

N.Y. Black unionists: 'Free South Africa!'

BY RASHAAD ALI

NEW YORK — Black trade unionists are taking the lead in bringing the power of the labor movement to bear in the fight to break all U.S. ties with South African apartheid. This was evident at the Free Africa Conference sponsored by the New York City chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and the New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid (LCAA).

Support for the October 11 National Anti-apartheid Protest Day, which will be marked by protests on campuses and in cities across the country, was a prominent part of the conference.

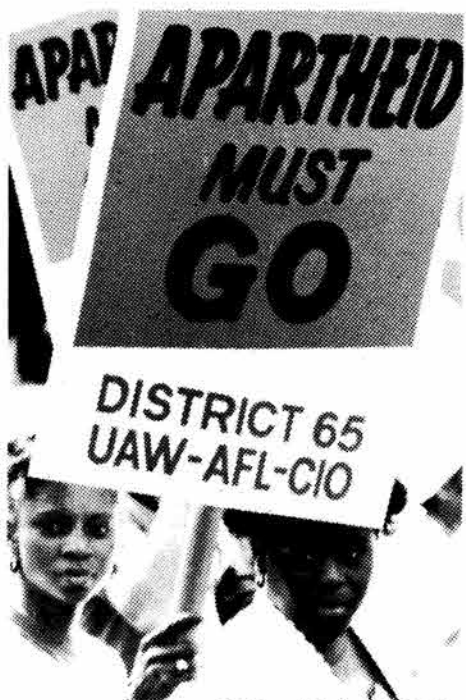
And the unionists were encouraged to join the newly formed New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council. This umbrella organization was formed after the successful August 13 protest here of 30,000 against apartheid led by the unions.

The all-day Free Africa Conference was held on September 21 at the headquarters of District 65 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in Manhattan.

Half of the 276 unionists present were women. The overwhelming majority of participants were Black. They included union officials and rank-and-file members.

Most were from various locals of the American Federation of State, County and

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Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Clerical workers gain in Bath strike

BY JOHN STUDER

BATH, Me. — Clerical workers at the Bath Iron Works (BIW) voted to accept a new contract and returned to work September 23. More than 4,500 production workers at the shipyard remain on strike.

After 22 hard weeks on the picket line — the longest strike in the 151-year history of the company — the clerks voted 4-1 to sign the contract. Numbering more than 300, the clerks are members of Local 7 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

The production workers, who have been out since May 15, are members of Local 6 of the same union. While settling with the clerks, the company refused to schedule further negotiations with the production workers.

The company had forced the clerks on strike by demanding deep concessions, in-

Earthquake and debt devastate Mexico

Nicaraguans mobilize in solidarity

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan people are giving their blood daily in the struggle to defend their country from U.S.-organized aggression. Yet in response to an appeal from Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, the offices of the Red Cross here have been filled to overflowing by Nicaraguans volunteering to donate blood to the victims of the recent earthquakes in Mexico.

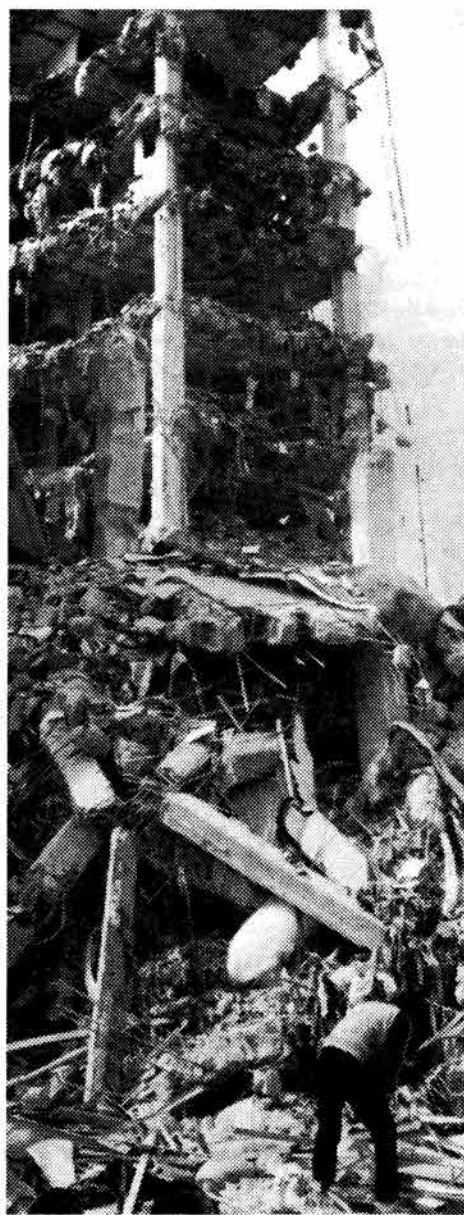
[On September 24, the United Nations General Assembly, on Nicaragua's initiative, passed a resolution calling for "a demonstration of international solidarity and humanitarian concern" for Mexico, and urging all countries to contribute to relief and reconstruction efforts.]

Despite the critical need for doctors and medical supplies here, Nicaragua has rushed a brigade of 12 doctors, two nurses, and four health-care workers to Mexico City. It is headed by Nicaraguan Vice-Foreign Minister Víctor Hugo Tinoco.

The brigade is named after Aracely Pérez Darias, a Mexican woman who fell in combat fighting with the Sandinistas in their struggle to overthrow the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza.

The campaign to pledge blood began here September 21. Nicaragua's minister of health, Dora María Tellez, and the general secretary of the Sandinista Defense Committees, Leticia Herrera, led off the donations.

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Mexican garment factory destroyed in earthquake.

Cuba calls for cancelling debt

BY HÉCTOR MARROQUÍN

Saying that the recent earthquakes that devastated Mexico should be treated not as a national disaster, but an international one, Cuban President Fidel Castro called on the imperialist nations to cancel collection of Mexico's foreign debt.

The Cuban president made his remarks in Havana at the closing session of the Latin American Press Forum on the region's economic crisis.

In light of the September 19 earthquake, the demand to cancel collection of Mexico's debt will be the focus of the continentwide actions set for October 23. These actions against Latin America's foreign debt were called by the Latin American and Caribbean Trade Union Conference. This conference, held in Havana, Cuba, July 15 to 18, discussed the economic crisis in the region.

Mexico has the second largest debt in the world — it is currently nearly \$100 billion. Although Mexico has paid \$52.5 billion to the imperialist banks in the last five years, its debt continues to grow. Under its latest agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the organization of imperialist bankers, Mexico will pay at least another \$50 billion in interest on the debt in the next five years.

Cancelling collection of Mexico's debt even for one year would add some \$12 billion to its budget. It would provide funds that can be used to begin the reconstruction

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S. Africa wages war on Angola, Mozambique

BY FRED FELDMAN

The racist South African regime has stepped up its aggression against the neighboring Black-ruled states of Angola and Mozambique.

However, in the context of the deepening revolt of South Africa's Black majority, the Angolan and Mozambican governments are making some headway against South Africa's military moves.

General Magnus Malan, South Africa's war minister, warned September 23 that

South African military attacks on Angola might be escalated. He demanded that Angolan forces stop closing in on rightist strongholds in southern Angola.

These armed bands are backed by both the apartheid regime and Washington.

A week earlier the South African government announced it had sent troops into Angola. It claimed to have withdrawn them September 22, but there has been no reported confirmation of this from the Angolan side.

At the time the troops went in, South African officials claimed the targets were Namibian liberation fighters.

Namibia, which is occupied and ruled as a colony by Pretoria, has a common border with Angola. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) has been fighting to free Namibia from South African rule.

The evidence indicates, however, that the invaders were actually coming to the aid of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a terrorist gang which has been seeking to topple the Angolan government since the country won independence from Portugal in 1975.

Between them, South African forces and UNITA bands have been responsible for the deaths of more than 10,000 Angolans.

The Angolan government revealed that South African planes carried out air strikes against Angolan troops closing in on UNITA's headquarters in southern Angola.

On September 20 General Malan admitted that the South African government has long provided aid "of a material, humanitarian, and moral nature" to UNITA. For years South Africa has denied aiding UNITA.

"As far as Angola is concerned, we have reached a watershed," he warned. He called on the U.S. and other imperialist governments to stand with the South African rulers and UNITA against Angola.

Top South African diplomats went to Washington September 23 for talks on Angola.

Washington has mildly criticized the latest South African attack on Angola.

But South African President Pieter Botha and General Malan have reason to hope for a favorable response to appeals for stepped-up covert support from Washington.

Washington has long relied on the apartheid regime as a cop for the interests of big business in southern Africa. Malan reminded Washington of this role: "Through our connections with UNITA we maintain the interests of the free world on our sub-continent."

When the peoples of Angola and Mozambique were fighting for independence from Portugal, Washington helped bankroll the brutal colonial war waged by the Portuguese imperialists.

Portugal was forced to withdraw in November 1975, leaving the central government in the hands of the People's Move-

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Miami socialists win right to sell papers at airport

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI — Supporters of the *Militant* newspaper here won an important victory when officials of the Dade County Aviation Depart-

city.

Interest in the paper was boosted by the contract fights at Eastern and the strike at Pan American. The *Militant's*

ers at Eastern.

Since they work staggered shifts, 24 hours a day, there were never more than 25-40 workers coming out at any one shift change. However, we regularly sold from three to five papers to these workers.

Since they work so many different shifts we could always find a shift to sell to regardless of our own work schedules.

These sales were cut off when Dade County Police stopped and harassed a sales team. They refused to recognize our First Amendment right to free speech or the right of workers to buy the *Militant*. They issued a "warning citation for trespass," and said that they would arrest the salespeople

if they found them anywhere on the airport grounds for any reason again.

We contacted the American Civil Liberties Union and obtained an attorney to pursue this fight. At first, airport officials insisted that we had no right to distribute literature at all. But after several months of pressuring them, they backed down and granted the permit.

The permit authorizes teams of two people to distribute literature at seven sites that we selected. Four of these are entrances to the passenger terminal where employee shuttle buses stop, two are sidewalk entrances to the Pan Am maintenance facility, and one is a short strip of sidewalk between an

Eastern Airlines employee parking lot and the employee entrance at Eastern's part of the passenger terminal.

All these locations are well within the airport grounds. The permit is good 24 hours a day. It specifically authorizes free distribution of literature, but we are also allowed to accept contributions for the paper.

We have now established regular sales teams. South Africa and the strikes at Wheeling-Pittsburgh and Massey Coal are the most popular topics of discussion with airport workers. We are also publicizing my campaign for mayor of Miami on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, as well as an upcoming anti-apartheid demonstration here.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

ment, which runs Miami International Airport, granted us a permit to distribute literature at the airport.

Militant and *Perspectiva Mundial* teams sold regularly at the airport from January until mid-March. They have been among our best sales at worksites in this

firsthand coverage of these fights won the respect of many workers. We sold dozens of copies of issues with this coverage.

We had focused our sales on reaching members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) who work as mechanics, cleaners, and ramp service work-

Fla. socialist campaign fights gov't harassment

BY HAROLD MANNING

MIAMI — Harvey McArthur, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Miami, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a suit in federal court on September 13. Their aim is to prevent City of Miami and Florida state officials from requiring the Socialist Workers campaign to disclose names and addresses of contributors and recipients of campaign funds.

"This suit aims to protect our supporters from harassment by the police, the FBI, and the Ku Klux Klan and other right-wing terrorists," said McArthur in a press statement.

McArthur filed an affidavit documenting attacks on SWP members. These included being fired from jobs for political reasons, police spying on and disruption of meetings, police harassment of socialists distributing literature on public streets, the June 1983 firebombing of Socialist Workers offices here, and death threats from the Ku Klux Klan and right-wing Cubans.

McArthur pointed out that other victims of political harassment also have a stake in this fight. "The police and Community Relations Board spy on and disrupt antiwar groups," he told the press. "Haitians are attacked by agents of the Duvalier dictatorship that operate in Miami. Abortion clinics are harassed and bombed. And during the trial of killer cop Luis Alvarez, the Black community here suffered South Africa-style police occupation and roundups."

"A victory for the Socialist Workers Party will be a victory for all these victims of political repression," he said.

Florida laws require all candidates to file periodic reports disclosing the name and address of every contributor, no matter how small the contribution. Likewise, anyone who receives campaign funds, who loans money to the campaign, or who organizes a campaign fundraiser must report their name and address. This would include, for example, any worker who in-

vites a few friends over to meet the candidate.

The law also gives the government unrestricted access to all records kept by the campaign treasurer and all bank records of the campaign account.

The suit, filed by ACLU attorney Stephen Maher, seeks to exempt the Socialist Workers campaign from all record-keeping and disclosure requirements and to deny the government access to any records kept by the campaign and the bank.

In a press statement on filing the suit, Steve Forester, legal director of the Greater Miami ACLU, said, "Because of its radical views in opposition to the existing economic and social system, the SWP and its members, supporters, and persons associated with or identified with it, have been subjected to sweeping and systematic government harassment and surveillance for a period of nearly 30 years, up to and including the present. . . . Enforcement [of the disclosure requirements] will therefore have a chilling effect on the exercise of Plaintiffs' constitutional rights and will seriously infringe on Plaintiffs' rights to freedom of speech and association, to privacy, to privacy of association and belief. . . ."

This fight began in 1983, when the Socialist Workers Party ran Jackie Floyd for mayor of Miami. Floyd, a Black garment worker from Overtown, spoke out for the oppressed and exploited in south Florida. She denounced killer cop Luis Alvarez and the U.S. government's invasion of Grenada in October 1983. She was herself a victim of a political firing by the City of Miami for visiting revolutionary Grenada in March 1983.

Floyd refused to hand over names of her campaign supporters. She cited the record of victimization in South Florida, as well as the 1982 U.S. Supreme Court decision exempting the Socialist Workers campaign from disclosure requirements.

However, Miami and Florida officials ignored the facts and demanded the names.

Miami City Clerk Ralph Ongie filed a complaint with the Florida Elections Commission in October 1983. The commission launched an investigation into the Socialist Workers campaign. Documents made available to the SWP show that the commission did not investigate the cases of harassment and victimization. It did not investigate the police or city government or their right-wing friends.

Instead, the commission went behind the backs of the SWP to secretly obtain copies

of bank records of the 1983 campaign. These records identify some campaign supporters.

It then found Jackie Floyd guilty of not handing over the names of her supporters. In April 1985 it ordered her to pay a \$600 fine. The SWP is appealing this ruling.

"The suit and the political campaign we launched today will help us beat back this attack and protect the political and democratic rights of our campaign supporters and other antiwar, anti-apartheid, and trade union activists," said McArthur.

'Kanak' are with S. African people'

BY MARLA PUZISS

BALTIMORE — "As Kanak people we are with the South African people. We belong to the same blood — the blood of the exploited and oppressed peoples of the world," stated Susanna Ounei, a leader of the independence movement which seeks to free the South Pacific island nation of New Caledonia from French colonial rule.

Ounei blasted the hypocrisy of the French government which proclaims its opposition to South African apartheid while continuing to steal the land and mineral riches of the native Kanak people and to deny them basic human rights.

The island's richest farmland is owned by the white settlers, and in the capital city of Nouméa, armed gangs of settlers terrorize Kanaks who dare to venture outside after dark.

The links between the anti-apartheid struggle and the Kanak liberation struggle were drawn repeatedly during Ounei's September 9 visit to Baltimore as part of a national speaking tour. As she explained, "New Caledonia is the apartheid of the Pacific."

Two meetings were held for Ounei at Morgan State University, whose student

body is overwhelmingly Black. These included several South African students, as well as other students and activists in the local anti-apartheid movement.

At the evening meeting, representatives of the Baltimore NAACP; National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP); Baltimore Peace, Jobs and Justice Coalition; and Morgan State University International Students Association spoke briefly. They expressed their support for the independence movement led by the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), which Ounei is a leader of.

Ken Morgan, local co-chair of the NBIPP, urged participants to use the October 11 national anti-apartheid actions as a vehicle for defending the Kanak struggle against French colonialism.

"A victory for the Kanak people is a victory for the freedom struggle in South Africa," he said.

A representative of Pathfinder Press, which distributes Ounei's pamphlet *For Kanak Independence, the Fight against French Rule in New Caledonia*, also spoke.

Ounei was interviewed by UPI as well as by WEAA, the popular Morgan State University radio station.

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Minn. Hormel strikers seek solidarity

BY BILL ARTH

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Three members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 traveled from Austin, Minnesota, to address a Militant Forum here on September 15. Larry Gullickson, Lynn Houston, and Pete Kennedy described the issues in their strike against Hormel, as well as UFCW Local P-9's strategy to win support for their struggle.

The key issues in the strike include wages, seniority rights, working conditions, speed-up, restoration of paid holidays, and no two-tier wage system.

The company is proposing to start newly hired workers at \$7.50 an hour with no benefits and is demanding the right to fire them at will.

Hormel is offering \$10 per hour base pay — 69 cents less than the rate that existed in October 1984 when Hormel unilaterally slashed wages from \$10.69 to \$8.25.

Gullickson reviewed the final contract offer from Hormel.

"There has been a lot of misconceptions on why we turned down \$10 an hour. It wasn't \$10 we were turning down, it was where they gutted and raped our contract. They took everything they could possibly take that has been built up over the last 50 years in the labor movement," he said.

Lynn Houston, vice-president of Local P-9, described the efforts of P-9 to reach out to other unionists.

The local recently organized a caravan that traveled to Beloit, Wisconsin, where Hormel has a plant.

From Beloit, the caravan went on to visit workers at the FDL Foods plant in Dubuque, Iowa. They then proceeded to Ottumwa, Iowa, where 400 P-9 members held an open-air meeting at the city park with several hundred workers from Hormel's Ottumwa plant.

The caravan visited Fremont, Nebraska, where Hormel has another plant, as well as Duluth and the Iron Range in Minnesota. They then returned to Ottumwa for a meeting with officials from the UFCW International and rank and file union members.

In order to win support, P-9 has formed a "Communications Committee" made up of 20 rank and file union members to explain their strike to anyone willing to listen.

In addition to the Militant Forum, P-9 representatives spoke to the Marketplace Forum, a weekly program in St. Paul's Black community. They have also spoken before churches and other community meetings.

P-9 has also been sending representatives to meetings of other union locals. Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 6-662, which organizes workers at the Koch refinery, recently passed a resolution of support and donated money to the strike fund after hearing a P-9 speaker. International Association of Machinists.

Hormel has attempted to stem the growing support for P-9 by obtaining a ruling from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) against the union's "corporate campaign." The local's efforts to expose First Bank — one of Hormel's chief stockholders and creditors — constitutes an illegal "secondary boycott," according to the company. The labor relations board and Hormel just won a court injunction against P-9 holding demonstrations outside the banks.

