

What are the issues in TWA hijacking?

BY MALIK MIAH

June 19 — A U.S. strike force led by the aircraft carrier *Nimitz*, guided missile destroyer *Kidd*, and other naval warships, including three amphibious vessels bearing 1,800 Marines, has been dispatched to the coast of Lebanon.

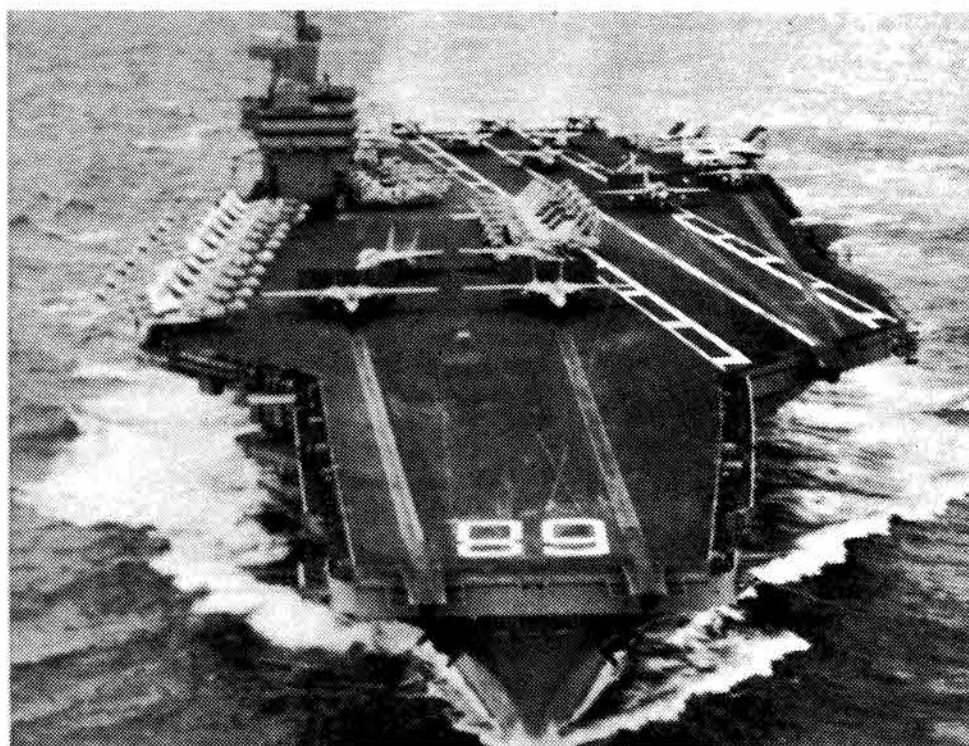
This show of naval force is Washington's response to the June 14 hijacking of a Trans World Airlines jet by Lebanese Shiite Muslims. Forty passengers are now being held as hostages in Lebanon.

The hijackers are demanding the release of 700 Lebanese Shiite prisoners being held in Israel. The prisoners were picked up on "suspicion" of being involved in the resistance to Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon. Many of them have been held captive since 1983. All were moved to Israel by the Israeli army during its recent pullback from southern Lebanon. Israel invaded Lebanon in June 1982 and for three years occupied much of that country.

So far the Israeli and U.S. governments have refused to directly negotiate with the hijackers. And Pres. Ronald Reagan refuses to urge the Israeli government to release the 700 prisoners. He sticks to this position despite his admission that taking the prisoners across a national border was a violation of the Geneva accords of 1949, which govern treatment of captured civilians.

At his June 18 news conference, Reagan declared that the U.S. government was "being attacked by international terrorists," and "will never make concessions to terrorists."

He later said, "Those in Lebanon who



U.S. aircraft carrier *Nimitz* led naval strike force sent to Lebanon's coast in response to hijacking of TWA plane. Hijackers are demanding release of 700 Shiite Muslims being held by Israel.

commit these acts . . . we hold them accountable."

Asked about what type of retaliation the government is considering, Reagan gave no answer. However, reporters reminded him of a Jan. 27, 1981, statement he made at a White House ceremony for U.S. citizens who had been held hostage in Iran.

Reagan said, "Let terrorists be aware that when the rules of international behavior are violated, our policy will be one of swift and effective retribution."

"We hear it said that we live in an era of limits to our powers. Well, let it also be understood there are limits to our patience."

Continued on Page 5

San Jose free-speech fight wins support

BY SANDRA NELSON

SAN JOSE, Calif. — The fight to defend democratic rights in San Jose continues to gain momentum. Support for a June 28 speak-out in defense of freedom of speech and assembly has come from labor unions, antiwar groups, political figures, and Black, Latino, and women activists, as well as church and other community groups. The Emergency Committee for Democratic Rights, which is sponsoring the event, was formed in response to a campaign of violence being waged by a well-organized group of right-wing Vietnamese against the socialist bookstore here.

On June 8, Service Employees' International Union (SEIU) Local 535 and its executive director, David Aroner, endorsed the meeting. The resolution passed by the local explains why this is an important fight for labor. "Whereas, since April 27, 1985, a violent mob of right-wing Vietnamese has broken 18 windows at the socialist bookstore in San Jose, phoned in bomb threats, knocked down press people trying to film them, and attempted to batter down the bookstore door; and whereas the bookstore was targeted because a conference on the Vietnam War and the antiwar movement was held there on April 27; and whereas on May 21 and 22 these right-wingers also attacked the socialist bookstores in Oakland and San Francisco where events on Vietnam were held; be it resolved that in recognizing that an injury to one is an injury to all, Local 535 endorse the speak-out for democratic rights to be held on June 28, sponsored by the Emergency Committee for Democratic Rights; send a written message of support, and make a financial contribution of \$25

toward this event."

Steven Manginelli, vice-president of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 265, echoed this sentiment in his June 11 letter to all ATU members and all other union brothers and sisters: "Right-wing harassment and violence require a labor response. This speak-out is an opportunity to do just that. Free speech and assembly along with dissent are cornerstones of union democracy. Our unions have a stake and responsibility to defend these rights whenever they are under attack. . . . I strongly urge that your union or organization participate in this speak-out to defend

the Bill of Rights along with the broad list of others already included."

The number of endorsers of the event is already large (see accompanying list).

Don Gómez, the award-winning journalist and filmmaker, will moderate the June 28 event. The speakers list includes Anthony Russo, U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Society and Committee for Justice for Prof. Ed Cooperman; Robert McAfee Brown, professor of theology and ethics at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley; Ying Lee Kelly, former Berkeley council member and now assistant to Congressman

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U.S. unionists issue call for solidarity with Nicaragua's unions, working people

BY PAT GROGAN

"As Nicaraguan workers we appeal to the trade unions of the world to help us survive." So states an urgent appeal for international union solidarity from the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). The CST is Nicaragua's largest labor federation.

The "Nicaragua Must Survive" campaign was launched March 21 in a letter sent to unions throughout the world from CST General Secretary Lucio Jiménez Guzmán and CST International Relations Secretary Denis Meléndez Aguirre.

In the United States, a group of 15 union officials has taken the initiative by mailing out the CST call, in Spanish and English, to a broad list of unions, union officials, and solidarity activists. The 15 officials

signed an "Appeal to U.S. Trade Unionists," urging participation in the international trade union solidarity campaign with Nicaragua. (The entire text of that appeal is reprinted on page 7.)

The letter from the CST launching the solidarity campaign points to "the U.S. aggression that is bleeding the working people of Nicaragua [that] affects each and every aspect of our life." It calls attention to the devastated economic and social situation inherited from the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship overthrown by the 1979 Sandinista revolution.

"The aim of the brutal U.S. war of aggression is the total and complete destruction of the Sandinista People's Revolution," the letter continues. It points out that more than 8,500 people have been brutally

Protest renewed U.S. aid to 'contras'

The decision by Congress to give millions more dollars to the armed *contra* bands fighting against Nicaragua marked a new escalation of the U.S.-organized war against that nation.

Since 1981 more than \$100 million has been funneled through the CIA to those right-wing terrorists.

On June 6, 14 Democrats and 41 Republicans in the Senate voted to provide \$38

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million for what they called "nonmilitary aid" to the *contras*. Under this rubric, senators explained, the CIA would be able to give the terrorists uniforms, helicopters, radar, and other such "nonmilitary" items. Reagan hailed the vote as "a display of bipartisan concern for the people of Central America and our own national security."

The Senate also approved *contra* access to U.S. military intelligence.

Less than one week later, the House of Representatives followed suit, with a vote of 248-184 in favor of appropriating \$27 million in aid for the *contras*. The House differed with the Senate on *how* the *contras* should get the aid. The House said that someone else instead of the CIA should serve as a conduit.

Less than two months ago, at the end of April, the House had rejected a similar proposal — but only by a razor-thin margin of two votes.

That rejection of aid was a setback to Reagan and others who favored open U.S. government support for the CIA-organized mercenaries. It was also a demoralizing blow to the *contras* themselves.

Determined to reverse this setback, Reagan took the offensive.

In the course of the April Congressional debate on *contra* aid, some liberals who voted against the aid called for other measures against Nicaragua, including an economic embargo. Reagan then declared a national emergency a week later to deal with the "unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States" allegedly posed by the Nicaraguan government. Immediate punitive measures included an economic embargo, as well as a prohibition on Nicaraguan

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murdered, kidnapped, and raped by the U.S.-organized and financed *contra* mercenaries. "They have unleashed terrorism, destroying and burning down homes, schools, farm cooperatives, childcare centers, transportation, oil and food depots. This has resulted in \$1.08 billion in economic losses," the letter says.

The CST letter concludes with an appeal to unions to take concrete actions in solidarity with Nicaragua's working people. It suggests that a week of solidarity with Nicaragua be organized July 15-21, and that workers be urged to donate one day's pay to help overcome the damage caused by the war.

The "Appeal to U.S. Trade Unionists" was mailed out, along with a cover letter

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BY HANK SHEER

CLEVELAND — For the past several months, Socialist Workers Party members and supporters have been handing out literature about the SWP campaign for mayor of Cleveland at the plant gates where we regularly sell the *Militant*. Workers have received copies of campaign statements against police brutality, the murderous assault on the Black community in Philadelphia, and our campaign brochure.

Last week, on June 14, we tried petitioning at Lyon Knitting Mills, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) organized mill where I work. My coworkers are used to seeing me and other sales people out in front of

the plant early in the morning handing out leaflets and selling the *Militant*. This time a campaign supporter and I also petitioned. (We need 3,000 signatures on nominating petitions to get on the ballot.)

My coworkers were happy to see me there. They all know about my campaign and many are very supportive. More than 25 coworkers signed up that morning, many of them lining up to wait their turn to sign. A couple of coworkers have also said that they would take petitions to circulate among their friends and neighbors.

ILGWU shops

We are also trying to take our campaign to other ILGWU-organized shops in the area. While

we are not able to organize weekly plant-gate sales at all these shops, we want to try to visit them several times during the campaign to introduce them to the *Militant* and distribute campaign literature. We were able to visit two small knitting mills several weeks ago with a leaflet entitled, "Socialist Garment Worker Runs for Mayor." This leaflet reprints articles from the *Militant* about my campaign. ILGWU members took the leaflet and read it with interest. They were surprised and glad to see a member of their union running for mayor. Even though we didn't sell any *Militants* that time, we plan to go back again.

Another regular plant-gate sale is at a big General Electric plant in downtown Cleveland organized

by the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE).

Over the past month (we have been selling there regularly for over a year), the workers there have warmed up to the *Militant* and other literature we distribute. A small but growing number of workers who drive in for the second shift now regularly roll down their window to get that week's leaflet, and a few have begun to buy the *Militant*.

GE's 'rip-off'

Several of the workers have joked with the sales team about joining the IUE members on the picket line if they go on strike when their contract expires later this month.

We reprinted a *Militant* article about GE's "rip-off" of the Pentagon and how it would affect workers in the contract negotiations. At the bottom of the leaflet was a subscription blank for the *Militant*. Many workers, including a number of older women who don't usually take literature, smiled and took this leaflet. We now regularly sell three to five *Militants* at this plant and plan to petition there also. We also sell regularly at two United Auto Workers-organized auto plants and at a basic steel mill organized by the United Steelworkers.

Hank Sheer is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland and is a member of ILGWU Local 300.

Gay rights suffer setback in child-care ruling

BY ELLEN BERMAN

BOSTON — A stinging blow against gays, single mothers, and working parents was delivered by the Massachusetts Department of Social Services (DSS) in a new policy on foster care placement. It states that "children are served best when placed in traditional family settings — that is, with relatives, or in families with married couples... and with time available to care for foster children." The state legislature quickly followed suit by passing a resolution that urges DSS "to place children in need of foster care exclusively in the care of persons whose sexual orientation presents no threat to the well-being of the child."

The new policy was sparked by a recent controversy surrounding the placement of two young brothers in a foster home that had been thoroughly evaluated, visited, and accepted after one year of investigation. The couple had been together nine years. One is a 36-year-old employee of the Boston Fair Housing Commission and a Sunday-school teacher. The other is a 32-year-old nutritionist, business manager of a home for unwed mothers, and church music director. The children were abruptly pulled out of their new home when the placement hit the headlines of the *Boston Globe*. The reason — the foster parents were a gay male couple.

The DSS admitted to having no set policy on the placement of foster children in gay families, but treating each case individually as was done in the case of Donald Babets and David Jean. The DSS was then mandated by Massachusetts governor Dukakis to come up with a policy immediately. The result was a hurried study conducted in an atmosphere of whipped-up homophobia, which resulted in the new policy.

This discriminatory policy will most likely set the precedent for other states in the country, the majority of which have no official policy. As Philip Johnston, Human Services secretary, pointed out, "I was startled to find the same kind of uncertainty

and confusion exists in most other states regarding this issue. So I think other states are going to be looking to us to set some kind of national standard."

On May 30 more than 1,000 gay rights supporters protested the policy at a rally and march in downtown Boston. A statement endorsed by a range of gay, women's, and civil liberties groups expressed outrage at the DSS policy and demanded its reversal. It explained, "By invoking the 'traditional family' as the ideal setting for child rearing, the DSS, backed

by the governor and the *Boston Globe*, has launched an attack on gay men and lesbians, single parents, day-care advocates, working mothers, and all others in 'non-traditional' families... it is precisely the 'traditional family' which is the site of the bulk of child sexual abuse and violence against women and children."

Child-care specialists questioned whether the policy was realistic, given the chronic shortage of foster homes and the fact that in 1980, only 57 percent of the state's households were headed by two-

parent families.

Juvenile Court Chief Justice Francis G. Poitras issued a statement saying he would not place young boys with gay men because of the risk of sexual abuse.

Liberal politicians from Dukakis on down condemned the original placement and praised the DSS and the legislature's rapid response.

Kip Hedges, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council, condemned the policy and the homophobic atmosphere it produced.

Alabama trial threatens Black voting rights

BY MARK CURTIS

SELMA, Ala. — As the trial of three Black civil rights leaders from Parish County begins here, the U.S. Justice Department has moved to create an atmosphere of intimidation. Over 1,000 Blacks have been questioned by the FBI and more than 200 brought before grand juries as more indictments are expected.

On June 11, U.S. Attorney Frank Donaldson brought 138 counts of mail fraud, conspiracy, and voting fraud against five civil rights activists from Greene County. This now makes eight people indicted in what is known as Alabama's Black Belt, where a massive campaign is under way to harass and jail political activists, using the frame-up charge of vote fraud.

The first to be indicted were Albert Turner, Evelyn Turner, and Spencer Hogue. Their trial began June 19.

The five people — four Blacks and one white — indicted June 11 are Spizer Gordon, a national board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the first Black elected to the city council of Eutaw, Alabama; James Colvin, mayor of Union, Alabama; and Fredrick Douglas Daniels, Bessie Underwood, and Bobbie

Nell Simpson, all employees of Greene County.

The racist campaign was escalated when federal attorneys began to publicly attack defense efforts. In a document filed in U.S. District Court in Mobile on June 14, the government denounced prominent Blacks who have spoken at public rallies held in Selma to defend the Turners and Hogue. Such defense activities were branded as attempts to "poison the jury pool" or "cause witnesses not to testify." The government document goes on to state that "sequestering and other extraordinary measures will be needed to preserve the integrity of the trial."

Defense attorney J.L. Chestnut, who has emphasized the racist nature of the indictments, was singled out for criticism in the document. The government charges that his statements were "unbecoming to any citizen, much less an attorney-at-law."

The government's idea of a non-"poisoned" jury pool was made clear when Judge Emmett Cox denied a motion by a defense attorney to have jurors be drawn from the Selma area — where Blacks are a majority — instead of the majority-white Mobile area.

In response to the federal witch-hunt, the Southern Poverty Law Center of

Montgomery has filed a suit against the U.S. Justice Department, charging that "federal officials acted in concert with local white officials to intimidate and prevent Black citizens from full use of their voting rights."



Albert Turner

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N.Y. antiwar mtg. discusses fall plans

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — The New York Coalition, which built the April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice in this area, met June 19 to discuss future activities.

The April 20 national demonstrations in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and other cities mobilized over 100,000 people.

The discussion at the meeting focused on how best to broaden and strengthen the coalition this fall in preparation for a spring 1986 national action around the coalition's four demands: stop U.S. military intervention in Central America; build a just society by creating jobs, cutting military spending, and providing for human needs; freeze and reverse the arms race; and oppose U.S. government and corporate support for South African apartheid and overcome racism at home.

The majority of the participants supported a plan of action put forward by the administrative committee of the national April Actions Coalition at a May 30 national steering committee meeting. The plan calls for local coalitions to support and help build a series of important actions around the demands of the April Actions Coalition that have been initiated by a number of different organizations for the fall. These activities include the October 11 National Anti-apartheid Protest Day — nationally coordinated local actions called by the American Committee on Africa and the

student groups that organized last spring's campus protests for divestment of university funds from companies doing business in South Africa.

They also include the October 19-25 Peace with Justice Week initiated by Clergy and Laity Concerned and the United Church of Christ, activities against U.S. intervention in Central America initiated by the Pledge of Resistance, and other actions on this demand.

The coalition will participate in November 23-25 Grassroots Action Days initiated by the African Peoples' Christian Organization and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The theme of this protest is "opposing militarism, apartheid, racism, sexism, and economic injustice."

These actions would build toward a national demonstration that has been called by the coalition for the spring of 1986.

