

Mass upsurge topples Philippine dictator

BY HARRY RING

The overthrow of the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship by the Filipino people is a tremendous victory.

With one of Washington's favorite tyrants driven out, the door now opens for the Filipino people to begin the process of addressing themselves to resolving the massive social and economic problems that burden them.

And the door is also open for achieving the equally necessary goal of independence from U.S. imperialist domination.

For nearly half a century, the Filipino people suffered direct U.S. colonial rule. And, since they won formal independence in 1946, they have continued to suffer U.S. economic, military, and political domination.

There is political symbolism in the U.S. government's quick offer of asylum for Marcos. Throughout his repressive rule, he enjoyed bipartisan support from Washington. Democratic and Republican administrations alike upheld him as a valued ally. It was only when he could no longer contain the massive rebellion against him that Washington reluctantly cut loose from him. As Marcos fled on February 25, Secretary of State George Shultz mourned "a staunch friend of the United States."

Now the Republicans in the White House and Democrats in Congress are trying to parade themselves as the ones responsible for his downfall. But this is a shameless lie. The Marcos dictatorship was smashed by an irrepressible popular rebellion. The Filipino people owe thanks to no one for their liberation. They did it themselves.

The defection from the Marcos camp of Defense Minister Juan Enrile and Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos dealt the dictatorship a heavy blow. But the split itself, as well as the rebellion in the military ranks, was a product of the popular resistance. By itself, the military revolt might well have been crushed if Filipinos — by the hundreds of thousands — had not literally interposed their bodies between the Marcos troops and the breakaway forces that had garrisoned themselves at Manila's Camp Crame.

Fraternize with troops

It was the readiness of the people to confront the military and their ability to fraternize with the troops that won the day. The TV footage and media reports attest to this.

Enrile and Ramos had resigned their posts in the Marcos regime the night of February 22 and secured themselves and troops loyal to them at Camp Crame.

Soon after, Marcos dispatched troops to attack the compound. Hundreds of marines in armored personnel carriers, trucks, and tanks headed toward Crame.

Meanwhile, throngs of Manila residents — estimated at as high as half a million — did the same.

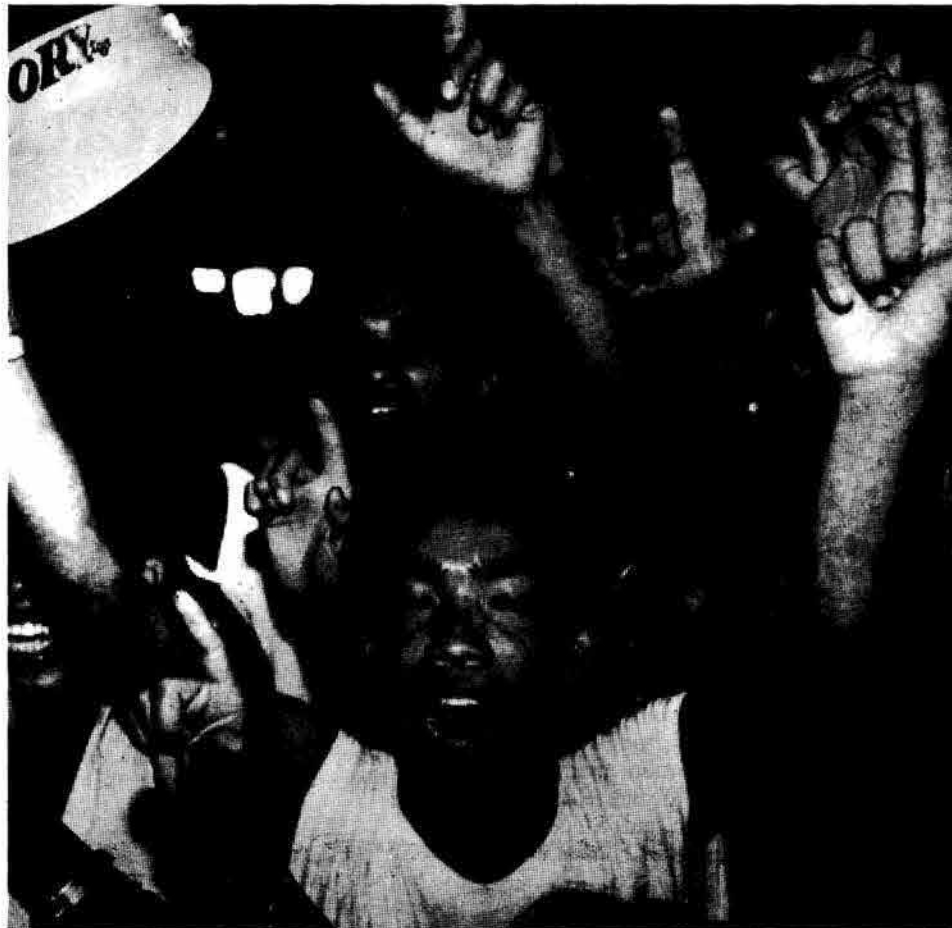
They pitched in to fortify the area of the base, piling rocks and sand as barriers. Buses were lined up at an intersection as an added obstacle. And the masses of people constituted a vast human barricade.

The Marcos forces were deployed near the camp in a field encircled almost all the way around by a wall. The crowds massed outside. Then some climbed atop the wall.

A few dropped over. A young woman ran through the encamped soldiers, passing out candy.

Others joined her, giving flowers and candy to the troops. Some placed daisies in gun barrels. Increasing numbers came over the wall, mingling with the troops, talking with them.

A military helicopter that had hovered
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Filipino people bring down Marcos dictatorship

Reagan campaigns for aid to Nicaraguan 'contras'

BY MARGARET JAYKO

President Reagan is pulling out all the stops in a hard-sell campaign to get Congress to give \$100 million more in aid to the Nicaraguan *contras* (counterrevolutionaries).

During his February 20 trip to Grenada, Reagan repeated his case for increased funding for the mercenary bands that are waging a bloody war against Nicaragua. The president compared Nicaragua to Grenada before Washington's invasion of that Caribbean island in October 1983. Then, in a transparent threat to carry out similar military aggression against Nicaragua, he declared that he would not be satisfied "until all the people of the Americas have joined us in the warm sunshine of liberty and justice."

The president had spent the two days prior to his trip meeting with key congressional leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties, trying to line them up to vote for his proposal.

In arguing his case, Reagan told a meeting of Republican legislators: "The program approved last year, the \$27 million in humanitarian assistance, has helped to maintain the pressure of the resistance on the Sandinistas. The resistance has continued to grow and is operating deep inside Nicaragua. But we have to do more to help them. As I've said before, you can't fight attack helicopters piloted by Cubans with Band-Aids and mosquito nets."

The White House is urging Congress to give the terrorists \$70 million in military aid and \$30 million in "nonlethal aid" for items such as uniforms, trucks, medicine, and food. Given that all the money goes to help keep the *contras* in the field, the distinction only has meaning insofar as some liberal politicians seize on it to vote for

"nonlethal aid" and then palm themselves off as proponents of peace.

Last year, Democrats and Republicans approved \$27 million in "humanitarian" assistance to the *contras*. That expenditure expires on March 31.

Reagan's campaign is getting help from the *contras* and their mouthpieces in Nicaragua.

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Join drive to sell 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial'

Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language biweekly sister publication of the *Militant*, have opened a new drive to expand the circulation of these publications.

On February 15 the first stage opened —

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a three-week effort to discuss subscription renewals with new subscribers. This effort will focus on strikers — including meatpacking workers in Austin, Minnesota, and Ottumwa, Iowa; fishermen in New Bedford, Massachusetts; and cannery workers in Watsonville, California — as well as other unionists who were introduced to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* last fall.

From March 8 to May 16, *Militant* and *PM* supporters aim to sell 45,000 single copies of these publications — 5,000 more than were sold last fall — and 2,000 subscriptions (1,776 were sold in the fall).

Nat'l Guard pulled out of Hormel strike

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — On February 21, Minnesota's Gov. Rudy Perpich withdrew the National Guard from this town. For 33 days the Guard acted as the Geo. A. Hormel Co.'s private army in the company's attempt to bust United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9.

The Guard's strikebreaking has cost Minnesota taxpayers \$1.4 million. The Guard's stay was the longest since it was used against the 1959 meatpackers' strike in neighboring Albert Lea.