P-9 President Jim Guyette said that Hormel would not succeed in stopping P-9 from doing things "that every American citizen can do."

P-9 continued its campaign against the bank with a picket line of 50 workers outside the Valley National Bank in Des Moines and with a demonstration of 500



Striking Hormel meatpackers and supporters demonstrate outside First Bank in St. Paul, Minnesota.

outside First Bank in St. Paul.

After picketing First Bank for about three hours, the strikers split into two groups. One group went to express solidarity with striking members of International Association of Machinists Local 459 by joining their picket line at Union Brass; the other group picketed the NLRB offices in the Federal Courts Building in Minneapolis. They chanted "N-L-R-B works

for the company!"

In addition to the strike by 1,500 UFCW members against Hormel, 2,500 workers struck the John Morrell plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, on September 1.

Workers and bosses throughout the meatpacking industry are looking to the results of the struggle at Hormel to set a pattern for the industry. This has strengthened the determination of P-9 members to win.

S. Africa supplement in Spanish spurs sales

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Perspectiva Mundial, the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*, recently published a special supplement on the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Orders for the new supplement were close to 11,000 before it even got off the press. Socialists around the country report that the *PM* supplement, like the *Militant* supplement published the previous week, is a good way to introduce people to the socialist press.

Socialists in New Jersey used the *PM* supplement as the way to introduce work-

ers in the Ironbound section of Newark to the *Militant* and *PM*.

Although this was the first time sales teams went to Ironbound, 11 *PM*s were sold there.

Four Portuguese workers who find it easier to read in Spanish than English were among those who bought the paper. The team of two also sold 17 *Militants*. The Ironbound team helped New Jersey socialists sell 444 papers — 391 *Militants* and 53 *PM*s — this week.

Socialists in San Jose, California, have begun to sell *PM* at soccer games in that city. The majority of people who go to these games are from Mexico and other Latin American countries, so interest in the debt crisis in Latin America is high.

Socialists bring a banner that reads "Cancel the debt of all Latin America" and placards such as "Raza Si, Contra No" and "Embargo South Africa, not Nicaragua."

Lynda Joyce reports that at this week's game between Mexico and Peru, two salespeople sold 25 *PM*s in as many minutes.

To tell people about the socialist campaign of Phil Duzinski for mayor of Greensboro, North Carolina, socialists in that city have been organizing door-to-door sales every Saturday.

"People want to talk about what's going on, not just buy a paper," said Rich Gordon. South Africa is the biggest topic of discussion. "For example," Gordon said, "after hundreds of Black school children

were arrested by the apartheid regime there, people wanted to talk about it as well as read about it."

Greensboro socialists are taking time to talk to people. This time has paid off.

In the first week of the drive they sold 84 issues of the *Militant* and eight subscriptions. "Selling subscriptions has been real natural," Gordon said. "The struggle in South Africa is ongoing and many people want to follow it on a weekly basis."

The first week of the *Militant* and *PM* 10-week sales drive has gone very well. Socialists in Cleveland, Chicago, and Portland have decided, based on their initial experiences, to raise their weekly sales goal.

At the end of the first week, 4,147 single issues of the *Militant* and 435 copies of *PM* were sold toward a national goal of 40,000 single issues. And 139 *Militant* subscriptions, along with 12 *PM* subscriptions, have been sold toward a goal of 2,000.

Socialists have also been distributing the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

YS business manager Laura Garza reports that sales of the September YS have been great. "Nine areas sold all their copies and had to reorder more," she reported. Albany socialists, Garza said, "sold 165 YSs this month, including 40 copies at a demonstration against apartheid of 500 people."

\$125,000 fund helps 'Perspectiva'

BY FRED FELDMAN

The special supplement that *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist biweekly, published on the struggle against apartheid is the first supplement *PM* has issued in its eight-year history.

The supplement is proving to be a valuable way of reaching Spanish-speaking opponents of South African racism and involving them further in this struggle.

It highlights the kind of advances that achieving the \$125,000 Socialist Publication Fund will make possible.

Currently the fund stands at \$73,516.25 pledged and \$5,166.25 paid.

Contributions to the fund will help *Perspectiva Mundial* continue to respond quickly to political events.

There are more than 15 million Latinos in the United States. Many of them speak Spanish as their first language. They are playing an important and growing role in all the struggles of working people — from battles to defend the unions to antiwar actions to the struggles of farmers.

In addition to getting out the truth to

working people in the United States, *Perspectiva Mundial* is read in Puerto Rico, as well as many other Latin American countries.

Putting out a publication like *Perspectiva Mundial* takes money — and that money comes from working people like the readers of the *Militant*.

The Socialist Publication Fund will help *Perspectiva Mundial* — along with the *Militant*, *Intercontinental Press*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Pathfinder Press* books — score further advances.

During the fall, Socialist Publication Fund rallies will be held in more than 40 cities. They will seek to involve *Militant* readers, and others, in efforts to meet the goal of collecting \$125,000 by November 15.

Join in the efforts of the Socialist Publication Fund. Clip the accompanying coupon and send it in with your contribution. Or make a pledge to be paid during the next several weeks.

SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #1: Totals as of Militant issue #37, PM issue #18)

Area	SINGLE ISSUES		SUBSCRIPTIONS	
	Sold this week Militant/PM	% of goal reached Militant/PM	Sold so far Militant/PM	% of goal reached Militant/PM
Atlanta	106/2	11/4	12/0	27/0
Baltimore	84/0	11/0	5/0	9/—
Birmingham	170/0	17/—	3/0	12/—
Boston	118/7	13/6	3/3	8/30
Capital District	68/0	10/0	3/0	6/0
Charleston, W. Va.	34/0	4/—	2/0	7/—
Chicago	129/21	8/7	7/0	12/0
Cincinnati	54/3	10/300	2/0	7/—
Cleveland	89/6	10/12	3/0	10/0
Dallas	111/47	10/12	1/0	2/0
Denver	48/8	7/11	6/0	12/0
Detroit	153/12	9/12	11/2	18/40
Greensboro, N.C.	84/0	13/—	8/0	27/—
Houston	169/16	10/5	5/0	8/0
Kansas City	106/5	13/20	5/0	19/0
Los Angeles	361/46	24/9	4/3	7/8
Louisville	65/0	13/—	2/0	5/—
Miami	35/2	5/4	1/0	2/0
Milwaukee	112/11	14/11	3/0	9/0
Morgantown, W. Va.	45/0	11/—	0/0	0/—
New Orleans	69/6	9/8	2/0	5/0
New York	198/57	7/6	3/0	2/0
Newark	391/53	16/10	2/0	2/0
Oakland	102/14	12/9	0/0	0/0
Philadelphia	116/15	14/10	7/0	18/0
Phoenix	70/24	10/11	3/0	10/0
Pittsburgh	68/2	8/4	1/0	3/0
Portland	82/0	10/0	0/0	0/0
Price, Utah	32/0	11/0	0/0	0/—
Salt Lake City	39/2	8/4	0/1	0/20
San Diego	56/12	11/12	3/1	9/100
San Francisco	140/14	14/4	2/0	5/0
San Jose	85/10	11/5	3/0	8/0
Seattle	105/3	11/6	2/0	4/0
St. Louis	137/0	7/—	6/0	12/—
Tidewater, Va.	49/0	14/—	0/0	0/—
Toledo	81/3	10/12	15/0	31/0
Twin Cities	97/0	6/—	0/0	0/0
Washington, D.C.	99/34	14/52	4/2	13/20
Total sold	4,147/435	11/8	139/12	8/4

South African, Nicaraguan youth to tour U.S.

There's a connection between the U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua and the democratic struggle in South Africa against apartheid.

This link will be the theme of a "Boycott South Africa not Nicaragua" tour that will begin in October.

Youth leaders from South Africa, Namibia, and Nicaragua will be touring the United States this fall. They are: Claire Mohapi of the Youth Section of the African National Congress, Monica Moshanda of the South West Africa People's Organization Youth League, and Roger Urirte, the head of the international section of the National Union of Nicaraguan Students.

The tour will start October 10 in New York City and end at the National Student Conference on South Africa and Namibia November 1-3 at Hunter College in Manhattan.

The youth leaders will be in Amherst, Massachusetts, October 14-16; Boston October 17-18; Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, October 21; Philadelphia October 22; Washington, D.C., October 23-25; Atlanta October 26-27; University of Iowa, Iowa City, October 28; and the University of Colorado at Boulder on October 29-30.

The American Committee on Africa, Nicaragua Network, Madre, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, United States Students Association, and Clergy and Laity Concerned are organizing the tour.

A second tour will follow in February with the theme "From Soweto to El Salvador" and will involve students from South Africa and El Salvador.

For more information call the American Committee on Africa at (212) 962-1210.

Kansas City anti-apartheid resolution approved

BY IZABELLA LISTOPAD

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — City council here voted 13-0 to recommend that city-financed retirement boards divest their pension funds from companies that do business with South Africa.

The resolution, passed in August, also urged the U.S. Congress to "take immediate action condemning the Republic of South



More than 2,000 people marched in Bermuda's annual Labor Day celebration. This year it centered on solidarity with Blacks in South Africa. Leading the march are (left to right) Barbara Ball, Mollie Burgess, and Betty Simmons, of the Bermuda Industrial Union (BIU); Rev. Joseph Lowery, U.S. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Ottiwell Simmons, BIU president; Evelyn Lowery, SCLC/Women; Morris Boswell, U.S. American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Ida Brangman and Gerald Brangman, founders of BIU in New Jersey.

Africa's racial apartheid policy" and to "impose available political and economic sanctions against South Africa."

The Firefighters' Pension System and the Employees' Retirement System have total assets of \$175 million, of which \$51 million is invested in South Africa-linked companies.

In a letter to the finance committee, Ernest Clark, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 500 wrote, "the [union] executive board, as well as the world community, are acknowledging the horrors of apartheid as practiced in South Africa, and we are responding by increasing isolation of that country."

Others testifying at the hearing were John Tredton of the International Association of Firefighters Local 42 and many religious and community groups.

Mickey Dean, coordinator of the Kansas City Anti-apartheid Network, said "the process showed that a very diverse segment of the population supported the resolution, and it showed the broad support in Kansas City for the struggle against apartheid."

As Rev. Mac Charles Jones, pastor of St. Stephen's Baptist Church, said, "This means there's a whole city willing to go on record ... that it is unjustifiable for us to participate in any way, shape, or form with a government that practices legalized slavery."

Irish fighter: 'Free Mandela'

George Harrison is a long-time fighter against British domination of Ireland. He sees the connection between London's support for racist South African and British occupation of Ireland.

This seemed to surprise New York Times reporter Francis X.

Clines. Harrison, Clines noted, turned up at a hearing on a new extradition agreement between the United States and Britain with two buttons on his lapel. They read: "England out of Ireland" and "Free Nelson Mandela."

Arizona: regents vote to divest

BY ANDY ENGLISH

PHOENIX — The Free South Africa Movement in Arizona won a major victory when the board of regents for the three state universities voted to divest South Africa-related stocks "as soon as possible." In a 4-to-3 vote on September 6 they decided to divest \$3.3 million worth of investments held by the university system.

Before the regents' action, representatives of several anti-apartheid, Black, and African groups appeared before the board to demand immediate divestment.

The previous week the regents' financial committee had recommended that no action be taken until general social guidelines for all university investments had been developed.

This stalling tactic was unacceptable to the anti-apartheid groups. Several large protest meetings were held during the first two weeks of classes at both the University of Arizona and Arizona State University.

This victory lays the basis for a campaign to force divestment of the over \$500 million held by the state pension fund in South Africa-related stocks.

On September 3 the Tucson City Council voted to request that its share of the state pension fund be made apartheid-free.

The Arizona Coalition Against Apartheid is planning a demonstration at the state capitol here on October 11, national anti-apartheid protest day.

This demonstration has been en-

dorsed by a broad range of groups including: Arizona State AFL-CIO; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Council 97; Western Conference of Teamsters; Arizona Catholic Conference; Arizona Ecumenical Council; Jewish Federation of Phoenix; Maricopa County NAACP; Operation PUSH; Rainbow Coalition of Arizona; Labor Council for Latin American Advancement; Central Arizona Labor Council; Socialist Workers Party; People Before Profits; and several Black ministers.

Texas state coalition plans march and rally

BY PETE SEIDMAN

HOUSTON — A broad coalition of anti-apartheid groups from across Texas met September 7 to set plans for a march and rally here on October 12.

Rev. Michael Patrick Williams from Antioch Baptist Church (downtown) appeared at a news conference held before the meeting. He is vice-chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the 8.5-million-member National Baptist Convention. He had recently returned from this organization's national convention in Atlanta, which took "a very hard stand" against apartheid, he said.

Williams announced that his church "pledges to make all our physical and financial resources" available for the action. This includes plans to feed and house demonstrators from out of town.

"We haven't pursued the divestment issue in Houston as hard as we could have," Williams insisted. "We need to make it a front-burner issue in this mayoral campaign. A good many taxpayers in Houston don't wish to be

accomplices to murder."

Houston Free South Africa Movement Chairperson Ada Edwards chaired the meeting, which was attended by many unions and Black, religious, peace, political, and anti-apartheid groups. The meeting decided to challenge the initial refusal of Mayor Kathy Whitmire's administration to issue a permit for the march.

Blasting "the deliberate use of an antiquated ordinance" barring more than one city parade per day, Williams and Edwards urged people to go before the city council to protest.

Black state legislators and others are adding their voices to this demand, already forcing Whitmire's cops to reopen discussions on a permit.

For more information, call the Free South Africa Movement in Houston at (713) 521-2694; in Austin, (512) 471-1201; in San Antonio, (512) 648-5060; and in Dallas, (214) 363-8698.

Atlanta vigil calls for sanctions

BY WILLIAM O'SHEA

ATLANTA — Calling for the U.S. Senate to vote for economic sanctions against South Africa, 60 people rallied outside the Richard Russell Federal Building on September 10.

The downtown rally was the kickoff to what was planned as a four-day vigil for sanctions called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

SCLC President Joseph Lowery told the rally that President Reagan's executive order calling for mild sanctions was "sending a little boy to do a man's job."

"We want the Senate to pass sanctions," he continued. "We want an end to apartheid. An end to children being arrested and thrown like cattle into trucks to be taken to jail."

Dwayne Redding, representative of the Georgia State University Committee on Apartheid Education, said that whether the sanctions bill was passed or not, students should still work for divestment.

Carrying signs saying "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua," Central America solidarity groups staffed the vigil for two hours. They were followed by a spirited group of students from the Atlanta University Center Young Democrats.

The vigil was called off late the next day following the Senate's decision not to shut off the filibuster against the sanctions bill.

Many of the groups which took part in the vigil are also working to build the September 28 NAACP march against apartheid here.

St. Louis labor greets South African unionist

BY KIM KLEINMAN

ST. LOUIS — "I don't think there's any question that we support the anti-apartheid movement here and abhor the conditions under which Black Africans are forced to live." This is the way Leonard Robinson, political director of United Auto Workers (UAW) Region 5, put it in introducing South African trade unionist Tozamide Botha.

Botha, a leader of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, is touring the United States to educate workers about the struggle to end apartheid in his country. The Black unionist was greeted with a standing ovation by the 100 trade unionists present, most of whom were UAW members from six area locals.

Members of the UAW Community Action Program handed out leaflets for an upcoming anti-apartheid protest as unionists filed into the meeting room of the UAW re-

gion's headquarters.

"I am pleased to see a leaflet that announces that people here will be joining our struggle by marching October 12 against apartheid," Botha said.

The UAW Region 5 staff had organized the combination press conference and educational meeting on three days' notice.

The unionists applauded when Botha attacked Reagan's half-hearted sanctions against South Africa. "Reagan is always looking for an excuse to support the apartheid regime," Botha said.

The press conference was covered by the three major television stations. They mentioned local plans for the October 12 march, which will go through downtown St. Louis.

Botha received a similarly warm response the following day at a meeting and reception sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women held at the Interna-

tional Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) headquarters.

Sharing the platform with Botha were Winnie Lippman, a retired regional representative for the ILGWU; Ora Lee Malone, a business representative for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; and Betty Graham, a leader of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

Malone and Graham are also active in the St. Louis chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

More than 60 workers and their families jammed into the room for a serious discussion about apartheid and what U.S. workers can do to fight it.

After the presentations, many workers signed up to build the October 12 action, including members of the Communications Workers of America, Teamsters, postal workers, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Renaldo Panetta, administrative assistant of the Central States Region of the ILGWU, pledged his union's support and participation in the demonstration.

Tom Fagen of the St. Louis Central Labor Council also endorsed the march and invited the coalition to the council's next meeting. The following week this council voted to send a mailing about the march to member locals.

Botha was also able to speak at a number of other union gatherings.

More than 30 members of United Mine Workers Local 2295 in Albers, Illinois, heard Botha and voted to endorse the St. Louis march and to organize a contingent to participate.

Members of UAW Locals 282 and 325 welcomed Botha to their meetings and some 300 members of Local 325 voted to endorse the march, print leaflets, and contribute funds.



South African gold miners

Apartheid hurts U.S. workers

The following interview appeared in the September 1985 issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, the monthly publication of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

Nomonde Ngubo was recently hired by the UMWA to work on the union's campaign against apartheid and other special projects.

Born in Pretoria, South Africa, Ms. Ngubo has worked to build the trade union movement in her country and brings to the UMWA first-hand knowledge of South Africa's apartheid system. She recently earned a master's degree in labor studies from Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Journal: What is apartheid?

Ngubo: Apartheid is the system of racial separation and exploitation of non-whites set up by the government of South Africa.

Its purpose is to enable the 4.5 million whites to deny the 22 million blacks and 3 million "coloureds" — people of mixed race — political and economic rights and benefits.

In my country, although blacks are the original inhabitants, we cannot vote, own land, live or work where we choose or move freely about the country.

By law, all blacks are considered non-citizens in South Africa.

Journal: What effect does this system have on the workers of South Africa, specifically miners?

Ngubo: It means that the miners there lack even the most basic rights.

Since many of the miners are in "whites only" areas, miners are brought in from the so-called "black homelands" to work under one-year contracts.

They are forced to live in cramped barracks, 40 or 50 miners in one room. They are allowed to see their families for only two weeks a year. Safety precautions are virtually nonexistent. And the pay is very low — perhaps \$160 a month.

If a miner complains, or is injured, or becomes sick, his contract is simply not renewed and he is banished to one of the homelands, which are segregated reservations located on barren wastelands the whites don't want.

Journal: Are these kinds of conditions the reason why many U.S. and multinational corporations invest so heavily in the South African economy?

Ngubo: Well, apartheid has proven to be very profitable for such corporations.

