compensate Vietnam veterans for the horror of the imperialist war they were forced to fight," said Mason. "Just as there is no way to fully compensate Vietnam for the terrible destruction and human suffering inflicted by the U.S. government."

"But both the Vietnam vets and the Vietnamese people deserve more. No veteran should ever have to pay one penny for the medical treatment they and their families need. A more just price should be exacted from the wealthy families who own Dow Chemical and the rest," he declared. "They should be punished for the suffering they

have caused — not just tapped on the wrist."

"The U.S. government's debt to Vietnam must be paid," he affirmed. "The U.S. government destroyed Vietnam with the most brutal bombing in the history of warfare. Agent Orange was just one of the terrible weapons used against the Vietnamese."

"Today the U.S. government has the responsibility to pay war reparations to Vietnam. It should make available funds, equipment, material, technology, and medical supplies to help rebuild Vietnam and heal its people," he said.

This would not only aid Vietnam, Mason noted, "it would help provide jobs for the unemployed — Vietnam vets and others — here in the United States."

"Instead, the U.S. government maintains a policy of unrelenting hostility towards Vietnam. Just as it maintains a policy of callousness and indifference to the problems of U.S. vets suffering from Agent Orange," Mason concluded.

THE GREAT SOCIETY

They're all crazy? — Psyching out corporate execs is a new growth field. One such specialist points to the "jungle fighter" as an often admired but potentially de-



Harry Ring

structive corporate type. The type, he says, is characterized by "lust for power and glory, desire to subjugate or destroy others, and greed for personal gain." And we thought that was your common

garden-variety capitalist.

"Sin fronteras" — We were reminded of the "without borders" slogan on reading about Father Catani, one of the new breed of "management priests." He operates a garment shop in Urbania, Italy, which turns out 6,000 pairs of jeans a day. Accounts include Kappa Sports, which recently introduced Jesus Jeans into the Soviet Union.

Appleheads, Inc. — The North Carolina Apple Growers Assn. takes a dim view of a federal proposal to provide drinking water, hand-washing facilities, and sanitary toilets for field workers.

Hot weather in the field can be hard, a rep conceded, "at least for white folks." But water and toilets? "That is costing us 78 cents every time the worker takes a notion he needs a drink." And not going to the toilet all day may be uncomfortable, but "it won't hurt anybody."

Let the good times roll — Prosperity is definitely here. The average wage increase for corporate execs last year was 13.1 percent. More than 46 top execs "earned" more than a million in cash compensation alone. How're you doing?

Deep-thinking dep't — An

editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* on the Dominican food-price protests advised: "Experts also point out that this is the season when weather conditions are at their hottest in the region. . . . Indeed the 1965 strife occurred during this period of particularly adverse weather patterns. That is not to minimize severe economic difficulties. . . ."

Table tip — Christian Petrosian, international king of the caviar trade (\$320 a pound in New York), started feeding his youngsters the fish eggs at nine months to properly educate their palates. He advises spreading the eggs on lightly toasted bland bread. Slurp-

ing them with a spoon is okay too, but never silver. It affects the flavor. Stainless steel is best, but a gold spoon will do in a pinch.

Lunch with a punch — Advice from *Power Lunching: How You Can Profit From More Effective Business Lunch Strategies*: Stick with "power" lunches, like steak and oysters. Flatter your guest by ordering the same meal. Try a complimentary remark about a woman guest's appearance. A woman should "try placing your hand over his as you're making a point," or "remove your shoe and gently kick him under the table." The book didn't say where.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Support the British Coal Miners Strike: an Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Bruce Kimball, member, United Mine Workers of America, recently returned from reporting on strike for *Militant*. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Brother Malcolm X: Reminiscences of a Black Revolutionary. A play by Frank Greenwood performed by the Langston Hughes players in commemoration of the anniversary of Malcolm X's birth. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Langston Hughes Players and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

Socialist Campaign Rally: Stop the U.S. Wars At Home and Abroad! Speakers: Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president; Ken Collins, SWP candidate for Seaside, California, city council, former member of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 2; Miguel Zárate, SWP candidate 8th Congressional District (Oakland), member International Association of Machinists Local 1327. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 20, 6 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

Salinas

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president; Ken Collins, SWP candidate for Seaside city council; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 18, 7:30 p.m. Santa Lucia Public Library, 1615 Williams Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (408) 899-4732 or 899-1316.

San Diego

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Andrea González, SWP candidate for vice-president; Mary Jo Vogel, SWP candidate for 41st Congressional District; Mari Hawkes, SWP candidate for 44th Congressional District. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 13, 2 p.m. Barbecue to follow. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$4 for barbecue. Ausp: San Diego Socialist 1984

Campaign Committee. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

Socialism: a Future Worth Fighting For. Speakers: Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president; Marilee Taylor, SWP candidate for 16th Assembly District, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 20. Champagne brunch and reception, 1 p.m.; program, 2 p.m. 3284 23 St. (off Mission). Donation: brunch, \$3; program, \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1984 Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

Meet the Socialist Candidates. Discussion in Spanish with Andrea González, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president and Marilee Taylor, SWP candidate for 16th Assembly District. Thurs., May 24, 7 p.m. 3284 23 St. (off Mission). Ausp: Socialist Workers 1984 Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

1984 Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Mel Mason, SWP candidate for president; Nelson González, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Ed Warren, SWP candidate for 1st Congressional District in Chicago. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 19, 6 p.m. YMCA, 1833 E 71st St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1984 Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Bosses' Campaign Against Imports: Should Workers Enlist? Speaker: Ted Leonard, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, member Young Socialist Alliance and International Association of Machinists Lodge 1784. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

We Are Driven. A "Front Line" documentary film on union-busting in Japan. Film followed by discussion led by Kansas City auto workers. Sun., May 13, 7 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Eyewitness Report From British Coal Strike. Speaker: Clare Fraenzl, coal miner, member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1197 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 13, 3 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner of Raymond, one block from Broad). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

New York City

Stop Immigration and Naturalization Service Attacks on Immigrant Workers: an Injury To One Is an Injury To All! Speaker: Selva Nebbia, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25, eyewitness to recent INS shop raid; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 18. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (between Broadway and Church, 5 blocks south of Canal). Donation: dinner, \$3; forum, \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Black Politics in 1984. Meet the Black candidates running for U.S. president. Speakers: Representative of Jesse Jackson campaign; Larry Holmes, Workers World Party candidate; Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate; Dennis Serrette, New Alliance Party candidate.