While some activists at the meeting argued in the discussion that the April Actions Coalition needed to call its own nationally coordinated fall action or it would lack focus and in effect cease to exist, the majority disagreed. These activists explained that by working on these actions the coalition can reach out to new groups and individual activists, thereby broadening and strengthening its ability to mobilize the maximum number of people in a spring action. These actions, they stressed, are not diversions but steps forward in educating, organizing, and mobilizing new people. Some of these activities, activists explained, have been initiated by groups that are not yet members of the coalition. In the course of working on these actions, these forces can be won to the April Actions Coalition.



Militant/Ernest Harsch

April 20 antiwar actions mobilized some 100,000 people. Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice Coalition is discussing holding another national action for spring 1986.

The New York Coalition voted to endorse the national administrative committee plan for fall actions. Based on this plan, the New York Coalition also decided to call a local conference for the end of the fall to bring new people it meets from these activities into the planning and organizing of the national spring mobilization.

The April Actions Coalition national steering committee will be meeting in New York June 29 to finalize a fall action plan.

Capture of FMLN leaders blow to Salvador freedom struggle

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In a blow to the struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship in El Salvador, the Salvadoran Army succeeded in capturing three commanders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in the last several months.

Yanet Samour Hasbun

An international solidarity campaign has been organized to demand that the regime acknowledge its capture of Commander Yanet Samour Hasbun on Dec. 30, 1984. She is a member of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), one of the five organizations affiliated to the FMLN. Hasbun was captured alive by the army in the city of San Miguel, along with ERP fighter Maximina Reyes Villatoro. The armed forces refuse to admit they have the two women in custody.

The El Salvador Human Rights Commission, members of the European Parliament, and several international human rights organizations are among those who are demanding that the government of Pres. José Napoleón Duarte produce the combatants.

The FMLN radio station, Radio Venceremos, reported that both women had been taken to the capital city of San Salvador after interrogation and physical and psychological torture.

The right-wing Salvadoran daily, *La Prensa Gráfica*, published a front-page story in January with a headline that read, "Armed Forces Capture Subversive Leaders." Citing military sources, the article confirmed that the prisoners were brought to San Salvador and had been interrogated.

The FMLN has issued an appeal urging Duarte to clarify the status of the captured fighters and to give them prisoner-of-war status.

PRTC leader captured

On April 18, FMLN Commander Nidia Díaz was captured in combat in La Angostura in the department of San Vicente. Díaz is a leader of the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC), a member organization of the FMLN. Díaz participated in the FMLN-Revolutionary Democratic Front's (FDR) delegation to the talks with the Salvadoran government in La Palma last October.

Díaz was wounded four times in a battle with government forces before being captured, and suffered second-degree burns on her arms. A U.S. citizen was part of the

helicopter crew that captured Díaz.

On May 4, two doctors from California, Stewart Kimball and Erick Goosby, were able to examine Díaz in prison. On May 18, they visited her again, this time accompanied by a neurosurgeon. They concluded that she could lose the use of her right arm if the government didn't allow her to have surgery that she needs.

According to the *New York Times*, Díaz had told reporters at a news conference when she was first arrested that she had been captured with "secret guerrilla material." One month later, Salvadoran government officials announced that they had taken documents from her. FDR leader Guillermo Ungo said the documents were forgeries. "They can put anything they want into supposedly captured documents," warned Jorge Villacorta, another member of the FDR.

Imperialist disruption effort

The *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times* have all published articles that claim to be based on the material in the documents, which the Salvadoran government has been eager to make available to the press. The main point of the articles is to use the information in the documents to attempt to drive a wedge between the FMLN and the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua (FSLN) by citing the FSLN's alleged slackening of support for the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador as a result of pressure from Washington.

The articles are also part of the Duarte government's ongoing efforts to split the FMLN from the FDR by playing up criticisms of the FMLN by FDR leaders that were supposedly found in Díaz's documents.

The articles also are being used to bolster Washington's propaganda line that the national liberation struggle in El Salvador is not indigenous, but rather financed and organized from abroad, through reports about alleged arms shipments to the FMLN and lists of countries where FMLN fighters are supposedly being given military training.

The FMLN has called on the Duarte government to "respect the moral and physical integrity" of Díaz and Hasbun, and release them promptly. "Our forces have respected the lives of thousands of captured soldiers," the FMLN pointed out.

Letters demanding the freedom of the

Continued on Page 4

Fund goes over top!

BY PAT GROGAN

We are happy to report that we reached the goal of raising \$75,000 for the Socialist Publications Fund by June 15.

In fact, we collected a total of \$78,000 by the June 15 target date, putting us over the top. As we go to press, we have received contributions of \$86,766.

And the pledges and contributions keep coming in.

The total amount pledged to the fund is now \$106,223 — more than a third over our projected goal!

We want to take this opportunity to thank the many readers and supporters who dug deep and generously contributed to the fund. It shows the confidence you have in

the socialist publications and the response to them.

The successful completion of the fund means that we can continue to expand and improve the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *Intercontinental Press*, and *New Internationalist*. It means we can continue to publish socialist books like the new *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution*.

We are asking everyone who has made a pledge to make a big effort to pay it off as soon as possible. It is only when we actually have the money in hand that we can respond flexibly and quickly to new opportunities, like the decision we made to publish the collection of speeches by Fidel Castro on Latin America. (See ad page 13).

Socialist Publication Fund Progress

City	Pledged	Paid
Albany, N.Y.	215	200
Atlanta	2,470	2,130
Baltimore	1,510	950
Birmingham, Ala.	960	695
Boston	2,440	1,905
Charleston, W.Va.	926	572
Chicago	3,245	1,923
Cincinnati	1,765	1,465
Cleveland	2,450	2,290
Dallas	3,665	3,579
Denver	2,665	2,665
Detroit	5,380	4,805
Greensboro, N.C.	441	441
Houston	5,575	3,325
Kansas City	4,470	4,200
Los Angeles	7,643	5,768
Louisville	705	685
Miami	1,415	1,319
Milwaukee	1,705	960
Morgantown, W.Va.	615	250
New Orleans	2,050	1,226
New York	5,784	5,224
Newark	6,530	5,740
Newport News, Va.	215	215
Oakland, Calif.	1,535	875
Philadelphia	2,895	2,020
Phoenix	1,112	892
Pittsburgh	846	741
Portland	2,185	1,905
Price, Utah	235	45
Salt Lake City	1,470	1,470
San Diego	2,240	2,025
San Francisco	4,030	3,585
San Jose, Calif.	3,316	2,751
Seattle	3,275	3,275
St. Louis	5,885	5,375
St. Paul, Minn.	4,546	2,270
Toledo	1,921	1,796
Washington, D.C.	1,975	1,315
Other	3,918	3,894
Totals	106,223	86,766

Interview with AMNLAE leader

'We ask North American women to support us'

The following are excerpts from a discussion with María Teresa Matus, head of the Association of Nicaraguan Women — Luisa Amanda Espinoza (AMNLAE) in the Matagalpa region of that country. The discussion took place May 2, 1985, with a group of North American trade unionists visiting Nicaragua on a tour sponsored by Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc.

In the discussion, Matus explains AMNLAE's activities to advance women's rights and compares the situation of women in Nicaragua today to their life under Anastasio Somoza, a U.S.-backed dictator who was overthrown in 1979.

She explains the central role women are playing today in defending Nicaragua from the war being waged by the *contras* — the mercenaries who are armed, financed, and organized by the U.S. government.

The transcript of the discussion was prepared by Cecelia Moriarity, who was on the tour and is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2176 and the Lady Miners of Utah.

Question. Can you tell us the history of how AMNLAE was formed and the first tasks it carried out?

Answer. In 1977, a group of women was formed to support husbands, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters who had taken up arms against Somoza. This meant organizing both the families and women as a whole to support the struggle. Women gave over their houses as places of refuge, and helped supply foodstuffs and medicine to the fighters. This was organized through the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

This women's organization was called AMPRONAC, which means the Association of Nicaraguan Women Confronting the National Problem. The national problem at that time was defeating the Somoza dictatorship.

When Somoza was overthrown in 1979, the national problem no longer existed, but AMPRONAC continued. Its name was changed to AMNLAE, the Association of Nicaraguan Women — Luisa Amanda Espinoza. Luisa was the first woman to fall in combat fighting in an FSLN unit, so her name was attached to the organization.

After the revolution in 1979, our struggle continued, becoming a struggle for our demands as women. In order to find solutions to the problems that confront us as women, we need to defend the revolution, continue to organize, and continue to fight, knowing that the main tasks today are the tasks of defending the country from contra aggression. Women are integrated into all the tasks of defense, both in military defense and in farm and factory production. They are in the militias, the reserves, and the army.

In the countryside, some women are members of farm cooperatives. When their husbands or sons are drafted or go to the war front, the women take over the front lines of production. They plow, bring in the crops.

Women are also leaders of the mass organizations, including unions.

Q. What is the role of women in the militias and in the neighborhood defense committees?

A. When the men are sent to the front, the women stay, guarding the bridges and economic targets from contra attack and serving on the militias in the workplaces.

We also participate in what is called "revolutionary vigilance," which is organized through the neighborhood defense committees. Every night residents patrol the streets of their neighborhood on the lookout for counterrevolutionary activity or other crimes. Women usually do this vigilance one night a week. The majority of people carrying out vigilance are women.

Q. What type of work does AMNLAE do with the mothers of the soldiers who are at the front?

A. Our work is with the families of the compañeros who have been drafted, not just the mothers, but the whole families.

We try to find solutions to the problems they face, in particular the problems of communication, since the sons are in remote mountainous areas.

Q. How has the revolution changed the situation of women?

A. Before the revolution, women were severely exploited and oppressed. We were humiliated. There was a lot of prostitution. Often women couldn't get work in factories; they preferred to only hire men. So many women became prostitutes.

Women were seen as objects, not only by society as a whole but by their own male companions.

One of the first steps of the new government after the revolution was to close down the houses of prostitution. In some areas where there had been a lot of prostitution, rehabilitation centers for prostitutes were opened.

A literacy campaign was also launched. Sixty percent of those who learned how to read and write were women.

AMNLAE had a representative to the Council of State, or parliament, that was set up. Our representative brought before that body the concerns of women. One of the laws that was passed by the council concerned relations between fathers, mothers, and children. There are a lot of single mothers in Nicaragua who have the sole responsibility for sometimes as many as six children. This law was aimed at getting men to take not just economic, but also moral responsibility for their families. The law is primarily seen as an educational measure for the next generations of Nicaraguans.

Q. What about sexism in the workplace?

A. One important problem is when women are not paid the same wages as men.

for doing the same work. This is against the law passed by the revolutionary government.

Another problem is that in the workplaces, a lot of bosses promote the idea that there are certain kinds of work only men can do. Usually they say that the men can achieve higher quotas of production.

In Region I in the north of Nicaragua, three women have become tractor drivers. Because of the war, there was no one else to do it, so these women took on the job and learned how to do it. Women are capable of learning everything. The problem is that before the revolution, they weren't given the opportunity to learn these kinds of jobs.

One limitation we face is getting adequate child care so that women can participate in production. In the countryside there are centers where some women take care of the children so that others can go to work. In the cities there are some child development centers, or women get help caring for their children from other members of their families.

Q. Do the measures you've taken because of the war mean that more women will be taking on jobs traditionally viewed as men's work?

A. We know we're going to have to play a very big role in this process. What's involved is raising the consciousness of those women who still view themselves as just housewives. Not all women understand the role that is necessary for them to play in the revolution. What this involves is carrying out political work; raising consciousness; integrating women into production.

We are the ones who have to go to the women to raise their consciousness, to get them to participate in all these tasks, and to get them the skills they need, as well as to integrate them more into this society.



Militant/Michael Baumann
Demonstration in support of draft. Nicaraguan Women's Association, AMNLAE, mobilizes women in production and defense.

Q. Do you have a message for women in the United States?

A. The message we send to North American women is to ask them to support us. We are not fighting against the North American people, but against the war policies of the Reagan administration. North American women who are active in solidarity with Nicaragua can bring this message to other women. Another important thing is to talk to the mothers, sisters, and wives of the men in the United States who will be sent to fight and die in Nicaragua. They should know that we are not going to attack anyone. But if someone attacks us, we will defend ourselves.

El Salvador: FMLN leaders captured

Continued from Page 3

FMLN leaders can be sent to: Pres. José Napoleón Duarte, Casa Presidencial, San Salvador, El Salvador; and to Ambassador Thomas Pickering, U.S. Embassy, San Salvador, El Salvador.

The case of Castellanos

On April 11, Commander Miguel Castellanos was captured at his home in the department of La Paz. Castellanos, whose real name is Napoleón Romero, was a member of the central committee of the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), another component of the FMLN.

On April 29, the Salvadoran National Guard presented Romero to the international press. Romero announced that he had not been captured but rather had decided to leave the FMLN and had asked the army for "protection." He told reporters that he had been the head of the organization's urban front. He deserted, he said, because he no longer agreed with the FPL's ideas and because the war was destroying his country. He said he favored a peaceful, negotiated solution to the struggle between the government and the rebel forces.

Three days before the press conference, the FMLN had issued a communique charging Romero was being held by the National Guard unit responsible for psychological warfare and intelligence operations. This unit is notorious, the statement noted, for using drugs and psychological warfare against FMLN combatants.

On May 6, the FMLN announced Romero's dismissal and described him as a traitor. "Miguel Castellanos was not able to withstand torture at the prison where he was detained and therefore betrayed the guerrillas," said the FMLN announcement.

Duarte quotes Castellanos

As with the Díaz documents, the Duarte regime and the U.S. big-business media have been using interviews with Romero to try to sow divisions among the rebel forces and to bolster the government's attacks on the labor movement and the FMLN.

At a May 3 press conference in San Salvador, for example, Duarte used Romero

to lend credence to one of Washington's main charges against Nicaragua. "A few days ago . . . Mr. Castellanos said that 70 percent of the weapons that had entered this country had arrived through Nicaragua. This is a clear statement, made by not just anyone but by one of the commanders of the central committee of the FPL, who declared categorically that Nicaragua had participated in the export of weapons and ammunition and has supported the guerrillas," said Duarte.

Romero also echoed Duarte's charge that El Salvador's labor movement has

been "infiltrated" by the FMLN, which is what has caused the current wave of strikes. This charge has been used by the government to justify various strikebreaking measures, and by the death squads to threaten unionists.

In an interview at the armed forces press office that appeared in the *Washington Post*, Romero echoed Washington's charge that Cuba is the source of the rebels' arms. Romero also portrayed the FMLN as simply a group of warring factions, in order to erode support for the revolutionary struggle.

Ortega hits renewed U.S. contra aid

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA — The Nicaraguan government has denounced as "unacceptable, illegal, and immoral" the decision of the U.S. Congress to openly renew funding for the CIA-sponsored mercenary forces known as *contras*.

Speaking on June 14, the day after the House of Representatives vote, Pres. Daniel Ortega called the action "a deepening of the war against Nicaragua."

Ortega dismissed as "irrelevant" the attempts to present the mercenaries' pay as "humanitarian aid."

The vote, he said, "strengthens . . . the Reagan administration's unvarying determination of culminating the present escalation of aggression with a direct military intervention."

Speaking on behalf of both the revolutionary government and the national leadership of the ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front, Ortega outlined five decisions made by Nicaraguan authorities to meet the new situation.

First, Nicaragua is suspending its voluntary, unilateral moratorium on the acquisition of new weapons systems — such as modern fighter aircraft — for its armed forces. It is also suspending its own self-imposed limit on the number of foreign military advisers on Nicaraguan soil.

"This will allow us, under the present circumstances of increased U.S. military

threats against our people, to request all material requirements and the necessary cooperation that the plans for national defense require," Ortega said.

Second, to propose to the Contadora nations of Panama, Venezuela, Mexico, and Colombia that they take up the new situation created by the U.S. economic embargo and the renewal of open funding for the counterrevolutionary war.

Third, to reiterate Nicaragua's willingness "to immediately sign, without modification" the September 1984 Contadora peace plan, which calls for the removal of all foreign military advisers and bases in the region. The U.S. government torpedoed this agreement, since it would have meant dismantling the U.S. military bases in Honduras.

Fourth, Nicaragua once again demanded that the United States resume negotiations with Nicaragua that were unilaterally broken off at the beginning of the year by the Reagan administration.

Fifth, the Nicaraguan government and the FSLN leadership called on the people of Nicaragua to be ready to "beat back, resist, and defeat a possible direct military intervention by U.S. troops."

Ortega called on the people of Nicaragua "to redouble efforts in the carrying out of the tasks of national defense, and in that way to improve our fighting capacity until we crush the mercenary forces."

Coal Employment Project aids women miners

BY CLARE FRAENZL

PITTSBURGH — Twelve years ago, a West Virginia woman picked up her shovel and went to work — the first woman to successfully challenge a century-old ban against females entering or working in U.S. coal mines. This reactionary ban was enforced by legislation and backed up by anti-woman prejudice, including the myth that women were "bad luck" in a coal mine.

Inspired by the civil rights and women's liberation movements and driven by the need to find decent-paying jobs to support

The Seventh National Conference of Women Miners, sponsored by the Coal Employment Project and Coal Mining Women's Support Team, will take place in Price, Utah, June 21-23.

their families, thousands of women workers began to demand an end to discriminatory hiring policies in the coal industry in the early 1970s. Yet, by 1977, 99.8 percent of all U.S. coal miners were still men.

That's the year the Coal Employment Project (CEP) was born. The staff of two public interest groups wanted to tour an underground mine in Campbell County, Tennessee. Mine officials refused to let the group enter the mine if they insisted on bringing a female staff member with them. The woman stayed home that day. But the wheels were set in motion for what was to be the most thorough investigation of sex discrimination in coal mining history. And the CEP, an organization dedicated to helping women get and keep jobs in the coal industry, was formed.

The first project of the new organization was to file a complaint against 153 of the country's largest corporations producing coal, charging them with blatant discrimination against women. In 1979, it won a judgment against Consolidation Coal, the nation's second largest coal producer. The coal company agreed that 10 percent of its new hires would be female. Several other successful discrimination suits convinced the coal barons that they must begin hiring at least a token number of women.

In 1979, 11.4 percent of miners hired were women, nearly a threefold increase from the year before. Since 1973, some 4,000 women have gotten mine jobs.