In a 40-year period, direct U.S. investment in South Africa increased 6,000 percent because those corporations realize a rate of return that is 35 percent higher than

their investments in the rest of the world.

Profits are so high because of the slave labor system that apartheid provides to those corporations.

Apartheid is kept alive and maintained by the investments of these companies. Without this massive influx of capital, the South African system could not exist.

What these corporations are doing, in effect, is investing in slavery.

Journal: How does this affect UMWA members and other American workers?

Ngubo: Apartheid has a tremendous negative impact on American workers.

To illustrate this point, it is necessary to look no further than the current UMWA strike against the A.T. Massey Coal Co.

Massey is co-owned by the Royal Dutch Shell Corp. and the Fluor Corp., which both have large investments in South Africa, including coal mines and processing and gasification plants.

They take advantage of the repressive conditions there to maximize their profits, while piously proclaiming to anyone who will listen that they are actually helping the black workers.

Then they come to UMWA members here demanding concessions and seeking to break the union in order to compete with South African coal.

The reality is that such corporations like the system in South Africa because it benefits them economically. And they are showing by their actions at A.T. Massey that they would like to impose similar conditions on coal miners here.

Journal: What is the outlook for change in South Africa, and what role can the UMWA play to bring it about?

Ngubo: There will be change in South Africa. One way or another, apartheid will be abolished.

The UMWA is already playing a significant role by stepping up its anti-apartheid campaign.

We can show our solidarity with South African workers by supporting the trade union movement there.

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is a leader of that movement just as the UMWA is a leader here.

The NUM has been very successful in organizing miners and pressuring the companies and the government for change. Their general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, has met with [UMWA] President [Richard] Trumka and formed the basis for a working relationship.

Both organizations understand that none of us can be truly free unless all of us are free.

Here, that means beating A.T. Massey. In South Africa, that means abolishing apartheid and instituting democracy.

U.S. miners union aids S. Africa sister union

BY FRED FELDMAN

"For nearly a hundred years, our union has fought against conditions of near slavery in our nation's coalfields.

"We understand the position that South African workers are in and we raise our voices in protest."

United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) President Richard Trumka issued this statement July 25 just before he and two other top UMWA officials were arrested in a protest at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C.

On September 4, Trumka was arrested again at the apartheid embassy. Before his arrest, he announced the establishment of the South African Miners Aid Fund.

The decision to set up the fund was based on discussions with Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the union formed by Black miners in South Africa.

The previous day the NUM had suspended a strike at seven mines because of repression carried out by the racist government and mineowners.

"All the proceeds," Trumka said, "will be channeled directly to the NUM to help the miners and families who have been injured by police and company guards while participating in the strike, and those who face the prospect of dismissal and deportation."

Other anti-apartheid activities of the union were described in the September issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, the union paper.

It included an interview with Nomonde Ngubo, a South African-born Black woman who has been brought on to the union staff to work on anti-apartheid activities and other projects.

The union opposes the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement," which means support to the South African government.

The *Journal* quoted Sidney Hill of Local Union 2397 in Alabama: "Right now, the United States is standing up for to-

talitarianism, and that's not in the best interests of myself as a worker or as an American citizen."

UMWA/COMPAC, the network of political action committees supported by the union, is demanding that federal and state legislatures approve sanctions against South Africa.

The UMWA has also joined the campaign to demand that U.S. corporations end all investments in South Africa.

"To help end U.S. corporate support for apartheid," the *Journal* reported, "the UMWA is joining with a broad range of labor, community and religious groups, including the World Council of Churches, which is putting pressure on targeted companies to get them to stop doing business in South Africa."

"Planned activities include informing the public about the policies of these corporations, and the possibility of supporting consumer boycotts of the goods and services produced by targeted companies."

Two companies the UMWA is helping to expose are Royal Dutch Shell and Fluor Corp. Both have extensive holdings in South Africa. They are co-owners of A.T. Massey Corp., which forced 2,000 UMWA members out on strike last October.

The *Journal* described how union members from Districts 17 and 30 recently went to Ohio. There they joined District 6 members in leafletting at Shell gasoline stations.

"We want to let people know that Shell is backing slave labor in South Africa and they're wanting to treat us the same way," striking miner Franklin Ford, one of the leafletters, told the *Journal*.

"Shell doesn't want people to make a good honest wage. But there are more people out there who know what's going on than you would believe, and none of them support slave labor," he continued.

Journal articles also exposed the claim that U.S. investments and trade with South Africa help end apartheid.

Continued on Page 6

ANC answers right-winger Viguerie

Richard Viguerie, a right-wing politician, has joined Rev. Jerry Falwell in defending the apartheid regime in South Africa. The *New York Times* printed a column by Viguerie on its Op-Ed page.

Viguerie's arguments were answered in an August 27 letter to the editor (printed in the *Times* September 11 edition) by Dumi Matabane, a representative of the African National Congress in Washington, D.C.

The African National Congress is the most popular of the anti-apartheid organizations among South African Blacks.

To the editor:

Richard A. Viguerie, publisher of the *Conservative Digest*, uses age-old Communist hysteria to hide his racist support for apartheid. In his Aug. 25 Op-Ed article ("Who Will Rule Next in South Africa?"), Mr. Viguerie predicts that if apartheid is washed away by the African people, "The real rulers of South Africa would be white and Soviet." To Mr. Viguerie, Africans are not intelligent enough to understand the meaning of freedom.

To "prove" his point, Mr. Viguerie goes to great pains to misquote me as the representative of the African National Congress, which is the leading liberation movement in South Africa. In reply to Mr. Viguerie's question if the A.N.C.'s goal was democracy, I said, yes, democracy is our goal, but that did not necessarily mean the democracy that is practiced in the United States.

That is, we are not interested in a democracy that protects the Ku Klux Klan, Nazi parties, white citizens' councils, etc. Certainly, in our future free South Africa, the laws protecting freedom of speech and association will not include pro-apartheid propaganda or the Broederbond [a pro-apartheid Afrikaner political-cultural association]. For this, our people need make no apologies.

The issue in South Africa is fascism not Communism. The issue is racism not a Soviet takeover. Our people do not need anyone to tell them who the enemy is, who is killing their children, who has robbed them of their land and cattle, and now condemns them to 13 percent of the most barren land in the country of their birth. Yes, Communists, black and white, are in the ranks of the African National Congress and have been there for over 50 years. If capitalists, black or white, wish to join us and sacrifice their lives as Communists have done, they are welcome. The A.N.C. is not a Communist movement. It is a national liberation movement that includes all sectors of the nation. Capitalists, unfortunately, have chosen to support apartheid because of the obscene profits it guarantees them.

On "hating whites," apparently Mr. Viguerie believes the old plantation myths about happy slaves loving kindly old masters. The urban rebellions that racked U.S. cities in the 1960's, 70's and 80's passed Mr. Viguerie without notice. But yes, I hate racism as surely as Mr. Viguerie claims to hate Communism. I did not grow up reading about racism in books, but rather lived and suffered under that brutal state terrorism called apartheid that continues to repress and suppress millions of African people.

The horror of life under apartheid need not be recounted here. The daily massacring of our people is enough to expose its brutality. But those who continue to advocate maintaining apartheid until the "democratic" solution can be imposed on the South African people expose their own selfish, antidemocratic, unchristian greed.

The cry of Communism is the last desperate defense of the apartheid Dracula. Its supporters and collaborators no longer fear daylight or the smell of garlic. The only solution is to drive a stake through the heart of the apartheid scourge. The African National Congress and the people of South Africa will not be deterred from this goal.

Louisiana chemical workers fight lockout

Nat'l convention of OCAW calls for U.S., German trade unions to fight company

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

DENVER — Locked out of their jobs for more than a year, 370 members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) Local 4-620 in Geismar, Louisiana, are on the front lines of the fight by OCAW members to defend against the assault on their past gains.

The OCAW national convention, which met here August 19-23, passed a resolution backing the Louisiana workers in their fight against BASF Wyandotte, a subsidiary of the giant BASF A.G. conglomerate based in West Germany. BASF bought Wyandotte Chemical Corporation in 1971.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Ernest Rouselle, an international representative and leader of the committee negotiating with BASF, said, "The company makes no bones about it. They say they've got money on their side, they've got the policies of the Reagan administration, they've got a high-unemployment area, and it's just a matter of time until our people begin starving to death and are willing to take anything they've got on the table."

The wife of a locked-out worker wrote the *OCAW Reporter*, "Now our unemployment benefits have run out. People who have not experienced the lockout firsthand may think that placing this financial burden on our families would weaken our family units as well as our commitments. On the contrary, these union families have a stronger commitment than ever."

As the resolution passed here stated: "Unable to intimidate nor coerce the membership... BASF locked out 370 employ-

ees prior to the expiration of the contract [June 15, 1984] and replaced them with cheap, inexperienced non-union contractor employees." The resolution said the "company has spent in excess of \$7 million dollars in its 14-month effort to destroy" the local.

Rouselle told the convention that BASF "wants to get rid of 110 maintenance employees — anybody hired after 1965. They say they can contract it out cheaper."

According to the resolution, BASF has a strong antiunion record at its holdings in this country. "On many occasions BASF has been found guilty of having violated the law. Nonetheless, due to delays in the court system, inconsequential penalties, and large expenditures of money, BASF has been largely successful in its efforts."

It has launched attacks on steel, auto, rubber, textile, and another chemical union, in addition to OCAW. "Some have been 'busted' out of existence," the resolution states.

"I stress that this is a lockout," Rouselle told the *Militant*. "Our people were willing to continue to work. At no time did we threaten any strike action against this company."

In a letter to the *OCAW Reporter*, one union member wrote that the plant manager had suggested "that the members of OCAW Local 4-620 are no more than terrorists, capable of acts of sabotage."

Rouselle said it was not a matter of the company "hurting financially. This company has some of the highest profits in corporate history."



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

August 1985 convention of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers in Denver.

He believes it's partly a matter of their doing in this country what they can't do in their own.

Rouselle told the *Militant* that one German businessman has been quoted as saying, "Do as the Americans are doing, and the American are kicking the hell out of

labor."

Rouselle said West German businessmen "are more and more investing here because of the attitude of the federal government toward organized labor."

Rouselle flew to West Germany in February to meet with union officials representing the 43,000 BASF workers at Ludwigshafen. He was accompanied by OCAW Vice-president Robert Wages and Local 4-620 President John Daigle.

The resolution passed here called for the "enlistment of the AFL-CIO and German Trade Union Movement in the struggle for survival" of the local.

The resolution noted that "following World War II various [BASF] corporate officials were sentenced to extended prison terms for convictions of slavery and mass murder. Clearly, the antiunion program of the American subsidiary of BASF draws upon a firmly established heritage, a heritage born and nurtured under German Fascism."

Rouselle told the *Militant* that the OCAW has "charges pending before the State Department" against BASF under rules of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development.

He explained that the union charged BASF with violating U.S. labor laws and imposing more stringent rules on American workers than on employees in the company's home country.

U.S. tests missile, snubs Soviet offers

BY FRED FELDMAN

The U.S. buildup in space weaponry was escalated by an air force test of an anti-satellite missile September 13. The missile reportedly destroyed a target 290 miles above the Pacific Ocean.

The missile was launched after a federal judge rejected a suit by four members of the House of Representatives and the Union of Concerned Scientists, who asked that the test be stopped. They and others argued that it undermined the international 1972 treaty banning the development of anti-ballistic missile systems.

The Soviet government has observed a self-imposed moratorium on testing and deploying space weapons since August 1983. It has stated that it would no longer be bound by the moratorium if Washington went ahead with the test.

The U.S. government justified the test by claiming that it is merely closing a gap caused by Soviet advances in this field. The lie is so transparent that much of the big-business media has not gone along. A September 9 editorial in *Business Week* estimated that the new U.S. weapon is "10 times more effective than the Soviets'

crude antisatellite weapon."

The U.S. government — not Moscow — has initiated every leap forward in the arms buildup since World War II, beginning with the development of atomic weapons. The Soviet Union has responded in self-defense.

In recent months the Soviet government proclaimed a moratorium on nuclear tests. It offered to freeze the number of nuclear missiles in Europe. It proposed reducing the number of intercontinental ballistic missile launchers by 25 percent. It proposed barring chemical weapons from Central Europe after an earlier proposal to bar them from all of Europe was rejected.

The Reagan administration dismissed each of these moves as propaganda.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev responded in an interview in the September 9 issue of *Time*:

'IP' on Namibian freedom struggle

At the same time that the apartheid regime is facing a popular upheaval by South Africa's oppressed Black majority, it is also confronted by a growing struggle for independence in Namibia.

With an overwhelmingly Black population of 1.5 million, Namibia has been a direct colony of South Africa for 70 years.

The October 7 *Intercontinental Press* features a declaration by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the group leading the independence struggle. SWAPO's call urges stepped-up public protests, strikes, and other mass actions in Namibia.

The same issue includes a background article by Ernest Harsch describing South Africa's brutal rule in Namibia and the development of the independence struggle. In recent years, SWAPO has significantly increased its armed actions. It has won growing support within the country and internationally.

An important factor aiding the Namibian struggle, Harsch explains, is Cuba's revolutionary role

in the region. The involvement of Cuban troops in helping Angola defeat the South African invasion of 1975-76 was a big inspiration to the Namibian people.

This *IP* also carries the text of a Cuban government declaration in support of the South African freedom struggle.

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United Mine Workers fights apartheid

Continued from Page 5

"South Africa depends a lot on its foreign trade to be able to afford the military and police forces it needs to support apartheid," said Sidney Hill of Local Union 2397.

In an interview with Cyril Ramaphosa in the January *Journal*, he said U.S. corporations "come here because the system allows them to make more money. So they are certainly not going to help us change that system."

The September issue quoted an NUM official:

"It might cause some suffering, at first, if American companies are forced to leave, but nothing compared to the suffering we could bring to an end if we could get rid of the system we have right now."

"Even people who have jobs with the American companies are willing to sacrifice a little to be able to live as free people."

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Mitterrand Defies Protests, Vows More Nuclear Tests



NAMIBIA
SWAPO Advances Despite South African Terror

FIDEL CASTRO
'Collecting Debt Is Impossible'

Black unionists say: 'Free South Africa!'

Continued from front page

Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and UAW District 65. Other participants came from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Communications Workers of America, and Local 1199, which organizes hospital workers.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, and first vice-president of the national CBTU, gave the opening remarks. Robinson is a leader of the anti-apartheid movement in this city.

"We as Black trade unionists have to take on added responsibility. We must be in the vanguard of the struggle. We have to be the trailblazers in the fight against apartheid," he said.

The widespread solidarity among Black workers for the African National Congress (ANC), the organization that is leading the struggle to overthrow apartheid, was reflected throughout the conference. Speakers also backed the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which is leading the struggle in Namibia against South African domination.

An enthusiastic greeting was given to Neo Mnumzana, the ANC's chief representative to the United Nations.

Mnumzana told the crowd, "The defeat of the racists in South Africa will be a blow to racism and oppression around the world, not only in South Africa, and Reagan knows this."

"That is why he is trying to destroy the revolutionary gains of the Nicaraguan people and that is why he brings weak sanctions against the apartheid regime."

"It is not surprising that Reagan's weak sanctions take effect on October 11, the day of international protest against apartheid, and freedom for political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia."

The South African people, said Mnumzana, "must win their freedom and take back their country." *Sechaba*, the ANC's magazine, was distributed at the conference.

Cleveland Robinson explained that the "ANC are freedom fighters expelled from their country."

"Our union," he declared, "will never stop working with the ANC: helping them and supporting them."

Robinson noted that the U.S. United Mine Workers union had pledged to collect funds for South African miners. UAW District 65 also pledged \$5,000, and intends to collect more money from its members.

"The aim of our movement," Robinson said, "is to be able to walk the streets of Cape Town with Winnie and President Mandela and our brothers and sisters in a free South Africa." Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela are ANC leaders. Nelson Mandela has been imprisoned in South Africa since 1962.

Charles Matthews, conference chairperson, repeated this theme of solidarity: "As trade unionists [we] have joined forces with the ANC and also SWAPO to do what we can in this country to bring about change and liberation in South Africa."

Maida Kemp Springer, a retired member of both the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, condemned South Africa's occupation of Namibia and its recent attack on Black-

ruled Angola."

The conference was both a teach-in to help everyone deepen their understanding of the oppression and struggle of Blacks in southern Africa and an organizing meeting to increase union participation in anti-apartheid protests.

Three workshops were held: one on apartheid; one on political action and legislation, which centered on the fight to get the New York State government to withdraw state funds from companies that do business in South Africa; and one on the famine in Africa.

The discussion during the workshops revealed that most participants followed the events in southern Africa and the U.S. role there closely.

A lot of time was allowed for discussion and everyone was encouraged to use one of the three mikes set up for those who wanted to speak.

James Bell, president of the New York CBTU, told participants they should be ready to go to the state capital when the state divestment bill is discussed in October. "We as trade unionists have to say to the governor of New York — divest now!" he declared.

Bell reported that "the students have called for actions on October 11 all over the country and we will have a march and rally right here" in New York on that day.

Jim Harding, from Mayor Edward Koch's office, brought greetings to the conference. He announced that Koch and the NAACP were sponsoring a procession on October 5 as part of a day of mourning for those who have fallen victim to the government's repression in South Africa.

Several other elected officials also supported the conference and sent greetings.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

Anti-apartheid signs and banners were big part of New York Labor Day parade, reflecting unions' role in fight against apartheid.

Cuba: cancel Mexico's foreign debt!

Continued from front page

Mexico was hit two days in a row — September 19 and 20 — by massive earthquakes. Harsh austerity measures designed to pay the country's foreign debt were already in place before the earthquakes hit.

These measures included cancelling construction projects in a country with a pre-earthquake housing shortage estimated at some 800,000 units. Health care had been cut even though 20 million people receive no health services at all, and some 100,000 children die each year from preventable diseases.

The earthquakes affected five states in the country — Jalisco, Michoacán, Colima, Guerrero, and Mexico. However, Mexico City, with 18 million residents — the largest metropolitan area in the world — was the hardest hit.

Some 400 buildings collapsed and at least 700 were left crumbling. Water was cut off for the entire city. Half the city was without electric power. Telephone communication was cut off.

A large section of Mexico's industry, half of which is concentrated around the capital, was affected by the earthquakes.

The toll in human life is still unknown. Current official figures set the number of dead at 4,000 and rising. Anne Neaf of the League of Red Cross Societies told the press that "the damage is so extensive that our officials can't even hazard a guess on the number of dead."

An earthquake of such force always causes destruction. But the magnitude of the destruction which hit Mexico would not have happened in an imperialist country like the United States. Decades of imperialist exploitation has left Mexico impoverished and underdeveloped, with inadequate housing. Inadequate health-care facilities have limited its ability to respond with medical supplies, housing, food, or water.