Film: *Malcolm X — the Struggle for Freedom*. Mon., May 21, 6:30 p.m. Adam Clayton Powell State Office Building, 125th St. and Adam Clayton Powell Blvd., room 8B. Ausp: Manhattan National Black Independent Political Party.

OHIO

Cleveland

How to End Violence Against Women: a Discussion of the New Bedford Rape Case. Speakers: Jeanne Luscian, president, Cleveland National Organization for Women; Cathleen Waters, chairperson, Cleveland Socialist Workers Campaign, member, Coalition of Labor Union Women; representative from Women Together/Battered Women's Shelter. Sat., May 12, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

Grenada: Six Months After U.S. Invasion. Videotape: *Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again*, an interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to Grenada's murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Discussion to follow. Speakers: Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidate in 22nd Congressional District; August Nimtz, professor of African studies, recently returned from fact-finding tour of Grenada. Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Case Against the Death Penalty. Speakers: Suzanne Badoux, National Coalition Against the Death Penalty; Mark Emanatian, Socialist Workers Party and member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 143; representatives of Puerto Rican Alliance and Amnesty International. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 12, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

TEXAS

Houston

Why Workers Must Oppose Religion in Public Schools. Panel discussion on reasons behind recent drive to reestablish school prayer and rewrite text books to equate evolution and creationism. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 18, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

Guatemala: the Revolution Deepens. Eyewitness report on the recent developments in

Guatemala. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 25, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Stop Racist Attacks! No to Nazi Violence! Speakers: Wayne Williams, director, Afro-American Studies, University of Washington; April Thanos, president, Seattle National Organization for Women; José Cerzantes, Chicano community activist; Ray Beaulieu, American Indian Movement; Bob Barnes, secretary-treasurer, Shipscalers Union Local 541; representative of Coalition of Labor Union Women; Cheryl Hidalgo, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; Paula Three Stars; representative of Kadima; Tyree Scott, civil rights activist and member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 46; Greg Jones, president of Seattle Central Community College Student Body; Jon Haines, Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador. (Organizations listed for identification only.) Sun., May 13, 6 p.m. CAMP Firehouse, 722 18th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Washington Socialist Workers 1984 Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Grand Opening of Socialist Workers Campaign Headquarters. Speakers: Socialist Workers candidate for D.C. delegate to U.S. Congress; Joey Rothenberg, SWP candidate in 7th Congressional District of Maryland; Ted Leonard, SWP candidate in 2nd Congressional District of Maryland. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 19, 5 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant, NW. Donation requested. Ausp: D.C.-Maryland Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Demonstrate Against U.S. Intervention in Central America. Sat., May 19, 2 p.m. Lafayette Park. Ausp: Coalition Against U.S. Aggression in Central America. For more information call (202) 265-3800.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

How to End Violence Against Women: Lessons of New Bedford Rape Trial. Speakers: Nancy Cole, member of Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 64; Cathy Herbst, executive director of Women's Crisis Line. Translation to Spanish. Sun., May 13, 7 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

New International

A Magazine of Marxist Politics and Theory

In the Winter 1983-84 issue:

The Development of the Marxist Position on the Aristocracy of Labor
By Steve Clark

The Social Roots of Opportunism
By Gregory Zinoviev

The Working-Class Road to Peace
By Brian Grogan

Subscribe now

- ☐ In United States, four issues for U.S. \$12
 - ☐ In Canada, four issues for \$18.50 (Canadian)
- Send to: New International, 1317 Est. Ste. Catherine, Montreal, PQ H2L 2H4

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Country _____

Send to New International, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014

Vietnam and Kampuchea: an eyewitness report

A slide show and presentation by Diane Wang, *Militant* correspondent recently returned from month in Indochina.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Sun., May 20, 7:00 p.m. 809 E. Broadway. Donation: \$2. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Sun., May 13, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. For more information call (617) 262-4621

MICHIGAN

Detroit

What Will Reagan's Trip to China Mean for Vietnam and Kampuchea? Sat., May 12, 8 p.m. 7146 W. McNichols. Donation: \$2.

Vietnam's Reconstruction: class and discussion. Sun., May 13, 11 a.m. 7146 W. McNichols. Donation: \$1.

Kampuchea — Genocide and Recovery Amid U.S.-backed Terror: class and discussion. Sun., May 13, 1 p.m. 7146 W. McNichols. Donation: \$1. For more information call (313) 862-7755 or (419) 536-0383 in Toledo, Ohio.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Sat., May 19, 7:30 p.m. 3109 S. Grand, #22. Donation: \$2. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

Indochina Reconstructs: class and discussion. Sun., May 19, 11 a.m. 3109 S. Grand, #22. Donation: \$1. For more information call (314) 772-4410

Toledo labor backs Sun Oil strikers—

BY JOE CALLAHAN

TOLEDO, Ohio — Six hundred people took part in a labor solidarity rally here April 28 in support of striking Sun Oil workers. The oil workers have been on strike against the company's Toledo refinery since March 21.

Sun is demanding concessions from Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-912. The union took out a full-page ad in the April 27 issue of the Toledo *Blade*, explaining the union's bargaining position. The ad countered the company's demand for a two-tier wage structure, with wage rates of \$4.70 an hour less than scale for new hires. The company is also trying to seriously weaken the seniority system.