However, there is still a long way to go. Today, women constitute only 2 percent of the work force in the mines. There continues to be widespread discrimination in hiring, on-the-job training, and job upgrading. Company-inspired sexual harassment, lack of child care, and problems obtaining maternity leave persist. Women miners still face prejudice from some of their male coworkers.

In addition, the long-term layoffs in the coal fields have cut the number of women miners nearly in half, while reducing the total work force in the coal industry by 30 percent since 1982.

The CEP has been an indispensable tool for women miners, both those in union mines and those in unorganized mines. Central to the CEP's success have been the efforts of women miners themselves to win the support of the United Mine Workers (UMW).

In 1978, the International Executive Board of the union passed a resolution stating its support for the "sisters who are working to widen opportunities for women in mining." This was a first step toward convincing officials to use the power of the UMW to fight the discrimination women face on the job.

In 1979, the CEP organized the first of what was to become yearly conferences of women miners. Out of these conferences, local women miners' support teams were set up.

Since 1983, the UMW has endorsed and encouraged the participation of union members in these national gatherings, setting an important example for the whole labor movement.

Many miners attending the 1985 conference will be delegates from their locals, including not only women, but male union members and officials. In a statement supporting this year's conference, UMW Pres. Richard Trumka said, "The United Mine Workers of America has always upheld the

belief that 'an injury to one is an injury to all,' and that applies to the problems that women have experienced in the mines, such as job discrimination and sexual harassment.

"To give less than our full attention to the concerns of women miners would be a disservice to our entire membership, and a betrayal of the best traditions of our Union."

The CEP's role in aiding the struggle of women miners has earned it the admiration and respect of a broad layer of women's rights and union activists throughout the nation and internationally.

The CEP gained national prominence when it took up the defense of women miners in West Virginia and Illinois who were victims of sexual harassment. Company-inspired sexual harassment of women miners led to the drilling of peepholes into women's bathrooms through which men spied on women while they showered and dressed. The public outcry organized by the CEP, and the valiant fight of the women miners involved, helped generate a national discussion on this question within the unions and among women's rights fighters and it inspired women in other industries to challenge similar kinds of harassment.

The CEP has also helped organize a campaign to get a maternity-paternity leave written into the UMW contract. This clause would give both male and female miners the right to take unpaid leaves of absence from work to care for seriously ill children or other dependents. Strict absentee programs now force miners to choose between keeping their jobs and tending seriously ill family members. It particularly affects women miners, many of whom are single parents.

In 1984, the UMW succeeded in winning a "letter of intent" pledging that the signatories to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association-UMW contract would study the feasibility of implement-



Four thousand women have gotten jobs in the mines since 1973.

ing such a clause in future contracts. CEP activists are working with the union to make this right a reality.

The maternity-paternity leave issue is one example of the important questions discussed at the annual women miners' conference. Workshops cover such issues as how to use the UMW contract and state and federal laws to fight sex discrimination; how union activists can help enforce health-and-safety laws in the mines; the special problems of women miners who are Black, Chicana, and Native American; the political issues facing the UMW; how to fight for on-the-job training; how to organize a local women miners' support team; and how to deepen understanding in the union that defending victims of race and sex discrimination strengthens the UMW in the face of company attacks.

Participation in the widening discus-

sions at the yearly women miners' conference has given women the confidence and knowledge to become increasingly active in the UMW itself.

The CEP has also organized a number of international tours for women miners — to England, Wales, Scotland, Italy, China, the Soviet Union, Canada, and India. Reports on these tours appear in the CEP monthly newsletter and workshops on international visits are a popular feature at the annual conferences.

To subscribe to the newsletter, write to Coal Employment Project, 16221 Sunny Knoll Lane, Dumfries, Virginia 22026. A one-year subscription is \$8.

Clare Fraenzl is a member of UMW Local Union 1197 and recording secretary of the Pennsylvania Women Miners' Support Group.

Naval strike force sent to Lebanon

Continued from front page

Reagan asserted at his June 18 news conference that the situation is different today — that the type of swift action he called for then is possible in dealing with governments, but not "unknown groups."

One hostage has already died. His death is Washington's and Tel Aviv's responsibility, as it will be if more die. Every day that goes by that the Israeli government refuses to free the Shiite prisoners increases the possibility that more hostages will die.

Washington's refusal to negotiate with those holding the hostages is not supported by a majority of U.S. citizens. In a recent *Washington Post-ABC News* opinion poll, 58 percent of those questioned favored the government accepting the hijackers' demands.

Dr. Mohammed Mehdi, president of the American Arab Relations Committee, also said the U.S. government can resolve this situation quickly by pressing Israel to release the Shiite prisoners.

Washington not budging

But Washington is standing firm on its policy of not negotiating with those it calls "terrorists." Instead, it wants Israel to release the Shiites without a formal U.S. request.

Although the Israeli government stated, prior to the hijacking, that they were planning to release the 700 prisoners, they now cynically say they won't be pushed around by "terrorists." The TWA passengers are in point of fact being held hostage by Tel Aviv and Washington's demagogic campaign against "international terrorism."

The U.S. government brands any individual, group, or government that resists its domination and oppression as "terrorist." Workers, peasants, and students in semicolonial countries fighting for national and social liberation are accused of "terrorism."

The Cuban government, aiding the Angolan government against South Africa aggression, is called "terrorist." MOVE, a Black group in Philadelphia, was labeled "dangerous" and "terrorist," thus justifying

the bombing attack on its home that killed 11 people. If there is anything that demonstrates the total hypocrisy of the U.S. rulers' "antiterrorism," it is this savage bombing in Philadelphia.

The objective of this phony "antiterrorist" campaign is to convince working people here to support Washington's reactionary policies in Central America, Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world. It's one of the justifications used for sponsoring counterrevolutionary groups waging war against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, as well as against the governments of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Vietnam, and Angola.

In the Middle East it is used to justify the oppression of the Palestinian peoples, who are fighting to regain their homeland, and against other Arab peoples such as the Shiite Muslims in Lebanon.

Washington also uses "fighting terrorism" to justify its threats against the governments of Iran and Libya, as well as Syria, which is playing an important role in Lebanon today.

Washington's only reliable ally in the Mideast is the Israeli government. Washington and Tel Aviv stand united against the just struggle of the Palestinian people, and other struggles by Arab working people against imperialist domination of their countries.

The campaign against terrorism internationally also has its domestic counterpart — the current spy scare. Under the guise of preventing military and industrial secrets being stolen and given to "foreign enemies," the government is openly discussing wholesale use of lie-detector tests in workplaces with "high security" jobs, and applying the death penalty for those convicted of spying. Applying these measures would be a severe attack on the democratic rights of all workers.

The problem for Washington is how to carry out their get-tough-on-terrorists policy as outlined by Secretary of State George Shultz last October. Shultz explained then that the U.S. "must be willing to use military force" to answer terrorism. He said using military force was

appropriate even if "there is potential for loss of life of some of our fighting men and the loss of life of some innocent people," and even if the government lacks "the kind of evidence that can stand up in an American court of law" as to who was responsible for a terrorist attack.

The hijacking in Lebanon comes in the context of an unstable situation in that country.

Ever since Israel's 1982 invasion and three-year occupation of Lebanon, the Shiite Muslims have been asserting themselves. While the ruling Christian minority initially collaborated with the Israeli invaders, the Shiites, mainly in southern Lebanon, provided the bulk of the resistance fighters against Israel's occupation force. That determined resistance helped force Israel to retreat from Lebanese territory this year.

The principal aim of the Israeli invasion, it should be recalled, was to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization and deal a mortal blow to the Palestinian national liberation struggle. They also hoped to impose a stable pro-Israeli regime in Lebanon. Washington backed those objectives.

Neither objective, however, was totally achieved.

The PLO suffered a major defeat when it was driven out of southern Lebanon and Beirut. However, it was not destroyed. Moreover, the new regime in Lebanon is now tied more to Syria than to Israel.

The Shiites are now the largest single religious group in Lebanon. But they still have the least political influence in the central government because of the constitutional system imposed by the French government, Lebanon's former colonial ruler, after World War II. This system reserves most important government posts for Christians and Sunni Muslims.

Since Israel's invasion, however, the Amal militia, which is the main group based on the impoverished Shiite population, has grown into the largest military force in Lebanon. Nabih Berri, head of the Amal militia and a minister in the Lebanese

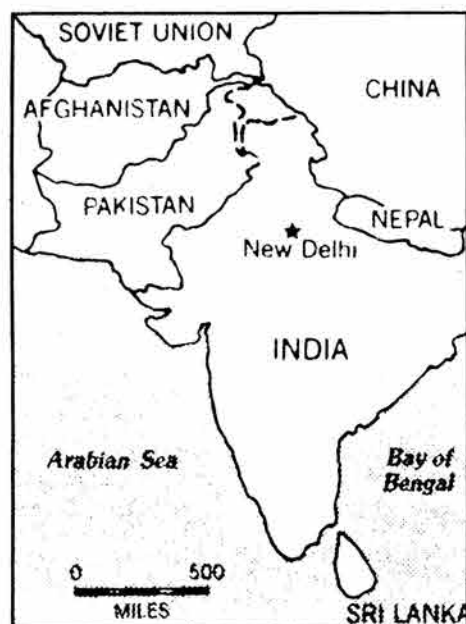
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Why U.S. gave Gandhi red-carpet treatment

BY MALIK MIAH

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India recently completed a weeklong tour of the United States. He was given the red-carpet treatment by the White House and spoke before a joint session of Congress on June 13.

This was Gandhi's first official trip to the U.S. as prime minister. He became head of government in October after the assassination of his mother, Indira Gandhi.



His Congress (I) Party later won a landslide parliamentary election in December.

The White House threw the works because of India's importance to imperialism. It is the second most populated country in the world with 750,000 million people, and it is situated in turbulent South Asia, not far from the Soviet Union and China. Since India's independence from British colonial rule in 1947, U.S. rulers have sought to establish close ties with that country's ruling class. The United States is India's largest trading partner at \$4 billion annually in exchanges.

What Washington sought to achieve in its meetings with Gandhi included express-

ing its support to India's government as it faces growing internal problems. Secondly, to pressure the Gandhi government to move closer to U.S. foreign policy positions, especially in relationship to Afghanistan.

Reagan welcomed Gandhi and told him that the United States "remains steadfastly dedicated to India's unity."

This strong expression of support was for good reason. India is currently facing a sustained movement by the minority religious group, Sikhs, who are demanding more autonomy for the state of Punjab, where they are a majority of the population. One year ago in June the Indian government assaulted the Sikhs' holy Golden Temple in Amritsar, massacring over 1,000 people.

In fact as Gandhi and Reagan toasted each other, scores of Sikhs demonstrated in front of the White House protesting what they called India's "genocide." Gandhi received heavy protection during his stay.

The conflicts between the Indian government and the Sikhs, however, reflect just one of several internal problems. For the past several months there has been communal fighting across the state of Gujarat. In the northeast part of the country, police from the border states of Assam and Nagaland have clashed, leaving more than 50 dead. In the south, support continues to grow for the struggle of the Tamil people in neighboring Sri Lanka. In the last year and a half, the army was used 175 times to quell disturbances, twice the number of times in the previous two years.

In response to this ferment, prior to Gandhi's trip to Washington, the Indian parliament adopted new legislation, the Terrorism and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, that gives the government sweeping powers. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "The law enlarges the definition of terrorism and defines 'disruptive activities' to cover propagation of secession, dissemination in any form or through any medium of anything that could cause terror, panic, disaffection and discord, and any action that might cause death or injury or damage to property

or disrupt essential supplies and service."

Moreover, "It extends to Indian citizens abroad and to persons in ships and aircraft registered in India and prescribes the death penalty for terrorist acts causing death."

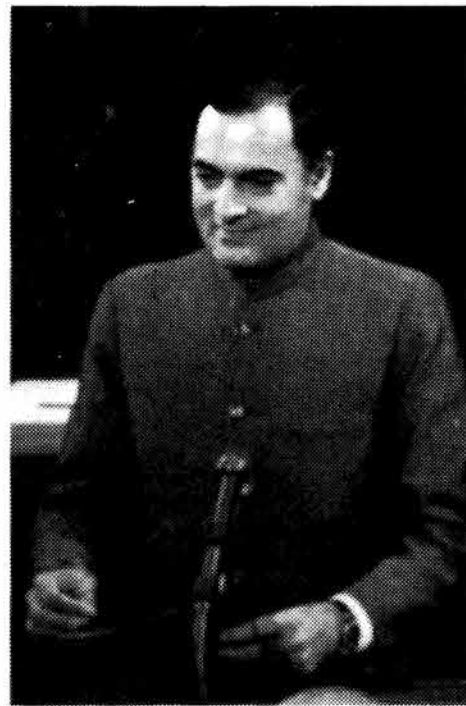
The clearly implied threat goes far beyond alleged terrorism by militant Sikhs. It is aimed at city and agricultural workers, as well as peasants fighting for their rights.

This growing ferment reflects conflicts woven into the social and political fabric of the entire country. The divisions — fueled by imperialism and the capitalist class when it serves their purpose — are along religious, national, and linguistic, as well as class, lines. Most Indians — 83 percent — follow the Hindu religion. Eleven percent are Muslims; the rest are Sikhs, Christians, Buddhists, and others. There are 15 major language groups, with less than 30 percent of the population speaking the official national language, Hindi. Most of the people live off the land — 70 percent in agriculture. Eighty percent live in more than 500,000 villages. Forty percent of the people live on \$7.50 a month.

While these material conditions fuel the internal conflicts and give Washington concern about India's unity, Washington also wants India to move closer to its views on international issues. In particular, it wants the Indian government to improve relations with Pakistan and shift its stance on Afghanistan.

Pakistan — ruled by a military dictatorship — borders Afghanistan and provides sanctuary for the many right-wing Afghan groups fighting to overthrow the Soviet-aided Afghanistan government. Washington is Pakistan's main economic and military backer. In 1981 Pakistan received a \$3.2 billion military and economic aid package.

India, however, opposes this U.S. aid to Pakistan. It gets most of its military supplies from the Soviet Union, and opposes imperialism's destabilization efforts against Afghanistan. India's animosity toward Pakistan goes back to 1947, when the British artificially divided colonial India into two countries. They have fought three wars.



Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India during U.S. visit. Indian head of government faces increasing political ferment at home.

In his speech to the Congress, Gandhi explained the Indian government's position in relationship to Afghanistan: "We stand for a political settlement in Afghanistan that insures sovereignty, integrity, independence and nonaligned status, and enables the refugees [in Pakistan] to return to their homes in safety and honor. Such a settlement can only come through dialogue and a realistic consensus among parties directly concerned."

The big-business U.S. media considered this a "shift" from India's past stance. The *New York Times* called it a "veiled criticism" of the Soviet Union.

But in an interview published in the June 24 *New Republic*, Gandhi explained: "You know, we have said many times that we are against foreign intervention in any country. The Soviets are there because they have been invited in by the Karmal government."

Despite these differences on Afghanistan and Pakistan, India's stability remains Washington's main concern. It is unlikely there will be any major shifts in Washington-New Delhi relations in the near future.

United Airlines pilots end strike

BY LOUIS LONG

MIAMI — The one-month strike by United Airlines pilots ended June 15 with none of the main issues settled. The strike took place because of disagreements between the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) and United management over terms of a two-tier wage scale and conditions for a back-to-work agreement. The strike ended when both sides agreed to allow a federal district judge in Chicago to settle the disputed points.

ALPA leaders view the end of the strike as a victory because the union was not dismantled. Company spokesmen claim victory because the two-tier wage scale has now been established and further union-busting conditions are available to the company with the cooperation of the federal judge. Among the issues the judge is supposed to decide are the fate of 570 pilot trainees and the super-seniority and high wages the company has granted scabs.

The trainees almost unanimously refused company offers to work as scabs, and many actively supported the ALPA picket lines. In retaliation, the company wants to deny them jobs. ALPA demands that the trainees be in the first pool of new pilots hired. The scabs were hired at an above normal \$50,000 to \$75,000 starting pay. They are being kept on by the company and advanced in seniority ahead of some strikers.

Another important issue not settled by the end of the strike involves the flight attendants. About 5,500 of these 10,000 workers supported the pilots' strike and refused company demands to cross picket lines. The flight attendants' union leadership urged the pilots to end the strike without winning any guarantees to protect attendants from company retribution. In exchange ALPA pledged financial aid to any attendants who the company does not allow to return to work soon.

The two-tier wage issue was not resolved with the end of the strike. There is

an agreement to establish a two-tier scale on the company's terms for five years. During the five years there will be negotiations about the length of time of the lower tier, if and when pay will merge with the previously hired pilots. If no agreement is reached, that issue would be submitted to binding arbitration.

Probably one of the more significant contributions made by the pilots' strike was in raising the discussion about two-tier wages. Newspaper articles, television interviews, and discussions about the strike in workplaces and union meetings really

accelerated because of this strike.

This is an important issue that employers are using to divide the work force and weaken unions. It is ironic that it was raised as a central point in a strike by a union representing some of the highest paid and most privileged workers in the country.

It was significant that solidarity was won from unionists and other working people in much lower-paying jobs. It showed the greater consciousness in the labor movement on this issue and the need to stand united against all employer attacks.

'IP' on Algerian coup anniversary

Between 1954 and 1962, the Algerian people waged a hard-fought and successful fight for independence from French colonial rule. Following this victory, the workers and peasants drove the revolutionary process forward, placing their stamp on the character and direction of the government headed by Pres. Ahmed Ben Bella. Then, on June 19, 1965, this workers' and peasants' government was overturned by Col. Houari Boumedienne.

In its July 8 issue, *Intercontinental Press* will mark the twentieth anniversary of this blow to working people worldwide with an article by Steve Craine that describes how the Algerians won their independence, the evolution of the Ben Bella-led government, and the elements that led to its downfall. He will also take up the position of the Fourth International on these developments in Algeria.

The current June 24 issue of *IP*

carries the full text of a speech by Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's minister of the interior, at a Sandinista Defense Committee rally on April 26. This is the first time the entire speech has appeared in English.

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Nicaraguan union leader speaks on embargo, int'l solidarity

The following are excerpted from the May 23, 1985, issue of *Barricada Internacional*, the official English-language weekly paper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The Sandinista Workers Confederation (CST), which represents 112,000 Nicaraguan workers or almost 90 percent of the country's total organized urban labor force, has been promoting a campaign of solidarity with Nicaragua among unions throughout the world since last March.