In the face of this disaster, Cuba has offered Mexico whatever help it needs. On September 23 an official delegation headed by Cuban Minister of Public Health Sergio Del Valle, arrived in Mexico City to evaluate the aid Cuba can send. The plane carried blood, plasma, and medicine. Cuban medical brigades are also being organized to go to Mexico.

Cuba has issued a call for international collaboration in aiding Mexico.

In contrast, the U.S. government responded to the disaster by dispatching Nancy Reagan to Mexico City with a check for \$1 million and a crew of photographers. The only other aid sent was 30 demolition experts and five helicopters. The aid the U.S. government has offered to Mexico is a pittance in comparison both to Mexico's needs and to U.S. imperialism's wealth.

The largest obstacle to Mexico's reconstruction is its massive foreign debt, most of which is owed to U.S. banks.

State Department spokesperson Bernard Kalb told reporters that "the feeling" of the

State Department is that Mexico's problems with its foreign debt would be "held in abeyance" by the IMF pending an assessment of the economic implications of the earthquakes.

Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, is calling on U.S. working people to demand that the U.S. government give massive reconstruction aid to Mexico with no strings attached. "We should also join with the people of Latin America," González said, "in demanding that the foreign debt be cancelled."

Nicaragua mobilizes to aid Mexico

Continued from front page

Tellez pointed out that the Nicaraguan people have few medical resources to give Mexico, but they can give their blood. Nicaragua's resources are so few, in fact, that the Red Cross has been unable to accept all those volunteering to give blood because of lack of facilities and blood processing equipment.

The outpouring of Nicaraguan solidarity has inspired Mexican activists living here in Managua. "When the world learns what the Nicaraguan people have done to help us, it will have a big impact," José Bueno told the *Militant*.

Bueno is a doctor working in Nicaragua and is active in an emergency committee of Mexican residents here who are organizing solidarity with the earthquake victims. He was interviewed at the headquarters of the Nicaraguan Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples, which has turned over office space to the Mexican committee.

Bueno pointed out that the U.S.-sponsored war here "prevents Nicaragua from sending a lot of food, doctors, or supplies, but it hasn't prevented Nicaragua from sending solidarity to our people. Even the Nicaraguan soldiers are coming forward to give blood when they need that blood themselves."

The response of the Nicaraguan government and its people, he said, "is in the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of Augusto César Sandino, and the spirit of Simón Bolívar."

He contrasted this to the attitude of the U.S. government. At the same time that the earthquake struck Mexico, the Senate

approved the Simpson-Rodino anti-immigrant bill, which would put severe restrictions on the rights of undocumented Mexicans and many other workers in the United States. "This law is unjust," Bueno said. "It is not only an attack on Mexican people but on the people of the world."

The discussion turned to Mexico's huge foreign debt and the proposal of Cuban President Fidel Castro to cancel collection of it in light of the earthquake.

"Right," said Cecilia Bonilla, a Mexican teacher working on adult education here in Nicaragua. "How can a people with nothing — not even homes — pay that debt?" She pointed out that the majority of Mexicans who lost their homes in the earthquake are workers.

Nicaragua's donation of blood to Mexico is seen as a token of solidarity for the aid Mexico sent to Nicaragua in 1972, when the capital city of Managua was devastated by an earthquake. The 1972 earthquake occurred when dictator Somoza was still in power here. The massive aid sent its victims was stolen by Somoza's National Guard and sold for a profit.

There is another symbolic meaning to the Nicaraguan donation of blood, as well. In 1972, when there was a crying need for blood for those injured in the earthquake, Somoza was exporting blood on the world market through one of the many companies he owned, Plasma Ferices.

Plasma Ferices was one of the first buildings burned down by Nicaragua's working people in the late 1970s when they launched their insurrectionary battles to overthrow Somoza.



Militant/Rashaad Ali

Jim Bell, president of the New York chapter of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Nicaragua cotton growers join farmers' union

BY BILL GRETTHER

CHINANDEGA, Nicaragua — Fifteen hundred farmers joined forces here September 8 when the Chinandega Cotton Growers Association united with the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) in the hot, cotton-growing region of Nicaragua's Pacific northwest. Among the guests at the meeting were several farmers from the United States.

UNAG is a broad-based group representing farmers who produce a wide range of agricultural and livestock products. Most of its members are working farmers with very small plots of land who belong to farm cooperatives; some also work part-time as laborers on bigger farms. Other UNAG members are owners of medium or even very large farms employing wage labor, who have chosen to cooperate with the revolutionary government.

The Cotton Growers Association was formerly affiliated to COSEP, the big-business federation of right-wing and capitalist groups. Francisco Aguilar, former president of the association, condemned COSEP for trying to provoke a confrontation with the revolutionary government but doing nothing to represent cotton growers.

'Let's hope the honeymoon lasts'

Daniel Núñez, president of UNAG, hailed the unification of the two groups as a political as well as organizational achievement. "We were engaged," he said, "now we're married. Let's hope the honeymoon lasts."

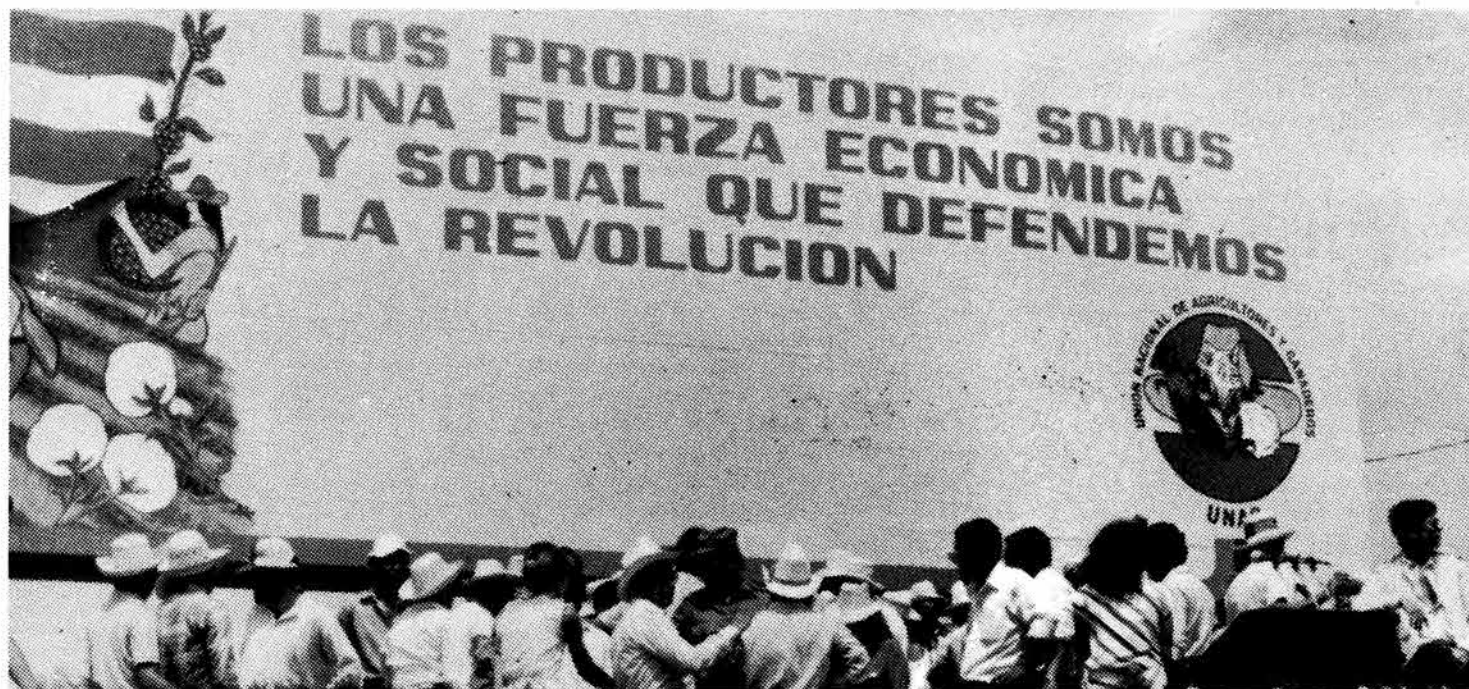
Núñez warned his audience to have no confidence in the politicians of the wealthy, even those who claim to have fought against the Somoza dictatorship. The wealthy, he said, have competed against each other for generations to gain a monopoly to exploit the poor. UNAG, Núñez said, should have nothing to do with COSEP. He rejected unity with the "wealthy Nicaraguan globetrotters who know Europe better than they know Nicaragua."

Leaders of UNAG hope that the unification with the cotton growers will be the model for other such mergers. The goal is to build a single organization uniting all farmers and ranchers. UNAG will establish separate divisions representing producers of each product, to increase their participation in discussing and setting government policy.

Merchants and speculators

Núñez condemned merchants and speculators, who produce nothing, but increase prices drastically. Citing an example very close to the lives of farmers, he described the case of a number 23 machete, the Nicaraguan farmworkers' basic tool. For each machete, the government provides the importers with \$4 from Nicaragua's precious foreign exchange funds, which is enough to cover the wholesale cost.

But the retail price of the same machete is equivalent to \$18 or \$20, and many go as



Nat'l Union of Farmers and Ranchers meet in '84. Sign reads: "producers are economic and social force that defends revolution."

high as \$30. Even shirts made in Nicaragua, when they finally reach the consumer, sell for almost 10 times the cost of production.

Núñez described the merchants as being "in the majority, counterrevolutionary." At the same time, he vehemently criticized government inefficiency and red tape. To prevent bureaucratic delays while also combatting speculation, he suggested that UNAG should take over from government agencies the distribution of all farm

supplies, including seed, fertilizer, pesticides, fuel, trucks, tractors, tires, and spare parts.

The proposal won enthusiastic support from the audience. Nicaraguan farmers struggling to increase productivity have been hard hit by the difficulty of obtaining these imported necessities.

Responding to a comment from the crowd, Núñez said that he considers this proposal completely compatible with the revolutionary process. "We have to recog-

nize one thing," he said. "We're the government here, and we will have to organize things to find a way to get these supplies directly into the hands of the people."

In a question-and-answer session preceding Núñez's speech, dozens of farmers lined up at the microphones to air their suggestions and complaints. Most of the problems concerned the distribution of supplies that Núñez then addressed.

Speaking for the Sandinista National
Continued on next page

Nicaraguan trade unionists meet, outline tasks to defend revolution

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Winning the war against the U.S.-financed mercenaries, producing with greater efficiency, and defending the political power of Nicaragua's workers and peasants were the three central tasks adopted by a national assembly of trade unionists here September 6-8.

The assembly was sponsored by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the largest of the several union federations that organize industrial workers in Nicaragua. In addition to CST delegates, there were delegates from the Sandinista-led union of farmworkers, the Association of Rural Workers.

Shop-floor discussions

Prior to the assembly, shop-floor meetings were held in workplaces across the country to encourage workers to air their point of view on the problems Nicaragua faces and what the union movement can do about them.

The context of these discussions was the war against the country being carried out by mercenaries armed, financed, and organized by Washington.

Today, more than 50 percent of the national budget is going to the defense effort. Thousands of workers and peasants are serving in the armed forces rather than producing goods in factories or tilling land. This has had a big impact on the economy and the standard of living of working people in particular.

Among the issues raised in the shop-floor meetings were inflation and shrinking real wages, shortages of basic consumer goods, difficulties in relations with factory

management, government inefficiency, lack of materials and spare parts both in industrial production and in agriculture, problems faced by the families of the young men who have been drafted, and the need for more schools, housing, and roads.

Under the dictatorship of U.S. puppet Anastasio Somoza, who was in power here until 1979, workers attempting to hold such discussions were arrested or worse. Most workers were not allowed to belong to unions at all.

On July 19, 1979, the Nicaraguan working people overthrew Somoza in a popular revolution led by the Sandinista National

Continued on next page

Honduran attack: planned provocation

BY BILL GRETTHER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan army has released new information about a confrontation with Honduran forces on September 13. (See last week's *Militant*.) It shows that the border incident was not an accident but rather a carefully planned provocation by the Honduran government.

In the incident several hundred mercenaries, armed and organized by Washington, attempted to invade Nicaraguan territory from camps along the Honduran border. The first attempt, on September 12, was beaten back. The next day they attacked again. This time they had the support of two Honduran A-37 airplanes that fired on Nicaraguan troops, hitting one of the Sandinista's helicopters.

Speaking to reporters September 18, Commander Manuel Salvatierra of the Sandinista People's Army showed the remains of rockets used by the Honduran forces in the attack. He explained that the use of Honduran aircraft in combat in support of the mercenaries is new. In the past only artillery has been used.

Salvatierra also reported that nearly

2,500 men of the 101st and 110th brigades of the Honduran army together with 40 U.S. military personnel had been mobilized to back the attackers.

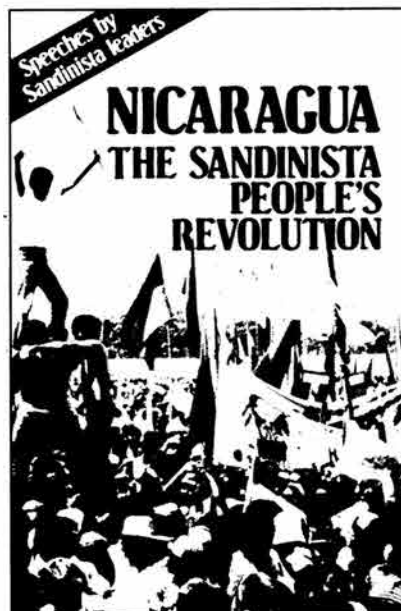
The action was an attempt to draw the Nicaraguan army into a trap, he explained. "They created a series of conditions," he said, "so they could first use their air force and then have the troops ready to counter-attack if we responded."

Another incident occurred September 18. One Sandinista soldier was wounded repelling an attempt by a group of mercenaries to infiltrate Nicaraguan territory in the northwestern province of Chinandega.

In a note to his Honduran counterpart, Nicaraguan acting Foreign Minister Víctor Tinoco pointed out that the incident could have been avoided. Nicaragua had previously warned Honduras of the presence of a group of 70 counterrevolutionaries on the Honduran side of the border.

"Once again," Tinoco's note said, "Nicaragua encourages the government of Honduras not to fall into the trap laid by the U.S. government, which wants to set up a confrontation between two peoples who are brothers."

What they're saying about Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution Speeches by Sandinista leaders



My personal congratulations to Pathfinder Press and the people who have worked on collecting all these excellent speeches of the Nicaraguan leadership today on the reality of that country. The translators have not only done a wonderful, professional job in translating, but have put themselves into the heart of the speeches, and have expressed most vividly the feelings of not only the leadership, but the Nicaraguan people as a whole, and their hopes and dreams for the future.

I trust that the public who reads it will find inspiration, challenge, and hope in this document that is so significant today.

Norman Bent
Reverend of the Iglesia
Moravia
Managua, Nicaragua

This new collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. 400 pages, \$7.95 (include \$.75 for postage and handling).
Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Continued from previous page

Liberation Front, guerrilla commander Alonso Porras said that Nicaragua could not solve some of these problems immediately. The tremendous human and financial cost of defending the country against the U.S.-financed counterrevolutionary war makes it impossible to meet all of the farmers' needs, he said.

Porras noted the irony of the situation. Farmers present their demands to the government not because they oppose it but because they support it. They are requesting more land, more tractors, more technical aid, because now they have a government that is committed to providing these things.

Nicaraguan, U.S. farmers: a contrast

The U.S. farmers attending the meeting were greeted with a standing ovation and the most enthusiastic applause of the day. In a brief statement, Bobbi Polzine, a leader of the Minnesota farm organization Groundswell, sharply contrasted the situation of Nicaraguan and North American farmers.

"In the U.S.," she said, "we lose 2,000 family farms each week. Here, the government gives the land to the farmers. What we've seen here convinces us that Nicaragua must survive."

She continued, "We need an UNAG in the United States. We need farm leaders like Daniel Núñez. We need a president like [Nicaraguan] President Daniel Ortega."

Polzine spent nine days touring Nicaragua in a delegation organized by the North American Farm Alliance.

Another member of the tour, Virginia farmer Ben Layman, was impressed with the progress Nicaraguan farmers had been able to make because they have "a government that serves farmers."

Layman visited Nicaragua previously with a Witness for Peace tour. He finds the situation in Latin America easy to understand and explain. "We're just like the

people here," he said, referring to the continent's impossibly large foreign debt. "U.S. farm debt is \$250 billion. It's getting to the point where it will have to be written off."

The Nicaraguan government has offered land to U.S. farmers who want to produce here. Layman is one of those who is seriously interested in the proposal. In his view the project could function like an exchange program. U.S. farmers would work for a time in Nicaragua, training local farmers in advanced techniques.

At the same time, he said, North American farmers would have a lot to gain from the experience. "Maybe the Nicaraguans can teach us how to get control of our government," he said.

Nicaraguan trade unionists set tasks

Continued from previous page

Liberation Front (FSLN). Power was taken out of the hands of the Nicaraguan capitalists and landlords and a workers' and peasants' government established.

One of the first acts of the new government was to guarantee the right to form unions and to encourage workers' involvement in all aspects of national policy.

The opening session of the CST assembly was addressed by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, who is also the coordinator of the executive committee of the FSLN National Directorate. Agrarian reform minister Jaime Wheelock, another member of the FSLN executive committee, also spoke.

Ortega told the 1,300 delegates that the key task before the workers was increasing production. He said that economic expansion is not on the agenda today in Nicaragua, but rather "a policy of survival in order to win the war."

its aggression against Mozambique, an East African country of more than 13 million people that has a common border with South Africa.

In Mozambique, the South Africa rulers bankrolled and armed a gang of terrorists called the Mozambique National Resistance, or Renamo.

According to the September 1985 *New African*, Renamo carries out "constant attacks on civilians," and "raids on relief, development, and social service institutions."

As a result of Renamo's devastation of the countryside, child malnutrition rates rose as high as 50 percent. Renamo was a major cause of a rural famine that killed 100,000 Mozambicans in 1983 and 1984.

In March 1984 the Mozambican government signed a pact known as the "Nkomati accord" with the apartheid regime. Each side agreed to bar the use of their territory for armed attacks on each other.