With the withdrawal of the Guard, local police have called on residents "to take a more active role in law enforcement." Police Chief Don Hoffman said that the cops would now respond even to anonymous tips regarding vandalism, disorderly conduct, or property damage.

When union consultant Ray Rogers announced at a February 21 strike support session that the Guard had been withdrawn, strikers clapped and cheered. Some union members felt that it was political pressure that forced Perpich to withdraw the Guard. Others, however, think that the Guard was withdrawn because Hormel has successfully consolidated a scab work force.

Three days before the Guard left, Hormel organized a tour of the plant for media representatives. The media was not allowed to take photos. The tour was clearly an attempt by the company to refute the local's charges that the plant is unsafe and production is low.

Currently, 2,000 hogs a day are being killed as compared to 6,000 before the strike. The Rochester, Minnesota, *Post Bulletin* reports that the average worker now is boning one ham per hour and some are only boning one ham per day. The regular production quota is 92 hams per hour. To try to minimize the importance of these figures, plant manager Deryl Arnold told the press that the company is stressing training, not production.

Hormel has also reported to the press increased sales and earnings to prove that the strike has not had an impact. These in-

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Workers, farmers, and youth are increasingly open to the information and ideas that only socialist publications provide.

This was reflected in sales to participants in the February 15 demonstration in Austin, Minnesota, that supported the strike by United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. More than 240 copies of the *Militant* were sold. At the march against racism the same day in Philadelphia, more than \$800 worth of socialist literature was purchased, including 20 subscriptions to the *Militant*.

In the coming weeks, there will be a number of important events that the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* will be helping to build. These actions present an opportunity to get these papers into the hands of thousands of working people and youth.

The events include the March 9 and March 16 marches for women's right to abortion, called by the National Organization for Women; the April 4 anti-apartheid

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'Militant' well-received by Boston meatpackers

BY JOHN STUDER

BOSTON — Over the last two weeks *Militant* salespeople here have sold at the Colonial Provision Co., a meatpacking plant. Two dozen workers have stopped their cars on the way out of the company parking lot and bought a

baseball fans who visit Fenway Park to see the Red Sox play.

Two years ago, Colonial's owners demanded and got concessions from the 600 members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 616 who work there. The unionists were led to believe that

Joel Dorfman, the new owner, says he isn't interested in production here — only in Colonial's label and New England markets. So he paid \$4.5 million for them. His plan is for the Colonial plant to be closed this month by its old owners and the workers forced out on the street before he takes over.

Dorfman plans to move production to his plant in Detroit, where he has forced the 500 workers there out on strike. They are fighting Dorfman's demand for a wage freeze on top of the \$2.44-an-hour pay cut they took three years ago.

Over the last few months, the members of Local 616 have tried to bring their plight to the attention of working people in order to try to save their jobs. They say they will

sit in at the plant if Dorfman tries to close it, and they will launch a boycott of the Colonial label.

Many are angry because they feel that they were lied to when they agreed to make sacrifices they assumed would guarantee them a job. Now they are being tossed aside. So they are interested in a paper that tells the worker's side of what's happening in this country, and what other unionists are doing to meet increasing employer attacks. Even when it's below 30 degrees, they are happy to roll down their windows and hand out 75¢ or \$1 to get the *Militant*.

The feature of the paper that has attracted the most interest has been the *Militant's* prominent eyewitness coverage of the heroic strike

by 616's sister local, P-9, against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. Colonial workers stop their cars when they see the word "Hormel" on the front-page of the paper, and many reach for their money.

Local members told salespeople that they have taken a collection for the P-9 strikers and look to their struggle for inspiration in their own time of need. At a recent rally they held to win community support in their efforts to stop the closing of Colonial, one of the highlights was a message of greeting and solidarity from P-9.

Militant distributors in Boston will continue to bring coverage of P-9's fight to the Colonial gate as long as the strike goes on — and as long as the Colonial workers can keep their plant open.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

copy of the paper.

Colonial has been around Boston for a long time. Their brand name is one of the most familiar in New England supermarkets on bacon, hams, and cold cuts. Their Fenway Franks are well-known to

by voting givebacks, they were winning job security. A few months ago, Colonial announced that the concessions hadn't been enough, and they sold their plant to Thorn Apple Valley, another meatpacker, based in Michigan.

1200 rally for Teamsters; cops attack picket

BY GREG NELSON
AND KEVIN KELLOGG

WATSONVILLE, Calif. — Well over 1,200 striking Teamster cannery workers and their union supporters rallied here Saturday, February 22. They were showing their determination to continue the strike against the Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Company. Teamsters struck September 9 to win a decent contract.

The successful rally came just five days after cops assaulted a previous rally of striking workers.

Following the Saturday rally, the police again attacked by charging into the picket line outside the plant. They also shut down the union's headquarters. More than 20 people were arrested.

The solidarity rally was called by Teamsters Local 912, which represents the 1,000, mostly Chicana, strikers. The rally heard words of solidarity from Walter Johnson, president of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, and from the heads of the Alameda, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz central labor councils. The rally was the culmination of a month-long drive to collect food for the strikers, which was conducted by all four central labor councils.

Many unions were present from throughout Northern California to hand over the truckloads of food. Teamsters locals, such as Local 287, which gave \$668, led the drive. Chuck Mack, president of the Teamsters Joint Council 7, pointed out that Watsonville "has forged a unity of all Northern California labor, a unity of Teamsters, the AFL-CIO, the Longshoremen. A unity that will be used in the future to reshape collective bargaining in Northern California."

Greetings were presented from John Henning, president of the California State AFL-CIO Labor Council, and César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers. The Santa Cruz Watsonville

strike support committee presented a check to the food committee for \$4,549, which they collected from a benefit performance of a Studs Turkel play, *Working*.

Greetings from P-9

The high point of the rally was greetings from Harold "Bud" Miller, a striking member of United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota. Miller and other members of Local P-9 are on tour in Northern California talking about the strike against Hormel.

Miller got a standing ovation as he approached the podium. He explained that he was at the rally to bring greetings from the picket line in Austin, Minnesota, to the picket line in Watsonville, California. He explained why Local P-9 was on strike and told of the support they are getting throughout the country. "Today, more than ever before, we have to come to realize an injury to one hurts us all," he said. Since the defeat of PATCO [air traffic controllers' union in 1981], the Reagan administration has helped big business bust unions. We need to see that Watsonville and Austin is an attack on all labor."

Miller also gave some advice to the Watsonville strikers: "Unity together. Rank-and-file members have to support their elected leadership and the leadership has to respond to us, the people who put them into office and who they are supposed to serve. We need to work together against our enemy."

As Miller's talk was being translated for the largely Spanish-speaking audience, it was interrupted with applause several times. Unionists from the Bay Area crowded around the P-9 support table to request speakers to give presentations to their local union meetings.

'Fighting for future'

The second standing ovation was given to Margarita Martinez, a Watsonville striker who explained where the battle

stood now. She thanked all the unions that had helped collect food for the striking families and told of the hardships they all faced. "It is hard on the picket line. It is hard for us to look into the faces of our sons and daughters, to see their wants and their questions. But it's their faces that make us strong, because we see it is for them that we are fighting, for their future."

"That's what makes us strong," she continued. "We are no longer afraid of the company or the police. The police arrest us, attack us. We're not going to let them beat us. We will win!" She requested and got a standing ovation for the women who picket 24 hours a day in front of the scabs and the police. She then invited people to go down to the picket line to show their support.

The week leading up to the rally had been a tense one on the picket lines.

Cop assault

On the previous Monday, police broke up a rally of striking workers, arresting 12 people. The big-business news media went on a hysterical campaign denouncing "strikers' violence" and called for law and order.

A local paper, the *Register Pajaronian*, slandered the strikers by alleging that "radical outside agitators" were to blame for the violence.

On Saturday after the rally, participants responded to Martinez' invitation to visit the picket line. They drove to the picket line, honking their horns and waving to the strikers. A crowd of strikers and their families gathered a block away from Watsonville Cannery to watch the car caravan.

On a signal from inside the plant, 20 cops in riot gear blocked the street and advanced against the onlookers occupying the sidewalk. Pushing people with their batons and grabbing banners and picket signs, the cops arrested two young high school students from Emiliano Zapata

Street Academy in Oakland. The students came down to Watsonville after hearing a presentation given to their high school class by a striker. They had collected food and had presented a banner their class had made to the strikers, which said, "Victory to the Watsonville strikers! Raza!"