The world crisis, the economic stranglehold of the foreign debt, the "cleansing" policies required of poor countries by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) make up the overwhelming financial burden that falls on the shoulders of the world's working class, and particularly hard on the Third World's working class.

Among those poor Third World countries, Nicaragua, small and underdeveloped, must also endure the human and material punishment of a war of aggression sponsored by the world's major power, the United States.

Denis Meléndez, international relations secretary for the CST, spoke with *Barricada Internacional* about the international campaign.

* * *

Question. What is the call for international solidarity by Nicaraguan workers based on?

A. The call responds to the country's dramatic difficulties: underdevelopment; the debt and pillage we inherited from Somoza; the material and social destruction from the war of liberation; the international crisis that hits our underdeveloped countries particularly hard; the economic, commercial and diplomatic blockade that the Reagan administration has been solidifying and the brutal war of aggression we're dealing with as a result of the United States government's policy to destroy the Sandinista Popular Revolution.

Q. What is the situation of the working class in Nicaragua today?

A. Plans for economic recovery have been seriously affected by the war. Speculation and shortages of basic goods have developed and are eating away at workers' real salaries. The recent economic measures are aimed at correcting the distortion between prices and salaries by stimulating production and reducing speculation.

Q. What repercussions will the U.S. trade embargo have on workers?

A. First of all, it's clear that all parts of Nicaraguan society will be affected. Although we haven't completely analyzed the concrete effects of the measure, in general terms, we can say that it is going to make the already delicate economic situation even more acute. We consider it to be another tightening of the noose in the strategy of strangling the Revolution. After 50 months of a war of attrition, the embargo is a precursor to new, even more aggressive and interventionist actions.

Q. What has the workers' response been?

A. We have two lines of priority actions. First, the military defense of the Revolution. This includes incorporating workers in the war fronts and producing to support the combatants.

Secondly, this year is also decisive for resolving the economic war. We must increase production and productivity, conserve raw materials and imported production materials, and maintain industrial machinery. Doing all of this well, with fewer resources, is the goal for 1985.

Q. In this context, what role does international solidarity play?

A. It is enormously important. We have launched a campaign called "Nicaragua Must Survive," through which we are calling on workers throughout the world to

mobilize in condemnation of U.S. policy against Nicaragua.

Moreover, we are asking for financial and material aid, raw and production materials, and spare parts from unions in Canada, the United States, Latin America, the Caribbean, Western Europe, Socialist countries, Australia, Japan, China, and Africa.

Q. How have those unions responded?

A. We had planned to ask for a donation of one day's salary for the solidarity week scheduled for July 15-21, but we have al-

ready begun to receive positive responses.

A peace boat commissioned by workers in Western Europe will arrive in July, carrying production materials and tools. We have also received financial aid from the Workers Commissions of Spain, as well as from Swiss and Bulgarian unions. The French General Workers Confederation is also beginning a broad solidarity campaign. Workers who are suffering the effects of the restrictive policies dictated by the International Monetary Fund, such as those in the Dominican Republic, are also doing their part.

'An appeal to U.S. trade unionists'

The following is the complete text of the "Appeal to U.S. Trade Unionists" signed by 15 U.S. union officials, urging participation in the international trade union solidarity campaign called for by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) of Nicaragua.

A fund has been established for the solidarity campaign. Contributions can be sent to: Nicaragua Solidarity Fund, c/o ACTWU, 975 SE Sandy Blvd., Room 108, Portland, Ore. 97214.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

We are writing to you about the difficult situation facing the Nicaraguan people and their trade unions. We want to bring to your attention an appeal for international trade union solidarity from the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the largest labor federation in Nicaragua.

Ever since 1979, when the Nicaraguan people sacrificed 50,000 lives to rid themselves of the hated and bloody dictator Anastasio Somoza, this small country of 3 million has struggled to achieve a better life for its working people.

Through a literacy drive, 400,000 people have learned to read and write. New housing, hospitals, and schools have been built throughout the country. Thousands of farmers and farm workers have been given land. In the fall of 1984, the Nicaraguans completed the first free elections in their history.

U.S. unionists issue call for solidarity with Nicaragua

Continued from front page

from Nita Brueggeman, manager of the Pacific Northwest Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). She urges other unionists to add their names to the appeal, to circulate it further, and to encourage their unions to join in solidarity activities the week of July 15-21 and beyond.

The appeal suggests a range of on-going educational, financial-aid, and solidarity activities. It urges unionists to visit Nicaragua and organize programs for unionists to hear the truth about Nicaragua, as well as the role of the U.S. government.

The "Appeal to U.S. Trade Unionists" is itself a good, short educational explanation of the advances working people have made in Nicaragua and why working people have a stake in opposing the war drive by the U.S. government.

The organization of this solidarity campaign by union officials opens on-going opportunities to deepen this crucial discussion in the unions and to help involve the labor movement in activities opposing the U.S. war drive in Central America.

One of the elements of the international campaign is to donate a day's pay to help Nicaragua. Especially with the recent vote by Congress to send \$27 million in aid to the murderous *contra* army, many U.S. workers will want to send contributions to help their Nicaraguan brothers and sisters.

A fund has been established for the solidarity campaign. Checks can be sent to: Nicaragua Solidarity Fund, c/o ACTWU, 975 SE Sandy Blvd., Room 108, Portland,

One of their most remarkable achievements has been the growth and development of trade unions. Under Somoza, workers attempting to form unions were jailed, tortured, and even killed. As a result, only 27,000 workers were organized and there were only 133 unions. Since 1979, 1,320 new unions have been formed and union membership has grown to 260,000.

But this progress is severely jeopardized by the actions of the U.S. government, propelled by the Reagan administration. For four years, gangs of "contras" armed and trained by the CIA have invaded Nicaragua and carried out kidnappings, rapes, sabotage, and murder. The toll for the Nicaraguan people has reached 8,500 casualties, including over 4,000 killed, many of them women, children, and the elderly.

Unfortunately, the war has also meant that the Nicaraguan people have had to divert enormous resources from social programs to defense and reconstruction in the war-torn regions.

On May 7, President Reagan imposed an embargo on commercial trade with Nicaragua. This can only be interpreted as another serious step toward a war that will eventually involve U.S. combat troops. Our sons and our young trade union members will be asked to sacrifice their futures and lives in an unjust war, fighting sister and brother unionists in Nicaragua.

Oregon 97214. Julia Hicks, president of ACTWU Local 128, is serving as treasurer.

Internationally, the response to the CST appeal has also begun.

Workers in Western Europe have commissioned a "peace boat" to send tools and production material to Nicaragua. The General Workers Federation (CGT) of the Dominican Republic has printed the CST appeal in its paper. In Quebec, the Quebec Workers Federation (FTQ) ran an appeal for solidarity with the CST. Financial aid has come to Nicaragua from unions in France, Spain, Bulgaria, and Switzerland.



Militant/K.C. Ellis
Nita Brueggeman, manager of Pacific Northwest Joint Board of ACTWU.



Poster for "Nicaragua must survive" campaign calls for week of solidarity.

The human tragedy and economic cost of the present war is compassionately described in the enclosed appeal for solidarity from the Nicaraguan unionists of the CST. The appeal was written before the embargo, which will increase the suffering of the Nicaraguan people.

The CST appeal asks trade unionists worldwide to participate in a week of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua from July 15-21, and to make financial contributions to help overcome the damage of the war.

As unionists who face attacks on our own rights by the U.S. corporations and the government, we believe U.S. trade unionists should consider joining in activities during the week of July 15-21 as an expression of peace and of solidarity with Nicaraguan trade unions.

We suggest that unions consider the following possibilities:

1. Learn the truth about the situation in Nicaragua and what the U.S. government is doing. Hold a film showing, a slide show, or educational presentation during the week of July 15-21, or in August or September. Many unionists have visited Nicaragua and are willing to speak on what they saw there. Many union locals have had successful programs on this subject.

2. Publish this letter in your union newspaper, shop newsletter, and other union publications, and seek wider publicity in other newspapers in your area.

3. Urge union members to donate a day's pay or whatever they can afford for humanitarian aid to the people of Nicaragua.

4. Organize a delegation from your union to visit Nicaragua, so that you can see for yourself what this war is all about.

5. Explore opportunities to work with others in your city who have been raising humanitarian aid for the Nicaraguan people and educating about the U.S. involvement in Central America.

The "Appeal to U.S. Trade Unionists" was signed by Margarita Aguilar, president, Local 3882, American Federation of Teachers; Carlos Avitia, president, International Moulders Union Local 164; John Bohlman, assistant state legislative director, Nebraska United Transportation Union; Nita Brueggeman, manager, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Pacific Northwest Joint Board; Carol Doherty, past president, Massachusetts Teachers Association; Stephen Manginelli, vice-president, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265; F. Pancho Medrano, international representative, United Auto Workers; Irwin Nack, president, American Federation of Teachers, Local 1796; Jerry Oliveira, political director, Virginia State Council, International Association of Machinists; Rick Scott, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Robert Shaffer, secretary, American Federation of Teachers Local 3882; Dave Slaney, president, United Steelworkers of America, Local 2431; Dan Thomas, vice president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers Local 544; Michael Urquhart, president, Local 12, American Federation of Government Employees; and Juanita Valdez-Cox, United Farm Workers.

Garment workers discuss how to fight back

BY ANA MULCAHY

NEW YORK — Workers in my shop are discussing what the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) contract fight means for us.

In our shop we make fancy men's suits. A few days before the men's and boy's tailored clothing contract expired on Friday, May 31, we heard through the grapevine that there might be a strike beginning Monday, June 3. A few of us went over to the union headquarters and found out that the manufacturers were demanding a takeback contract. The employers wanted a wage freeze for 15 months and to take away free medical benefits for dependents.

When we went back to the factory and told people that the bosses didn't want to give us any raise in a new contract, they were angry. Few of us make more than \$5 per hour. Newer workers make slightly above federal minimum wage. Our low pay is a constant topic of discussion.

Most people in my shop felt a raise was worth going on strike for. There was a lot of excitement on Friday as word spread that we might be picketing the shop on Monday. "Buena," "Good," "It's about time we did something" — this was a common response.

Unaware of contract talks

This was the first time there was much talk of the contract at the shop. Many of us had been unaware that a new contract was being negotiated.

When we got to the factory on Monday, we found out that there was no strike. Later we learned that the union and the Manufacturers Association had agreed to extend the present contract for four months and continue negotiations. But on Monday morning all we knew was that there was no strike.

There was a lot of frustration at not getting any official information from the union. Our union shop representative is

also the floor lady — a supervisory position — and is friends with the owners. She did nothing to inform us about the status of the negotiations even though she had attended union-organized meetings where reports were given to be taken back to the shops.

By lunchtime on Monday everyone was trying to figure out what was going on. Several women from the Dominican Republic suggested we all go down to the union hall the next day to get a report.

"Let's all leave work at nine o'clock and go together," they urged. "See if the English-speaking workers want to do it," they suggested. "How about the Italians? What about the Greeks?"

This plan struck a real chord. But many workers felt it was too bold to just walk out of work, and the plan died out by the end of the day.

But the discussion went on. People who don't usually talk to each other began to. Usually it's hard to have a conversation without the bosses hearing because the owners of the shop have a lot of family working there. This helps keep the workers divided from each other, not knowing who thinks what.

The preparations for the strike began to break this down. People looked around and saw that they weren't the only ones angry at the situation in the shop.

The bosses and their family could feel the changed atmosphere. For a change they weren't either screaming or trying to joke around and buddy up to the workers.

Exchanging information

Workers began exchanging information on how much money we make. Many people assumed someone else had to be making good money. But we found out that most people are poorly paid.

A few workers have been in the factory a long time and make more money, although they don't like to say how much. Some of



Labor Unity

Unemployed ACTWU member learning new sewing skills. Many union members are angered by bosses demands for more takebacks in low paid garment industry.

them blame the workers for their low wages. They say things like, "Why are you new people willing to work for such low wages? Why didn't you insist on more when they hired you?" When you explain that this is what they are paying these days, they shake their heads. "I wouldn't work for that," they remark.

Other old-timers think the solution is to "just stay here long enough to start making more money."

The younger and newer workers are the most anxious to figure out what we face, and what we can do about it. Once people began discussing the contract, they noticed that there is more discontent about the situation than they had thought.

"We have to start getting together in this shop," says one young operator. "If all the

shops went out together, we might get something," says another. "People have to stop being so scared and stand up to the boss," is heard many times. The discussion covers a lot of territory.

We're not the only ones faced with a takeback contract. Many others — steelworkers, auto workers, airline workers — have been forced to accept concessions.

Right now the hotel workers are in the middle of a militant strike in New York. People in my factory started to look at that strike with new interest, because we almost went out on strike and might go out in the fall. The idea comes up of visiting the hotel picket lines to show our support and find out more about it. "The unions have to stick together." "We can't keep taking these cutbacks."

Just when our contract extension expires, the contract of another big section of our union will also be expiring. What will that mean for those other garment workers and for us?

Need to stick together

The biggest question on people's minds in my shop is how to get in a stronger position so that when the contract is up again in October, we can get what we need and don't have to accept a takeback contract.

This discussion centers on where our union is at. Most people have pinpointed a number of problems.

Our union shop rep is also our floor lady. How can she be a supervisor for the boss and represent the workers at the same time?

Once a month a union business agent comes to the shop to talk to us. When he walks in, the bosses give him a big handshake and a pat on the back and take him to their office. When he comes to talk to us on the shop floor, there are bosses around, so workers don't feel free to raise problems.

There are no regular union membership meetings.

Some workers are trying to figure out what to do about these weaknesses. They are coming to the conclusion we have to start talking to more people in the shop about sticking together to solve our problems.

"I wish I knew Spanish," said one English-speaking Caribbean worker. "Then I could talk to those Dominican women who wanted us all to walk out together and go to the union headquarters."

These workers think we need to strengthen the union if we're going to stand up to the bosses' threat of a longterm wage freeze and reduction in benefits. We need regular meetings that involve all union members so we can discuss the attack the bosses have launched against us and how we can organize ourselves to meet it.

This idea, along with many others, is now being discussed in the shop. Most important, we're starting to talk to each other. We're finding out who stands where, and we're learning that most of us have common problems. And we're discussing how we can solve them together.

In the next four months, this discussion and the ideas for action that come out of it can help strengthen the union for the renewed fight with the employers over the contract in the fall.

ACTWU members hear contract report

BY PETER LAZARE

CHICAGO — On Monday, June 3, 2,500 clothing workers assembled at the Plumbers' Union Hall in Chicago to hear Arthur Loevy, the midwest director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), report on negotiations for a new contract covering more than 40,000 workers in the men's tailored-clothing industry.

The audience included large contingents from the Hart Schaffner and Marx facilities in the city and suburbs. Also present were a number of workers from the nearby Oxxford Clothing factory, as well as workers from a host of smaller shops in Illinois and northern Indiana.

Loevy told the workers of the long, arduous negotiations to replace the contract, which officially expired on the previous Friday. "Without doubt," he stated, "this is the toughest set of negotiations we've ever undertaken."

The employers, he said, came to the table looking for concessions. Their demands included reductions in vacation pay, requiring workers to pay for each dependent on their medical coverage, and a lowering of piece rates.

To the employers' demands for concessions,

Loevy reported that the union's reply was unequivocal. "We will never allow the companies to take away from us the gains clothing workers have fought so hard over the years to achieve," he declared to applause from the audience.

So when the employers made their demands, Loevy said the union leadership explored the possibility of a strike. The word was sent out to business agents across the country to go back to the membership and find out whether they were ready to go out on strike.

And what was the response?

"In each and every case, they said their members were willing to go out," Loevy said.

Mention of a possible strike evoked an audible response from the clothing workers in the hall. Many had not realized the seriousness of the situation — that management was being so intransigent, and that a strike might be necessary. Now they knew. Their concern was visible.

According to Loevy, the union's willingness to strike had an effect on management negotiators. They backed away from their demands for immediate concessions and settled for a four-month extension of the old contract.

Killer cops sentenced in Puerto Rico

Three Puerto Rican cops were sentenced to a total of 52 years on charges of conspiracy and perjury. The sentences were handed down on June 5 in a U.S. Federal District Court in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

The charges and sentences stem from the July 25, 1978, murder of two Puerto Rican independence activists, Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví, by the cops at Cerro Maravilla, the mountaintop television towers of Rikavisión in Puerto Rico. The cops involved in the murder and the subsequent cover-up were finally brought to trial as a result of a six-year campaign by the Puerto Rican people for justice in the case.

Jaime Quiles, former police captain, was sentenced to 12 years in prison for his

role in the cover-up. According to *El Mundo*, a Spanish-language daily, this sentence produced an uproar in the court because of its leniency. Quiles was eligible for a maximum of 30 years in prison.

Former police lieutenant Nelson González Pérez was sentenced to 24 years, and former cop Juan Bruno González to 16 years, for their roles in the cover-up.

Four other cops involved in the murder and cover-up have already received sentences from 20 to 30 years each on similar charges. Three more cops who have been tried in the case are expected to be sentenced in the near future.

All ten cops still face first-degree murder charges in Puerto Rico's own court system for the execution of the independence activists.

To Loevy, this signified that "the union had won the battle."

"But," he continued, "we have yet to win the war." This will be decided when the new contract is negotiated at the end of September, he said.

Loevy concluded his remarks by asking the assembled workers to approve the contract extension that would be voted on the following week.

As the crowd filed out, a number of discussions among workers could be overheard. There were expressions of anger at the companies for their takeback demands. There was also excitement, along with some trepidation, at the prospect of a strike. The tenor of these conversations indicated that clothing workers in Chicago were finally coming to grips with the kind of struggle necessary to win a new contract.

The following day at work, we found that the contract remained very much on the minds of coworkers. There was a great deal of anger with the company for refusing to grant a long overdue raise. There were also questions about whether October would be a more advantageous time to settle the contract dispute than now. Some workers who speak little or no English were unclear about the issue we were to vote upon that week in the shop.

As the balloting proceeded, the questioning and confusion lingered. A coworker reported being approached by a number of other workers desperately seeking advice on how to vote on the contract extension.

Their concern reflected the fact that these workers had come to understand the importance of this contract fight. Yet they remained confused on how best to carry this fight forward.

After much discussion, a general feeling seemed to emerge that a four-month extension would afford us valuable time to think these issues through more clearly and better prepare ourselves for the bitter contract fight that lies ahead.

Peter Lazare is a garment worker and a member of ACTWU Local 270.