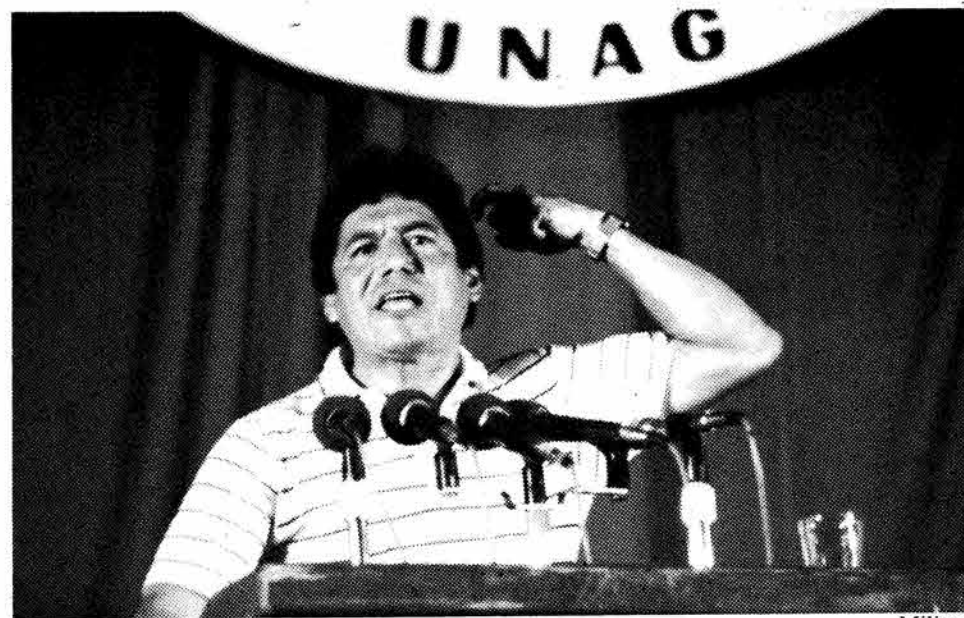
The Mozambican government went to great lengths to keep its side of the bargain. It forced more than 100 members of the African National Congress, which today is looked to by most South African Blacks as the leader of the anti-apartheid struggle, to leave Mozambique. But instead of the apartheid regime dropping support for Renamo, the armed bandits massively expanded their operations.

Mozambique won a victory recently when a joint operation by Mozambican and Zimbabwean troops captured Renamo headquarters, known as Casa Banana. The victors found documents proving that since the Nkomati accord, the apartheid regime had built an airstrip for Renamo, and shipped arms and other supplies.

Confronted with the evidence, South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha admitted "technical violations" of the accord. He gave no indication that the violations would end.

On September 19 Mozambican President Samora Machel met with President Reagan in Washington. Reagan said he was "distressed" at the evidence of South African violations of the Nkomati accord.

But Machel got no promise of U.S. measures to put a stop to these violations.



Daniel Núñez, president of UNAG.

Militant

This was the thrust of the final resolution adopted by the assembly, which decided to continue making big sacrifices in living standards and social services in order to supply the needed resources for military defense.

The reason the unionists were willing to make these sacrifices was explained in the first paragraph of their resolution:

"As working people we are clear: the principal conquest the people made on July 19 was the seizure of political power. This power, led by the FSLN, represents the fundamental interests of the workers and peasants. It is an example for all people fighting for their liberation."

'Iron discipline' needed

Noting the recent victories won by the Sandinista People's Army over Washington's mercenaries, the resolution called for maximum participation in military and civil defense to defeat the counterrevolutionaries, called *contras*.

In the factories it urged "iron discipline" to increase production and surpass productivity goals.

It called for putting a brake on social spending in order to maximize the resources that can be allocated to beating back the *contras*, and for "strict rationalization of human and material resources, the raising of patriotic consciousness, and an extra effort by all the working people."

The union delegates also emphasized the importance of the alliance of workers and peasants in Nicaragua and made proposals to strengthen it.

"We consider the worker-peasant alliance the fundamental pillar on which the revolution rests," the resolution stated. The delegates came out in support of the demands for land being raised by those peasant families who have not yet benefitted from the nation's land reform program. The delegates also backed the allocation of a disproportionately high amount of government aid to the countryside.

At the same time, they pledged that as factory workers they would do their best to provide the industrial products needed by urban and rural producers alike.

Tasks of trade unions

Listing the tasks before the trade union movement, the resolution placed military defense of the country first. Second, it called for the formation of a National Wages Commission that would seek to reverse the erosion of wages by lowering prices, establishing price controls, and organizing better distribution of products. It also called for a wage incentive system to increase productivity and for improved occupational health and safety.

On this latter point, the resolution appealed "to the international labor movement and non-governmental organizations to donate safety equipment."

The resolution also called for workers to be more involved in the administration of factories and the drawing up and monitoring of economic plans. It called for more supervision of how bank credit is extended, and a plan to increase the harvest of export crops, including the mobilization of union members on a volunteer basis.

In the same vein, it called for participation by working people in the nationwide

discussion beginning here over what kind of constitution Nicaragua should have. The delegates endorsed the constitutional proposal that has been presented to the National Assembly by the FSLN.

At the assembly's final session, which was opened to the media, Víctor Tirado, a member of the FSLN National Directorate, spoke. He told the delegates that the future of the revolution depended in large part on the working people of the cities and countryside. It is they who have kept the revolution in power for six years, he said.

Emphasizing the enormous effort the Nicaraguan people are making to defend the revolution, he pointed out that 53,000 working people, out of a population of three million, are currently serving the country in some military capacity. Each hour of work they miss from their factory or field amounts to 53,000 hours of productive labor that must be shouldered by those not at the front.

Taking up the economic hardships workers face, Tirado explained that today in Nicaragua "the material benefits revolutions bring are not being enjoyed. Rather, sacrifices are being made so that the benefits will be for the future generations."

Nicaraguan workers want to build a new society free of exploitation, he said, but socialism is not established by decree. Today, the primary task is winning the war. Some economic problems can be resolved at the same time, but others will not be.

He urged the workers to exert greater efforts in production, which, he said, was part of the defense against aggression, and to play a bigger role in improving distribution of products.

Finally, he emphasized that it is the workers and peasants who will solve the problems the nation faces: "Who can the [FSLN] call upon to defend the revolution, if not the working people, the masters of that revolution?"

Wheeling-Pitt strike

Continued from back page

tions amounted to a lockout. Wheeling-Pittsburgh won approval from a bankruptcy court to tear up the contract in July.

Company officials have since gone to court to try to block unemployment compensation. They have refused to make regularly scheduled payments to the pension fund and have cut off all medical benefits for workers and retirees.

Replacements for Carney and the other officials have already been made. Allen E. Paulson, the millionaire majority stockholder at Wheeling-Pittsburgh, becomes chairman of the board. Paulson is also chairman of an aerospace company owned by Chrysler.

An appeal by Paulson to the USWA to return to work while the negotiations go on was rejected.

The new management has yet to make an offer to the union.

Solidarity with the strikers from other unions has been one of the decisive factors in the battle so far. Financial contributions, statements of support, and other expressions of solidarity will continue to be important as negotiations reopen.

War against Angola, Mozambique

Continued from front page

ment for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Washington and South Africa then attempted to undermine and, if possible, topple the new government.

The aim was to set up a government which would accept U.S. and South African domination.

The United States and South Africa backed UNITA and other dissidents in a civil war. UNITA's forces were not only heavily aided by racist South Africa, but were honeycombed with racist white mercenaries recruited with the help of the CIA.

When it appeared that the MPLA would win the civil war, thousands of South African troops poured into Angola.

According to John Stockwell, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency's Angola Task Force during the war, Washington worked closely with the apartheid regime every inch of the way.

The target of this assault is a nation of 7.5 million people with a per capita annual income of \$470. In the face of this full-scale invasion by the imperialist South African army, the Angolan government asked for and received thousands of internationalist troops from Cuba.

The South African troops were forced to pull back, but they have continued to launch raids deep into Angola, killing hundreds of Angolans and Namibian refugees. And they continued to arm, train, and otherwise support the UNITA terrorists.

Cuban troops in Angola provide a "defense line to deter South Africa from launching an all-out invasion deep into Angola," reported the September 20 *Washington Post*.

In January 1984 the South African rulers agreed to "disengage" their troops from southern Angola. The Angolan government agreed to limit the activities of Namibian rebels in Angola, which it did by agreement with the South West Africa People's Organization. In turn, South Africa was expected to end its aid to UNITA.

In fact, however, UNITA stepped up its terrorist activities, and South Africa continued to raid southern Angola.

The apartheid regime is also continuing

Clerical workers settle strike in Bath, Me.

Continued from front page

One provision of the settlement was especially important — a common contract expiration date with the production workers in the next contract.

Forcing BIW to back off concession demands was the product of a long, militant, and united strike by the clerical workers, backed wholeheartedly by the production workers.

The spirit of the strikers was exemplified by regular evening pickets. At the onset of the strike, a company spokesman had threatened Local 7 members with seeing Thanksgiving on the picket line. Workers immediately organized a big "Thanksgiving dinner" cookout on the line — including the "roast" of an appropriate turkey, the company spokesman. Then they held a "Christmas" dinner. Plans were in the works for "Easter" when the strike was settled.

Local 7 is a new union, having only won the right to represent the clerical workers three years ago. Their contract ratification meeting was a long one. There was both good and bad in the new contract. But much of the discussion went beyond the terms of the contract to consider the effect of a settlement on the members of their sister local who would remain out on the picket line.

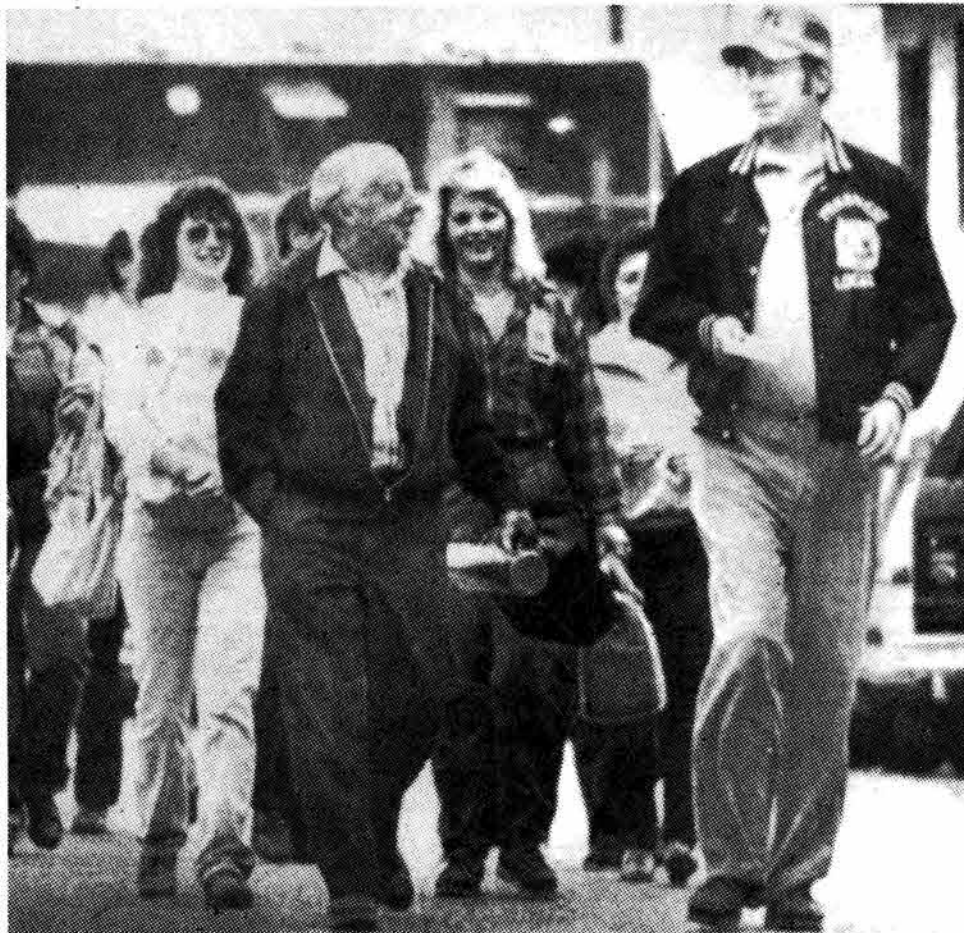
Solidarity between two locals

The depth of the continuing solidarity between the two locals was clear Monday morning when the clerks proudly marched en masse to the shipyard gates, led by union President Paul Brilliant. They were greeted by an ovation from the picketing members of Local 6.

Many clerks took their lunch hour to join the production workers on the line and marched with them again after work. The local is pledged to do everything it can to aid their fellow shipbuilders who remain on strike.

BIW has made it clear that they aim to bear down on Local 6, the decisive union in the yard. The production workers have been on strike since July 1. For the first time since the beginning of the strike, the company has asserted that if Local 6 doesn't agree to concessions in the next couple weeks, they will open their gates and urge workers to cross the picket line.

BIW claimed that contracts it negotiated



Union President Paul Brilliant (right) leads clerical workers back to work after winning new contract in 22-week strike at Bath Iron Works. Company has not yet reached agreement with members of the Shipbuilders union who remain on strike.

with the navy — prior to its demands on the union — were predicated on reduced wages and benefits. This was crucial, the company claimed, to underbid other shipyards.

But in July, Ray Ladd, president of Local 6, held a press conference and released documents which blasted BIW's claims.

Sacrificing work force for profits

Bypassing the union, Haggett says that, from now on, "the Company will communicate directly with its employees."

Since then, the company has sent weekly letters to all the strikers, hoping to generate a "back-to-work movement" and force the union to settle for concessions or be broken.

But the strike remains solid and morale on the picket line high despite hardships.

Many of the strikers have found other work over the summer to help meet expenses. However, a significant number of these jobs are seasonal.

Some strikers have worked so long at seasonal jobs that as they are laid off, they become eligible for unemployment benefits. And BIW has to pick up the bill.

Cops threaten strikers

Bath police have begun to respond more aggressively to repeated company complaints of picketing workers' "harassment" of truckers and others crossing the picket line. For the first time a number of arrest warrants have been issued for strikers.

A crucial factor in the strike has been the continuing solidarity and aid from other unionists and strike supporters.

The Maine AFL-CIO has aided Local 6 in organizing a state-wide Food Caravan.

In a flyer distributed to every union local in the state, the state federation explains, "our goal is to haul a tractor trailer of food into Bath each week as long as the strike continues."

The breadth of support was indicated by John Portela, one of the coordinators of the food drive for Local 6. He explained that donations had come from Paperworkers in Jay and Rumford, the Maine Upstate Employees Association, textile workers in Brunswick and Portland, the International

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and building trades locals.

The Teamsters donated a semi-trailer to store the donated food outside the union hall.

Other organizations have also pledged support. The Brunswick, Maine, chapter of the National Organization for Women is planning a benefit for the strikers in early October. The Boston Militant Labor Forum, after hearing a presentation by a striking Local 6 member, collected \$120 for the strikers.

Local 6 is asking supporters to send financial contributions to: Local 6 Strike Fund, 722 Washington Street, Bath, Maine 04530.

At issue, Ladd explained, is whether BIW is really hurting or just "so intent on making vast profits that it is prepared to sacrifice the morale of its work force to fatten its own pocketbook."

Because BIW is a "private" company — that is, it issues no stock for public sale, it is not required by federal law to publish any profit or other financial information.

Ladd released to the press copies of the new contracts the company had negotiated with the navy. These contracts assured BIW's owners of a minimum profit of \$79 million on the first three shifts alone.

William Haggett, president of BIW, has admitted that since then, "we hear the question every day: 'if BIW needs concessions why doesn't the Company open its books and prove it?'"

The company has done everything in its power to divert attention from the union's demand that they open their books. Company lawyers took the union and its officers to court, arguing that they must have stolen the documents containing the damning profit figures.

Milt Dudley, strike coordinator for Local 6, told the *Militant* that this company lawsuit is nothing but an attempted diversion. "It has been winding down ever since we showed the court that we got the contracts, which were in the public domain anyhow, from a senator." Nonetheless, Dudley explained, "they keep it up because being in court drains our time and resources more than it does theirs."

The fact that BIW is demanding concessions from its workers while enjoying substantial profits has deepened the resolve of the strikers and aided in winning support from other workers.

The company's chief hope is that they can bleed Local 6's members dry. It hoped to isolate Local 6 by settling with Local 7 and earlier with the smaller, unaffiliated Bath Marine Draftsmen's Association, which never joined the two shipbuilders locals on strike.

BIW's union-busting tactics

Coupled with its refusal to negotiate, BIW is stepping up its direct union-busting tactics. On September 6, the company sent a "Dear Employee" letter to the strikers advising them the walkout has gone on "too long."

Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM' hits FBI raid in Puerto Rico

The FBI's recent arrest of Puerto Rican independence activists in Puerto Rico and the United States represents a dangerous threat to the democratic rights of all working people.

In the attack, the U.S. government's political police seized 11 people in Puerto Rico, held them incommunicado for several days, stole files and documents, and closed down a magazine, even taking the printing presses.

This intimidating show of force has aroused the indignation of Puerto Ricans and defenders of democratic rights both on the island and in the United States. Several protests have already been held.

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* tells the facts on this act of U.S. government terrorism, and calls for defending the rights of the victimized Puerto Rican independence fighters.

Perspectiva is a valuable source of the truth published in Spanish. Help get it into the hands of your Spanish-speaking coworkers and friends.

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Utah protest hits 'contra' war

BY SCOTT BREEN

SALT LAKE CITY — Two hundred people protested here against the U.S.-backed war on Nicaragua. They picketed a public meeting addressed by Adolfo Calero, president of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the largest of the U.S.-organized armed terrorists trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

Chanting "Hey, hey, ho, ho; the bloody *contra* war has got to go," and "FDN, CIA: how many children did you kill today?" picketers demanded an end to funding for the CIA-backed mercenaries known as *contras* — Spanish for counterrevolutionaries.

Calero was here September 6 promoting the war against Nicaragua. Billed as "the commander-in-chief of the freedom fighters in Nicaragua" by his sponsors, he spoke at a public meeting titled "The Communist Attack on the Americas."

The meeting was sponsored by the "National Center for Constitutional Studies," an organization affiliated with the anti-communist Freeman Institute, associated with the Church of Latter Day Saints — the Mormons.

The picket line was organized in less than a week by an ad hoc coalition of individuals and organizations called Utahns Against Contra Funding.

Kathleen Densmore, who had just returned from a month in Estelí, Nicaragua, reported that the war is directed against the civilian population. It is a war of rape, torture, kidnapping, and murder. "The *contras* do not have a future in Nicaragua," she declared, "the people don't trust them."

Also speaking was Mike Saperstein, co-chairperson of the Central American Solidarity Coalition. A student who spent two years living in Nicaragua

Bob Hoyle, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City, addressed the press reports that "high state officials" met with Calero: "This is outrageous. These mercenaries are not real freedom fighters. The freedom they are fighting for is the freedom of big corporations to run Nicaragua for their own profit. They oppose the Nicaraguan government for the same reason the U.S. government does: it's a government of, by, and for the workers and farmers of Nicaragua, not the rich."