The cops tore up that banner and arrested students who had tried to prevent them from doing it. The cops pushed the crowd back four blocks and entered the Teamsters' Hall as they had done on Monday. They ordered everyone out and shut down the strike headquarters.

The P-9 strikers watched and talked to Watsonville strikers about what was happening. Bud Miller said, "It's the same thing in Austin. They used the National Guard. When they want you to move, they simply push you aside. You can't stand on your own street corners."

John "Skinny" Weis, another P-9 striker, commented on the newspapers' slanders of the Watsonville strike. He said that in Austin, the newspapers called the members of P-9 "goons" and that they always blamed everything on "mob violence."

Later that day, 100 strikers showed up at the police station to ask for the release of those arrested. The cops again attacked the protesters. Elizabeth Schilling, a reporter from the *Register Pajaronian*, said the cops were just making arrests at random. She told of people being arrested while she was interviewing them. One demonstrator ran into his house and five cops ran in after him and dragged him out.

Meanwhile, the 700 workers at Shaw Frozen Foods voted to accept a contract that, among other things, cut their wages 17 percent. These members, after hearing a report from their Teamster leadership, decided to go back to work and to continue to support their sisters and brothers who still haven't gotten even that from Watsonville Canning.

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Mass upsurge topples Philippine dictator

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overhead landed. Thousands raced toward it, forming a human semicircle. The helicopter took off.

That night, the troops were withdrawn.

On Monday morning, February 24, rebel troops seized a government-run media complex, including a TV station, five radio stations, and a press agency. The broadcasting facilities, long a voice only for the regime, were opened up to opposition politicians, priests, and journalists.

Sends Rangers

Marcos, still barricaded in the presidential palace, tried to retake the broadcast complex. Several platoons of elite Scout Rangers from his palace guard were dispatched.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of people had massed at the studio.

The Rangers tried to sneak in the back way. They found themselves barred by the people.

They stood in tense confrontation. Then a priest walked over to the soldiers and began praying. A school teacher walked over and began shaking hands with the troops.

Later asked by a reporter how she dared do it, she replied, "Our country needs us now. This is a moment in our history we can be proud of."

The crowds moved in. They handed the soldiers burgers from a nearby McDonalds, doughnuts, cool soda.

The commander ordered the troops to withdraw.

In these and similar encounters, more troops went over to the opposition. The Marcos forces had been defeated.

The victory was the climax of a movement to topple the U.S.-backed dictator that had been building steadily since 1983.

Over the years, the Filipino people had increasingly resisted the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Even before Marcos came to power, a guerrilla movement had begun to take root among the bitterly oppressed Filipino peasantry and field workers. In recent years, the New People's Army, led by the Communist Party of the Philippines, gained significant ground. Other opposition forces developed.

But the explosive turning point came with the Marcos assassination of oppositionist Benigno Aquino on his return from exile in August 1983.

A million outraged Filipinos marched in a 10-mile funeral procession for the slain Aquino. The heat was on the regime, and it stayed on.

Beginning to see the handwriting on the wall, the Reagan administration, which had previously toasted the Manila butcher, sent Sen. Paul Laxalt, a Reagan crony, to advise Marcos to clean up his act while he had time. This was in mid-October 1985.

Apparently to placate his U.S. mentors, Marcos then announced that he would hold a snap presidential election February 7.

That proved a big mistake.

Giant outpouring

With Corazon Aquino, widow of the slain oppositionist, as presidential rival, millions of Filipinos saw the campaign as a big opportunity. Aquino campaign rallies became huge anti-Marcos demonstrations. One such rally in Manila was said to number as many as 1.5 million people.

And then the wholesale fraud and violence used by the desperate Marcos to steal the election was like pouring gasoline on the fire.

The mass outrage pushed the Catholic hierarchy from a critical posture to open opposition to the regime. Others began to sign up in the opposition.

In Washington, Reagan made a last stab at propping up his good buddy. Maybe, he speculated, there had been fraud and violence on both sides.

That went over like the proverbial lead balloon and a consensus began to develop in the White House and on Capitol Hill that Marcos was beyond saving. Point man Philip Habib was dispatched to Manila, apparently to try to cut a deal in which a Marcos-Aquino government might be created to stave off the impending popular uprising that Washington so desperately feared.

That apparently didn't fly either, and Washington then looked to the combination of Aquino and the military defectors.

Washington recognized Aquino had gained substantial political strength from her anti-Marcos presidential campaign and could not be excluded from the government.

With Marcos out of the country, Secretary of State Shultz offered a final salute to the fallen despot, who, he blandly asserted, had for a long period of time been "a constructive force" in Philippine society.

And he praised Aquino for her "commitment to nonviolence."

While the new government appears to have support from Washington — Reagan immediately recognized the Aquino government — it proceeds under formidable pressure from the Filipino people who are determined to come to grips with the deep problems of their society.

A capitalist government

The very composition of the new government makes clear that it cannot provide the fundamental answers the people want. A member of one of the wealthiest families in the Philippines, Aquino wants to reform the status quo in order to save it. That includes continued rule of the Filipino landlord-capitalist oligarchy and it includes continued ties with Washington and Wall Street.

Immediately on inauguration, she addressed herself to the guerrilla insurgency. Fed by the ever deepening social crisis, the New People's Army now numbers as many as 30,000 and commands entire areas of the country.

In her campaign, Aquino said she favored a six-month cease-fire with the guerrillas and offered an "amnesty" to any who lay down their arms and renounce violence. After assuming office she stated she would "ask for" a cease-fire.

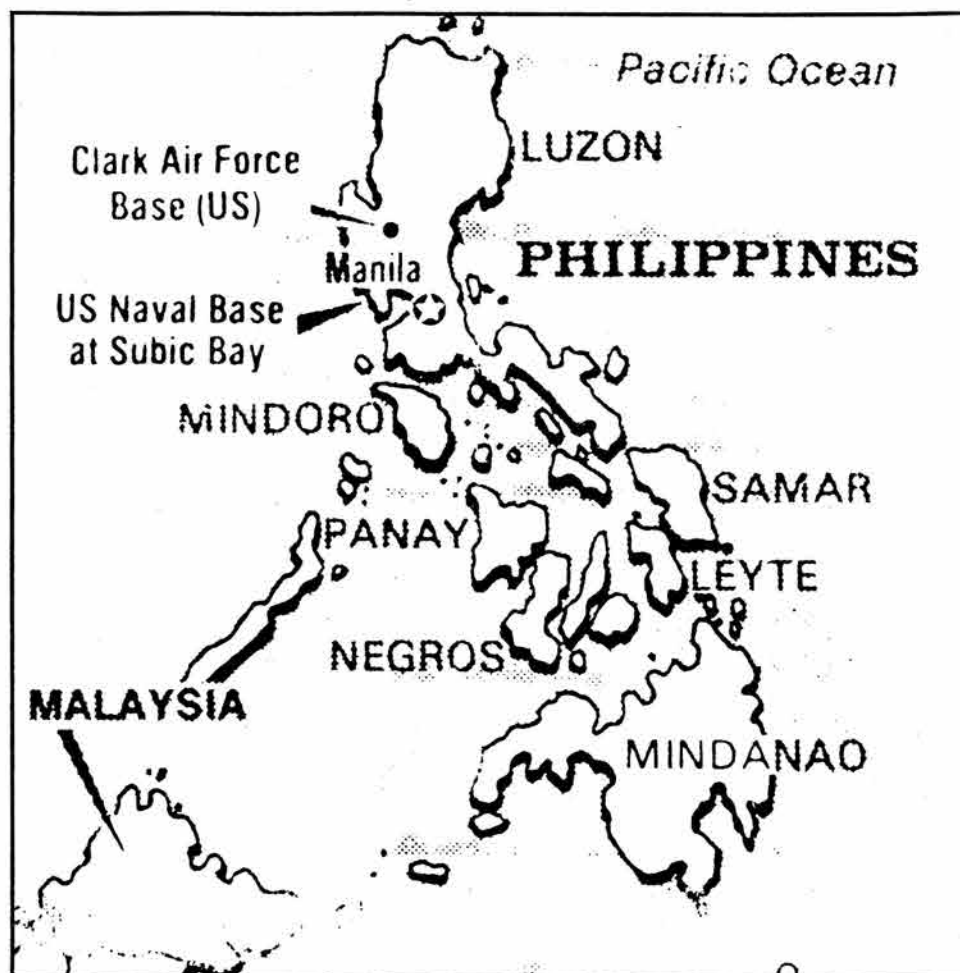
She has said nothing of the guerrilla demands for land reform and Philippine independence from U.S. domination.