Socialist Workers set nat'l convention, education conference

'No better way to learn about party'

BY ILONA GERSH

The Socialist Workers Party will hold its 33rd national convention August 10-15 at Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio. A socialist educational conference will be organized around the convention schedule. The combined gathering will be attended by hundreds of socialist workers from across the country and around the world. Most convention sessions will be open to all participants in the conference at the discretion of the delegates, who will be elected by branches of the SWP.

The delegates will discuss the major political questions that face a revolutionary party in the struggle to build a fighting worker-farmer alliance against the U.S. government's war on workers and democratic rights at home and abroad.

In preparation for the convention, the SWP has initiated a thorough written and oral preconvention discussion. Two reports adopted by the May 1985 meeting of the SWP National Committee kicked off this discussion.

The first is a report on the recent upsurge of struggle being waged by working farmers, and the party's experiences in supporting and participating in these struggles. The second report takes up the state of the union movement today, and the party's perspectives to deepen its activities in the industrial unions. The SWP concentrates its forces in nine national unions: International Ladies' Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, International Association of Machinists, United Auto Workers, United Transportation Union, United Mine Workers, International Union of Electronic Workers, United Steelworkers, and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Both reports summarize the significant participation of workers and working farmers in recent actions protesting U.S. intervention in Central America, apartheid in South Africa, and cutbacks and austerity here at home.

Popular revolutionary governments

The political framework of these reports is contained in two resolutions of the SWP that are available in the Spring 1985 issue of *New Internationalist*: "The Revolutionary Perspective and Leninist Continuity in the United States," and "The Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States: An Alliance of the Exploited Producers."

The resolutions present a view of the political situation in this country in the broader context of the struggle against imperialism around the world. At the center of world politics, the document points out, is the U.S.-sponsored war drive in Central America and the Caribbean.

The popular revolutionary governments of Cuba and Nicaragua are examples of how workers and farmers can join together to gain power and struggle for policies that promote their interests and human needs, rather than the interests of the capitalist minority. They show how workers' and farmers' governments can be used by the exploited to transform society.

Delegates will discuss how the SWP will help mobilize the largest possible opposition to the mounting U.S.-organized and financed war in Central America.

Other reports will take up the fight for Black liberation today, and the struggle for the emancipation of women.

The convention will also discuss how to best utilize the party's socialist publications in all of its activity — to promote solidarity between the struggles of working people and their allies, provide a Marxist explanation of major political questions in the United States and internationally, and win activists to a class-struggle perspective.

Political continuity

Today's struggle to build a fighting worker-farmer alliance has political continuity with that of the earliest Marxists, starting with Karl Marx and Frederick En-

gels. This can be traced through the experiences of the Bolsheviks under V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the 1917 Russian revolution, and today's examples of workers' and farmers' governments — Cuba and Nicaragua.

Classes organized for the educational conference will center on the revolutionary heritage of today's Marxists. One series will take up the struggle of Marxists to build an international revolutionary working-class vanguard party. It will begin with the efforts of Marx and Engels, on the eve of the 1848 revolutions that swept Europe, to build the Communist League; and later on, the First International. Classes will also focus on the Communist International under Lenin's leadership from 1919 to 1923, and on the Fourth International today.

Featured in the educational program will be classes prepared by those SWP leaders who will have just completed a five-month study of writings by Marx and Engels at the SWP leadership school.

A multipart series will be taught by Steve Clark, managing editor of the theoretical journal, *New Internationalist*. The series will take up Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky's fight to preserve the Leninist program and strategy in the 1920s and '30s against the Stalinist bureaucracy that usurped power in the Soviet Union. It will discuss the relation of this struggle for a Leninist program with Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. The Clark classes will cite examples from the struggle in the late 1920s and 1930s against imperialism

ILGWU local signs 3-year contract

BY PRISCILLA KONRAD

NEW YORK — The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25 announced that a new three-year contract was signed on June 13. The agreement was reached after over two months of negotiations with the New York Skirt and Sportswear Association and the National Association of Blouse Manufacturers.

The contract, which covers 26,000 members of the ILGWU in this city, will also ultimately affect more than 100,000 garment workers nationwide.

The ILGWU local announced that while there is a one-year moratorium on some parts of the contract, there will be a wage increase of 6 percent in 1986 and 5 percent in 1987. The union won increased payments from the bosses into the Health and Welfare Fund, which pays union members' retirement and health benefits. The union also turned back the bosses' attempt to impose a two-tier wage clause that would have meant a lower starting minimum wage for new hires. Other details of the contract will be announced by the union soon.

Over the course of the negotiations, the garment bosses' associations took a hard line of trying to reduce the wages and benefits won by the union in previous contracts. Even after many of the garment manufacturers and contractors had signed a pact agreeable to union negotiators, contractors in Chinatown refused to sign. Rumors spread in some shops that there could be a strike in Chinatown.

The majority of the ILGWU Local 23-25 membership is concentrated in shops in New York City's Chinatown section. The attempts by Chinatown garment bosses to sabotage the agreement posed a big threat to the progress made in the negotiations.

In 1982, during the last contract negotiations, ILGWU Local 23-25 was forced to strike some shops in Chinatown. At that time 500 garment bosses in Chinatown refused to sign the contract. The union responded by setting up a Committee to Defend the Union Contract. Five hundred garment workers — mainly Chinese — joined the committee. Hundreds became active in



Delegates and observers listening to report at last year's SWP national convention. Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

in China, India, and Indochina.

Other series will be on the history of the Black struggle and civil rights movement, and the class origins of women's oppression.

To round out the educational program, there will be presentations and classes on the political situation facing the working-class movement in countries around the world, from Africa, to Latin America, the Middle East, Asia, and Europe.

Workshops will be organized during the conference on the central activities of the party and on party-building campaigns. These include participating in the antiwar and Black liberation movements, conducting SWP election campaigns, socialist education and propaganda, and winning new members to the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Convention sessions will be scheduled every morning, with most afternoons and evenings devoted to the educational conference, including the classes and workshops. Meetings of socialist workers active in major industrial unions will also be held to discuss their perspectives and activities. Special events of interest to those who are

new to the socialist movement will be organized. There will be informal social, cultural, and sports activities to give everyone the opportunity to meet and talk with socialists from the United States and other countries.

Translation of activities will be available in both Spanish and French.

There is no better way to learn about the Socialist Workers Party than by attending the SWP national convention and educational conference. If you are interested in attending, contact the SWP branch nearest you (see directory on page 12), or send in the coupon below.

I am interested in attending the 1985 Socialist Workers Party convention and educational conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____
Telephone _____

Clip and send to SWP National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

organizing among coworkers and supporters on the need for a fight to win a decent contract.

On June 24, 1982, after nearly two months without a contract, 15,000 garment workers walked off their jobs to attend a union rally in Columbus Park.

Garment bosses responded with a four-day lockout. Wildcat strikes then broke out in some Chinatown shops. Then on July 15, the union authorized a strike at 30 shops. More than 10,000 garment workers walked out defiantly and marched through the streets of Chinatown. Within hours the garment bosses backed down and signed the contract.

It was the defiant stand of the ILGWU

local and the strong determination of the garment workers that changed the course of the 1982 contract negotiations and won increased wages and benefits for garment union members. This militant example of union strength and solidarity went a long way in raising union consciousness and giving garment workers more confidence in face of the garment bosses' attacks.

Since the 1982 contract victory, the employer offensive against labor has deepened and has affected the biggest and strongest industrial unions. How ILGWU members think we fared in our new contract in face of the concession demands of the bosses will be the subject of a future article.

Seattle socialist enters mayoral race

BY DAN FEIN

SEATTLE — Chris Horner announced his candidacy for mayor of Seattle on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, June 5. Horner is a machinist at General Electric and a member of the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 1002.

Horner told a well-attended press conference: "I am running as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle because neither Royer [the present mayor] nor Rice [the City Council president who is also a candidate] is discussing — let alone offering — solutions for the serious problems the working people of this city face. These are the same problems faced by working people across the country. They include continued high unemployment and plant shutdowns, union-busting, cutbacks in social services, and attacks on hard-won democratic rights. They include above all the rapidly escalating U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean."

The city government invests city retirement funds in businesses that operate in South Africa. Horner said, "One of my first acts as mayor would be to divest the city funds."

He added, "Seattle is Managua's sister

city. Unlike Royer, as mayor I would make this relationship real and not simply a formality. Thousands of workers and family farmers would be encouraged to visit Nicaragua to see for themselves what's taking place there."

For the first time all candidates must petition to gain ballot status. The state legislature recently passed this law because the ballot, they said, was becoming "too cluttered." The real purpose of the law is to maintain the Democratic and Republican parties' monopoly of the ballot in this "nonpartisan" election and to make it more difficult for candidates from working-class parties to participate.

Socialists plan to collect 2,000 signatures on petitions from June 8 to June 22 to place Horner's name on the primary ballot in September. Anyone who wants to help can contact the SWP at 5517 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, or call (206) 723-5330.

Horner attended his local union meeting the afternoon of his media conference. Copies of Horner's statement were distributed to his union brothers and sisters by campaign supporters after the meeting. A number of coworkers said it was "great" that Horner was running for mayor.

'Latin America has power to say no to debt plunder'

Castro interview on foreign debt

This is the seventh and last part of a series in the *Militant* in which we reprint the entire text of Cuban president Fidel Castro's major interview on Latin America's foreign debt. The first six parts can be found in the May 10, 17, 24, and June 7, 14, and 21 issues of the *Militant*.

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

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

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

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

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

(Last in a series)

Castro: I'd like to add something about the intermediate formulas that have been mentioned or similar ones that may crop up.

From the mathematical calculations that I showed you, you can see that the payment formula involving only 20 percent of each country's annual exports, limiting those figures to \$20 billion, solves nothing. Without considering new loans, they would have to pay \$400 billion over twenty years and wind up, with interest at 10 percent, by owing \$1,161,850 million [\$1.16 trillion]. Even reducing the interest rate to 6 percent and having a 10-year moratorium, including interest, in line with the kindest formula, they would have to pay \$857,471 million [\$857 billion] in the next 10 years.

Such intermediate formulas as reducing payments to 20 percent of annual exports or simply reducing the interest rate without a moratorium of at least 10 years wouldn't even give them a respite. Such intermediate formulas don't attract, don't rally, don't persuade, don't motivate, and they don't mobilize anyone, simply because they can't solve the problem.

Use resources for social needs

One very important question would be what to do with those resources. I believe, on the basis of the austerity measures already established by many governments, that most of those resources would have to be used for economic development, to create a solid, essential base from which to attack unemployment, hunger, and many other social calamities.



Coffee being loaded in Colombia. Castro explained that Latin American commodities "are produced on the basis of starvation wages."

No matter how pressing the problems are, you can't just think of distributing and consuming those resources and of immediately raising the standard of living. Rather, a percent of them — 20 or at most 30 percent, depending on the circumstances — could be used to meet the most pressing health, education, and housing needs. You can do a lot with 20 percent of \$400 billion to complement the resources now being used for those purposes.

All this would require great awareness and great national consensus equal to the challenge posed by the circumstances.

The solution of the debt would simply be a first step; we have to get at the real, root causes of this debt, of the economic crisis that has been unleashed, reaching the elements that gave rise to it. Solving the problem of the debt would be no more than the beginning. We would have to demand an end to unequal terms of trade; an end to protectionist policies; an end to the practice of dumping and to unjust, abusive monetary policies, excessive rates of interest, overvaluation of the dollar, and other diabolical procedures that make our countries' development impossible.

We should demand fair prices for our export commodities. We can't go on supplying coffee, cocoa, bananas, sugar, meat, minerals, and other essential raw materials, produced on the basis of starvation wages that often are less than \$80 a month, to purchase merchandise, equipment, medicines, and other industrial articles that are processed in the industrialized nations on the basis of huge profits for the enterprises and wages of more than \$1,000 a month — that is, 12, 15, and sometimes 20 times as high as the wages that the workers and technicians in the Latin American countries receive. Our unemployed don't usually have any kind of subsidy, and a large part of the population doesn't even receive medical and educational services.

Say no to plunder

Paradoxically, this crisis is providing the Latin American and other Third World countries with the first real opportunity they've had of receiving due consideration of their demands. We have spent dozens of years in the United Nations, in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and in all the other international agencies demanding a fairer economic order and requesting better prices for our products, loans, and resources for development. It wasn't long ago when, speaking on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, following the 6th Summit Conference, I expressed the need for the Third World to have \$300 billion in development assistance during this decade. Now, it isn't a matter of our getting on our knees and imploring the industrialized countries to supply us with funds or to assign a modest 0.7 percent of their Gross National Products to development — a commitment which only a few states have made. Now, when they are demanding that the Latin American and Caribbean countries turn over \$400 billion in 10 years, the decision making has passed to us. We have the power to simply declare that we won't accept this plunder and won't hand over the \$400 billion. They couldn't even threaten us with suspending future loans. Well used, that \$400 billion that they are demanding we produce from the sweat and sacrifices of the Latin American peoples could finance Latin America's development in the next 10 years. Every

country can lend itself what it's paying in interest.

If the industrialized countries are rational, not only will they benefit from our increased exports, but even their own banks will benefit through a formula such as the one suggested, which will guarantee them the availability of their credits, and they can make new loans — which, when you get right down to it, is their purpose in international finances and trade. If the new world economic order is really achieved, new loans can be received and paid on solid bases.

Since the OPEC countries managed to raise the price of oil from around \$2.50 to \$30 a barrel, the industrialized countries — the European ones, the United States, Japan, and others — have paid more than \$1 trillion to cover these higher oil prices in just 11 years. This was much more than the entire accumulated foreign debt of the Third World, and it didn't ruin their economies or even affect their enormous military expenditures. Ninety percent of this money ended up in the banks of the same countries from which it started out. They also collected the money that the non-oil-producing Third World countries spent on oil imports. The prices of their exports soared. Many Western companies — including arms manufacturers — made fabulous deals, thanks to the new purchasing power of their oil-purchasing clients. Many technological innovations were made, and scores of measures were adopted to save fuel. New and old sources of energy were used. Waste decreased considerably. Only the non-oil-producing developing countries suffered from the catastrophe in all regards and were subjected to new unequal terms of trade.

The cancellation of the Third World's foreign debt would be much fairer and economically more beneficial for all countries, much more vital and much less costly than was agreement to the oil exporters' demands in their day — demands that, with regard to most of the Third World countries, will only be fully justified and balanced when the branches of their basic exports are given the same treatment.

Fair trade relations

The new world economic order should mean fair trade relations for all the Third World countries, which will mean that the rich industrialized powers will have to stop wasting so many resources on arms. Nobody has the right to pay starvation wages for the cocoa, tea, coffee, cashew nuts, peanuts, coconuts, and fibers that are gathered leaf by leaf and grain by grain, the minerals; and other raw materials in order to manufacture aircraft carriers, battleships, strategic missiles, and nuclear submarines and to pay for star wars weapons. Those resources should be invested in the war on hunger, here on earth.

United stand

If the Latin American and Third World countries take a firm, united stand, they will, for the first time, have a real opportunity to reach these goals, beginning with the question of the foreign debt. If total lack of understanding should force them to make a unilateral decision with regard to the debt, they cannot be threatened with a suspension of trade, since the other countries wouldn't be able to survive without trade with the Third World, they can't do

Continued on Page 13

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM' on garment unions' fight

Twenty-six thousand workers organized by Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are fighting for a contract that will set the pace for tens of thousands of other garment workers. A key issue is the struggle to defend the workers' Health and Welfare Fund, which has been threatened with collapse since many employers have stopped making payments.

Thousands of workers organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union are also engaged in a contract fight. The owners of ACTWU-organized shops are pleading poverty and demanding wage freezes from the workers, who are among the worst-paid industrial workers.

The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* reports on these important struggles. It also features an interview with Sebastián Castro, a leader of the Sandinista Workers Federation, on his union's appeal for international labor solidarity with Nicaragua.

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

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Puerto Rican conference — a positive step

With this issue of the *Militant* we begin a new column entitled, "Basta Ya." Literally, *Basta Ya* means — Enough! It expresses the anger and indignation of Latinos in the United States to the racism and unemployment we confront here, as well as the poverty and underdevelop-



¡BASTA YA!

Andrea González

ment caused by imperialist plunder of Latin America. It expresses the opposition among Latinos here and throughout the Americas to the U.S.-backed war against our brothers and sisters in Central America and the Caribbean.

This column will appear periodically. It will take up the struggles of all Latinos — Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Dominicans, Salvadorans, and others — against racist violence, deportations and harassment by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, union-busting, and attacks on language rights. It will also look at the discussions in these communities on the strategy we need to win our liberation.

* * *

May 31–June 2, some 500 activists from seven states

and Puerto Rico came to Philadelphia to participate in the Third National Convention of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights (NCPRR).

Although a relatively new organization — founded only six years ago — the NCPRR has already grown to 5,000 members. Its aim is to unite all Puerto Ricans in the United States in the fight to defend our rights. The convention discussions demonstrated that the NCPRR is developing into an important voice for our rights.

The convention documented what can only be described as the worsening economic, social, and political situation for Puerto Ricans in the United States. It pointed out that similar attacks were being carried out against Blacks, Chicanos, other Latinos, and in fact against all working people.

The activists at the convention discussed the need to build alliances with other oppressed and working people. The convention's decisions helped to advance this perspective. This included its decisions to build solidarity with the striking hotel workers in New York City; fight for bilingual education; support the United Farm Workers grape boycott; defend the rights of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees to remain in this country; and oppose the murderous attack on Philadelphia's Black community.

The convention explained the connection between the attacks on Puerto Ricans in the United States and the escalating U.S.-backed war against our brothers and sisters in Central America and the Caribbean. The fight against the U.S.-sponsored war was correctly a central focus of

the convention.

The convention condemned the militarization of Puerto Rico as part of the U.S. imperialist war drive. The NCPRR voted to stand "with the people of our island and oppose U.S. aggression against our Latin American family."

NCPRR president Diana Caballero Pérez told the convention that one of the NCPRR goals is to "encourage and nurture women leadership." Women played a leading role in the convention — giving major reports to organizing workshops and leading the discussion — marking real progress on this front.

This conference marked the beginning of an important discussion on the attacks on our rights and building the alliances we need to defend our community. It also helped to move forward the discussion on the fight against the U.S.-funded counterrevolutionary war against Nicaragua.