OCAW Local 7-912 Pres. Ron Rinna pointed out to the rally that Sun Oil is the 12th largest oil company, that it is in the top 50 of the Fortune 500 companies, and that its profits for the last quarter were up 59 percent. Rinna said, "No longer can one local union take on a company the size of Sun. That is the purpose of this rally. No longer can Sun say that they are taking on us alone. They are taking on the entire community."

Dale Stormer, president of the Toledo AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, sounded a theme that was echoed by many of the union officials who spoke at the rally. He called on people to replace Reagan with a Democrat as the solution to the problems faced by working people.

Along with a large number of oil workers, many of whom were wearing OCAW T-shirts saying "On Strike," there was a large contingent of AP Parts workers from United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14. Many of them wore red and white UAW caps and carried hand-lettered signs. One sign said, "AP stands for auto prisoners, not auto production."

These workers face an all-out union-busting drive by the company. They have been working without a contract since March 4. Since then, the company has slashed wages and benefits and turned the plant into a living hell of speed-ups and disciplinary slips for working "too slow." Workers have been given slips for chewing gum, smoking a cigarette, or drinking a cup of coffee.

UAW Region 2B Assistant Director Joe Sizemore, speaking at the rally about AP Parts said, "A lot of people have asked us why we didn't go on strike. We didn't go on strike because we didn't think it was time to go on strike, because we hoped that they would come back to the bargaining table and bargain in good faith. But they haven't done that. We are putting them on notice that if it doesn't happen very soon, we will go on strike and we will win."

They did go on strike several days later. OCAW Local 7-912 Vice-pres. Bruce Schwamberger said that the Sun Oil work-

ers would continue to back the AP Parts workers.

Farm Labor Organizing Committee Pres. Baldemar Velásquez and other speakers pledged to support a boycott of Sun Oil.

After the rally, the workers marched over to the nearby Sun Oil refinery, taking over the street as they went and blocking off traffic. People in cars honked and waved in support.

The oil workers are discussing plans to picket outside the homes of top management officials, as well as plans to picket the court building to protest the harassment of union officials and court injunctions against picketing.

Of the 600 workers at the rally, 165 bought copies of the *Militant*.

Joe Callahan is a member of UAW Local 12, Jeep Unit.



More than 1,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union are on strike against Sun Oil in Toledo and at Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania (above).

—As AP Parts workers hit the bricks

BY JOE CALLAHAN

TOLEDO, Ohio — On May 2 more than 200 workers at AP Parts walked out of the plant and set up strike picket lines. AP Parts is a Toledo-based manufacturer of auto mufflers and tail pipes.

The company is on an all-out drive to bust United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14. In January the company took out a full-page newspaper ad threatening to move their plant (they also have a nonunion plant in Goldsboro, North Carolina) unless their union-busting demands were met. The company has hired scores of goons, and they have taken applications for scabs, or, as they call them, "temporary replacements."

In the face of this attack, when the contract expired on March 4, UAW officials said the workers should stay and work without a contract. The company immediately proceeded to slash wages and benefits by \$5.84 an hour and more in the case of some piece-rate workers.

All the workers have been given numerous disciplinary reprimands for "loafing." Work rules were changed every day at the whim of the company.

Instead of immediately calling a strike, UAW officials filed a complaint of "unfair labor practices" with the National Labor Relations Board.

In an outrage, the labor relations board showed its true colors and ruled in favor of the company and against the union.

Finally on April 28, after seven weeks of working without a contract and under sweatshop conditions, the union took a strike-authorization vote and the workers walked out.

After the contract expired, the company laid off 175 or more workers. When the remaining workers went on strike, the company called back the laid-off workers in a move to deny them unemployment benefits.

On the picket line one worker wore a T-shirt saying "AP POW #708." Another worker had written on his jacket "AP — I won't forget, I won't forgive." Many passing by the picket line in cars waved and honked in support of the strike. The union-busting drive by the company and the slave-like conditions in the plant are well known throughout the city and there is great sympathy expressed by other workers for AP Parts strikers.

Some AP Parts workers attended a meeting of the Jeep Unit of UAW Local 12 on May 4, where they received enthusiastic solidarity.

AP Parts workers have also developed close ties with striking Sun Oil workers. Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 7-912 has hosted two pot-luck dinners. After the first dinner, the workers picketed Sun Oil and after the second, they picketed AP Parts.

Toledo is a union town and it is a UAW town. The union-busting attempt by AP Parts will be a big challenge to the union. It will be a real test of strength that will be watched by other companies who would like to bust the UAW.

Las Vegas strikers win Hilton accord

A partial settlement has been reached in the Las Vegas hotel strike. The Hilton hotel chain, which operates two of the largest hotels in Las Vegas, agreed to a contract with striking unions that will yield an increase in wages and benefits of \$1.46 an hour over the four-year life of the agreement.

A key issue in the strike has been the guarantee of a 40-hour workweek for hotel employees. Hotel management had hoped to weaken this. The new contract with the Hilton maintains it intact. The hotels were successful in winning concessions that erode job classifications, allowing management to force workers to carry out more than one job.

The Hilton chain has been prominent in the Nevada Resort Association, which has been pressing the concession drive against

culinary workers, stage hands, musicians, and other workers. The unions have hoped that a settlement with the Hiltons would bring pressure to bear on other hotels to settle the strike.

However Hilton officials denied that the new contract would weaken the resolve of the other hotels. "Each hotel has a different situation," said Henri Lewin, executive vice-president of the Las Vegas Hilton.

The MGM Grand hotel, for instance, has hired 1,000 scabs to replace 2,200 strikers. "We're getting by with [fewer] people and in some ways that makes a statement about concessions we have made in the past," said a hotel spokesman.

"The strike is not over by any means," said Dennis Kist, president of the 900-member Las Vegas local of the International Alliance of Stage Employees.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369. Tucson: SWP, YSA, 2960 W. St. Tropaz. Zip: 85713. Tel: (602) 622-3880.

CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284-23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954. **FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S

Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 464-8933.

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

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

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

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

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

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

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

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O.

Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

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

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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

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

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

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

New smear of U.S. Blacks, Libya

The Reagan administration has made a new smear attack on the Black rights movement and the Libyan government.