On the issue of the two giant U.S. bases, Aquino said that she would not abrogate the agreement allowing for their presence, which runs through 1991. At that point, she said, she will seek a full-scale treaty for their continued presence, rather than the present executive agreement.

Her partners

And despite their break with Marcos, few Filipinos are likely to regard Aquino's partners in government as forward-looking.

Juan Enrile, the new minister of defense, served in the same post under Marcos and was a long-time member of his machine. He was used in 1972 as Marcos' pretext for clamping the country under martial law.



Enrile had claimed that the New People's Army had attempted to murder him. This, he now admits, was a hoax.

Enrile piled up a fortune as chairman of the United Coconut Planters Bank. In the recent election he worked hard to help keep Marcos in office but now admits the claimed Marcos victory was a swindle.

Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos was appointed chief of staff by Aquino and promoted to full general.

Ramos was a key figure in the Marcos military regime who became involved in a power struggle with Gen. Fabian Ver, the man generally believed to have organized the assassination of Benigno Aquino.

A West Point graduate with special added training at Ft. Benning and Ft. Bragg, Ramos was considered the kind of officer Washington regarded as capable of shaping up the Philippine armed forces to more effectively combat the New People's Army.

The spotlight was put on Ramos last fall when a minority of a government fact-finding panel charged him with "negligence" in the mass murder of 27 demonstrating sugar

workers on the cane-producing island of Negros.

Salvador Laurel, Aquino's running mate in the elections and now both prime minister and foreign minister, was a founding member of Marcos' New Society Movement who fell out with him in 1980. Also a member of a wealthy land owning family, Laurel has a well-organized political machine.

In Washington, a top Reagan official expressed confidence that Aquino would head a "centrist" government, observing that her statements have been "pretty middle-of-the-road." He was gratified also at her inclusion of Enrile and Ramos in the cabinet.

Banks 'stable'

Perhaps to offer added assurance, Aquino, in her first presidential statement, expressed confidence in the governor of the Central Bank of the Philippines, Jose Fernandez, Jr. She said she was "satisfied with the explanation he has offered about the stability of the banking system."

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Eastern Airlines workers on takeover

BY STU SINGER

MIAMI — "Nothing's really changed. We had to fight Borman; now we have to fight Lorenzo. But I'm proud Charlie stood up to the company. The officials of the pilots' and flight attendants' unions gave in to every company demand. It did not accomplish a thing."

That was the comment of a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in an employee cafeteria near the Miami ramp this morning, February 25. It was one of many discussions throughout the base about the announced takeover of Eastern Airlines by Texas Air Corp.

Company officials claim IAM District 100 President Charles Bryan forced the board of directors to sell out to Texas Air Chairman Frank Lorenzo. The board demanded that each of the three Eastern unions give up 20 percent in pay and benefits, agree to lower pay scales for new employees, and accept big changes in work rules that threaten worker and passenger safety. The leaders of the other two unions, the Air Line Pilots Association and the Transport Workers Union (TWU), which organizes flight attendants, gave in to all the company demands once the Texas Air takeover threat was unveiled. But IAM District 100 President Bryan, who is also a member of the company's board of directors, refused.

The news media is full of threats that Texas Air Chairman Lorenzo will slash wages and break the union at Eastern as he did at Continental Airlines in 1983.

The media reports Eastern workers are "stunned" and resigned to defeat. But that is not the mood among IAM members, who are in the largest union at the airline. In fact, there is strong support for Bryan's refusal to capitulate. And there is a growing mood of militancy — that we won't let Lorenzo walk in, slash wages, and destroy our union like he did at Continental.

Some pilots and flight attendants are

stunned. They feel betrayed by their union leaders. Some of them buy the company argument pushed by all the news media that the IAM is to blame for Lorenzo taking over "our" company and threatening even deeper concessions. But other flight attendants and pilots see through this and admire the IAM.

A flight attendant going out on an early

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Workers strike G.E. in Mass.

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

LYNN, Mass. — Three thousand five hundred General Electric workers walked off the job February 21. The workers shut down the aircraft engine division of the giant G.E. Riverworks plant in Lynn in a strike called by International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 201.

The strike leaves 5,000 other Local 201 members on the job at the Everett, Wilmington, and Lynn Turbine G.E. plants. The union has said that these plants will follow unless progress is made soon.

The strike was called by Local 201 to protest the company's continual violation of the G.E.-IUE contract and increased harassment and attempts to intimidate union shop stewards in the plant. The union said that routine negotiations with G.E. over grievances had broken down. They were forced to call a strike when G.E. suspended a shop steward on an in-

vented charge of swearing at a foreman.

The strike began an hour after first shift on Friday with the aircraft engine workers walking out en masse. Several hundred workers marched to the Lynn city hall behind a banner that read, "1986, the year unions unite," the slogan of the P-9 Hormel strikers in Minnesota.

At Lynn city hall, a union meeting of more than 2,000 members greeted the strike enthusiastically, with many stories of company harassment and abuse surfacing during the discussion. The sentiment was overwhelmingly to support the strike and extend it to the rest of the local.

Negotiations took place on Monday, February 24, between the union and the company, but no progress was made. Unless there is a settlement soon, the union could begin pulling out the other G.E. plants.

Ottumwa: Hormel locks out 500 workers

BY ROBERT BUSCH,
SHEILA OSTROW,
AND VIVIAN SAHNER

OTTUMWA, Iowa — On Friday, February 21, the Geo. A. Hormel Co. began a lockout of the workers at its plant here.

At noon on Friday, the picket line of United Food and Commercial Workers union Local P-9 on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, was pulled from the gate. Some 500 workers, members of UFCW Local 431, had been honoring that picket line since January 27. When the picket line was pulled, between 600 and 700 workers marched to the plant to reclaim their jobs. However, Hormel had responded by chaining the gate shut.

More than 500 workers had been fired by Hormel January 28 after they refused to cross P-9's picket line. The union has filed a grievance on behalf of these workers since the firings violate Local 431's union contract, which prohibits disciplining workers for honoring authorized picket lines.

At the plant gate Friday, Dan Varner, chief steward for Local 431, explained, "We're living up to our contract. The picket line came down, and we're here to work."

The company allowed Louis DeFrieze, business manager for Local 431, and Bob Nelles, the local's business representative, to enter the plant. Twenty-five minutes later, DeFrieze reported that the workers had been "denied the right to return to work." He said that they would receive a second letter from Hormel reaffirming their firings.

Even though Hormel literally chained the gate shut, the company claims this is not a lockout.

Disputing the company's claim, Lynn Huston, vice-president of Local P-9, who has been leading P-9's pickets in Ottumwa, told the press: "This is a lockout. Locking the employees out is a direct violation of the contract. . . . It is a grossly unfair labor practice."

AFL-CIO tops launch attack on striking meatpackers

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, meeting February 17-21 in Bal Harbour, Florida, refused to take action in support of striking meatpackers from Austin, Minnesota.

United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9 President Jim Guyette and the union's consultant, Ray Rogers, traveled from Austin to Bal Harbour to seek the support of the executive council.

While the local's strike is officially sanctioned by the UFCW International and has won support from literally tens of thousands of working people, the top officials of the UFCW and the AFL-CIO have sharply criticized the strike and the leadership of Local P-9.

At the Bal Harbour meeting, UFCW International President William Wynn, in a seven-page statement, publicly attacked the strike. This was the third attack in a month. He charged that the strikers' decision to fight for a decent contract demonstrated not the members' determination to win, but their manipulation by the local's leadership.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland supported Wynn's attack on the local. He declared that there was "nothing to add or subtract" from Wynn's statement.

Lewie Anderson, the director of the meatpacking division of the UFCW — echoing the big-business press — declared that "clearly they've lost the strike. It's a colossal failure." He characterized the local's fight as "devastating" to organized labor.