Puerto Ricans have faced continuing attacks. We, like Blacks and working people as a whole, have lacked a leadership that could point the way forward. The NCPRR, as its convention demonstrated, provides a framework for the discussion we must have to map out a road forward. It reflects the thinking going on among a layer of Puerto Rican and other Latino workers. The convention was a positive step, and other NCPRR activities have the potential to be as politically positive.

The convention also began an important debate on which way forward for the Puerto Rican struggle. That discussion will be the focus of next week's column.

Farm Credit System: as farmers go under, rich profit

BY DOUG JENNESS

When Perry Wilson, Sr.'s, farm and home were sold at a public auction in Plattsburg, Missouri, a few months ago, hundreds of farmers and their supporters protested. Their action was one of the most widely publicized farm protests this year.

Those who saw the protest on the TV news or read about it in their local newspaper learned that the agency that foreclosed the Wilson farm and then bought it at the auction was the Federal Land Bank (FLB) of St. Louis.

Federal Land Banks and Production Credit Associations (PCAs) have been in the news a great deal the past year. But rarely is there an explanation given of what they are, especially their connections with the federal government and the commercial banking system.

The FLB and the PCA are part of the Farm Credit System, which traces its origins to the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916. This legislation was adopted under pressure from farmers who were having difficulties getting credit from privately owned banks. Land values were much lower at that time than they generally have been in recent years. Consequently, many banks wouldn't accept land as collateral for loans. Moreover, when farmers could get loans, the interest rates were very high.

The new law established Federal Land Banks backed up with federal funds to provide credit to farmers at reduced interest rates. The government's initial outlay was repaid from the interest collected from the loans.

In 1933, during the Great Depression, this system was expanded and reorganized, becoming the Farm Credit System. Its principal components are 12 district FLBs, which make long-term loans for real estate purchases through local Land Bank Associations; 12 Intermediate Credit Banks, which provide short-range loans through 370 PCAs for farm expenses like livestock, equipment, and supplies; and 12 regional Banks or Cooperatives, which fund cooperative-owned grain elevators, dairies, and other such operations.

The system is supervised by the Farm Credit Administration, a regulatory agency much like those that oversee private banking operations.

The Farm Credit System plays a huge role in the country's total farm-credit picture. It currently provides about 40 percent of all farm real estate loans and 20 percent of non-real estate loans. Its total outstanding loans comes to \$82.1 billion, which accounts for the single largest portion of the country's \$225 billion farm debt.

This mammoth operation obtains the funds to lend farmers by selling bonds on Wall Street. Bondholders are paid comparatively low interest rates, which theoretically means that the Farm Credit banks can charge less interest to farmers.

The Farm Credit System ranks second

only to the U.S. Treasury in the amount of money it borrows on Wall Street.

The big banks, insurance companies, managers of pension funds, and other investors who purchase Farm Credit bonds generally consider them to be a sound investment, even though their interest rates are lower than those for private commercial bonds.

Because the farm banks are federally chartered, their bonds are classified as federal-agency securities, thus exempting them from state and local taxes. They are so highly regarded that privately owned banks, whose holdings of securities are normally supposed to be restricted, are permitted to hold unlimited quantities of them.

Moreover, most investors are confident that Congress would bail out the Farm Credit System should it fail. At this time, however, a failure appears unlikely. While profits have been sagging the past several years, the Farm Credit banks still made \$440 million profit in 1984.

No benefits for working farmers

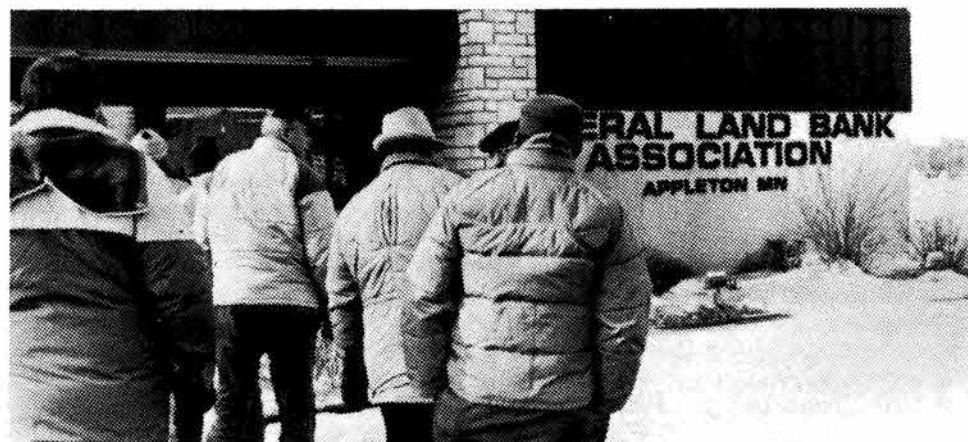
Working farmers, however, have not reaped the same benefits from this credit system. Since the land and credit associations are set up for the private profit of a small handful of Wall Street bankers and other parasitic investors, their managers are as insensitive as private bankers to the difficulties of exploited farmers.

If farmers, squeezed by high production costs and the low income they get from marketing their products, are unable to keep up with loan and interest payments, the banks take away their farms and put them up for sale.

The murky relationship of the Farm Credit Banks to the government is utilized by profit-conscious bank managers against working farmers. For example, if a farmer sues a land bank or credit association for a reprieve on interest payments on the basis that it is a federal agency in violation of federal regulations, the associations argue that they are private institutions. Yet, if a farmer whose farm has been foreclosed, sues a Land Bank or Production Credit Association, the Farm Credit System will insist that as an arm of the federal government it cannot be sued.

Another way the Farm Credit banks stack the cards against working farmers is to unload the burden of bankruptcies on them. How this works is that when farmers obtain a loan from their local Land Bank or Production Credit Association, they are required to leave as much as 10 percent of the loan on deposit in return for shares. Technically then, farmers become shareholders in the bank.

The banks use these deposits as part of their operating capital, along with the revenues obtained by selling bonds. But when they collapse, as 11 PCAs have done since September 1983, the farmers' deposits are used to help offset the liabilities, which



Militant/Steve Wattenmaker

Minnesota farmers going in to register protest against Federal Land Bank policies.

means making sure the Wall Street bondholders get paid.

When two PCAs went under in Nebraska last November, 500 farmers lost nearly \$6 million altogether. Unlike private commercial banks that are insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Farm Credit System is not insured.

Farmers feel betrayed

Because the Farm Credit System was supposedly set up to assist farmers, many farmers feel betrayed. Some are now attempting to utilize their legal rights as stockholders in the banks to fight farm banks.

When farm foreclosures occur, they demand that independent accounting firms, rather than the Farm Credit Administration, audit the banks' books. Financial statements, they say, should be made available to members as well as membership lists and copies of their loan files. In a few places farmers have demanded the right to elect the bank boards.

The nature of the abuses committed by bank officers was recently revealed in Louisville, Kentucky, where they faked

signatures on loan documents farmers had not seen, and loaned money to auto dealers, real estate speculators, and other non-farm borrowers.

Another reason farmers want to look at the banks' financial records is that they question whether the system suffers as many difficulties as banking officials claim. Farmers cite the rise in the interest rates they are being charged for loans, which now reach 18 percent. Farm Bank officers say this rise is necessary to compensate for sagging income due to the farm crisis. Many farmers, however, doubt if this is necessary since the interest rates that the farm banks pay out to Wall Street bondholders have not risen proportionately. In fact they still remain relatively low, which traditionally was supposed to mean that farmers could get cheaper credit.

Many working farm families through their bitter experiences with this system, are learning about the intricate web that connects the government with the big bankers. This connection is one of the ways working farmers are robbed by the small handful of profiteers who live off the labor of the great majority.

Farm-labor alliance discussed

Continued from back page

"But U.S. farmers are not alone. The Black majority in South Africa can become an ally to the farmers. South African Blacks suffer from denial of good land as well as denial of good jobs.

"The Palestinians are fighting for the return of their land as well as for self-determination. Farmers also have an ally in Nicaragua, a country of 3 million and about the size of Iowa.

"They started on a different path after they rid themselves of the dictator Somoza at the cost of 50,000 lives. What path is it? It's the path of agricultural reform, of expansion of the trade unions, of health and literacy, and of sovereignty, independence, and socialism.

"Lastly, farmers have an ally in U.S. workers. Attacks on the farmers are totally interwoven with attacks on the unions. You can't have one without the other. We must convince unionists, inspire unionists, to turn out for these farm protests."

Gaige gave examples of important labor participation in recent farm foreclosure protests in Missouri and Minnesota.

"The worker-farmer alliance is an enduring alliance. There is no conflict of interest between those who produce wealth in the factories and those who produce wealth on the land. The worker-farmer alliance is a fight for the future, for a government that defends the interests of the workers and farmers: first, last, and always."

ALABAMA Birmingham

Public Meeting to Defend Black Voting Rights. Speakers: Albert Turner, Jr., Black Belt Defense Committee and president Miles College Student Government Association. Wed., June 26, 7 p.m. University of Alabama, Birmingham, Ullman Hall, room 230. Ausp: Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Miles College Student Government, Southern Organizing Committee, and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (205) 780-3141.

Panel Discussion to Defend Abortion Rights. Sat., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 205 18 St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Stop the Deportations! Speakers: representative of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Rubén García, United Auto Workers Local 645; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Jose

Protest Police Bombing in Philadelphia — Justice for Melvin Truss. Speakers: Laura White, chairperson of Committee for Justice for Melvin Truss and victim's aunt; Hattie McCutcheon, Socialist Workers Party and member International Association of Machinists Local 562, recently returned from fact-finding trip to Philadelphia. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 22, 7 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Stop the U.S.-sponsored War in Nicaragua! Speaker: Arlene Rubenstein, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from tour of Nicaragua. Sun., June 30, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Celebrate Socialist Petitioning Victory — Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speaker: Kip Hedges, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 29, 7 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Boston Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Indian Land Rights — White Earth Is Not For Sale! Speakers: Judy Fairbanks, Marvin Manypenny, and Vernon Bellecourt, members of Anishinabe Akeeng. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 23, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Socialist Election Campaign Rally — Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua! Speakers: August Nimitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis; Maggie McCraw, SWP candidate for mayor of St. Paul. Sat., June 29, reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Albany

At the Saratoga Jazz Festival — Join the Walkout against Chick Corea. Cultural boycott of South Africa. Sat., June 29, SPAC, Saratoga. Ausp: Capital Coalition Against

Apartheid and Racism. For more information call (518) 436-0562.

Manhattan

The Puerto Rican Struggle in the United States. Speaker: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., June 28, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OHIO

Cleveland

Socialist Educational Conference. Two classes by Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. 1. "What is Imperialism and How Did it Develop?" Sun., June 23, 10:30 a.m. 2. "The Struggle Against Imperialism Today." Sun. June 23, 1 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

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

OREGON

Portland

In Defense of Abortion Rights: an Answer to

Silent Scream. Speaker: Joan Binninger, education director of Portland Planned Parenthood. Sat., June 29, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Lessons of the West Philadelphia Bombings. Speaker: Malik Miah, editor of the *Militant*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 29, 8 p.m. Roundtable discussion Sun., June 30 at noon. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

South Africa Solidarity Speak-out. Speakers: Rashid Soundiata, Black Action Society, University of Pittsburgh; Andy Towbin, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 22, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

Socialist Publication Fund Barbeque. Sun., June 23, 2 p.m. 4342 Clay St., Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

The Rising Tide of Black Power in South Af-

rica. Speakers: Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press* and author of *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt*; Dr. Franklin Jones, Texas Southern University, Department of Political Science. Sat., June 29, time and place to be announced. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

Socialist Educational Weekend. Two classes by Ernest Harsch, *Intercontinental Press* managing editor recently returned from tour of West Africa. 1. "Popular Revolution in Burkina." 10 a.m. 2. "Ghana: Three Years of Mass Uprising." 1 p.m. Sun., June 30, 4806 Alameda. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Special Weekend, Open House at the Militant Bookstore. Sat., June 29, 4-10 p.m. Music and refreshments. Two classes by Omari Musa, National Committee member of Socialist Workers Party. 1. "The Fight for Black Rights in the Civil War and During Reconstruction." 1 p.m. 2. "Attempts to Form Independent Black Political Parties." 3 p.m. Sun., June 29, 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Rights speak-out in San Jose builds

Continued from front page

Ron Dellums; Ron Lind, business agent, United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 428; Andrea Prichett, leader of anti-apartheid movement at UC Berkeley; a representative of the Socialist Workers Party; and Bill Watkins, a Vietnam veteran and member of Post 5888, Santa Cruz.

While the bookstore has been the immediate target of the violence, the aim of this right-wing grouping of silencing all dissenting views has become clearer and clearer to an increasing number of people here. At the last meeting of the Emergency Committee on Democratic Rights June 12, plans were mapped out to actively build the June 28 speak-out and mount the broadest political defense possible to ensure the right of this meeting to be held free from attack. At the June 12 meeting a representative delegation from the committee along with other activists was chosen to meet with Mayor Thomas McEnery to demand defense of the speak-out.

A press conference including Anthony Russo and other speakers and endorsers is planned for the morning of the speak-out.

Although the violent activities of the right-wingers has ceased, the threat clearly remains. On the night of June 13 the sign at the bookstore was vandalized and harassing phone calls and occasional verbal abuse by Vietnamese right-wingers in passing cars continued. The police and city administration make it clear that they will only selectively defend democratic rights.

On June 10 the Internal Affairs Department of the city of San Jose informed the Socialist Workers Party that the police had "unfounded" the claim of any wrongdoing on the part of the police April 27 for refusing to disperse the mob attempting to batter down the doors of the bookstore. Besides refusing to end the violence that day the police allowed one of the right-wingers to search the bookstore and the offices of the

Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to make sure there were "no communists from Vietnam" inside. This occurred after the staff members of the socialist bookstore had been evacuated under police escort.

The socialist bookstore has been receiving messages and telegrams of support from all over the United States. This includes Phoenix, Seattle, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Albany, New York, and Newport News, Virginia. One letter from St. Louis contained a petition with 60 signatures of United Auto Workers Local 110 members. They are workers on the assembly line at a Chrysler plant in Fenton, Mis-

souri. The District of Columbia National Black Independent Political Party also sent a letter condemning the attacks on the bookstore.

Support is still critical to force protection of the June 28 speak-out and demand a real investigation and prosecution of those responsible for the attacks. Messages and telegrams demanding the city administration defend the June 28 meeting should be sent to Mayor Thomas McEnery, 801 N 1st St., San Jose, Calif. 95110; and to Police Chief Joseph McNamara, 201 W Mission St., San Jose, Calif. 95110. Please send copies to the SWP, 46 1/2 Race St., San Jose, Calif. 95126.

Endorsers of June 28 speak-out

The following is a partial list of individual endorsers of the June 28 speak-out: Harry Adams, president, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 565; David Aroner, executive director, Service Employees' International Union Local 525; Carlos Avitia, president, International Moulders Union Local 164; Lorenzo Carlisle, IAM Local 284; Rev. George Collins; Bill Davis, administrative officer, San Jose Newspaper Guild; Congressman Ron Dellums; Adam Escoto; John George, Board of Supervisors, Alameda County; Inés Gómez, Latina activist; Bob Hernández, Project National Interest; Ron Lind, business agent, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 428; Steven Manginelli, vice-president, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265; Dan McCauslin, Fidelity Printing; Jessica Mitford, author; William McLean, president ATU Local 265; Gary Okihiro, director of ethnic studies, University of Santa Clara, and Students, Faculty and Staff Against Apartheid; Andrea Prichett, UC Berkeley anti-apartheid activist; Wilson Riles, Jr., Oakland City Council; Joel Rocamora, Philip-

pine Resource Center; Anthony Russo; Oba T'shaka, National Black United Front; David Wald, Peace and Freedom Party; Johnny Walker, community activist and organizer; Howard Wallace, Lesbian and Gay Labor Alliance; and Sol Zeltzer, Rainbow Coalition.

Some of the endorsing organizations include: The American Civil Liberties Union, Santa Clara Valley Chapter; Bay Area Free South Africa Movement; Committee in Solidarity with El Salvador; Communist Party, Santa Clara County; East Bay Democratic Socialists of America; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Mandela Coalition, San Jose State University; National Lawyers Guild of San Jose; Service Employees' International Union Local 535; Social Education and Action Committee, Santa Clara County Council of Churches; Socialist Workers Party; South Bay Free South Africa Movement; South Bay National Organization for Women; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, San Jose branch; and Young Socialist Alliance.

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

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

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

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Remember, safe as ever? — The Federal Aviation Administration has found "some cracks" in its system of reporting near collisions in the air. It seems that in 1983 and 1984 — just coincidentally, fol-



Harry Ring

lowing the removal of the PATCO air traffic controllers — there were reports of 352 dangerous near misses that were never forwarded to Washington to be included in national statistics.

Eh? — With the consent of Congress, Reagan on June 12 designated May 1985 as Better Hearing and Speech Month. The measure was approved by Congress June 4 and received by the White House June 7. Maybe they thought better hearing and speech is for poor people.

Rating 'Radio Martí' — The *New York Times* did a check of Cuban response to the new U.S. station which adds general programming to the counterrevolutionary propaganda it beams to the island. A Havana office manager, who told the *Times* she wasn't a particularly strong supporter of the government, commented: "It's so funny listening to their soap operas after living in revolutionary Cuba for the last 26 years. They

sound so silly."

Needed 'em to empty the ashtrays — The Miramar Naval Air Station at San Diego is back in the news. What with the to-do about paying Grumman \$659 a throw for ashtrays, workers at the base sent out copies of other purchase orders, including one for four plastic trashcans at \$140.25 apiece.

Seems obvious — A spate of buying has pushed Grumman stock sky high, which puzzles the folk who run the firm. But it seems to us that a company with the chutzpah to tap the government for \$659 per ashtray is surely a sound investment. Not to speak of the glow of pride that comes from being associated with so

exemplary an American enterprise.

Defiling a hallowed heritage — The student paper at Kent School in Connecticut stirred alumni ire with a front-page feature about a campus lecture opposing U.S. policy in Nicaragua. Wrote one old preppy: "An argument can be made that an indictment of the Somoza regime is in somewhat poor taste. Not only in light of the current regime, but also because seven members of the Somoza family attended Kent School."

Useful gadgets dep't — A New York hardware store is featuring a wall-mounted, water-heated towel bar. \$550. It struck us that on

those cold winter days when the landlord forgets to send up the heat, instead of warming the towels you could use it to warm your pups — assuming, of course, there's hot water.