This time the device was a planted front-page story in the May 8 *Washington Post*.

The "disclosure" was that the FBI is investigating to determine if as yet unidentified "Black activist" and "Black separatist" groups illegally accepted money from Libya to influence U.S. politics.

Groups or individuals who accept money from another government to promote their particular interests, and fail to register as "foreign agents," can be subjected to criminal prosecution.

What were the Libyans trying to accomplish with their alleged contributions?

"According to the officials," the *Post* advised, "the apparent Libyan aim was to enlist the aid of these groups in unspecified ways to help defeat Reagan's bid for reelection."

According to the *Post*'s anonymous officials, the Libyan UN mission has been under "close" surveillance for three years.

There have been "interceptions of communications," "wiretaps," and "observations of Treiki's contacts with Americans."

Ali Treiki headed the Libyan UN mission until last

month when he became that country's foreign minister.

Speaking for the mission, its legal adviser flatly denied any illegal activity or interference in U.S. politics.

Republican and Democratic politicians alike have engaged in a systematic drive to discredit the Libyan government as "terrorist" because it declines to jump at every Washington command.

And both major parties have persistently tried to discredit Black activists who have refused to blindly accept Washington's bitter hostility to the Palestinians and other liberation forces in the Middle East.

The present attempt to link Black activists and Libyan "terrorism" is designed to intimidate Black activists with threats of "foreign agent" prosecutions.

The planted *Post* story says the Libyan mission was being used to pass money to "Black activists who exhibited sympathy for Libya's radical goals. . . ."

The Reagan administration recently introduced legislation which, among other things, would make it a felony to "act in concert" with governments arbitrarily declared by Washington to be "terrorist."

Along with Cuba, Syria, Iran, and South Yemen, Libya has already been formally classified with the false label of "terrorist."

The outline of the potential frame-up should be apparent.

30th anniversary of French defeat at Dien Bien Phu

BY HARRY RING

May 7 marked the 30th anniversary of a historic victory for all opponents of imperialism.

That was the defeat of French colonial forces at Dien Bien Phu, Vietnam, by the guerrilla forces then known as the Viet Minh — League for the Independence of Vietnam.

It was a major defeat for U.S. imperialism as well. Since 1946, Washington had been financing and arming the French in their drive to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

Viet Minh General Vo Nguyen Giap explained what motivated the Viet Minh fighters during the 55 days and nights the battle of Dien Bien Phu raged:

"Our party carried out the land reform in the middle of the war. Our soldiers were for the most part poor peasants. During the study sessions, each was reminded of

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

how he was exploited, oppressed by the feudal landowners, what misery, what humiliations his family had undergone, how the colonialists had ruined the country, committing the worst crimes. . . .

"Our party always inculcated in our troops this dual consciousness, national and class consciousness. Our army is an army that serves the people, not the owning classes as the bourgeois armies do."

After the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu, which inspired colonial independence fighters around the globe, the French were forced to sign a peace agreement with the Viet Minh.

Under heavy pressure from Moscow and Peking, the liberation forces accepted an agreement under which the French withdrew from northern Vietnam but continued occupying the south for an additional two years.

With a well-armed puppet dictatorship installed in the south, the French did withdraw. But they were replaced by U.S. imperialism. A U.S. puppet dictator was substituted for the French one and U.S. arms poured in — soon to be followed by military "advisers."

After 15 years of bloody struggle, the U.S. forces, too, were driven out and a finally free Vietnam began the process of reunification. The reunification brought an end to capitalism in the south, a process which had begun nearly two decades earlier in the north.

The following is an abridged version of the article which appeared in the *Militant* May 17, 1954, on the victory at Dien Bien Phu.

* * *

The fall of the French fortification of Dien Bien Phu on May 7 is an outstanding victory in the Indo-Chinese revolutionary war for independence.

The Indo-Chinese peasants and workers have dealt a major political and military blow to French and American imperialism and have further paralyzed Wall Street's ability, for the time being, to intervene with U.S. troops.

The real heroes of Dien Bien Phu were the bare-foot, wretchedly equipped Viet Minh troops, so imbued with hatred of imperialism and love of independence that they stormed entrenched positions held by professional troops with tanks, heavy artillery, automatic light arms, and complete air support with both napalm and explosive bombs.

French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault calls the Viet Minh forces in Laos and Cambodia "invaders" and wants them withdrawn. These states were carved out of Indo-China by the French imperialists and artificially separated from the eastern part of Indo-China where the Viet Minh has won back large areas. The truth is that the Viet Minh has the overwhelming support of the people in all parts of Indo-China.

Bidault's demand for a "regroupment" of the Viet Minh forces into the areas completely under their control and for disarming the Viet Minh guerrilla fighters, a major source of Viet Minh military strength, can be seen in its true light only if we understand the disposition of forces and the real military situation.

For instance, in the strategic and heavily populated delta region around Hanoi, a French-occupied city in Vietnam, the French are nominally in control.

But General Rene Cogny, French commander in North Indo-China, has admitted that the Viet Minh in this area has 30 battalions of regular troops, 15 "regional battalions," 100 "district" companies and about 50,000 guerrillas. Included in these figures is a powerful underground army in Hanoi itself.

It is these revolutionary masses, these "irregulars" constituting the decisive strength of the Viet Minh and representing a potential mass insurrection that could sweep away the French in the area, whom the French insist must be disarmed.

Olympics and anti-Soviet barrage

On May 8 the Soviet National Olympic Committee announced that the Soviet Union would not send a team to participate in the 1984 summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

The Soviet statement pointed to "rude violations . . . of the rules of the Olympic Charter and the anti-Soviet campaign launched by reactionary circles in the United States with the connivance of the official authorities." It charged an "anti-Soviet hysteria [is] being whipped up in the country." These have included threats of physical harm against Soviet athletes and officials.