This call for P-9 to surrender is a stab in the back. It gives aid and comfort to the union-busting drive of the Hormel bosses, who are backed by the Minnesota state government, courts, and big-business media. It undermines solidarity.

The P-9 local, after democratic discussion and vote by the entire membership, has repeatedly rejected Hormel's contract offer — an offer that would gut the senior-

Ron Barton, member of Local 431, told the press, "I have the contract right here. It says I can't be disciplined. The picket line is gone, and my wife and I and 502 others are here to work. I had hoped they [Hormel] would have honored the contract."

Even the Ottumwa daily, the *Courier*, carried as its lead headline: "Workers locked out!"

At the union hall on February 22, union members were concerned that Hormel would try to hire replacement workers while there was no picket line at the gate.

Many members here believe that the lockout proves that Hormel wants not only to bust Local P-9 in Austin, but to smash the union in all its plants.

In the three weeks that these workers have been honoring P-9's picket line, the Terminated Employees Support Group has been formed to organize support for these workers and their families. Recently, this group sent out an appeal for help. "Right now," it said, "these workers have no income: they get no union strike benefits, no insurance, unemployment benefits, or medical benefits. Just putting food on the table is a major problem. The workers will find it difficult to remain solid without ex-

Strike leader backs Iowa workers

BY TOM JAAX

AUSTIN, Minn. — When UFCW Local P-9, on strike against Hormel here, decided to take down its roving picket line at the company's plant in Ottumwa, this move was seized upon by the local pro-Hormel press. Austin papers escalated their campaign against the local; they tried to paint a picture of P-9 strikers driven out of Ottumwa by community pressure.

Nothing could be further from the truth, said Lynn Huston, vice-president of Local P-9. He has been a leader of the roving picket line in Ottumwa since it went up January 27, shutting the plant down.

ity and grievance systems, institute a two-tier wage scale, and restrict democratic rights.

Yet Wynn, disregarding the members' decisions, tells the press that if the strike is not over soon, "I'll settle it."

Wynn's contempt for the membership was spelled out even more clearly when he charged that the ranks had been duped by the local leadership through a "propaganda stream" that would have made the Nazis "envious."

Why such sharp denunciations?

For Wynn, Kirkland, and others of the trade union bureaucracy, the union is *not* the membership. It is *their* organization. They decide what's good for the membership, not the ranks. Thus, it is not surprising that the bosses' press regularly refers to the UFCW International — and other Internationals — as the "parent union."

But there is no parent union. There is only the union, which is made up of all the members. As P-9 exemplifies, the workers are the union. Far from having been manipulated or duped, as Wynn scandalously charges, the members of P-9 have made every decision on the conduct of the strike. There are daily meetings where strikers are informed of all developments in the strike, discuss them, and vote on what to do. It is only with union democracy that workers can take on the company and win.

At a press conference to respond to these attacks, Jim Guyette spoke for many union members when he told the press, "A lot of workers in the labor movement would like to sit before the AFL-CIO leaders and say, 'Do you realize what the steelworkers are going through, the auto workers, the secretaries, the hotel workers?'"

He pledged that the local would continue its struggle and its efforts to win solidarity, including from the AFL-CIO.

"We feel confident that we can win the situation," Guyette continued, "with the support of the labor movement who is not down here in Bal Harbour out on the golf courses or in the jewelry shops."



Ottumwa workers marching to Hormel plant to demand jobs back after picket line came down.

pressions of solidarity."

Solidarity for these workers is beginning to come in. While these correspondents were at the union hall, for example, the United Auto Workers local from Marshalltown, Iowa, brought food and donations. A food caravan is being organized by

a United Mine Workers local from southern Illinois.

More help is needed. Money, food, messages of support, and requests for speakers can be sent to Terminated Employees Support Group of Ottumwa, P.O. Box 1355, Ottumwa, Iowa 52501.

This correspondent recently had an opportunity to talk with him about the decision to take down the picket line and Hormel's subsequent lockout of the Ottumwa workers.

The decision to remove the picket line, he explained, was a part of a strategy. Hormel had violated its contract with Ottumwa UFCW Local 431 when it fired 500 of that local's workers for refusing to cross P-9's line. The strategy was to challenge this violation, he said, and it was discussed at a community meeting in Ottumwa February 20. It was attended by 800 workers and supporters and resembled a labor solidarity rally.

Local 431, Huston explained, has the contractual right to honor the picket line. He quoted from the contract: "It is agreed that in the event an authorized picket line is in effect at the entrance to the plant, the company shall not discipline employees who choose to honor such a picket line."

P-9's roving pickets are legal and authorized, Huston said, since the local has "the right to follow our struck work and to set up picket lines at any plant in the [Hormel] chain."

Disregarding the contract, Hormel fired the workers one day after they honored the picket line.

Initially, Huston continued, "we of

Local P-9 intended to set up the picket line for only three days. But when everyone was fired we had to keep the picket line up to protect their [Local 431 members'] jobs."

During this entire period, Huston said, "the international union was promising that if P-9 got rid of the picket lines, workers could get their jobs back in one day."

Huston explained that a plan of action was discussed at the February 20 meeting. P-9 would pull down the pickets and if "the company would not let [Local 431 workers] back, it would be a lockout. The union could fight a lockout and the workers could be eligible for unemployment benefits. The International," he added, "would have to carry through with its promises." The situation would "then change to an unfair labor practice strike. Local 431 could set up their own pickets" to protect their jobs, Huston said.

When P-9 pulled their pickets, Local 431 members marched to the plant to reclaim their jobs. But the company locked the gate. "It was a classic, textbook example of a lockout," Huston said. Yet the UFCW International's position is that the workers are fired, not locked out. They have refused, he added, to file an unfair labor practice suit. They project fighting this in arbitration. That, Huston said, "could take years."

What you can do to help strikers

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

What can you do to help the embattled members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, win their strike against Hormel?

A special issue of the local's newspaper, the *Unionist*, suggests several support activities unionists and women's rights, Black rights, antiwar, and anti-apartheid activists can carry out.

The proposals include circulating information on the Hormel boycott. The *Unionist* explains, "P-9's fight continues, and everyone can help by boycotting Spam, Dinty Moore, Mary Kitchen, and all other Hormel products."

Resolutions of support from unions and other organizations are also an important part of strike support.

Local unions and other organizations can also invite P-9 strikers to speak to their meetings to explain their struggle.

The local has called on unionists to organize plant gate or office collections. These funds, the *Unionist* explains, "will go to buy food and to keep our people fighting." This money can be forwarded to the P-9 Emergency and Hardship Fund.

Currently, the *Unionist* explains, the National Guard has been "serving as a private security force for Hormel, escorting strikebreakers in and out of the plant. . . . The National Guard have brutalized many citizens of Austin and brought with them

an atmosphere of military occupation. The Guard," the paper states, "must go. . . ."

The *Unionist* calls on supporters to write to Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich (c/o State Capitol, St. Paul, Minn. 55155) "demanding that he withdraw the National Guard from Austin and close the Hormel plant."

Unions and other organizations can "prevent Hormel from starving out union members and their families" by adopting a P-9 family. All funds in the program, the *Unionist* continues, "are distributed strictly on the basis of need by a rank-and-file committee." To participate in the fund, an organization has only to commit itself to a monthly contribution ranging from \$100 to \$1,000 for a three-month period. These contributions should be forwarded to the Adopt A P-9 Family Fund.

The local also invited union delegations to come and spend a week in Austin. "Those who have visited P-9," the *Unionist* explains, "have been astonished at the enthusiasm, militance, and level of organization of the local. You can discover the truth of the situation for yourself," while at the same time providing "a valuable communication service for the labor movement as a whole. . . ."

Requests for material on the boycott, as well as solidarity resolutions and contributions to either the P-9 Emergency and Hardship Fund or the Adopt A P-9 Family Fund, can be sent to UFCW Local P-9, 316 NE 4th Avenue, Austin, Minn. 55912.

Austin: youth demand justice

350 students walk out of classes in support of strike

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — Chanting "P-9, P-9, P-9," some 350 students walked out of classes here February 21. The majority were high school and middle school students, but about 40 elementary school students also participated.

The walkout was organized to protest the school system's attack on the students' democratic right to support United Food and Commercial Workers union Local P-9's strike against Hormel.