Doesn't fit our lifestyle — We did consider that hot towel bar. But to squeeze it into our bathroom, we'd have to rip out the tub or the toilet. (It already doesn't include a sink.)

Has the FDA tested it? — "White Collar Crime: Booming Again — Economic pressures, a new permissiveness and simple greed are eroding corporate morality. One cure: ethical leadership." — News headline.

Washington sends warships to Lebanon coast

Continued from Page 5

government, is currently acting as the go-between in the negotiations to release the hostages and free the 700 Shiites held by Israel.

Since the PLO's forced retreat from southern Lebanon, Berri has sought to advance his political career by opposing the PLO's return. He justifies this on the grounds that if the PLO returns to southern Lebanon, Israel says it will take reprisals. He even remarked that if the Palestinians want to fight Israel, they will have to do it from other borders.

In recent weeks, Amal decided to launch a bloody assault on three Palestinian camps in the southern outskirts of Beirut. The purpose of the murderous attack, Amal said, was to disarm the Palestinians. Hundreds of Palestinians have been killed and thousands more injured. This dirty war continues to this day even as the TWA hostages sit in Beirut.

It is thus not surprising that imperialism has said little about Amal's terror cam-

paign against Palestinian refugees. Amal is doing Washington's and Tel Aviv's dirty work by attacking the Palestinian movement — which for the last two decades has played a vanguard role in the struggles of the Arab peoples.

This reactionary campaign, however, has led Amal to lose much of the militant credentials it won while fighting the Israeli occupation. Even the Iranian government — a supporter of the Shiite cause in Lebanon — has come out against the Amal's at-

tacks, as have Libya and most of the Arab governments. Only the Syrian government has given Amal tacit support.

Berri is supporting the demands of the hijackers in order to try to win back some of Amal's lost credibility in the eyes of anti-imperialist fighters in the Mideast.

The main concern of Washington and Tel Aviv is maintaining their antiterrorist campaign at home and internationally. This policy comes first, not the lives of the hostages.

Those concerned about the lives of the hostages, the 700 Shiite victims of Israeli occupation, and the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples against imperialist domination, and supporters of democratic rights should demand that Washington immediately withdraw its naval force from Lebanese waters.

The U.S. and Israeli governments should free the 700 Shiite Muslim prisoners, victims of Israeli aggression, so the hostages can be safely released.

ANC: 'Make apartheid system unworkable'

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

"The surge of people's resistance and active defiance have reached new heights. The face of our country is changing before our very eyes." In this way the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) summarized the current stage of the struggle against apart-

heid in South Africa in an April 25 statement.

In Black townships, the ANC wrote, government authority "has been largely destroyed." The tricameral parliament — the result of a 1984 act that created separate, largely powerless houses for Coloureds (people of mixed ancestry) and Indians, along with a third house for whites — is impotent, the ANC declared. The Bantustans rural reservations for the African majority are "held in contempt."

The strikes by the Black unions, the statement declared, demonstrate "the potential of the organized workers to bring the ruling class to its knees." The students continue to rebel and street confrontations have not abated despite repression.

The statement explained that while most of those who politically serve apartheid have faced "the wrath of the people ... many have respected the demands of the people by resigning." Black cops and soldiers, the statement said, are being taught that "there is no place in our communities for those who wear the uniforms of apartheid. ...

"On the side of the people," it continued, "the conditions for a revolutionary leap forward are beginning to mature. On the side of the ruling class, the economic

and political crisis has reached new heights."

Looking to the next stage of the struggle the ANC declared, "we call once again on all sections of our people to make apartheid more and more unworkable and the country less and less governable." Specifically, the ANC calls for "combining national stay-away [strike] action with countryside mass popular actions." It also proposed the election of people's committees in the townships and the organization of self-defense units.

The ANC calls on those Blacks "who serve the machineries of apartheid to resign now." The statement declared that "we call on the unemployed Blacks now in uniform to stop shooting their brothers and sisters." The ANC calls on white South Africans to resist the draft and to join the "growing number of democratic whites who are participating in our liberation struggle."

"The period ahead," the statement closes, "presents all of us — whether in or out of the ANC — with an awe-inspiring challenge. Under the leadership of our liberation movement we can and must answer this call of history."

The ANC statement, which draws an important balance sheet on the struggle against apartheid, is available in full in the June 10 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. (See ad on page 6.)

Castro interview on foreign debt

Continued from Page 10

without our fuel and other raw materials, and they wouldn't be happy without our coffee, tea, cocoa, shrimp, lobsters, and other tropical delights.

It is absolutely impossible for them to blockade the Third World economically or take over our countries because of the debt, as they did in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and other countries in the first few decades of this century; they can't divide up the world again to assure their supplies of raw materials and markets, as they did in other eras.

The new Latin American leaders have an immense responsibility. I reiterate my conviction that if the problem of the debt isn't solved, if efforts are made to pay it no matter what the cost, if the disastrous formulas of the International Monetary Fund are promoted, great social upheavals will be produced.

I don't see any danger of a return to the wave of right-wing repressive, fascist coups — which may occur only in exceptional cases, in some countries, on an isolated basis. Rather, I think it is possible that, in the case of great social upheavals in some countries, leaders imbued with a patriotic spirit and a realistic sense of the situation who are ready to promote social changes along with the people will arise from among the military.

In much less critical circumstances, figures who arose from the ranks of the military, such as Omar Torrijos in Panama and Velasco Alvarado in Peru, held high the banners of national demands and social reform.

Rational solution

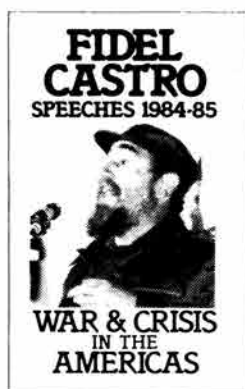
The struggle for demands as rational as the solution of the problem of the foreign debt and fair economic relations between the Third World countries and the industrialized world is so essential for the survival and future of the Latin American

peoples that it would doubtless be supported by all social strata and would generate great internal unity in all the countries. It would also strengthen the unity among all the Latin American countries and would receive the unhesitating, enthusiastic, determined support of all the developing countries in Asia and Africa.

I have no doubt that many industrialized countries would also support these demands. Nor do I doubt that the ideal, most constructive thing is for these problems to be solved by means of political dialogue and negotiation, which would promote essential solutions in an orderly manner. If this is not done, desperate situations will doubtless force a group of countries to take unilateral measures. This isn't desirable, but, if it occurs, I am sure that all the other countries in Latin America and the rest of the Third World will join them.

(End of series)

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S. Africa attacks Botswana, Angola

Continued from back page

that these commandos were carrying out a spy mission — locating ANC and SWAPO bases. However, one of the captured South African soldiers, captain Petrus de Toit, admitted at a press conference May 28 in Angola that his mission was aimed at "destroying the storage tanks at Cabinda Gulf ... we were not looking for the ANC or SWAPO." Petrus de Toit told the press that the commando unit was to blow up the oil storage tanks and the water pipes that could be used to extinguish the inevitable fire. The refinery and the storage area were targeted, he said, to wreak havoc on the Angolan economy. Oil provides a large part of that country's revenue.

After the South African attack on Angola, the U.S. government claimed to have no knowledge of South Africa's activities. However, in the face of the attack on Botswana the U.S. government has recalled

home for consultations its ambassador to South Africa.

The U.S. government is facing growing protests in this country against U.S. support for apartheid. The Foreign Relations Committees of both houses of Congress have already been forced to pass limited sanctions against the apartheid regime. One State Department official said that the latest military moves had the effect of embarrassing the administration.

Meanwhile, in New York City, hundreds of people marched from Columbia University to 125 Street in Harlem to commemorate the Soweto uprising. Marching through Columbia the demonstrators chanted "Trustees, you know, South African stocks have got to go." At a rally, outside the Adam Clayton Powell State Office Building in Harlem, the majority Black crowd heard speeches from opponents of apartheid and activists in the Black rights movement in the United States.

Grenada: issue isn't fair trial

Eleven prominent civil libertarians, antiwar activists, and writers recently signed an ad entitled "Call for a fair trial in Grenada," which appeared in the June 12 issue of the *Guardian*, a radical newsweekly. Among the signers of the appeal were Philip Berrigan, David Dellinger, Mel King, Manning Marable, and Paul Sweezy.

The ad calls for a "fair and open trial" for Bernard Coard and 18 others accused of the Oct. 19, 1983, murder of Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other central leaders of the Grenada revolution. The trial is scheduled to begin on June 27.

The appeal begins by condemning Washington's invasion and occupation of Grenada in October 1983. The signers "deplore the tragic and senseless violence which took the life of Maurice Bishop and his associates." And they point out that "the U.S. remains in de facto control of the island" today.

The signers' main concern, however, is that "those accused of these murders receive a fair and open trial" so that "both sides of the story are heard." The ad says that "a fair and open trial is the best way for the facts to come to light. Awaiting that outcome, the Left must not join the lynch mob." They conclude the ad by urging financial support to Coard and the others' legal defense.

Two things strike us as wrong about this ad.

First is that the facts about the murder of Bishop and his cothinkers and the events leading up to it are already well established.

On March 13, 1979, the New Jewel Movement (NJM), under the leadership of Maurice Bishop, led a successful popular revolution which overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Eric Gairy and established a workers' and farmers' government.

Despite constant threats and attempts at destabilization by the U.S. government, the Grenadian workers and farmers made important political, social, and economic advances for four and a half years under the Bishop leadership.

In October 1983, however, a clique of government functionaries and military officers led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard organized a counterrevolutionary coup, which opened the door for the subsequent U.S. invasion.

On October 12 Coard placed Bishop and other central

leaders under house arrest. Coard's faction claimed to be applying "Marxist-Leninist" principles. In reality, this clique used bureaucratic and administrative methods to try to meet the challenges and problems confronting the revolution. They disarmed the people, placing the interests of their grouping above the interests of Grenadian workers and farmers.

On October 19, somewhere between one-third and one-half of Grenada's 110,000 people mobilized, freeing Bishop and the other leaders and challenging the Coard regime.

Coard then turned the army's guns on the people — murdering Bishop and the other central leaders and gunning down scores of other Grenadians.

A 24-hour shoot-to-kill curfew was imposed. The terror of Coard's Revolutionary Military Council was brief but brutal and provided the U.S. rulers a golden opportunity to invade the island just six days later.

The imperialists did not liberate Grenada. Rather, they reimposed their domination. They reversed many of the gains the revolution brought to Grenada's working people.

They also launched an ideological campaign which is still going strong. The trial of Coard and the others is being used not to bring justice to the people of Grenada but rather to try to justify the U.S. invasion and to sully the memory of Bishop and the revolution he led.

The ad also makes the axis of its opposition to the trial the idea that maybe Coard and company are innocent. This makes it harder, however, to get at the real goal of the imperialists in the trial — to discredit Bishop and the revolution, using the murderous actions of the Coard clique as the imperialists' "proof."

The imperialists and their puppet regime cannot bring Coard and his cohorts to justice for their treacherous betrayal and lynching of the revolution. Not because the facts are unknown. But because revolutionary justice can only be carried out by the Grenadian workers and farmers.

Opponents of the U.S. invasion of Grenada and supporters of the Grenada revolution need to unite in protest against the continued attacks on Grenadian working people and to get out the truth about the Grenada revolution and its overthrow.

Catholic church hierarchy vs. abortion rights

The following article by Evelyn Reed was written just a few weeks after the historic January 22, 1973, Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion. Like all of Reed's writings, it is designed to help educate and arm fighters for women's liberation. Reed was a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party who died in 1979.

Entitled, "Why the Catholic church hierarchy opposes women's right to abortion," it first appeared in the February 16, 1973 issue of the *Militant* and was later reprinted as part of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Abortion and the Catholic Church*.

We are reprinting an abridged version of Reed's article in two parts in this column. It will soon be available in full in a new Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *Abortion is a Woman's Right*, which will also include more recent articles on abortion rights from the *Militant*.

* * *

(first of two parts)

The Roman Catholic hierarchy, in the forefront of the antiabortion forces, is enraged by the Supreme Court decision handed down last month that recognizes a woman's right to abortion and rejects the proposition that a fetus is a legal person with rights superior to the mother's.

Immediately after the court ruling, cardinals Cooke of New York and Krol of Philadelphia indicated that they

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

will leave no stone unturned in their efforts to nullify this measure giving women the right to control their own reproductive processes.

Women should be aware of the basic issues at stake in this challenge. By opposing and seeking to overthrow the Supreme Court decision the Catholic hierarchy is striving to keep all women in the same status as animal females who are subjected by nature to uncontrolled procreation. They are determined to continue to rob women of their basic human right — the right of control. Let us see why this is so.

All animals are governed by the blind and capricious processes of nature. Humans, on the other hand, alone of all species on earth, can create and control their own conditions of life. Among the other triumphs won over brute nature, humans have learned to regulate their own reproductive processes. The techniques of contraception to limit pregnancies and of birth control through abortion are not to be found among animals.

Animals remain the slaves of nature whereas humans, by deliberately utilizing its materials and processes in productive labor and understanding its laws of operation, have increasingly become the masters of nature.

Despite . . . differences, all animal females, including the higher apes, are subjugated to nature's mode of procreation. They do not have any personal controls or choice in the matter. They are condemned by their biology to proceed from one reproductive cycle to the next.

In sharp contrast, the human woman, as a member of the productive and cultural species, possesses the capabilities and potential for acquiring and realizing all the higher aspects and values of human life. Unlike the animal female, a woman need not restrict her life to continual procreation. Modern society now possesses a large body of scientific know-how on birth control that should enable a woman to exercise her conscious, individual choice in the matter. She can decide whether and when to bear children and how many she will rear. As a human being she can tailor her procreative inclinations to suit her broader needs for a full productive, cultural, intellectual, and political life. Theoretically at least, women have been liberated from the narrow animal existence of continuous breeding.

Unfortunately, while women are no longer the creatures of blind nature, they became the victims of patriarchal class society ever since it came into existence a few thousand years ago. Capitalism remains male-dominated, controlling the lives and destiny of women, benefiting from their exploitation and oppression and, until recently, denying them modern methods of birth control.

While men of the favored classes could assert their rights to a higher human and cultural life, women had to be satisfied with the narrow existence of kitchen, bedroom, and nursery, glorified as the happy home and family. In reality women were degraded to child raisers and domestic servants for men. To keep them in an inferior status, both church and state forbade them to make use of the available methods of birth control. "Keep them barefoot and pregnant," is the most cynical expression of this male supremacy. Heaping insult on injury, women were then told they had been victimized not by class society but by nature, which decreed "biology is woman's destiny."

(to be continued)

Protest renewed aid to contras

Continued from front page

ships and planes coming to the United States.

This was quickly followed by a joint declaration by the U.S. and Honduran governments that Washington would aid Honduras if it is "attacked" by Nicaragua. Given the provocations against Nicaragua that the contras, in cahoots with the Honduran military, have set up along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border, this was an ominous move.

And these measures were combined with a daily propaganda campaign, led from the White House, slandering the Nicaraguan government as a totalitarian dictatorship that is a threat to its neighbors and to the United States, and painting the contra rapists and murderers as "freedom fighters."

After several weeks, members of Congress who had previously voted against aiding the contras agreed to put contra aid back on the Congressional agenda for a new vote.

The main significance of the aid that was approved for the contras was not financial — the contras have been receiving millions from "private sources" with the cooperation of the CIA. But getting Congress to take responsibility for the contra war was a *political victory* for the White House and for the contras.

The vote registered the now-prevalent view in U.S. ruling circles that accommodation with the Sandinista-led workers' and peasants' government is not possible, and that this government must be changed. This represents an important shift to the right from an earlier period when a significant section of U.S. capitalist politicians still held out the hope that the Sandinistas could be bought off or intimidated into submission.

The bipartisan vote for contra aid, which won by a wide margin in the House, signifies that there is broad agreement that escalating the contra war is the best way right now to try to accomplish the rulers' common goal of getting rid of the Sandinistas.

This, however, is much easier said than done, as many members of Congress pointed out during the aid debate.

Opponents of aid for the contras complained about the ineffectiveness of the mercenary bands. While the contras have murdered and wounded thousands of Nicaraguans; destroyed schools, houses, child-care centers, and farms; and cost the country millions; they are further than ever from their goal of overthrowing the government. They have not been able to seize and hold any cities or towns from which they could declare a phony provisional government that could then be the recipient of international aid and support.

In recent months, in fact, Nicaraguan troops have dealt severe blows to the Somozaist forces, including killing 1,200 in the first five months of this year alone.

The reason the contras are being pushed back is because — Washington's lies to the contrary — the Sandinista government is a *popular* government. It came to power in July 1979 at the head of a massive revolutionary struggle of Nicaragua's workers and peasants against a brutal, U.S.-installed dictatorship.

The Sandinista government has adopted a foreign policy that takes as its starting point solidarity with the oppressed and exploited of the world, not the dictates of the White House, Wall Street, and the Pentagon.

Many U.S. capitalist politicians raised a hue and cry when Nicaragua's president, Daniel Ortega, recently went to the Soviet Union and other workers states, as well as several imperialist European nations, to get aid and trade.

On his return, Ortega responded to these arrogant statements: "Our country is a sovereign country. I had not heard that we had become one more state of the United States. Only then would we have been obliged to ask permission from the U.S. president or Congress . . . to visit Moscow, Brasília [Brazil], Paris, or Rome. Nicaragua is not a U.S. colony. It ceased being a U.S. colony in 1979. . . ."

When Democrats and Republicans say Nicaragua is a threat to U.S. national security, what they mean is that the example of a country long dominated by U.S. imperialism declaring itself free and independent of Uncle Sam — instead of crying "uncle" as Reagan demands — is an inspiration and example to other victims of imperialism the world over. It's this that threatens the profits and profit-system of the tiny handful of superrich bankers and businessmen who run the United States and dominate much of the rest of the globe.

Ortega labeled the Senate approval of contra aid "a vote in favor of crimes against the Nicaraguan people." It was, he said, "a slap not only for the people of Nicaragua, but also for the peoples of Latin America and of the United States itself."

Opponents of the U.S.-directed war against Nicaragua should take the approval of more aid to the contras as a signal to redouble our efforts to organize protest activities in the fall (see page 3 story) to get out the truth about the war Washington is organizing in Central America.