Joan Newbigging: 20 years in socialist movement

Meetings celebrate life and work of Canadian revolutionary fighter

The following article is taken from the September 16 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a socialist biweekly published in Montreal, Canada.

BY LYNDA LITTLE

TORONTO — Eighty friends and comrades gathered here on August 25 to celebrate the life and work of Joan Newbigging. Newbigging was a central leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and before it of the League for Socialist Action (LSA). She was also the former editor of *Socialist Voice*. After a four-year battle with cancer, Newbigging, 43, died in Montreal on July 31.

Arthur Young, an RWL Central Committee member who worked with Newbigging for 20 years, chaired the evening. He quoted Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress: "Our people want freedom now. They've lost all patience with the idea that their freedom can be put off, even for one instant. They consider that the purpose of life is to devote it to the struggle for the liberation of our country and they have therefore abandoned all fear of death. For them today the words 'to live' mean exactly the same thing as the words 'to be free.'"

"That is the spirit of the South African struggle today," Young said. "And that is also the spirit in which Joan lived her very rich and full life and why tonight is a celebration of her life."

The evening before, 40 people held a similar celebration of Newbigging's life in Montreal.

Young described the "turning point" in Newbigging's life when she joined the Toronto Young Socialist Alliance and the LSA in 1965. "She brought with her a unique combination of energy and determination, maturity and objectivity."

"Joan did not believe in half-measures. She made an unreserved commitment," said Ernie Tate, a former longtime RWL leader. When she got involved, he explained, "we were actively building support for the Cuban revolution. Joan threw herself into this work and in May 1965 visited Cuba under the sponsorship of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

"It was her ability to be inspired by events in the class struggle that showed the way forward for humanity that I remember most about Joan. There was a joy about her that was totally infectious."

A feminist leader

Joan Campana, the current editor of *Socialist Voice*, recalled Newbigging as a leader of the Canadian women's liberation movement. "Joan participated in the very first feminist groups and activities. She became a leader of the abortion rights struggle and a pioneer in women's fight to work non-traditional jobs."

"Through her experiences and through study, she concluded that our liberation could only be fully realized in a revolutionary struggle to overturn the very roots of oppression and exploitation — the capitalist system itself. That's why she dedicated herself to building the Revolutionary Workers League."

Campana also described the leadership

Newbigging had shown "when our party decided to organize to have a majority of its members get jobs in industry and participate as revolutionary workers in the industrial unions. She worked on the railroad, in meatpacking, and in a sawmill."

One of the younger comrades she inspired was Carole Caron, a leader of the Revolutionary Youth Committee in Montreal. Caron described her experience working with Newbigging on the initial steps toward launching a pan-Canadian youth organization in solidarity with the RWL.

"My collaboration with Joan helped me to better understand that the real divisions within capitalism are not between young people and old, between Quebec and English Canada, or between women and men, but between the class of workers and their allies on the one side, and the class of the bosses on the other."

"Joan helped me to see more clearly what unites us, reinforcing what we have in common through the struggle against capitalism, rather than focusing on what divides us. She taught me to be more objective and to respect our revolutionary continuity."

International messages

Representing the British section of the Fourth International at the meeting was Connie Harris, a 44-year veteran of the British workers' movement and a leader of the International. She described how impressed she was by the "enthusiasm, confidence, and ability" of Joan and the other young leaders she met while living in Canada for a time in the 1960s.

This was the period when the LSA made a transition in leadership from the veterans who had held the party together during the difficult days of the 1950s to a new generation of fighters including Newbigging.

Harris was also impressed with Newbigging's deep commitment to the international workers' movement. "Despite the stage of Joan's illness, she took on the task of convening the Canadian tour of a striking British coal miner last year, responding enthusiastically to this big upheaval in the class struggle in Britain."

Mary-Alice Waters, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States and of the Fourth International, spoke about Joan's role as a leader of the Fourth International.

"She also brought something very particular to the process of building our party in the United States." Describing tasks the RWL and SWP carry out in common — from educational gatherings to common trade union fractions in North American-wide unions — Waters stressed "the importance of this work in the internationalist education of the Socialist Workers Party. We live inside the United States, inside the belly of the beast."

"Breaking our isolation, cutting through the isolation that our movement and the working class in the United States face because of the strength of U.S. imperialism, is absolutely crucial to the capacity to build a proletarian, internationalist party in the United States."

"The collaboration we have received

over the years from the comrades in English Canada and Quebec in this process has been indispensable in helping to keep us from drowning in the imperialist arrogance of the United States, in helping us learn other cultures and other languages, both literally and figuratively. And it's in that sense that Joan contributed enormously over the years."

"Joan had tremendous capacities. But there was something unique about her. What she did as a leader was not something that she was born with. She learned it, just like everyone else learns it. And that's exactly what she tried to do, to encourage everyone to do and learn as she had."

International collaboration

Pat Williams, a leader of the Socialist Action League (SAL) of New Zealand described how, although they had never met her personally, Joan became very familiar to the New Zealand comrades. This was especially true because of a 1983 report Newbigging gave on the struggle for abortion clinics in Canada. The report was carefully studied by comrades in New Zealand and other countries.

This was just one example of the collaboration between the SAL and the RWL, Williams explained. She stressed the importance of these links. "For us it means being part of and building the international communist organization, the Fourth International, being able to collaborate concretely to the best we can, given the distances involved."

Deb Shnookal, representing a group of communists who support the Fourth International in Australia, remarked on the appropriateness of the memorial fund being launched in Newbigging's memory. The fund will be used to set up a new French-language Marxist bookstore in Montreal.

Shnookal outlined Newbigging's understanding of the importance of the revolutionary literature distributed by Pathfinder Press. Explaining how the Australian comrades are now circulating this literature in the entire South Pacific, she concluded "The most appropriate commemoration of Joan's life is to advance these common international projects."

In the Montreal meeting, Ronald Cameron of the Gauche Socialiste (Socialist Left), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Quebec, paid tribute to "the depth of Joan's personal commitment. In reconfirming this commitment in the 1980s, maintaining her activity in spite of illness, comrade Joan Newbigging stands out very clearly as an example to political activists both in Quebec and Canada."

Both the Toronto and Montreal meetings also heard messages from people who knew or had worked with Newbigging in Canada or around the world. These included a telegram from Ernest Mandel, a central leader of the Fourth International.

A life of revolutionary commitment

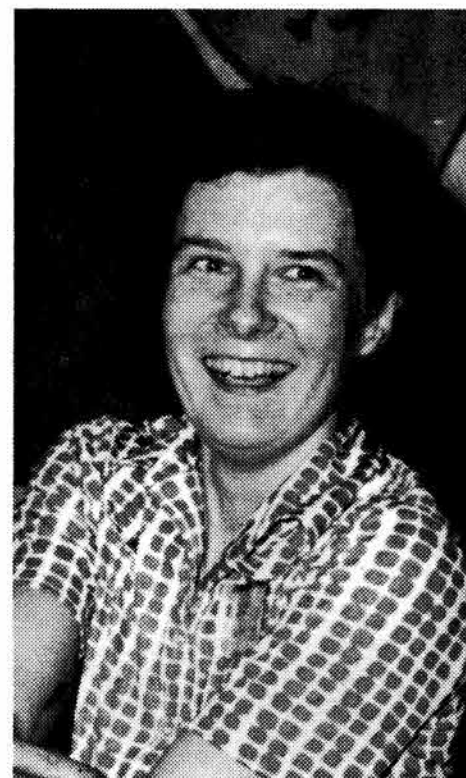
The final speaker was Michel Prairie, coeditor of *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*, two journals of Marxist theory and politics published jointly by leaders of the RWL and SWP. Prairie is also editor of *Lutte Ouvrière*, the French-language equivalent of *Socialist Voice*.

"Joan Newbigging devoted almost her entire life to building a communist party in Canada. By far that is her principal contribution, the main heritage that she left us."

"Her life reads like a veritable history of the principal struggles of our class over 20 years. Through all these struggles, Joan became convinced that the only way to put a definitive end to capitalist oppression and exploitation was for those who truly produce the wealth in our society to take power from the hands of the big corporations and the banks."

Joan knew that called for building a revolutionary party. "To her, such a party had to truly reflect our class as it is. It had to be a pan-Canadian, multinational party, where young workers, women, and Québécois played a central role."

In the mid-1970s, Prairie explained, there were three organizations that identified with the Fourth International in Canada — the LSA, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), and the Groupe



Socialist Voice

Joan Newbigging

Marxiste Révolutionnaire in Quebec.

"Joan played an essential role in the fusion of these groups into the RWL in 1977," Prairie said. "She was delegated by the LSA leadership to sit on the joint LSA-RMG steering committee that led the fusion process in English Canada."

When the central office of the RWL moved from Toronto to Montreal in 1980, a move to help deepen the party's pan-Canadian character, Newbigging "enthusiastically" accepted an assignment to come to Montreal.

"Comrades who were then living in Vancouver still remember how she would take advantage of the long traffic lineups leading into the sawmill where she worked to study French at the wheel of her car."

"Joan's interest in learning French was political. She was convinced that it was essential for her and all English-speaking comrades to be able to communicate with Québécois revolutionaries and workers in their own language."

Prairie explained Newbigging's "great satisfaction with the theme chosen for the first issue of *Nouvelle Internationale*. This issue contains a series of articles on the need for workers to forge an alliance with the other class of exploited producers in our society, the small farmers."

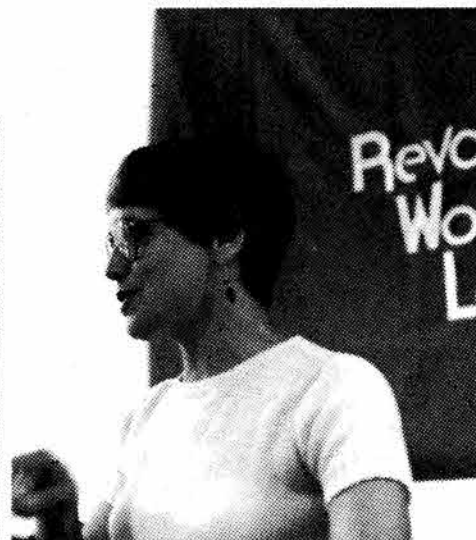
"Despite the illness that weakened her and forced her to retire from the Political Committee, Joan played an essential role in this discussion which the RWL Political Committee had opened up inside the party."

In concluding, Prairie quoted Fidel Castro who said that "there is no more noble task than being a revolutionary and devoting one's life to the struggle for the emancipation of humanity." Prairie encouraged all present who agreed with that to join with the socialist youth committees and the RWL in building the revolutionary movement.

"That is exactly what Joan did with her life. And she did it totally, with no afterthoughts. She was thoroughly convinced of what she was doing. She knew that elsewhere in the world, in the factories of Cuba, in the shantytowns of South Africa, in the fields of Nicaragua, millions upon millions of men and women were doing the same thing as she was. They were making history."



Lutte Ouvrière/Bonita Murdock



Socialist Voice/Monica Jones

Arthur Young (left) of Revolutionary Workers League and Mary-Alice Waters of U.S. Socialist Workers Party spoke at celebrations of the life of Joan Newbigging. Newbigging, Waters explained, played important role in internationalist education of SWP through joint work carried out by RWL and SWP.

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CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

March and Rally Against Apartheid. Sat., Oct. 12. Assemble 11 a.m. at Jackie Robinson Stadium; march to Leimert Park, 43rd and Crenshaw Blvd. Rally 1 p.m. Ausp: Free South Africa Movement. For more information call (213) 747-1367.

Spear of the Nation. A film about South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 12. Open house, 6:30 p.m.; film, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Malcolm X and Che Guevara: Their Meaning for Today. Speakers to be announced. A bilingual program in English and Spanish. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Behind the Scare Campaign Against AIDS Victims. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

COLORADO

Denver

AIDS Hysteria: Victims as Criminal. Fri., Oct. 4, 7:30 p.m. 25 W 3 Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

Militant Bookstore Open House. Sat., Oct. 12, 1 p.m. 25 W 3 Ave. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

Apartheid in South Africa. A panel discussion. Speakers: Rev. Jerome Owens, cochair of New Orleans Anti-apartheid Coalition for October 11 & 12; Selby Sémela, leader of 1976 student uprising in South Africa and president of New Orleans Committee Against Apartheid; Oupa, South African student; Michael Howells, leader of PEACE; Ntisi Shishebe, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Defend Abortion Rights! A panel of abortion-rights activists. Sun., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

Socialist Campaign Rally. Hear Kip Hedges, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council at-large. Sat., Oct. 12. Reception: 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m.; party to follow. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

General Dynamics, Wheeling-Pittsburgh Strikers Stand Up to Company Attacks. Speakers: Shelton McCrahey, member of United Auto Workers Local 1200 at General Dynamics; Holly Harkness, member United Steelworkers Local 758, Chicago. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

Corporate Blackmail: GM Tax Breaks Threaten Our Communities. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

tant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Great Spirit Within 'the Hole.' A film on Indians in prison with discussion by Chris Spotted Eagle, the film maker. Sun., Sept. 29, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi

Southern Regional Coalition for Reproductive Freedom. Workshops on prochoice issues. Sat., Sept. 28, 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. Holiday Inn, Route 90. Donation requested. For more information call (601) 388-3986.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

How to Fight the Ku Klux Klan. Speakers: Larry Hamm, Progressive Rainbow Coalition; Mark Satinoff, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

FBI Terrorism in Puerto Rico. Speakers: Abelita Medina, coordinator of the Movement Support Network and member of Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression; Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 4. Preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: forum \$2, dinner \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

South Africa: Turning Point in the Freedom Struggle. Speakers: Merton Simpson, Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism; Paco Duarte, minority-affairs coordinator, Student Association of SUNY-Albany; David Wall, member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 861 and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. 352 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Defend the Puerto Rican Independentistas Against the FBI. Speakers: Artemio Camacho, member of Socialist Workers Party; Pedro Albizu Meneses, son of Pedro Albizu Campos, founder of modern independence movement; representative of Committee Against Repression. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Vietnam and Kampuchea. A forum and discussion. Speakers: Chan Bun Han, Kampuchean national, member of Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. Visited Kampuchea in 1981 and '84; Karen Gellen, *Guardian* newspaper foreign editor, recently returned from Vietnam; Clarence Fitch, coordinator, NY-NJ Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Don Luce, director Asia Resource Center. Sun., Oct. 6, 3 p.m. Washington Square Methodist Church, 135 W 4 St. Donation: \$4. Ausp: CSVNKL, *Guardian*. For more information call (718) 624-8173.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Pornography and Women's Rights. Sun., Sept. 29, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation:

\$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

The Fight for Freedom: South Africa to Central America. Speaker: Mark Curtis, National Executive Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Sept. 29, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Defend Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose. Speakers: Peggy Mow, Socialist Workers Party; Shirley Rossir, Women's Equity Action League. Sun., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

OREGON

Portland

South Africa: Generations of Resistance. Film documentary on major Black resistance campaigns. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Upsurge in Africa. Speaker: Ernest Harsch, author of *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt*. Managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, recently returned from West Africa. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

TEXAS

Houston

Democratic Rights in Houston Under Attack. What We Can Do to Defend Them. Panel discussion. Speakers: Bruce Griffith, American Civil Liberties Union; Tom Coleman, vice-president Gay Political Caucus; Ada Edwards, Free South Africa Movement; Cathy Courtney, Texas Abortion Rights Action League; Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

The Truth About the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Scott Breen, representative of

Socialist Workers Party, visited Cuba in 1981. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State Street, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

For Kanak Independence: The Fight Against French Rule in New Caledonia. Speaker: Susanna Ounei, leader of Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front. Wed., Oct. 2, 7 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 569 S 1300 E. Ausp: Susanna Ounei Tour Committee. For more information call (801) 595-0396.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Support the Seattle Teachers' Strike. Speakers: Mike Prisor, representative of executive board, Seattle Teachers Association; Elizabeth Jackson, member Black Professional Educators Association and Coalition for the Education of Black Children; Val Bloehm, member Operating Engineers Local 609; Dan Fein, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1002 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Support the Freedom Struggle in South Africa! A panel discussion. Speakers: representative of African National Congress of South Africa; James Winfield, member Young Socialist Alliance National Committee; representative of Northern Virginians Against Apartheid; representative of Student Coalition Against Apartheid. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 29, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Reagan's War on Women's Rights. Speakers: Loretta Ross, International Council of African Women and National Black United Front; Deborah Lazar, member Coalition of Labor Union Women and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 362. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 6, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Art and the Cuban Revolution. Slideshow and presentation by Frank Boehm, choreographer currently making film titled *Alicia's Cuba*. Sat., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

NEW

13 recent speeches and interviews by Fidel Castro covering the U.S.-backed war against Nicaragua; prospects for defeating a U.S. invasion; the international debt crisis; the political situation in Latin America; and Cuba's recent "revolutions" in the economy and in defense. Includes interview with *Excelsior* on the need to cancel Latin America's \$360 billion debt. 280 pp., \$6.95

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Why Australian SWP split from Fourth International

BY MALIK MIAH

The September 23 issue of the international news biweekly, *Intercontinental Press*, is an especially educational one that deserves careful reading.

The expanded 40-page edition contains articles and documents on the split of the National Committee of the Australian Socialist Workers Party from the Fourth International, an international revolutionary communist organization.

The Australian SWP leadership says the Fourth International is an obstacle to building a mass revolutionary international movement and should never have been formed.

According to a report in the August 28 *Direct Action*, the Australian SWP's weekly newspaper, the SWP Na-

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tional Committee formalized its split at a meeting in mid-August. The report adopted by the leadership body summed up the decision as follows: "Our political position is a total negation of the whole reason for the existence of the Fourth International." (This article is reprinted in *IP*.)

Australian SWP National Secretary Jim Percy is quoted in the article as stating, "I think it was wrong to form the Fourth International in the first place." He added, "the organizational form [of the Fourth International] cut off [Leon] Trotsky [a leader of the 1917 Russian revolution] and the Trotskyists from any other possibility of the development of the Communist movement."

Why Australian SWP degenerated

An article by Doug Jenness, editor of *IP* and a leader of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, describes the political degeneration of the Australian SWP leadership that led to its desertion from the Fourth International. He also explains the origins and place of the Fourth International in developing a mass revolutionary international movement.

"The walkout of the SWP's National Committee," Jenness writes, "consummates and formalizes a split that began two years ago, when a majority of the party's leadership took the unprecedented action of breaking off all relations with selected parties of the International."

This included severing relations with the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, a fraternal party of the Fourth International, as well as the New Zealand and Canadian sections.

Jenness explains that the political basis for the walkout is the Australian SWP leadership's abandonment of "any working-class foundation for its political perspective." The proletarian orientation and communist continuity of the Fourth International is now an intolerable straitjacket for the organization.