Austin school officials have claimed that the schools are neutral in the bitter six-month strike. But two days before the walkout two high school students were suspended after they refused to remove their P-9 support buttons. The officials did not order students to remove any other buttons, including ones reading "I love Hormel."

The walkout was the main topic of discussion at the union support meeting February 20. The meeting heard a report from the students on their plans for the next day's walkout. But after the students left to paint signs for the protest, a debate on the walkout broke out in the meeting. While no one considered stopping the action, many strikers had doubts about it. Expressing the view of many parents, one striker said that the walkout was "using the kids as a

shield." Another striker objected to this view. "My kid," he said, "can make up his own mind." Another union member, defending the youths' action, explained, "These kids want to be part of the history of the labor movement." The school officials' actions, he continued, "show the Austin education system is as restrictive as the courts."

As the walkout began the next morning, many parents and other P-9 supporters gathered across the street from the school to show their solidarity with the youths.

Tim Hinkle, a walkout organizer, told the press that the students want to show "this isn't Hormel, Minnesota, or Scab City, Minnesota." He explained that many of the students have participated in other strike-support activities. "I went on the roving pickets to Dubuque [Iowa]," he told reporters, "to help close down FDL," a Hormel subsidiary.

Most of the protesting students were children of strikers, but there were also some whose parents are scabs.

Carrying signs that read: "We want justice in Austin — this isn't South Africa" and "School should teach us to be free citizens not Hormel sausages," the students marched to the plant. There they were joined by a large car caravan of strike sup-

porters.

When the students got to the plant it was clear that they had carefully read the terms of the revised injunction restricting the number of strike supporters allowed on the public streets near the Hormel plant.

While the hundreds of students lined the road outside the Hormel corporate offices, a delegation of six attempted to deliver a letter to Hormel Chairman Richard Knowlton. The letter requested a meeting between the students and Knowlton to discuss the company's refusal to negotiate with the union.

As the delegation approached the building, large armed guards told them that Knowlton and other Hormel executives were "not available."

Eventually the guards delivered the letter to a secretary. The students demanded that the envelope be initialed and returned to them as proof that it had been delivered. The guards did so.

The Austin police then arrived. Alleging that the students were violating the injunction, the cops threatened to arrest them if they did not disperse.

Chanting loudly, the students marched back to the union hall. There, Kathy Buck, a member of the local's executive board, thanked them for their support.



Militant/Tom Jaax

Students demonstrate in support of strike.

The students then decided to organize a bus to St. Paul to leaflet the statewide AFL-CIO Legislative Conference February 24. Thirty-five students and five chaperons signed up.

At the union support meeting that night the students received a standing ovation. By the end of the evening \$350 was raised to pay for the bus.

School officials have been forced to issue a memo that prohibits the disciplining of any student for wearing P-9 buttons.

Students are circulating a petition calling for a special assembly at Austin High School to hear a debate between Hormel Chairman Knowlton and P-9 President Jim Guyette.

The strike at a glance

The 1,500 members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9 were forced out on strike by the Geo. A. Hormel meatpacking company on Aug. 17, 1985. They are workers at the company's Austin, Minnesota, operation.

More than a year earlier, Hormel had unilaterally slashed wages from \$10.69 to \$8.25 an hour. They were later raised to \$9.25. When the union's contract expired August 17, the company refused to return wages to their former level.

Hormel also demanded additional concessions, including gutting the seniority and grievance systems and instituting a two-tier wage system. The company has demanded the right to punish workers injured on the job. The injury rate per year at the Austin plant is 202 injuries for every 100 workers. Hormel is also demanding contractual restrictions on workers' democratic and political rights.

In the course of the strike, Local P-9 has had to face attacks by the company, courts, and governor.

On Dec. 24, 1985, the courts issued an injunction limiting strike activity at the plant. Since then the courts, at the request of Hormel, have amended the injunction making it even more restrictive.

On January 21, Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich of the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party sent in the National Guard to herd scabs for Hormel. Public outrage forced Perpich to pull the Guard back from the plant on January 29. The strikers were then able to close the plant again.

On February 3 Perpich again assigned the Guard to herd strikebreakers. Although there are about 900 scabs in the plant, production is only at about 10 percent of normal.

The striking local sent out roving pickets to other Hormel plants. On January 28 the company fired over 500 workers at Hormel plants in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska, for refusing to cross P-9's picket lines.

On February 22, P-9 removed their pickets from the Ottumwa plant. The workers from that plant then marched en masse to demand their jobs. The company refused. The Ottumwa workers are now picketing the plant to protest this lock-out.

Support grows for Minnesota strike

Birmingham

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — At its February 19 meeting, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 640 here passed a resolution in support of the United Food and Commercial Workers union Local P-9 on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. The resolution called for sending a message of solidarity to the striking meatpackers. The clothing and textile workers' local also sent a telegram to Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich protesting the use of the National Guard as strikebreakers in Austin.

The Greater Birmingham chapter of the National Organization for Women also voted at a recent meeting to send a message of support to Local P-9.

Charleston

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — Rev. Sandy Drayton, president of the Charleston NAACP, and Ronald Coder, director of West Virginia American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, issued a statement in support of the meat-

packers. The statement was printed in full in the *Charleston Gazette*.

It read in part: "When union-busting gains the upper hand, so do the anti-labor, sexist, and racist allies of apartheid. Supporters of Hormel's union-busting campaign should go to South Africa and link arms with racist head of state P.W. Botha. We will stand with UFCW Local P-9 in the spirit of labor's martyrs, of Martin Luther King, Jr., and of Nelson Mandela."

Among signers of the statement were David Evans, Vietnam Veterans of America Chapter 35; Pat Hussey and Barbara Ferraro, Sisters of Notre Dame; and Theron Taylor, president of United Steelworkers Local 86-21.

San Jose

SAN JOSE, Calif. — A rally in solidarity with Local P-9 will take place here Thursday, March 6, at 7:30 p.m. at the Labor Temple, 2102 Almaden Rd.

The rally is being sponsored by the Strike Support Committee of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Teamster Local 287; Harry Adams, president of International Association of

Machinists Local 565; Carlos Avitia, president of International Molders' union Local 164; and Steve Manenelli, vice-president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265.

The rally wraps up a three-week visit to the Bay Area by members of Local P-9. The strikers have been speaking to local unions and other organizations to win support for their struggle.

Denver

DENVER — Sixty-five members of United Auto Workers Local 766 at the Martin Marietta aerospace plant here sent a telegram to Gov. Rudy Perpich protesting his use of the Minnesota National Guard. The February 3 telegram characterized this action as "treachery" and "a gross misuse of the tax dollars of the Minnesota workers and farmers."

Toledo

TOLEDO, Ohio — The Jeep unit of United Auto Workers Local 12 voted at its February meeting to send a telegram to Gov. Rudy Perpich protesting the use of the National Guard to break the UFCW strike.

The members also voted to send a \$500 donation — initially proposed as \$100 — to Local P-9.

Albany

ALBANY, N.Y. — The Central Labor Council here voted at its February 11 meeting to send a \$300 donation to UFCW Local P-9.

Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA — "If we act now, the strike can be won. A P-9 victory can be our victory as well."

So read a leaflet put out by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-234, which organizes the Sohio refinery here. The leaflet was to encourage oil workers to participate in a plant-gate collection for the embattled meatpackers' local.

They contributed over \$700 for P-9.

In addition to the plant-gate collection, the union decided at its February 17 meeting to send a telegram protesting the use of the Guard in Austin. The local also voted to adopt a P-9 family and to support the boycott of Hormel products.

Nat'l Guard pulled out of Austin

Continued from front page

creases, however, actually reflect Hormel's acquisition of FDL, a wholly owned subsidiary of Hormel.

During the last two weeks that the Guard was mobilized here, the local did not organize any demonstrations at the Hormel plant gate. Instead, the union stepped up its campaign to win support for the strike from around the country.

Support for the strike within the labor movement continues to grow despite attacks on the local by the United Food and Commercial Workers international and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland (see article page 4). P-9 support rallies are being organized by unions in Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, and in Mobile, Alabama. Support committees in New York, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, and St. Louis are organizing speaking tours for strikers.

At recent meetings two farm organizations — Minnesota Groundswell and the North American Farm Alliance — pledged support for the strike and the boycott of Hormel products.