We should also redouble efforts to organize more tours to Nicaragua of unionists, working farmers, Blacks, Latinos, women, and students so they can see for themselves why the people of Nicaragua are so determined to defend their government and their revolution. The Sandinista Workers Federation of Nicaragua has launched an international call for solidarity which also deserves the support of U.S. working people.

U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

Abortion rights — we've been quiet too long

On June 8, I attended an abortion rights demonstration at St. Patrick's Cathedral here in New York City. It was one of 14 similar actions called by the National Organization for Women (NOW) that took place in cities across the country to protest the activities of the Catholic church hierarchy in opposition to abortion rights.

Despite weakness in the call for the actions — for example, the exclusive focus on the Church hierarchy, let-



WOMEN IN REVOLT

Pat Grogan

ting the government off the hook — the thing that struck me the most at the action was the deep feeling among the women there that we had to stand up and fight back.

"It feels so damn good to be *doing* something," one woman told me. Others said, "It's about time"; "We've let them [opponents of abortion rights] have the field"; "We've been quiet too long"; and "We've got to get out there and stay out there."

Many of the speakers reminded the rally of what women suffered before we won legalized abortion in

1973. They recounted the maiming, the deaths, the psychological damage, as well as the deep demoralization women suffer when they lose control over their lives because they can't control whether or not to have a child.

Many of the women at the demonstration were young and grew up after the struggle to legalize abortion was won. But they understood clearly what a precious right legal abortion is, and that it has to be defended.

This was no mealy-mouthed, "Yes, abortion is terrible, but it's a necessary evil," apologetic appeal.

It was an angry demonstration of women saying loudly and clearly, "Abortion is our right. We need it to be free. We'll fight for it."

At one point on the march, we passed a picket line of striking hotel workers, mostly Black and Latino men. Some of the women were surprised when the strikers raised their fists in solidarity and joined in the chants of, "Save women's lives."

But there was no reason to be surprised. Support for women's equality and legal abortion rights has broad support among working people. And there is an awareness of kinship and solidarity among working people who are fighting for their rights.

These actions were modest. But like the January 22 vigils at abortion clinics and the speak-outs on abortion rights organized by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) and supported by NOW, educational campaigns, debates, and articles defending abortion as a woman's right, they represent an important step forward.

They represent a shift from the do-nothing policy of the NOW national leadership during the presidential elections, when the fight for women's rights was completely subordinated to electioneering for capitalist party candidates. This meant in practice that the rising violence against abortion clinics, and the barrage of propaganda against abortion rights, went unanswered.

These actions reflect widespread support by women's rights fighters for the need to mobilize to defend abortion rights.

The 1985 National NOW Conference will be held July 19-21 in New Orleans. It will be an important opportunity to come together to discuss how to advance the struggle for abortion rights and other crucial questions such as affirmative action, violence against women, pay equity, and sexual harassment.

In many cities, NOW chapters and individual members have also been active in antiwar and anti-apartheid activities. Many NOW members have been to Nicaragua and have seen for themselves the advances being made by women through the Sandinista revolution. Many NOW chapters have organized educational programs on why feminists should oppose the U.S. war drive in Central America. This will also be a rich discussion at the New Orleans conference.

For women's rights activists, unionists, fighters for the rights of Blacks and Latinos, and antiwar and anti-apartheid fighters, this conference will be an important opportunity. For more information on the conference, contact your local NOW chapter or write: 1985 National NOW Conference, P.O. Box 7813, Washington, D.C. 20044.

INS assaults hunger strikers at detention center

BY FRANCISCO PICADO
AND DEREK BRACEY

LOS ANGELES — On Monday, May 27, some 300 undocumented workers and Salvadoran and Guatemalan political refugees began a hunger strike to protest the conditions at the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) detention center at El Centro, California. El Centro, a men's prison, holds some 500 detainees. Women and children are kept in similar facilities nearby.

While the majority of the strikers were Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees and undocumented Mexican workers, Chinese, Haitians, Indians, Colombians, Nicaraguans, and African undocumented workers also participated in the strike.

The strikers were demanding that the INS respect human rights and end abuses by guards. This includes their beating of detainees and the locking up in isolation cells those workers who exercise their democratic right not to sign voluntary departure forms (in which they agree to forego a hearing and thus are deported immediately). The strikers demanded the release of one prisoner, Leopoldo Cusul, a Salvadoran who had developed emotional problems as a result of being kept in isolation.

Demands also included the right to receive free legal services to prepare cases for immigration hearings. They also demanded more doctors and adequate medical care. Presently medical assistance does not even include giving aspirins. The prisoners demanded better food and respect for religious beliefs, in particular the right of prisoners from India to receive food that does not violate their religion.

The strikers also demanded the right to personal hygiene, to receive underwear, to get their clothes washed without paying, and to have more than two hours a day for the 500 prisoners to bathe. The strikers demanded the right to stay indoors. Currently they are forced to leave the barracks at 6 a.m. and remain outdoors until 8 p.m. regardless of weather conditions.

Finally, they demanded the right to read and write. Under current conditions prisoners get paper and pencil for only two hours a day, the same two hours they have for bathing.

INS commissioner for the western region, Howard Ezell, issued a statement dismissing the strike as no more than an attempt by a small special interest group to make a political statement serving its interest and opposing the position of the United States in Central America.

Although the hunger strike was initiated by the detainees at El Centro, Ezell has accused the Immigration Project of Imperial Valley (IPVI) and El Rescate, two organizations that defend undocumented workers and have organized solidarity actions for the strikers, with responsibility for the protest. In an attempt to intimidate these organizations, he has threatened legal action against them.

This is not the first time the detainees at El Centro have protested their inhuman treatment at the hands of the INS. In 1984, 12 workers went on a hunger strike. In that case it was only public outcry that forced the INS to finally grant some concessions.

The true face of the INS as a racist repressive apparatus was exposed on May 30, the third day of the strike. One hundred guards with antiriot equipment assaulted the strikers outside the barracks, beat them brutally, and forced them back into the barracks.

After the beating, some of those identified as leaders were tortured for five hours, others were handcuffed and stretched out face down for five and a half hours. Some, as in the case of José Flores, were beaten and confined in an isolation cell. When Flores asked why they were doing that to him, the guards, who had re-

moved their identification badges, said, "Orders from the infirmary."

At least two strikers are in grave condition. The detainees have demanded the intervention of the International Red Cross since they are political refugees.

A coalition of organizations to defend the rights of the undocumented, which includes Los Angeles Legal Aid, the American Civil Liberties Union, El Centro for Central American Refugees, as well as the IPVI and El Rescate, obtained a federal court order to force the INS to inform the lawyers and families of the whereabouts of 53 undocumented workers transferred from El Centro as part of the effort to break the strike.

Despite the repressive action, eight prisoners continued the strike until June 3, when they were freed after clergy in El Centro deposited a \$28,750 bond.

At a well-attended press conference in Los Angeles, the eight freed strikers explained that they would be touring the country to get out the truth about the conditions in El Centro.

A fight is now being waged to free the 47 other strikers. Contributions to aid this fight can be sent to the Hunger Strikers, El Centro, Desert Valley, Federal Credit Union, 497 S 4 Street, El Centro, California 92243.

LETTERS

Conductor

While reading the *Militant* on a recent cross-country trip by AMTRAK, I had a chance to speak with the train conductor, who became interested in Louise Goodman's article "Rail carriers arrogantly demand new concessions from workers" in the May 31, 1985, issue.

As a member of the United Transportation Union, he told me he was among those workers waiting for the results of contract negotiations described in the article, and the issue of back pay — which may or may not be granted — was uppermost in his mind.

I offered him the issue to read, and asked that he give me his impressions of it when he had finished. His experience tallied point for point with what Goodman outlined. Among his observations:

- Concessions are the name of the game with the rail union; the big companies have the money to buy anything they want from top union officials.

- Crew reductions are standard operating procedure; trains that

once operated with crews of five now run with three members, and three-person crews are now reduced to one worker.

- Crew members, to his knowledge, had not had a raise since 1981.

- Job descriptions for those crew members who remained had increased unreasonably, with the addition of more duties than one person could competently handle while attending to basic safety.

In his opinion, the handwriting for organized labor has been on the wall since Reagan's successful attack against the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, and he wanted to urge other members of the United Transportation Union to "get to work" or there won't be anything left to save. He saw the pattern in what was happening with the UTU negotiations being followed in other industries, and he cited the present situation of United Airlines pilots and United Auto Workers at AMC's Kenosha plant as further examples of the threat to working people everywhere.

The conductor was so im-

pressed by the issue that he wanted to pass it on to another member of his crew, who said he would read it from cover to cover and was interested to know where he could get a copy in his local area.

As a new member of the Young Socialist Alliance — I had joined only the day before — I was deeply impressed by this experience. It was a clear demonstration of the fact that the *Militant* does tell the truth about working people's situations, and that it provides an excellent tool for sharing ideas.

Rebecca Lee Garnett
Columbia, Missouri

U.S. bullies Mexico

As a Mexican immigrant who is currently facing deportation because of my opposition to the U.S. war in Central America, my defense of trade union rights, and my membership in the Socialist Workers party, I'd like to express my great appreciation for your editorial "End U.S. bullying of Mexico" in the April 19 issue of the *Militant*.

The current racist campaign of the U.S. against Mexico is indeed

aimed at forcing Mexico to break from its stance against U.S. intervention in Central America. But in the last century and a half, Mexicans have confronted more than a few U.S. invasions and conspiracies aimed at imposing the U.S. imperialists' will over our people. As a Mexican, I can speak of the profound pride my people have in our historical heritage of struggle against the imperialist enslavers, and of our profound identification with and defense of peoples in struggle for their liberation. Racist bullying by the U.S. government will not get rid of such traditions and spirit of struggle.

Since Mexico is the second largest debtor nation in the semicolonial world, this racist campaign is also aimed at pressuring the Mexican government into implementing the brutal austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund and other imperialist banks. This is to further deepen their plunder of my native land.

It is this plunder and robbery by the imperialists that has created the poverty and misery that has

forced many workers to leave their homelands and come to the United States. Here we confront the imperialists' racist anti-immigrant propaganda.

The U.S. imperialists talk about "criminals" and "bandits" in Mexico. But they are the number one criminal not only in Mexico but around the world.

They have committed unspeakable crimes against humankind in defense of their profits.

Héctor Marroquín
Jersey City, New Jersey

Correction

In the June 14 issue of the *Militant* Wendy Lyons was given an incorrect author identification. She is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 63 New York Joint Board.

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.

UMW hits slander in Massey strike

BY JOAN RADIN

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The United Mine Workers (UMW) is denouncing slanders that the union is responsible for violence in its eight-and-a-half monthlong strike against the A.T. Massey Coal Co.

More than 2,000 UMW members in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky have been on strike against Massey since Oct. 1, 1984, when the company refused to sign the national contract the union had negotiated with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Several Massey operations are now being run by scab labor.

In a widely reported press conference May 30, company president E. Morgan Massey announced that Massey Coal was immediately breaking off contract talks with the UMW "until the union leadership assumes its responsibilities and orders an end to the violence." Massey was referring to the fatal shooting the day before of a scab coal hauler employed by Samoyed Energy in eastern Kentucky. Massey announced a \$10,000 reward for information about the shooting. The company has run full-page ads, titled "Citizens Against Murder," in coalfield papers, urging contributions to this antiunion reward fund.

No arrests have been made in the shooting, nor have Massey or the cops produced a shred of evidence implicating any union member.

UMW Pres. Richard Trumka called Massey's violence-baiting part of a "propaganda war" against the union. It is Massey, Trumka explained, that is encouraging violence in the coalfields. "I don't have paramilitary mercenaries who carry weapons," he pointed out, referring to Massey's hired-gun thugs terrorizing strikers and their families.

Trumka said that contract negotiations between the company and the union have not been suspended. According to union spokespeople, all major contract issues were resolved at the negotiating table in late April, but Massey continues to drag out the talks.



A.T. Massey's company thugs (left), in riot gear and armed, form a private army attacking striking miners (right) in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky.

UMW members and their families are being victimized. As UMW District 17 president Bob Phalen explained in a radio talk June 4, it is Massey that is responsible for creating "the atmosphere of fear, violence and intimidation" in the coalfields. Since the strike began, hundreds of union supporters have been thrown in jail for the crime of peacefully demonstrating their support for striking UMW brothers and sisters. The miners have faced automatic weapons, helicopters, and battalions of cops in riot gear. As one striker remarked, "It's just like El Salvador out there."

Entire communities have faced military style occupation by company gun thugs who have followed miners' wives and children as they tried to make their way to the school bus or take out the garbage. Several strikers have been hospitalized after being run over by scab coal haulers.

In Williamson, West Virginia, just three days after Massey's press conference, nine shots were fired into the bedroom window of UMW Local 1440 president Bill Davis. Fortunately he was sleeping in another room. On the same day, gunfire ripped through the windows of a roadside market

in Pike County, Kentucky, where union miners are known to congregate. The market's owner — like scores of small merchants in the coalfields — has displayed prounion signs. Fortunately, in this case too the bullets missed the intended victims.

But many miners believe the company-inspired violence will escalate. In past weeks Massey spokesmen have continually told reporters that they were "dissatisfied with the job state police have done in protecting property." Many union miners view this as a direct threat of more brutal cop action against strikers.

On June 6, five U.S. congressmen — all Democrats from West Virginia and Kentucky — called for "active and intensive congressional monitoring" of the strike-related events in the coalfields. Union miners hold a variety of views about whether they will get a fair shake from a government inquiry.

Massey is the nation's fifth largest coal producer and is owned by Royal Dutch Shell and the Fluor Corp. Fluor is the nation's largest construction company and has extensive holdings in South Africa. One aspect of the strike has been increased UMW involvement in the growing protests against U.S. support to South African apartheid.

Massey is widely viewed by Appalachian miners as the point man for all the coal operators, paving the way for an industry-wide assault on the UMW in 1988 when the current BCOA contract expires. "If Massey gets away with this it will be Peabody and Consol [Consolidation Coal Co.] next time," many strikers say. Peabody and Consol are the number one and number two coal operators in the country.

Unionists across the country and other opponents of South African apartheid have a particular stake in answering the violence-baiting against the UMW and extending solidarity to the striking miners.

Joan Radin is a member of UMW Local 2271 at Sundial, West Virginia.

Denver forum discusses farm-labor alliance

BY MIKE CHAMBERLAIN

DENVER — Speaking at a Militant Forum here on June 8 were Darrell Ringer, a director of the North American Farm Alliance; Jerry Griffin, a representative of the American Agriculture Movement; and John Gaige, National Farm Organizer for the Socialist Workers Party.

Ringer announced an important victory in the dropping of felony charges against himself, his wife Margaret, and Kansas farmer David Jensen. The three had been charged in connection with a February 1985 farm foreclosure protest in Gove, Kansas, which successfully stopped the auction of the Jensen farm. These felony charges included theft, battery, criminal destruction of property, and incitement to riot.

The presiding judge dropped all felony charges against the farm activists at a May 28 hearing. The judge's ruling followed testimony by two prosecution witnesses who flatly contradicted one another as to what had actually happened that day at the Gove County Courthouse.

Ringer felt that another factor in the judge's decision was pressure from a grand jury investigation convoked by area farmers. A little known clause in Kansas law allows 100 citizens plus 2 percent of those who had voted in the last election to convene a grand jury.

"The Citizens State Bank will be looked into for fraud and tampering with documents," Ringer said. "Officials of the Federal Land Bank and county sheriffs will also be ordered to testify. We'll make them take the stand and lie."

These farm activists still face misdemeanor charges in connection with the Gove protests and will need continued support. (Contributions and letters of support can be sent to the Ringer-Jensen Family Farm Justice Committee, 1840 Biltmore St., NW, Suite 9, Washington, D.C. 20009.)

"Farmers aren't looking for a handout, just a fair price," Jerry Griffin said. "We're asking for a parity price at the marketplace, which is the same as labor asking for a fair wage in your union contracts."

"Next month we're going to have a Parity Train. It will start out in California and

pick up farmers and laborers along the way." He explained that the train plans would be finalized at an AAM delegates' meeting over the June 9-10 weekend.

"We need more coalitions and forums like this one tonight. And I want to invite you all to go on the Parity Train," he concluded.

Ringer in his presentation had pointed to Central America as a source of lessons for U.S. farmers. He noted that Reagan supports the government of El Salvador "where 13 families control the whole shooting match." And regarding Nicaragua, he said, "The people of the United

States can stop Reagan from entering Nicaragua. The people are the only thing that has stopped Reagan from going in so far."

John Gaige concluded the forum. He explained that "the struggle for the land by American farmers is a gigantic battle with high stakes for everyone. Farmers are up against the bankers, real estate sharks, and grain monopolies, and two great gangs of political speculators — the Republicans and Democrats, who alternately take turns running the U.S. government in the interests of a wealthy few, through totally corrupt means."

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S. Africa attacks Botswana, Angola

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

South African commandos launched a predawn attack June 14 on Garborone, the capital of Botswana, South Africa's neighboring country to the north. The attack left 16 people dead, including a six-year-old girl.

Two days later, South African cops and soldiers used tear gas and rubber bullets against 4,000 Blacks as they were leaving a Soweto, South Africa, church. The church was the site of a service commemorating the ninth anniversary of the beginning of an uprising by the Black majority of South Africa, which began in Soweto. The South African cops killed hundreds of Blacks in that massive rebellion of 1976.

South Africa claims that its troops crossed into Botswana to attack a camp of the

African National Congress of South Africa, the main freedom organization fighting the apartheid regime. The regime announced that it will continue to carry out attacks against Botswana unless its government expels all members of the ANC from its territory.

Under the guise of searching for members of the ANC and South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO, a group fighting for the independence of Namibia from South Africa), the South Africa government has for years carried out military operations and economic sabotage against the Black-ruled countries of southern Africa. A year ago, the apartheid regime signed agreements with some of these countries, claiming it would end its attacks against them. This was part of South Af-

rica's efforts to improve its international image.

However, the attack on Garborone is the second attack by South African troops in the region in less than one month. It signals a return to more aggressive policies of military intervention, whatever its impact abroad. A South African general later said the raid had been "very carefully debated and thought out," taking into account likely international protests.

The first of the two attacks occurred on May 21 when South African commandos were stopped by Angolan security forces. The commandos were caught in an attempt to blow up the Gulf Oil refinery and oil storage tanks in Cabinda Province of Angola. At that time South Africa claimed

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