Reagan's charges that Moscow masterminds an "evil empire," the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Olympics held in Moscow, allegations that the Soviet Union is responsible for "terrorism" around the world, and countless other baseless U.S. government claims have encouraged right-wing elements who have threatened to try to disrupt the Soviet Olympic team if it comes.

One such outfit operating in Los Angeles under the name of the "Ban the Soviets Coalition" includes terrorists such as the counterrevolutionary Cuban group Alpha 66 as well as a plethora of other anticommunist organizations. This cabal held a meeting in mid-April "in a fashionable Hancock Park mansion," according to a report in the *Washington Post*. There they planned a \$50,000 campaign aimed at harassing the Soviet Olympic delegation, including encouraging Soviet athletes to defect.

Washington hasn't lifted a finger to protect Soviet athletes. But it has set up an army of 17,000 cops to go after opponents of U.S. war policy during the Olympics. The Los Angeles police, aided by the CIA and FBI, have been spying on numerous organizations said to pose a "terrorist" threat to the games. They include supporters of the Puerto Rican independence movement, Palestine Liberation Organization, Irish Republican Army, and Salvadoran liberation forces.

Salvador elections and U.S. war

Continued from front page

Honduras is bristling with U.S. military installations and GIs are on virtually permanent "maneuvers" there.

In the face of this escalating attack, Nicaragua has built its defenses as rapidly as possible. Large numbers of its people have flocked to militia units to defend their country and revolution.

And Reagan, with contemptible hypocrisy, inquires, "Why does Nicaragua need all this power?"

What Washington really fears is not Nicaragua's army, but the attractive power of the revolutions in Nicaragua and Cuba, which, despite considerable U.S. efforts to destroy them, have provided an inspiring example of progress and democracy to millions of imperialism's victims the world over.

Reagan's lies about El Salvador are of the same magnitude.

In addition to "a violent left," he tells us there's "a small violent right wing."

"But," he piously adds, "they are not part of the government."

The U.S. government, he added, "has consistently opposed" the death squads, "and so has the government of El Salvador."

That's pretty gross.

The May 8 *Christian Science Monitor* reported new evidence that the CIA and U.S. military advisers "have financed, trained and advised" the Salvadoran Army and secret police units, which set up the death squads. This confirms a report in the May issue of *Progressive* magazine that such death-squad ties have been maintained by Republican and Democratic administrations back to the days of Pres. John Kennedy.

This U.S.-sponsored violence, perpetuated over the decades, is testimony to the popular hatred of the U.S. puppet rulers. They cannot stay in power any other way.

But now, we're being assured, the apparent electoral victory of "moderate" José Napoleón Duarte will change everything.

This accounts for the heavy campaign of media hype about Duarte and the praise being showered on him by both Democrats and Republicans. Capitalist politicians in Europe have joined the chorus as well.

Duarte, they say, is against the death squads. He's for a negotiated end to the civil war. He even favors land reform.

All of this is pure bunk. Its purpose is to give Washing-

ton justification for pressing its war and to give Congressional "critics" of administration policy a pretext for voting to increase funding for the U.S.'s military intervention in El Salvador.

Little is said about Duarte's real record, and not accidentally.

In early 1980, the Salvadoran military chose Duarte as the civilian member of a "civilian-military" junta. In December of that year, he was named head of the junta. He held that position until May 1982.

In March of 1981, Duarte announced the suspension of the key provisions of the widely touted government-sponsored "land to the tiller" program. The proviso would have meant confiscation of rich tobacco-producing land.

By the end of that year, according to the Salvadoran Communal Union, a participant in the government program, 25,000 farm families had been illegally evicted.

On at least four occasions during Duarte's tenure in the junta, it was flatly declared there would be no negotiations with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front or "any other guerrilla force."

According to the Legal Office of the Catholic Archdiocese of San Salvador, in 1981 — again under Duarte — there were 12,500 political assassinations by the armed forces and death squads.

Assuming Duarte's counted in, and isn't the victim of a new coup, he's the "moderate" defender of U.S. capitalists' interests that U.S. youth will be sent to kill and die for.

What was the Democratic Party's official response to Reagan's speech?

Speaking on behalf of the House Democrats, Rep. Michael Barnes of Maryland declared that "the Democratic position is that there must be reasonable limitations on direct U.S. military intervention."

Quite a different response came from Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party presidential nominee. He declared, "A reasonable limitation! That makes clear the complicity of both parties in pushing us toward war. Barnes doesn't say what he considers 'reasonable,' but I'll tell you the only reasonable limit I know. Zero. Nothing. Not one dollar, not one gun, not one GI for the big-business intervention in Central America. Let the people there determine their own destiny. I say, U.S. hands off Central America!"

Bethlehem Steel stages anti-imports 'hearing'

BY JOEY ROTHENBERG

On April 30 the Congressional Steel Caucus held a public hearing on the grounds of Bethlehem Steel's giant Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore. The site was symbolic. It's where the deserted pipe mill stands. The company shut it down for good last June.

The hearing, however, had nothing to do with investigating Bethlehem's profit drive that led the corpora-

UNION TALK

tion's owners to slam the doors on the pipe mill and throw hundreds of workers out of their jobs.

Instead it was an elaborate event staged in an attempt to remove blame from the greedy company and place it on the backs of our fellow steelworkers in other countries.

"As soon as I saw they were holding it on company property, I knew something wasn't right," one of my Sparrows Point coworkers told me.

Company sound trucks decorated with balloons toured the plant for days in advance. Posters appeared throughout the plant urging workers to attend to "Protect your job." Company personnel dotted the roads inside the plant directing people to the hearing site.

As one approached the normally deserted pipe mill area a banner could be seen that read, "Welcome Steel Industry Friends." (My emphasis.)

Thousands of miniature U.S. flags were distributed. Red, white, and blue banners proclaimed, "Foreign Steel Steals Jobs," "Keep America Strong — Keep Steel Trade Fair," and "Mexican Steel is Radioactive." (This racist banner, which included a picture of a sombrero, is a re-

ference to radioactive material that got mixed in with some steel made in Mexico.)