The striking meatpackers also joined the United Steelworkers' picket line against

American Can Co. in St. Paul, Minnesota.

P-9 strikers spoke to the Steelworkers at their union meeting about the Hormel strike. When working, they make the cans for Spam, a Hormel product. After hearing the meatpackers, the Steelworkers pledged that "the 7 million Spam cans are staying in the warehouse."

The Metro Area P-9 Support Committee in Minneapolis-St. Paul is organizing a meeting in March to gain support for the boycott from campus, civil rights, women's rights, and anti-intervention groups.

In Austin, hundreds of students walked out of classes February 21 in support of the strike (see article page 5). These students have formed a new organization called P-9 — The Future Generation.

The local continues to defend itself against attacks by the courts. The union's attorney, Margaret Winter, has challenged the constitutionality of an amended injunction by Judge Bruce Stone against the strike. This court order limits to six the number of union demonstrators allowed on the public streets near the plant. She asked Judge Stone to dismiss contempt-of-court charges against union leaders stemming from alleged violations of the injunction.

Nicaraguan farmers from northern region discuss new law on land distribution

BY CINDY JAQUITH

PUEBLO NUEVO, Nicaragua — "With land, work, and weapons, we will defeat the aggression." This was the banner at a meeting of 500 Nicaraguan peasants and farm workers who gathered here to present their demands to President Daniel Ortega and other government officials on January 26.

Most of those invited to the "Face the People" meeting were *deplazados de guerra* — peasants driven from their homes by the mercenary bands organized and financed by the U.S. government, called *contras* in Spanish. They had been resettled by the Nicaraguan government on farmland in safer areas.

The meeting took place at the Casa Blanca resettlement, about 15 miles from the Honduran border, in northern Estelí Province. Peasants from the several northern provinces that make up Region 1 came in for the meeting. They were from dozens of towns, including a number where the counterrevolutionary terrorists of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) have had some influence in the past.

More confident mood

The mood of the peasants was much more confident than it would have been one or two years ago. Today, the large FDN units that used to plague this area have been broken up. Peasants are tilling the land in relative security, although still with AK-47s on their backs.

Uppermost in people's minds was the fact that the government had just decreed a major change in the country's land reform law, lifting all limits on the size of landholdings that can be taken over for distribution to poor peasants. The main pledge in a New Year's message by the government and Sandinista National Liberation Front was that no peasant who needs land will go without it.

The peasants' confidence came through as the meeting was about to start. Spotting a number of chairs up front that had been temporarily vacated by journalists, dozens of peasants crowded into the seating area so they could be first in line for the open mike. Many clutched handwritten speeches, which they studied nervously as the meeting began.

A group of youths from a student production battalion, who had been picking coffee on a nearby state farm, started up a series of chants to welcome President Ortega and other government officials.

"One single army!", "People's power!" they yelled out. And a chant answering the slanders of the U.S. government: "We're not terrorists — we're fighting for peace and a socialist country!"

The youths were all from the nearby peasant community of Pueblo Nuevo. They had volunteered to suspend their studies so they could help bring in the nation's coffee crop.

Big demand for land

In the four hours of discussion that ensued, the most frequent request peasants made to the government officials was for land. The head of the cooperative at Casa Blanca explained they needed more land so they could expand their herd of cattle. "There's a state farm nearby, El Chaguitón. We'd like some of the land from there," he said.

El Chaguitón's name came up several times in the meeting. A landless peasant complained, "There are problems with the administration at that farm. It's not producing what it could."

By the end of the meeting, government officials announced that El Chaguitón and another state farm would be turned over to peasants who will work it more efficiently.

There were other suggestions for where to find land. "There's a landlord who has a farm here, but he's in Miami raising money for the contras," said one peasant. A farm worker said he thought there was a lot of abandoned or underutilized land in the area. He singled out the property of a landlord named Julio Martínez. The name brought shouts of agreement from others in the crowd.

Several speakers made the point that the new changes in the land reform law and other measures being taken to aid the countryside will help win back peasants from this area who joined the mercenaries. Said one man, "We should say to those peasants who've gone to Honduras or Costa Rica, who've been tricked, 'look at the benefits we're receiving from the revolution. Come back and work the land.'"

From 1983 to 1985, more than 1,000 contras returned to their homes in this region under an amnesty program that allows them to go back to their villages without penalty if they lay down their arms. An aggressive publicity campaign is being carried out in rural areas like this, with thousands of posters showing ex-contras reunited with their families and maps pin-

Continued on Page 17



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Farmers from northern provinces in Nicaragua at "Face the People" meeting with government leaders, where new land distribution law and other measures to benefit countryside were discussed.

Sandinista revolution grows stronger in countryside

PUEBLO NUEVO, Nicaragua — The Sandinista revolution is growing stronger in the countryside, as exemplified by the January 26 meeting here. (See story above.)

Important shifts in agrarian policy on the part of Nicaragua's workers' and peasants' government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have been a factor in turning the tide against mercenary forces in the region and increasing peasants' support for and confidence in the revolution.

Sandinista leaders have explained how the mercenaries took advantage of the revolution's objective problems in the countryside, as well as some initial errors made by the Nicaraguan government and army. The political lessons they have drawn are reflected in the stepped-up pace and scope of the land reform, including increased distribution of individual titles and the prioritization of economic resources to rural areas.

An article in the Nov. 28, 1985, Spanish-language *Barricada Internacional*, published by the FSLN, summarized some of the experiences the Sandinistas went through that led them to make shifts in their rural policy. The paper interviewed both Javier Carrión, chief of operations for the Sandinista People's Army, and Defense Minister Humberto Ortega.

"Javier Carrión summarized political errors and circumstances that led backward sectors of the peasantry to collaborate at a certain point with the contras [counterrev-

olutionaries]," *Barricada Internacional* reported.

"1. There was a breakdown of traditional commerce of the peasantry when products the peasants can't do without, such as machetes, rubber boots, and rope, became scarce and increased in price. At the same time, the prices at which they sold their products weren't covering their costs.

"2. There was a lack of political attention.

"3. The peasants' expectations on land were not satisfied: The agrarian reform was limited to giving out state land to peasants organized into cooperatives.

"4. The terrorist actions of the contras forced the withdrawal of technicians and teachers to safer areas. The peasants remained isolated."

Humberto Ortega told *Barricada Internacional*, "In many parts of the countryside, the revolution had not really arrived. . . . Many peasants were confused because the revolution had committed errors, because there were no highways, because we didn't have the resources for everything, because we hadn't known how to have a presence.

"We left some peasant areas abandoned, in the middle of political and cultural backwardness. Intimidated by the armed presence of the counterrevolutionaries coming from Honduras, many of these peasants joined them — by force or by their own will."

Barricada Internacional described the steps that began to turn this around. Carrión, the paper reported, explained that "the new economic and land reform policies followed in 1985 were aimed at reversing this situation. By moving the victims of the war to resettlements that were more secure and easier to get to, it was possible to provide better social services, as well as land and facilities to market their products, to people previously isolated in the mountains.

"As a result, the contras have lost the narrow social base they used to be able to count on."

The chief of state security in Region 1, which includes the Casa Blanca resettlement, also commented on peasants' growing rejection of the mercenaries. In an interview in the Oct. 29, 1985, Managua daily *El Nuevo Diario*, Subcommander Róger Mayorga explained why so many peasants who had joined the contras from this region have returned under the amnesty program.

"The small social base [the contras] had in the region in 1983 is today defending the revolution," he said, "because the peasants understand that the war is not helping them, that the contras' project has no future.

"Through the political work of the revolution and the facts that come out every day, they see the real improvements they have received," he said. — C.J.

'IP' on blow to agent-baiting campaign

A staggering blow has been dealt to the agent-baiting campaign conducted for more than a decade by the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and the U.S. Workers League. The Fourth International, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and other individuals and organizations in the workers' movement were the targets of the agent-baiting.

Leaders of a wing of the WRP that broke with long-time WRP cult figure Gerry Healy last October have now repudiated the big lie that leaders of the Fourth International and the SWP are U.S. and Soviet government agents.

They also condemn the lawsuit brought by Los Angeles County attorney Alan Gelfand against the SWP, launched nearly seven years ago. The suit is a central part of the Healyite disruption effort against the SWP and the Fourth International.