"At the heart of this degeneration is the overall deproletarianization of the Australian SWP — in its composition, functioning, and political outlook," Jenness adds.

This process of deproletarianization of the Australian SWP was described in 1983 in an information report presented by U.S. SWP leader Larry Seigle to the National Committee of the U.S. SWP (the report is also reprinted in *IP*). Many of the negative consequences of moving away from building a working-class party were cited by Seigle.

These included the Australian SWP leadership adopting an increasingly ultraleft, sectarian policy toward the Australian Labor Party, a mass workers' party based on the trade unions.

A group of Fourth Internationalists who were purged from the Australian SWP in 1983 (the appeal of their expulsion to the 1985 National Conference of the SWP is reprinted in *IP*) pointed to the SWP leadership's position in the December 1984 elections as a further deepening of its sectarian stance toward the Labor Party. In those elections the SWP counterposed campaigning for the petty-bourgeois Nuclear Disarmament Party to support of Labor Party candidates.

Focusing its main fire on the trade union bureaucracy — not the bosses — is the Australian SWP leadership's policy in the trade unions. Thus, the purged Fourth Internationalists explain, the SWP leaders do not advance a



Reflecting its increasingly sectarian policy toward Labor Party, Australian Socialist Workers Party in December 1984 elections campaigned for petty-bourgeois Nuclear Disarmament Party against candidates of the Labor Party.

class-struggle orientation in the unions.

Losing their class bearings also led the Australian SWP to begin collaborating with right-wing Croatian nationalists in Australia. These reactionaries call for the dismantlement of the Yugoslav workers' state established by the massive workers' and peasants' revolution in Yugoslavia during and immediately after World War II.

Jenness notes: "The SWP's approach to electoral action, allies, unity discussions with other groups, the peace movement, and all other political activities is classless. It fetishizes mass action regardless of its class content."

Adaptation to Stalinism

What can happen to a party that junks a revolutionary international working-class outlook is seen in the Australian SWP's adaptation to the class-collaborationist policies and bureaucratic organizational methods of Stalinism. Jenness points to several examples.

First, is the SWP's political collaboration and unity maneuvers with the Socialist Party of Australia (SPA). The SPA is more loyal to the political line of Moscow than is the larger "Eurocommunist" Communist Party of Australia (CPA) from which it split in 1971. These maneuvers are not based on a convergence with a revolutionary working-class outlook but an adaptation to the SPA's Stalinist politics.

Second, is the SWP's glowing appraisal of the early history of the CPA. A rave review of the Australian film, *Red Matildas*, in *Direct Action*, for example, covered up the CPA's class-collaborationist "popular front" policies in the 1930s. (Review is reprinted in *IP*.)

Direct Action also carried an elated report by an SWP youth leader of the recent World Youth Festival held in Moscow. The article accepts the political framework of the Soviet Communist Party and its policies.

The clearest accommodation to the Stalinist world outlook is seen in the Australian SWP's rewriting of the history of the Vietnamese independence struggle.

The Australian SWP leaders endorse the betrayal of the Vietnamese independence struggle in the 1940s. They explain that those Vietnamese Fourth Internationalists and other independence fighters who refused to subordinate the independence struggle in 1945 to reliance on the goodwill of the Soviet Union's imperialist allies in World War II were obstacles to the struggle. Consequently, the Vietnamese CP was justified in murdering them.

U.S. SWP leader Steve Clark explains in his article, "Accommodation to Stalinist positions," that the leaders of the Australian SWP "thus try to justify the murder of revolutionists — a crime against the revolution that can

have no justification, and that the Vietnamese Communist Party itself has never subsequently sought to defend."

Clark explains that the victory in 1975 by the Vietnamese national liberation struggle over U.S. imperialism was a result of the Vietnamese Communists' break a quarter century earlier from the Stalinist course of subordinating the independence struggle to the class-collaborationist diplomacy of the Soviet government — the main reason for the defeat in 1945-47.

Why the Fourth International

The Australian SWP leadership asserts that the Fourth International is an obstacle that must be removed because it has been incapable of recognizing, understanding, and relating to revolutionary leaderships that emerge outside of the framework of the Fourth International. They are particularly critical of the Fourth International's orientation to the Cuban revolution and its leadership.

SWP National Secretary Jim Percy, according to *Direct Action*, contends, "The Trotskyist view of Stalinism stands in the way of understanding the importance of what is happening in Cuba."

The Australian SWP National Committee asserts that it is time to "break with the idea that having an alternative view of Stalinism justifies being in a separate 'historic current.'"

Jenness explains that it was the Fourth International's recognition of the revolutionary capacities of the Cuban leadership that confirmed the most fundamental perspective of the Fourth International — "that revolutionary currents would arise independent of Stalinist and Social Democratic organizations."

The Cuban revolution in 1959 led to a political reorientation by the Fourth International, which continues today. It politically prepared the International to understand the Nicaraguan and Grenada revolutions of 1979 and the significance of their leaderships. The Fourth International has made solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution its central activity for the past six years.

Jenness describes the origins of the Fourth International and its place in defending the continuity of Leninism and the development of a mass revolutionary international movement.

From the mid-1920s until the early 1930s, "the Bolshevik-Leninists fought to prevent the Comintern [Communist International] from becoming an instrument of Moscow's class-collaborationist foreign policy, which was destroying it as a formation to advance the world revolution," Jenness explains.

"When the Bolshevik-Leninists were purged from the Soviet party and then from the sections of the Comintern, they simply continued the fight, in their countries and internationally. For those who refused to give up the communist perspective, there was no choice."

This communist perspective, Jenness adds, is what proletarian internationalism is all about. Leon Trotsky and other leaders did not start with the idea or the tactic of forming a new International. "They had not chosen to place themselves outside the Stalinized Comintern and its national sections," Jenness said. They were driven out; Trotsky was assassinated by Stalin's agents in 1940.

They did not start with an "alternative view of Stalinism." They simply kept on defending the communist program and perspective — as they had been doing.

One of the principal documents adopted by the founding conference of the Fourth International, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," said the International "has no need of being 'proclaimed.' It exists and it fights."

The structuring of the Fourth International, Jenness explains, reflected the reality in which it was formed: during some of the most crushing defeats of the working class. The context of its formation was different than that of the first three internationals, which arose out of major advances in the class struggle.

"Its [the Fourth International's] greatest source of strength," Jenness writes, "was that it continued to be true to the line of march of the working-class vanguard, at least in its most conscious and generalized expression, since 1847."

That's what the Australian SWP leadership turned its back on when it walked out of the Fourth International. It's a rejection of a revolutionary proletarian internationalist orientation. It's why the Australian SWP — or any other party seeking to become a "national" communist current — will cease to be revolutionary Marxist.

When the Australian SWP National Committee began its break from the Fourth International, a big part of the core of its long-time political leaders refused to go along. They were purged in 1983. They said in their appeal at the time, "We will not accept the leadership majority moving to take the party out of the Fourth International."

These Fourth Internationalists are continuing the course of constructing a revolutionary party in Australia today.

In addition to the articles by Doug Jenness and Steve Clark, *IP* reprints several documents that show the political degeneration of the Australian SWP leadership. These articles and documents, plus others, are now available in an Education for Socialists Bulletin published by Pathfinder Press. It can be ordered by writing to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. To order the September 23 issue (\$1.25 per copy) or a subscription to *IP*, see the ad on page 6.

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International Documents: 1907-1916 The Preparatory Years

This is the first book in a series that will publish the documents of the Communist International in Lenin's time. Most material in this book has never been published in English or has been long out of print.

Included are articles by V.I. Lenin, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Leon Trotsky, Karl Kautsky, and Karl Radek on the fight against imperialist war and its link to the fight for national liberation and

socialism.

624 pp., \$10.95

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

Racist attack on Farrakhan

A racist campaign is being whipped up across the country against the Rev. Louis Farrakhan. Farrakhan heads the Nation of Islam, a Black organization.

The campaign takes the form of charging that Farrakhan is a racist and an anti-Semite. The charges are a frame-up, not only of Farrakhan but of many thousands of Blacks.

In Los Angeles, some 15,000 Blacks turned out to hear Farrakhan despite a capitalist media campaign demanding that Blacks take a stand against him.

In Washington, D.C., more than 10,000 heard him speak under similar circumstances.

In New York City, the campaign against Farrakhan escalated when it was announced that he will speak at Madison Square Garden October 7. Thousands are sure to turn out.

The attacks ranged from a September 22 diatribe by Mayor Edward Koch to threats of reactionary counter-demonstrations.

Koch accused the Black minister of "the vilest of anti-Semitism" and called him "a Nazi in a clerical collar."

Koch said he did not favor counterdemonstrations but "there will be people, not recognizing that they are helping him [Farrakhan], who in justifiable anger — indeed, fury — will do that." This statement was backhanded encouragement to those who are threatening to disrupt the meeting.

Koch used the attack on Farrakhan to try to divert and divide the struggle against the racist apartheid system in South Africa. He suggested that ecumenical services scheduled for October 5, which Koch has proclaimed a day of mourning for the victims of apartheid, be turned into a forum for denouncing Farrakhan.

Capitalist politicians, the big-business media, and leaders of Jewish organizations like the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith portray Farrakhan as a fanatical anti-Semite and a Hitler-like threat to the survival of Jews. In painting Farrakhan this way, they seek to smear the Black community as anti-Semitic.

To keep the pot boiling, quotations from Farrakhan are distorted or torn out of context. He has been blasted as an anti-Semite for denouncing the Israeli regime's oppression of Palestinians.

He has even been denounced as anti-Semitic for expressing the religious belief that Blacks, rather than Jews, are "the chosen people of God."

Farrakhan has been accused of anti-Semitism because the government of Muammar el-Qaddafi in Libya donated money to help Farrakhan launch POWER (People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth). POWER seeks to foster Black-owned businesses.

But there is nothing wrong with POWER, or any other Blacks, accepting help from Libya.

The issue is not anti-Semitism but racism.

The attack on Farrakhan is part of the rulers' attempts to reinforce racist discrimination, including rolling back affirmative action and busing, and increasing use of the racist death penalty.

The leaders of Jewish organizations like the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee support the campaign against Farrakhan because they support rolling back affirmative action, attacks on the unions, Washington's arms buildup, and other reactionary policies that the ruling class is pursuing.

These organizations often blast opposition to these policies as anti-Semitic.

The ruling class, the big-business media, and the capitalist politicians target Farrakhan because they want to silence Blacks who refute the lie that this is no longer a racist society.

They want to silence Blacks who stand up for affirmative action or busing to achieve equal education.

They want to silence the growing number of Blacks who oppose U.S. imperialism's support to the racist Israeli regime, just as they oppose Washington's backing of the South African rulers.

They want to silence Blacks who protest the U.S.-backed war against Nicaragua.

More than Farrakhan's rights are at stake. If the frame-up methods used against him created an atmosphere in which he could be silenced, the rights of all would be endangered.

The proposals that Farrakhan's meeting should be banned or disrupted are a threat to the basic right of the Black community, the labor movement, and others to assemble and organize.

New anti-immigrant bill

The government drive against undocumented workers was given a new push with Senate approval of a reactionary anti-immigrant bill. Sponsored by Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), the bill was approved September 19 by a vote of 69-30.

A similar measure is pending in the House, sponsored by Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), chairman of the influential House Judiciary Committee.

The Simpson-Rodino bill is a reworked version of the notorious Simpson-Mazzoli bill. That piece of legislation died in Congress last year after the Senate and House passed separate versions and failed to reconcile them.

The present legislation has all the worst features of the old one, with several new reactionary features added.

The most widely touted provision of Simpson-Rodino establishes sanctions against employers who "knowingly" hire undocumented workers. The penalties range from token to modest fines, with maximum jail terms of six months for those deemed to be habitual offenders. And, as the word "knowingly" signals, there will be enough loopholes to ensure minimal action against employers.

But establishment of such penalties does have a purpose. Employers would be able to point to them as a justification for hiring discrimination against anyone with a Spanish surname, or who happens to look "foreign."

And employers would be able to use the supposed threat of penalties against them ("I'm really taking a big chance in hiring you") to pay even lower wages to those undocumented workers they chose to hire.

To put undocumented immigrants under even greater threat, the Senate bill provides added funds to beef up the racist Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and its brutal and corrupt Border Patrol.

This would mean more harassment and victimization at the border, and stepped-up factory and community raids by INS cops.

The Senate version of the bill does include a provision (opposed by Rodino in the House) to permit up to 350,000 immigrant farm workers to enter the country for maximum periods of nine months. These workers would have one right while they are here — the right to pick the crops of the wealthy growers.

Their entry visas would restrict them to a specific given region of the country and — to help ensure that they get out after the crops are harvested — 20 percent of

their wages would be withheld, payable only after they returned home.

Richard Fajardo of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) described this as welcoming immigrant workers "as our field hands, but not our neighbors."

To soften the impact of the reactionary measure, the bill holds out the promise of amnesty for undocumented immigrants who have lived here a period of time.

But, again, the Senate version is even worse on amnesty than was the Simpson-Mazzoli bill.

The present Senate version provides that legal status in the country could be granted to those undocumented persons who can prove to the satisfaction of the government that they have lived here continuously since before January 1, 1980. And it would take up to three years for this to go into effect, for a total of eight.

According to one Congressional estimate, some 500,000 people might eventually qualify for amnesty under the measure.

Meanwhile, if the bill becomes law, undocumented immigrants, a major source of low-paid labor, would find themselves in even greater jeopardy and therefore subject to greater victimization by employers, landlords, and other bloodsuckers.

Even more than now, the undocumented would be scapegoated as responsible for unemployment among "American" workers.

Such scapegoating is designed not only to divert native-born workers from the real source of their problems — U.S. capitalism — but to deepen the division between "illegal" and "legal" workers.

Such divisions are promoted because they weaken the workers' movement and make their unions more vulnerable to employer attack.

And the pariah status of the undocumented makes them a ready target for INS cops in union organizing drives and strike situations.

In the face of today's unrelenting employer offensive, what's needed is greater solidarity among all workers, not less. One important way of building such solidarity would be for the unions to take a stand against the Simpson-Rodino bill in unity with all oppressed nationalities.

They should wage a united fight against all deportations and for an open border, so that any worker can come here to work — without fear and with equal rights.

Early socialists debate defense of immigrant workers

Since the rise of imperialism, the ruling classes in the advanced capitalist countries have fostered anti-immigrant sentiment.

In the early 1900s, this ruling-class campaign found an echo in the Socialist Party of the United States.

The subject came up at the 1907 Congress of the Second International, an organization consisting of socialist parties primarily from Europe and North America. Morris Hillquit, a leader of the U.S. Socialist Party, introduced a resolution supporting immigration restrictions.

The resolution that was finally adopted rejected Hillquit's position. It proposed support for measures to protect immigrants from exploitation and abuse, grant them

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

full political rights, and assure them full membership rights in the unions.

Following are excerpts from Hillquit's remarks at the congress, as well as those of delegates from Hungary and the United States who opposed his position.

This debate, as well as other debates and documents from the Second International, are available in the book *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*. Published by Monad Press, its price is \$10.95.

It can be ordered by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 (include 75 cents for postage and handling).

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Morris Hillquit: Immigration and emigration pose a very difficult, serious problem. Our resolution in no way infringes on the principle of internationalism, which has always been our guide in the United States. There are several kinds of immigration; the first is natural immigration, which arises from the very nature of the capitalist economy. For these immigrants we demand full freedom, and we consider it the workers' duty to assist the poor among them.

Another kind of immigration must be sharply distinguished from the first. Basically it amounts to capitalism's importation of foreign labor cheaper than that of native-born workers. This threatens the native-born with dangerous competition and usually provides a pool of unconscious strikebreakers. Chinese and Japanese workers play that role today, as does the yellow race in general. While we have absolutely no racial prejudices against the Chinese we must frankly tell you that they can not be organized. Only a people well advanced in its historical development, such as the Belgians and Italians in France, can be organized for the class struggle.

Socialism is by no means sentimentalism. A fierce struggle rages between capital and labor, and those who stand against organized labor are our enemy. Do we want to grant privileges to foreign strikebreakers, when they are locked in struggle with native-born workers?

József Diner-Dénes (Hungary): . . . Those countries that cannot be organized today will be organized tomorrow. Moreover in backward countries this evolution proceeds more rapidly than it did in countries that developed earlier, such as England and Germany. Only 10 years ago our Hungarian workers emigrating to America were considered unorganizable. Today, only a few years later, they are being organized, and are inspired with the spirit of socialism.

You want to erect protective barriers around the workers. This will land you in the same fiasco as have the tariff-building efforts [anti-import campaigns] of the capitalists.

We must permit completely free immigration and emigration. A great many American workers are wage conscious but not yet imbued with a proletarian class consciousness. Of course we must fight against the abuses that stem from the mass importation of workers for the capitalists' benefit, but through explanation and organization. A good method would be to press for the establishment of a minimum wage — where possible through political means, otherwise through trade union struggle. (*Enthusiastic Applause*) . . .

Dr. Julius Hammer (United States): There is no middle course in this question of immigration and emigration. Either you support restriction of immigration, or energetically combat it. I especially oppose . . . possible restrictions on the immigration of Chinese and Japanese workers. This is completely antisocialist. Legal restriction of immigration must be rejected. (*The speaker cites several examples of how racial hatred in America blinds the workers and drives them to acts of violence*)

The Japanese and Chinese could be very effectively organized. They are becoming quite well acquainted with capitalism and are learning how to fight it. I ask that you not approve any legal restrictions on immigration and emigration. We must create a great nation of the exploited.

Handwriting on the wall — The World Bank is planning to offer political risk insurance to companies investing in developing countries. Direct foreign invest-



Harry Ring

ment in such countries plummeted from \$17 billion in 1981 to \$8 billion in 1983.

How caring can they get? — ANNAPOLIS, Md. (AP) — The

federal government has agreed to spend \$600,000 to rehabilitate three rundown barracks at Ft. Meade to house up to 60 homeless men, women, and children. The barracks will become the nation's third and largest shelter at a military base. — News item.

Travel tip — A nuke plant in western France offers a package tour of the site, plus a visit to a nearby thousand-year-old abbey. We trust the abbey visit includes a stop at the cemetery for a bit of meditation.

Mr. American Culture — A. Alfred Taubman, who piled it up with shopping malls, football teams, and A&W root beer, took

over Sotheby's, the venerable art auction house. Taubman philosophizes: "Selling art has much in common with selling root beer. People don't need root beer and they don't need to buy a painting either. We provide them with a sense that it will give them a happier experience."

They're only numbers — A reader complains that the San Francisco *Examiner* carried two items about Gov. Edward Herschler of Wyoming filing for bankruptcy. The first said he listed \$9 million in debts and \$25,733 in assets. A condensed version of the same article followed listing his assets as \$7.52 million.