This patriotic jingoism went hand in hand with prowar remarks made from the podium. "How can we run a war without a steel industry?" asked Democratic Congressman Clarence Long.

Bethlehem invested plenty of money to ensure a good turnout. Hundreds of workers were released to attend on company time. Shuttle buses ran between the coke ovens, the blast furnaces, and the hearing site. Supervisory personnel from foremen to engineers were on hand and comprised a large part of the crowd.

Despite the Bethlehem stamp on the event, the officialdom of our union, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), joined right in. The prehearing publicity carried a double logo — Bethlehem's and the USWA's.

A big chunk of time was taken up on the hearing at one of our local union meetings. This all fit right into a big national campaign launched when Bethlehem and the international USWA officials filed a joint anti-import petition with the government.

In the name of keeping "our" company profitable, the top union officials have joined ranks with the employers who are responsible for layoffs and unemployment. We saw the same thing happen a year ago when top union officials signed the big concession contract that cut our wages and benefits to help "save" the steel companies.

At the hearing "testimony" was presented by a parade of congresspeople, union officials, and Bethlehem Steel muckamucks.

All blamed foreign steel for the crisis facing steelworkers. The idea that the union and its members might have concerns that are different from the bosses' profit-and-loss sheets was completely absent. One could even have drawn the false — and dangerous — conclusion that we don't really need a union anymore, that the company

really is looking out for us.

As a steelworker and the Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, I suggested a different approach to my union brothers and sisters. In a campaign statement distributed at the hearing I pointed out that, despite union sponsorship, the hearing was a company event from beginning to end. "When was the last time they were interested in protecting our jobs?" it asked about Bethlehem.

"The companies," I pointed out, "say that *our class* — the working class — has to protect the profits of *their* class to save our jobs. What's next to save 'our' company? More concessions? More job combinations?"

I also pointed out that the union's misguided support for this protectionist campaign holds back the fight the labor movement needs to wage to defend our jobs.

Such a fight can't be conducted *together with* the corporations — who exploit working people in the United States and around the world. Instead it requires solidarity, among all workers in all lands, who are victims of the employers' worldwide drive for profits.

The idea of a hearing on what's behind the crisis facing working people is not a bad idea.

Such a union-sponsored hearing — without the employers — might be a place to learn that imports are just one part of the worldwide competition among the employers for the biggest share of the profit pie.

It might be a place to learn about the many ways that the wealthy families who own U.S. corporations exploit and oppress our brothers and sisters in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

It might be a place to discuss how we — working people — can all get together to wage an effective fight-back.

Of course Bethlehem wouldn't give us time off to attend such a hearing. Maybe that's another good reason to consider it.

'The Killing Floor': just part of the real story

"The Killing Floor," part one of the series "Made in U.S.A." Elsa Rassbach, executive producer; William Duke, director. Aired nationally over American Playhouse on the Public Broadcasting System.

BY CAROL BURKE

The Killing Floor, produced in part by several trade unions, was shown on the Public Broadcasting System in April. It traced the experiences of Frank Custer, a young Black farmer from Mississippi, who is hired into the Chicago stockyards during World War I. Custer joins the

agents south to recruit Black workers who had no experience with unions and strikes, promising high wages. This action was a conscious attempt by the companies to pit newly-hired Black workers against the unions, which officially excluded Blacks from membership. At the same time, the packers, along with the press and the politicians, launched a huge anti-Black "scare campaign" to increase white hostility to the arriving Black workers and their families.

Even with the union's discriminatory policy, some Blacks were won to support the union's fight.

However, the strike was defeated. The bosses celebrated the end of the strike by firing nearly all of the Blacks hired during the conflict. Of about 2,000 Blacks hired during the strike, only 365 remained by 1910.

After the 1904 defeat, a section of the union leadership realized the necessity of organizing Black workers into the unions. The United Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen admitted those Blacks still in the stockyards, although the rest of the craft unions in the industry kept their whites-only policy.

At the time of the events in *The Killing Floor*, the stockyard unions were once again battling the packers. The government had contracted with the packers for huge amounts of beef to feed the soldiers, and the unions in the yards sensed a chance to reverse some of the worst abuses by the companies and try to rebuild the unions.

Once again, Blacks were being hired in large numbers

— this time to replace other workers going to war. Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, proposed that a separate Local 651 be set up for the newly-hired Black workers, thereby "protecting" the all-white locals from the inclusion of Blacks.

The packers, of course, continued their campaign to divide Black and white workers, even setting up an all-Black company union.

Those Blacks who joined Local 651, perhaps 30 percent to 40 percent of Blacks employed in the yards, were all given Butchers cards, no matter what an individual's trade was. Contrary to the union's promises, no Blacks were allowed to transfer into their respective craft unions, which maintained their color bar. Many Blacks gave up their union membership as a result.

While the 1917-1919 organizing drive succeeded in winning some important concessions, including a shorter workday, the union recognition fight failed — largely due to the failure to organize Black workers.

As the postscript to *The Killing Floor* mentioned, serious attempts to organize Black workers on a large scale didn't begin until the rise of the CIO in the 1930s. Applying lessons of this period of labor history is a vital part of the challenges facing workers today. If the showing of *The Killing Floor* encourages more of us to learn from the history of the union movement, it will have served a useful purpose.

TELEVISION REVIEW

union, which is fighting for a contract, an eight-hour day, and other benefits for workers in the giant meatpacking plants.

The Killing Floor only gives a glimpse of the real historical forces and issues that confronted Frank Custer and thousands of other Black workers of that period. Reading books such as *Organized Labor and the Black Worker* by Philip Foner and *Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement 1918-1922* by Farrell Dobbs helps provide a better understanding of the union struggles in the Chicago stockyards.

During a 1904 strike, the packing companies sent

LETTERS

Thanks from prisoner

I am a prisoner at a detention center in South Carolina. I'm being held on a 1977 bench warrant for breaking a car window.

I have no idea when I will go to trial. I have been here since March and the other inmates tell me I have at least four to eight months to go before any action will be taken.

I would like to subscribe to the *Militant* as I am very interested in the truth about this corrupt system. This experience has turned me into a militant.

Thank you for making me a believer. I look forward to your newspaper for the truth.

A prisoner
South Carolina

Religion in Poland

Harry Ring's article in the March 30 issue on the influence of religion in Poland, despite many good points, displays an overly strident and grudging tone.

It borders on the insensitivity to "popular religious beliefs" that mars the image of many revolutionaries. Ring alludes to the dif-

ference between the beliefs of the masses and the political and ideological machinations of the church hierarchy.

But he fails to draw the practical conclusion: One should not disdain the struggles of the masses, even if they assume a religious form.

Lech Walesa, on the other hand, displays the finesse of a mass leader by sidestepping Cardinal Glemp's red-baiting and joining the crucifix fight with the vow that "there will be no compromise in this case."

Walesa has not fallen for Glemp's ploy to split Solidarity, and he recognizes that the religious ideals of the masses also contain the germ of true workers democracy.

After the setbacks for Solidarity on more weighty issues, Polish workers also benefit from this small victory against the bureaucracy.

Of course, history has put America in a different situation. Crucifixes, or prayers, in the schools would be a definite setback here. This is the unmen-

tioned reason for Ring's fulminations against religion.

Marxism is based on an atheist philosophy. But the dialogue with people of other world-views should take a more tolerant, urbane tone. This would undercut religious red-baiting.

Tim Knack
Stanford, California

Drink Nicaraguan coffee

Nicaragua is presently rebuilding its economy. It is a valiant effort beset by seemingly insurmountable problems ranging from the poverty of Nicaragua itself, to illiteracy, economic backwardness, and the vicious war that U.S.-backed *contras* are waging against the gains of the revolution.

Like all "Third World" nations, Nicaragua is dependent on exports to raise the monies needed to modernize and rebuild its economy. One of Nicaragua's chief exports is coffee.

The United States is the single largest coffee consumer in the world. Nearly all that coffee comes into the country through giant corporations that dominate

the world market. It is a \$4 billion-a-year business based on the suffering of hundreds of thousands of people.

U.S. coffee popularity dates back to the days of our own anti-colonial revolution when many revolutionary citizens rejected tea in favor of coffee (and certain herbal mixtures) as a symbol of opposition to British rule. It is therefore appropriate, and ironic, that present-day revolutionaries should adopt coffee as a symbol of solidarity between U.S. workers and the workers and farmers of Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan coffee is imported to the United States by an Indiana-based group called Friends of the Third World (FTW). It sells for \$1.90 an eight ounce pack, or \$45.60 per case. It is processed and vacuum-packed in Holland.

The coffee sold by FTW is a first-rate blend, and certainly cheaper than most gourmet coffees. A little goes a long way, unless you like your coffee strong enough to stand a spoon in.

ENCAFE, Nicaragua's state coffee agency, is one of the few

agricultural producers in the "Third World" that is trying to end the practice of using DDT and other dangerous chemicals that are banned in the United States, but which U.S. corporations continue to sell abroad.

Militant readers who wish to order Nicaraguan coffee should contact Friends of the Third World at 611 W. Wayne St., Fort Wayne, Ind. 46802.

Peter J. Krala
West Haven, Connecticut

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Atlanta PUSH rally backs struggle to stop deportation of Marroquín

BY RICK CONGRESS

ATLANTA, Ga. — The national campaign to force the U.S. government to stop deportation proceedings against Héctor Marroquín and give him a green card received a boost from a four-day tour by Marroquín here May 2-5.

The highlight of the tour was a May 5 rally sponsored by the Atlanta chapter of Operation PUSH. When leaders of PUSH heard that Marroquín, a Mexican-born trade unionist and socialist, was going to be in Atlanta, they turned their regular Saturday meeting into a support rally for him and for Haitian refugees in Atlanta.

Dr. A.M. Bujung, director of international affairs for Atlanta PUSH, urged the more than 40 people at the rally to become actively involved in Marroquín's fight.

"This brother is fighting for the rights of our people in Latin America, Africa, and all over the world. And just as important, he is also fighting for our rights here in the United States — for the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and all working people — because we, too, are not free."

At the rally, Dr. Bujung initiated a committee to draft and circulate an emergency support letter demanding that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) give Marroquín a green card based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen. PUSH members and other Marroquín supporters are circulating this letter to prominent individuals in Atlanta.

Efforts such as this take on added importance with the Supreme Court reconvening on May 14. Should Marroquín's appeal for

political asylum, now before the Supreme Court, be denied, he would have to leave the United States within 48 hours or face deportation to Mexico, where his life would be threatened. Marroquín fled from Mexico in 1974 to avoid persecution for his activities in support of democratic rights.

In June, 1983, Marroquín applied for a green card based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen. Such cards are routinely granted, but the INS is stalling on Marroquín's application, hoping that he will have to leave the country before they are forced to give him a green card. He would then have to reapply for it from outside the United States, a much more difficult procedure.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is coordinating Marroquín's defense, is asking supporters to follow Dr. A.M. Bujung's lead and circulate letters demanding that the INS grant Marroquín his green card now. Letters or telegrams should be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner INS, Washington, D.C. 20536, with a copy to PRDF, Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Rev. Emory Searcy from the Coalition of Conscience and Clergy and Laity Concerned urged the audience to write the INS and added, "If the U.S. government has been trying so hard and for so long to put the brother out of the country, and is trying so hard to portray him as a troublemaker, then he must be a good brother."

In his remarks, Marroquín acknowledged the solidarity shown for his case. "This example set by Operation PUSH in supporting my case and those of thousands

of Haitian and Central American refugees lives up to the best traditions of solidarity. We need the same kind of unity of working people, Blacks, and Latinos in defense of our rights, and in order to stop the developing Vietnam-style war against our brothers and sisters in Central America."