Ge — "Cold as a landlord's

heart," we used to say. But that may have been prejudice. Take Harold Brown, Boston's biggest landlord, who was indicted for bribing an inspector and lying to a grand jury about it. Brown is "worth" maybe a billion. He's an MIT grad, and one news account confides he's given the school money for lighting its outdoor tennis courts.

Flick your Bic — Cartier's in New York is clearing out gold and silver boutique items, including fountain pens reduced from \$190 to \$115.

Try aspirin — H. Ross Perot, the billionaire Texas tycoon, advises hopeful fast-buck artists: "Persevere, no matter the pain,

persevere. I don't think I feel pain as much as other people, otherwise I could not have done what I've done."

The march of science — No more remembering to write birthdays and doctors' appointments on the kitchen calendar. Two psychologists and an electrician have been awarded a patent for an electronic calendar to help you organize your time better. On the deluxe model, birthdays, etc., can be typed on a keyboard and will later pop up on the calendar.

Thought for the week — "Don't panic. But if you do, be the first." — An old banking adage currently popular among investors in South Africa.

Women miners fight for right to parental leave

BY CLARE FRAENZL

One of the central activities organized by women coal miners during the last five years has been a campaign to win a parental-leave clause in their United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract. A workshop at the Seventh National Conference of Women Miners, which was held in Price, Utah, in June, discussed progress on this campaign.

Cosby Totten, an underground miner from Virginia,

UNION TALK

explained at the conference how women miners had worked to popularize this idea among members of the UMWA.

The clause, which the 1983 UMWA convention voted to include as one of its demands in 1984 contract negotiations, reads: "There shall be, at the request of the miner affected, the right to an unpaid maternity/paternity leave of up to six months in any given calendar year for the parents or guardians of newborn, newly adopted or seriously ill children. Such unpaid leave may be taken consecutively or intermittently at the discretion of the affected miner. There shall be continued health and other fringe benefits during that leave, with no loss of seniority, job classification or other fringe benefits."

Totten explained that women miners had originally de-

cided to propose that the UMWA fight to get this clause included in its contracts with coal operators because many women miners are single parents.

A strict absentee program allows coal operators to fire miners who are absent from work for two consecutive days without a written doctor's excuse. Many working parents run the risk of being fired if they take time off to care for their children.

When women began raising the idea of such a clause they found many of their male coworkers experienced similar difficulties. Totten cited the example of a West Virginia miner who was denied time off to drive his child to chemotherapy treatments once every three weeks.

Meetings with UMWA international and district officers, as well as a discussion organized by women delegates to the December 1983 UMWA constitutional convention, resulted in the UMWA voting to include the parental-leave clause as one of the demands for the 1984 contract negotiations.

The UMWA negotiating committee did not succeed in getting the clause inserted in the contract itself. But a "letter of intent," establishing a joint committee between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) to study the feasibility of including the clause in the 1988 contract was attached to the 1984 agreement.

Both Totten and Carol Davis, an underground miner and vice-president of the Marianna, Pennsylvania, UMWA local were appointed to this joint committee.

Thus far, Totten reported, one committee meeting has been held. The UMWA presented extensive research documenting why such a clause would be beneficial to its members. BCOA representatives have failed to respond to the union's proposals and no further meetings have been scheduled.

However, the idea of a parental leave clause in union contracts has spread. In April of this year the Parental and Disability Leave Act of 1985 was introduced into Congress. It is supported by the National Organization for Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the AFL-CIO.

Participants at both the women miners conference's workshop on parental leave and its plenary session voted to endorse the bill.

Although many women expressed their doubts that it would ever make it through Congress, they saw it as an educational tool to explain the issue to large numbers of people.

The workshop also voted to continue the campaign within the UMWA to educate coworkers about the clause and to organize to be sure it is included in the next UMWA contract. They also voted to extend the clause to provide for leaves to care for seriously ill spouses. They see winning such coverage in the UMWA contract as an important step in winning similar coverage for all workers.

Clare Fraenzl is a member of UMWA Local 1197 at Bethlehem Mines, Ellsworth, Pennsylvania.

LETTERS

Paperworkers' strike

Last week I sent in a story on the Georgia-Pacific paperworkers' strike (see "Company thugs harass Ark. strikers" in the September 27 *Militant*).

In the article, I wrote that several hundred people, largely striking members of United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU), and their families took part in a march September 7.

However, almost all parties in the area are agreed that 1,500 is the most accurate estimate of the number of workers at the march. I had originally estimated the number at several hundred just to be on the safe side.

In this town of 6,706 people, 1,500 is quite a sizable crowd — almost certainly the largest it has ever seen. So you can see that Georgia-Pacific and the Sheriff's Department have quite a bit to worry about.

Jerry Fanning
Vice-president, UPIU Local 796
Crossett, Arkansas

Source of information

I've been receiving the *Militant* for nearly five years. I'm very glad to be able to get the paper because it is a source of information such as no other paper printed in the United States.

In the fullest of solidarity please keep the truth printed.

A prisoner
Pontiac, Illinois

Budget deficit

With the U.S. government budget deficit at \$206 billion, the Reagan administration has the gall

to suggest cutting the cost-of-living adjustment out of Social Security benefits as a solution.

This "thrifty" measure would save \$6 billion — leaving the deficit at only \$200 billion and ignoring the root causes of the deficit: tax benefits for the wealthy, military spending, and interest payments.

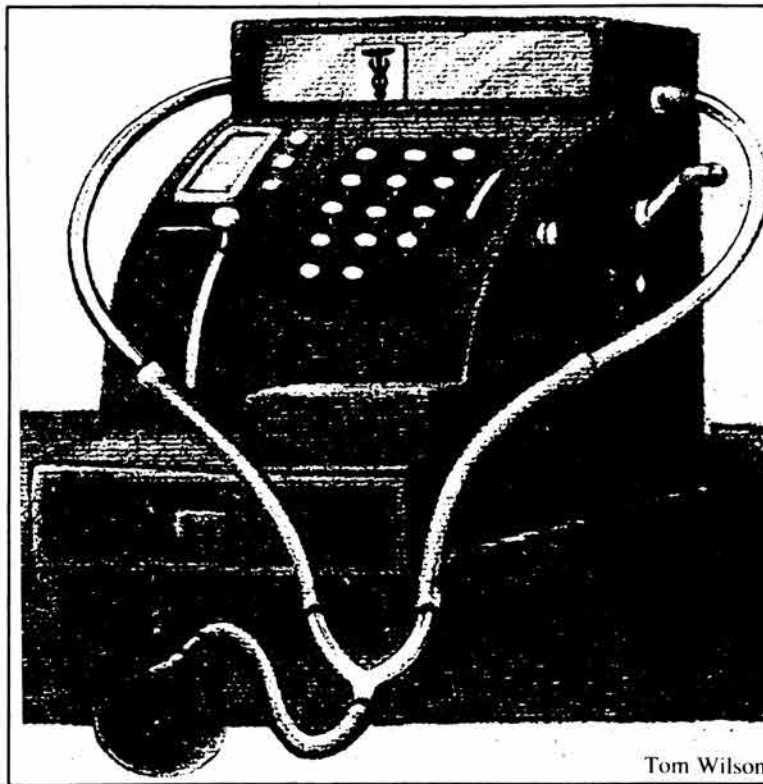
Ronald Pollack and Thomas Blanton, spokespeople for Villers Advocacy Associates, an organization concerned with low income and aging, laid out in a recent column in the *New York Times* some of the ways Reagan's tax laws give money to the rich while continuing to snip away at the income of workers, the unemployed, and the elderly.

For example, "a household with \$10,000 or less in annual income gained \$20 from tax cuts, lost \$250 from cuts in cash benefits and lost \$160 from cuts in noncash benefits — for a net loss of \$390," according to Pollack and Blanton.

Meanwhile a household with more than \$80,000 in income had a net gain of \$8,270.

In addition, corporate income tax is a decreasing portion of income tax revenues, down from 21 percent of receipts in 1963 to 12.4 percent in 1980 to 8.6 percent in 1985. They point out that "One subsidy that makes this possible — the 1981 accelerated depreciation provisions, which allow write-offs of plant and equipment much faster than they wear out — will hand out \$22 billion in fiscal 1986."

The authors go on to cite some figures on the income levels of So-



Tom Wilson

cial Security recipients.

Some have savings or retirement income or are wealthy (they're not allowed to hold a full-time job and still receive full benefits). But Pollack and Blanton explain that for more than two-thirds of those over 65, the \$450 average benefit is over half their income. The median income for elderly individuals living alone on Social Security is \$6,500.

You have to agree with Pollack and Blanton that government supporters of cutting Social Security, "would sell out almost everyone so that corporations and wealthy individuals can keep their subsidies and the military can keep

stocking its cluttered playpen with more hardware."

Janice Prescott
New York, New York

Union Carbide

The recent Union Carbide disasters in Bhopal and here in the United States, bring to mind a piece of Union Carbide's notorious history.

It seems that in the early 1930s a Carbide subsidiary built a tunnel through a mountain in Gauley Bridge, West Virginia.

The mountain was composed of pure silica. The company sent about 2,000 mostly Black workers

to dig the tunnel with no respiratory protection.

Miners and other workers who have to work around silica dust will not be surprised to learn that over the next few years nearly 500 workers died and 1,500 contracted the degenerative lung disease known as silicosis.

Carbide attempted to cover up the deaths by burying at least 169 of the dead in unmarked graves in nearby cornfields.

Congressional hearings in 1936 established that industry geologists and engineers that were making the test bores that found the mountain to be pure silica, always entered the tunnel wearing masks.

The workers of course were never told about the hazards, and when they complained of the symptoms of silicosis, company doctors told them they were suffering from a temporary condition called "tunnelitis."

J.W.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Correction

Last week's article on the Young Socialist tours gave the wrong dates for the Youth Delegation to Nicaragua. The correct dates are November 23-30, 1985.

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.

Auto workers strike General Dynamics UAW leadership council rejects company's concession demands

BY HELEN MEYERS

DETROIT — Five thousand hourly workers of the General Dynamics (GD) Land Systems Division walked out of plants in Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania September 18 at 2:30 p.m.

Moments before, the United Auto Workers (UAW) Defense Council voted to reject a tentative agreement, reversing the 4-to-1 vote in favor by the negotiating team. This reversal was a victory for UAW members at GD.

The contract expired at midnight September 14. Pickets were thrown up, but at 2:45 a.m. September 15 a tentative agreement was reached. The one dissenting vote was UAW Local 1200 President James Coakley, from the Warren, Michigan, plant.

The agreement was basically the same as the one voted down by 81 percent last June. None of the union's 13 demands — including right to strike, ending two-tier wage progression, Martin Luther King's birthday off, returning three floating holidays, no lump sums, and wage and cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) parity with Chrysler — were met.

The September 15 agreement includes 3 percent base-rate increases in each year of the agreement, as opposed to just the first year in the June offer. The catch is that this 3 percent must be paid back in the second and third year in the form of about 74 cents of COLA money. Presently, all COLA is folded into the base rate at the end of the contract. Under this agreement, an amount of COLA equal to the 3 percent raise (about 74 cents) is not folded in.

Reaction from the ranks was rapid. The 2,400 UAW members at the Lima, Ohio, plant went out on strike immediately and demanded the contract be turned down.

At Local 1200 in Warren, 300 turned out for a hastily called meeting September 15. It included Local 1248 members from the Sterling Heights, Michigan, plant. Their negotiator, after consistently opposing the company's offer during the summer, changed her vote in the last hours before the deadline.

At the meeting, Local 1200 President Coakley explained that the proposed agreement would go to the UAW Defense Council September 18. If passed, he said, it would be presented to the membership for a vote. He expressed confidence that the membership would vote it down.

Anger among the ranks rose as UAW Vice-president Marc Stepp, in charge of the GD negotiations, appeared on television praising the new agreement and stating his confidence that the membership would approve it.

Warren workers reported for work Monday, September 16, but nothing moved in the plant while unionists awaited the Wednesday vote.

Meanwhile, the strike continued at the Lima plant. GD went to court for an injunction against the strikers. International union representatives were only able to get workers to end the strike when the local leadership agreed to vote against the offer at the upcoming Defense Council meeting. After getting this agreement, the second shift returned to work.

In a reversal, Stepp recommended rejection of the tentative agreement at the Defense Council meeting. The council, which is made up of local presidents, vice-presidents, and committeemen, voted unanimously to reject and the strike was called.

At the Warren plant, workers rushed out into the pouring rain. More than 500 Local 1200 members lined up outside their local hall Thursday morning to sign up for picket duty.

A strike kitchen is being set up and committees formed to reach out for support.

In a provocative move, GD management announced that they are going to meet their September contractual obligations with the

army despite the strike.

Salaried UAW members at the struck plants are working. Their locals narrowly voted to accept the June offer. In contrast to past practice, the International implemented the contract for them only. "We have a contract and we intend to honor it," Stepp said.

Meanwhile, the Chrysler contract expires October 15 and many of the issues in their negotiations are the same ones the GD workers are standing firm on.

When Coakley was asked whether he thought the GD negotiations and strike would affect Chrysler, he said, "I hope so. In fact, we believe if we are out October 15 when the Chrysler contract expires, Chrysler locals in this area will be out with us."

On the picket line the first afternoon of the strike, a Local 1200 committeeman summed up the situation: "We took on GD in 1982 and got ripped off. GD is a union-busting company. They tried to shove it down our throats and we're just not going to take it," he said.



Workers at Warren, Michigan, plant are among 5,000 who struck General Dynamics plants in Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania September 18.

Puerto Rican patriots denied bail

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

U.S. Federal Judge F. Owen Eagan has denied bail to Hilton Fernández and Luis Colón, two of the 13 Puerto Rican independence activists arrested in recent FBI raids in Puerto Rico, the United States, and Mexico.

The judge cited the 1984 Bail Reform Act, which restricts the right to bail for those the U.S. government considers "dangerous." He announced his decision at a hearing in Hartford, Connecticut, September 19.

Eleven of these activists were arrested in a paramilitary FBI attack in Puerto Rico on August 30.

Some 200 FBI agents entered Puerto Rico from the United States, raiding 38 homes and offices of Puerto Rican independence activists.

Three others were arrested in the United States and Mexico.

All were charged with participating in the \$7 million robbery of a Wells Fargo armored truck in Connecticut in 1983. The U.S. government claims that these activists are members of the *Macheteros*, a pro-independence organization.

One of those arrested in the United States, Anne L. Gassin, has now become a witness for the state.

In denying bail to Fernández and Colón, Eagan said he was convinced that they were members of the *Macheteros* and therefore "dangerous." Eagan also cited a post-1983 visit by Fernández to Cuba as reason to believe that he had Latin American connections that would enable him to flee the country.

The court, however, was forced to set bail for Jorge Farinacci García, one of those arrested in Puerto Rico. But in an attempt to continue to hold Farinacci, bail was set at an outrageous \$1 million. Supporters of the activists are raising money to win Farinacci's freedom. In an earlier victory, another defendant, Luz Berrios Berrios, also won bail.

The government's case against these activists rests on the testimony of Carlos Rodríguez Rodríguez. Until he developed ties to professional criminals, Rodríguez had been active in the independence and labor movements in Puerto Rico.

In June 1984, he was convicted in U.S. federal court of bank fraud and possession of heroin with intent to distribute.

He was sentenced to 54 years in federal prison. His wife was also convicted at that time on similar charges.

Rodríguez still faces charges in Puerto

Rico of first-degree murder and attempted murder. He has not gone to trial on these charges because he has been in FBI custody since October 1984.

Upon agreeing to testify against these activists, the charges against him in Puerto Rico were reduced. Both his and his wife's sentences in federal prison were cut to the minimum. According to the September 26 issue of *Claridad*, the newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), Rodríguez's agreement with the FBI includes counting all time served in federal prison toward any prison terms that might arise from the charges in Puerto Rico.

Since the August 30 raids, the FBI has been continuing its attacks on the Puerto Rican independence movement. On September 18, Rita Zengotita of the Unified Committee Against Repression (CUCRE) accused the FBI of breaking into the homes and offices of advocates of Puerto Rican independence.

Zengotita told the press that only papers and documents had been taken in these break-ins, while valuable property was left untouched. Among the places where the break-ins took place were both the home and office of Jorge Farinacci, one of those arrested in the raids.

Protests against these attacks on the independence movement are also continuing.

A broad committee in Puerto Rico has called for an action to protest these attacks. The committee includes CUCRE; Unified Committee for Independence; Nationalist Party; PSP; Socialist League; General Council of Workers, a federation of seven unions; *Pensamiento Crítico* (the pro-independence magazine closed down by the FBI during the raids); Family and Friends of the 4 Arrested; National Liberation Movement; National Ecumenical Movement; Peace and Justice Caribbean Project; Ecumenical Committee for Social Action; Juan Mari Bras (a long-time leader of the independence movement); and individual leaders of the Puerto Rican Independence Party.

The Puerto Rican Commission for Civil Rights also opened public hearings on September 17 about the FBI raids. The commission has subpoenaed the U.S. federal prosecutor in Puerto Rico and a number of FBI agents. The hearings began with the commission warning these U.S. agents that they will be held in contempt if they do not appear before the commission.

In the United States, picket lines are continuing outside the federal courthouse in Hartford.

Internationally, actions in solidarity with Puerto Rican independence took place across Cuba September 12 and 13.

Wheeling-Pitt chairman forced to step down as strike continues

BY MARY NELL BOCKMAN

PITTSBURGH — As the strike by 8,200 steelworkers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel enters its ninth week, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) members remain determined to carry on their fight for a decent contract.

Despite an "open gate" policy by the company, not a single union member has crossed the picket lines. The mills remain silent.

Attempts by management to remove machine parts and to use scabs have been beaten back by mobilizations of hundreds of strikers and their supporters.

The effects of the strike on Wheeling-Pittsburgh became evident this week when Chairman Dennis J. Carney and six other top executives resigned. Carney agreed to step down after he was guaranteed a \$1 million dollar severance payment by the

chief stockholder at Wheeling-Pittsburgh.

The shakeup of top management is a symbolic victory for the striking steelworkers. It follows a successful fight by the union to win unemployment compensation for steelworkers in three states.

The resignations were submitted barely two weeks after solidarity rallies involving nearly 15,000 strikers and supporters were held at Wheeling-Pittsburgh plants. Thousands of workers chanted, "Carney's got to go," at the gates.

Carney, and the other top executives, have continued to demand acceptance of severe takebacks in wages, insurance, pensions, and work rules. They have refused to conduct serious negotiations since they tore up the union contract and forced workers at the nine mills to walk out. USWA members explain that the company's ac-

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