Joe Beasley, deputy director of the Jesse Jackson campaign in Georgia; Rev. Fred Taylor, from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and others also spoke at the rally.

That evening 25 people attended a reception for Marroquín at the house of two PUSH leaders. In the course of the evening, several more people volunteered to help circulate the letter to the INS initiated at the PUSH rally.

Marroquín found a similar sense of solidarity and desire to help among garment workers he met with during his tour. At the Zayre Corp., which is organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Marroquín spoke to workers as they finished their shift. More than a dozen workers from the largely Black work force stopped to talk with him. They readily identified with Marroquín's fight and were particularly outraged at the openly racist character of the INS's attacks against Marroquín as well as refugees from Haiti and Central America.

Four of the garment workers accompanied Marroquín to a nearby restaurant where they carried on a political discussion about the importance of the trade unions taking on social struggles, the war in Central America, the invasion of Grenada, and racism and cop brutality.



Socialist Héctor Marroquín (center) at May 5 rally sponsored by Atlanta chapter of Operation PUSH. Militant

Racists attack Blacks' right to housing in Chicago

BY MAUREEN COLETTA

CHICAGO — Chicago, one of the most segregated cities in the country, was recently the site of a racist convention opposed to a federal court order requiring some desegregation of public housing.

Putting forward what they called a "white ethnic agenda," nearly 1,000 members of the Save Our Neighborhoods/Save Our City Coalition gathered at the downtown Hyatt Regency Hotel April 30. Coalition organizers presented themselves as "victims" of neighborhood integration, claiming that "reverse discrimination" by the city government meant that Black neighborhoods were being built up at the expense of segregated white neighborhoods.

They complained they were being "unfairly branded as racists." Convention speakers said they intended to instill a new "pride" in the "European ethnic background" of their organization's members, who are white. Those in attendance sat through a videotape of area residents talking about how they had watched their neighborhoods "collapse like dominoes" — racist code words for Blacks moving into previously all-white neighborhoods.

The convention accused the city's mayor, Harold Washington, who is Black, of being unsympathetic to "middle-income neighborhoods."

The mayor responded that the real issue is opposition to a federal court order requiring the Chicago Housing Authority to scat-

ter public housing projects around the city instead of concentrating them in Black neighborhoods. Washington stated that he intends to uphold this ruling.

The convention called for a moratorium on the Chicago Housing Authority scatter-site housing until the program is "implemented fairly and justly." It called for tighter controls on Federal Housing Administration home loans, which would make it harder for Blacks to buy homes in predominantly white neighborhoods.

The meeting also called for no reduction in the number of cops in the Northwest and Southwest sides of Chicago — two predominantly white areas. This demand is designed to fuel racist fears that Blacks coming into these neighborhoods means an increase in violence.

The meeting proposed the setting up of an "Institute for Neighborhood Stability" to study problems of neighborhood change from a "white ethnic perspective." They also demanded the right to examine individual school budgets and special program funding to public schools, no doubt with an eye toward making sure that predominantly Black and Latino schools remain hopelessly underfunded.

The convention call drew a response from some 130 business, religious, and community leaders who signed a covenant protesting "the injection of racial antagonisms into politics and the struggle for neighborhood improvement." Another letter expressing "grave concern" about the meeting was signed by 30 white, Black, and Latino community organizers. Catholic priests from the Northwest and Southwest sides rescinded their support to the convention.

Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 1st Congressional District, Ed Warren, blasted the racist convention. Warren, a

Black steelworker and member of the United Steelworkers of America, pointed out how this type of racist propaganda fuels anti-Black violence, such as the recent harassment of a Black family that was forced to move out of their home situated in a predominantly white Chicago neighborhood.

"My campaign supports 100 percent desegregation, not only in public housing, but in the schools and in employment as well. I reject the notion that racism — or 'white ethnic pride' as it's called in this city today — is the same as the nationalism of the oppressed Black community, which is waging a just struggle for equality," said Warren.

"The underlying conflict in Chicago," he continued, "is not between Blacks and whites fighting over neighborhoods. The fundamental division in this city and in this country is between two classes: the workers — Black, Latino, and white — and the employers and their government. Racism is fostered by the employers because it keeps working people divided and cripples their ability to advance their class interests against those of the employers. The fight for Black equality has exactly the opposite effect — it advances the status of working people because the goals of the Black community — decent jobs, housing, and education and an end to war and racism — are goals that benefit all working people," said Warren.

"In Illinois, supporters of the socialist campaign are fanning out across the state to discuss this and other aspects of the socialist program with working people. We will be collecting thousands of signatures to get the socialist ticket on the ballot in November. Our campaign is active in the fight against racism and stands for a united working-class response to the employers' attacks."

100 arrested in Dominican Republic

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

MAY 9 — In the last several days the Secret Service of the Dominican Republic's National Police arrested more than 100 political, trade union, and student leaders. The crackdown is aimed at preventing any organized protest to the U.S.-imposed austerity measures announced by the government April 19.

Dominican Pres. Salvador Jorge Blanco had raised prices of imported goods and essential foods by as much as 200 percent. Dominican workers and farmers responded with three days of rebellion that began April 23. Brutal government repression, which left more than 60 dead and hundreds wounded, squelched the protest.

On May 7 leaders of the General Workers Federation and four other trade union federations were arrested as they began plans for a one-day general strike to demand the lowering of prices; breaking with

the International Monetary Fund, which mandated the austerity measures; and the release of political prisoners.

On May 8 three more union leaders were arrested just after calling a news conference to announce that the general strike would begin at 6 a.m. on Wednesday, May 9. As the *Militant* goes to press there was no news of the response to the strike call.

The New York daily *El Diario-La Prensa* reported May 9 that Dominican police battled students at the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo. The cops surrounded the campus, and were preventing students from leaving.

Among those arrested by the Dominican police were Rafael Taveras, a central leader of the Socialist Bloc and the Dominican Left Front, and Lidio Cadet, general secretary of the Dominican Liberation Party.