The current, March 10 issue of *Intercontinental Press* has an article

by editor Doug Jenness assessing the significance of this repudiation.

This issue of *IP* also carries four pages of articles and documents from *Workers Press*, published by the anti-Healy wing of the WRP.

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Britain: WRP Leaders Repudiate Healyite Agent-Baiting

Reagan's hard sell on aid to contras

Continued from front page
ragua.

The chief spokesperson inside Nicaragua for the mercenaries is Miguel Obando y Bravo, a Roman Catholic cardinal. His recent visit to the United States was timed to coincide with the push for more aid to Obando's armed supporters.

The Nicaraguan government issued a statement on his trip that explained: "The cardinal's visit to the United States and the attacks he has made are taking place precisely when the Reagan administration has launched a new campaign against our country in order to obtain funds from Congress for military support of the counter-revolution."

"Cardinal Obando, who has not said a single word about the mercenary aggression, which has cost more than 11,000 lives, including women, children, and old people, has gone to accuse us before our aggressors, thereby joining a campaign unworthy of his high office and priestly mission."

Capitalist press campaign for aid

The *New York Times* editors have run several articles bemoaning the blows the contras are suffering at the hands of the Nicaraguan military. These are designed to motivate a vote for more aid. In one such story in the February 21 *Times*, reporter Stephen Kinzer included an interview with Adolfo Calero Portocarrero, commander-in-chief of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the main contra grouping.

The contra aid vote, Calero said, "is definitely critical." While the contras were carrying out a lot less military activity this year than previously, "that does not mean we feel any weaker or any less optimistic," he hastened to assure his friends in Washington.

Kinzer also quoted a "foreign military officer" who said if only the contras "can get some heavier weapons, including a few aircraft to challenge the Sandinistas in the sky, and if they get American military advisers who can train their noncommissioned officers, the situation would change."

Ruling class debate

The White House faces opposition in ruling-class circles to this particular package, as shown by the criticisms many Congresspeople and liberal columnists have made of it.

The source of these tactical divisions is the fact that the contras are being badly beaten. The reason is that they are not a popular guerrilla army, but terrorist bands led by U.S.-financed remnants of the former hated regime of Anastasio Somoza.

It's becoming clearer with each passing day that no mercenary force — no matter how much money and arms it gets from the Pentagon — is going to be able to overturn the Nicaraguan government.

More aid to the contras, however, will be felt in Nicaragua, 50 percent of whose national budget already goes to fighting the war. More guns and helicopters and U.S. advisers means more deaths, destruction, and economic dislocation, making it more difficult for the revolution to meet the needs of the oppressed and exploited.

And how the contra war goes is decisive for Washington's calculations on the use of U.S. troops to invade. An armed and united population, dealing blow after blow to the contras, makes an invasion appear a lot less inviting and a lot more costly than a situation where the contras are on the offensive.

Thus, while the entire spectrum of capitalist politicians and commentators — from ultraconservative to liberal — is virtually unanimous in finding Nicaragua's workers' and peasants' government unacceptable, there is a variety of views on what to do about it.

'Humanitarian aid'

Sen. William Broomfield (R.-Mich.) captured the sentiment of those who want to back the contras but keep up the appearance of being pro-peace: "Congress is not going to turn its back on the contras. But obviously their chances are better of getting humanitarian aid."

Sen. David Durenberger (R.-Minn.), chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence, said he would try to amend

Reagan's proposal to make all the money "nonlethal."

Rep. David McCurdy (D-Okla.), the author of last year's amendment that added the tag "humanitarian" to the \$27 million given to the contras, wrote a column that appeared in the February 5 *New York Times*.

"Some skeptics wonder," the congressman asked, "if there really is a significant difference between 'humanitarian' and 'military' aid." McCurdy's answer? Sure. "True, the humanitarian aid we allotted was clearly assistance to a fighting force," he admitted. But how it could be used, he lamely added, was restricted.

Getting to his real point about why the push for calling it humanitarian, the congressman said, "More important, the package passed because some three dozen members of the House who had supported the earlier ban on any aid" voted for the \$27 million.

Several liberal Democrats, including Rep. Thomas O'Neill and Rep. Michael Barnes, have come out against the aid package. If the \$100 million is granted, O'Neill warned, it would be a "disaster." The Nicaraguan army, he said, would "slaughter" the contras. And that could lead to sending U.S. troops: "Give \$100 million and our boys would be in there," said O'Neill.

Latin America

The opposition of the peoples of Latin America to U.S. intervention and the support among the continent's workers and peasants for the Nicaraguan revolution are central factors in the debate in the halls of Congress over how to proceed with the contra war.

On February 10 Secretary of State George Shultz met with the foreign ministers of eight Latin American countries. These included the four governments that participate in the Contadora group and the four that make up the Contadora support group. These were: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. They met in Caraballeda, Venezuela.

The meeting urged Washington to halt its aid to the contras. The governments also came up with a plan that they say can bring a negotiated settlement to the armed conflicts in Central America. The document proposes that Washington resume direct talks with Nicaragua. The U.S. government broke off those talks last year and has



Contra executes Nicaraguan peasant. Photo was released last year by U.S. student traveling with mercenaries. Reagan wants \$100 million in aid for mercenary war that has cost Nicaraguan people more than 11,000 lives.

refused to resume them, despite repeated requests by the Nicaraguan government to do so.

The plan includes a call for the "cessation of support for irregular forces which operate in the region," referring to Washington's support for the contras.

According to a report in the February 11 *New York Times*, the plan also calls for: "the removal of all foreign military advisers from the region, the suspension of foreign military maneuvers, a halt to support for guerrilla armies, and respect for the self-determination and territorial sovereignty of each country."

In asking Congress for the \$100 million, Reagan claimed his aim was to press the Sandinistas into negotiations. Yet Shultz rejected the Latin American governments' proposals, while Nicaragua agreed to sign the plan.

The other side of the Caraballeda meeting was the pressure that these eight governments were supposed to put on Nicaragua.

An editorial in the latest Contadora plan in the February 15 *New York Times* explained what's at stake for the capitalist governments in Latin America that are involved in these negotiations: "What is refusing to die is the Latin belief that a leftist Nicaragua boxed in by treaty would be less

of a threat to the hemisphere than a United States-sponsored war of attrition. They fear the stress on their own social systems if they had to choose clearly between U.S. friendship and a sovereign, albeit Marxist Latin cousin under Yankee attack."

Reagan's proposal to escalate the contra war coming right on top of these new talks has made it more difficult to get Congress to quickly vote another round of aid to the contras.

A February 10 letter to Reagan from nine liberal Democratic senators, including Christopher Dodd, Gary Hart, Alan Cranston, and Edward Kennedy, argued that Reagan's timing was off in light of the Venezuela initiative. "Either we will eventually have to abandon the contras and suffer a major foreign policy setback, or we will have to move to direct U.S. military involvement. Providing lethal military aid for the contras would lead us one step further toward that dead-end choice," they said.

But the contra war continues, despite congressional critics and regional meetings. It takes new lives every day.

Broad protest demonstrations against the U.S.-organized war on Nicaragua are needed now more than ever to demand an end to aid to the contras.

D.C. protest: 'Stop aid to contras!'

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Some 600 people marched and rallied February 21 on Capitol Hill here against the Reagan administration's drive to send military and other aid to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries — known in Spanish as *contras*.

Reagan has formally presented the \$100 million aid package to Congress. This time around it is pitched as \$70 million in military aid and \$30 million in "humanitarian" aid.

The Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua called the February 21 action. The coalition was initiated by the Washington-area Nicaragua Information Committee (NICA), which sent an open letter to dozens of organizations who have spoken out against Washington's dirty war.

Over 30 organizations endorsed the action. They included: International Council of African Women, Casa El Salvador, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship, Colombia Human Rights Committee, and the Democratic Socialists of America.

Other endorsers included the Free South Africa Movement, Maryland Council on Latin America, Washington, D.C., National Black Independent Political Party, Baltimore National Lawyers Guild, Northern Virginia Activists Coalition, Socialist Workers Party, TransAfrica, Washington-area Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean, and several student organizations from Georgetown and American universities.

Protesters came from northern Virginia

and Maryland, as well as Washington, D.C.

Some 40,000 leaflets building the action were distributed in the Washington metropolitan area at train stations, universities, shopping centers, and workplaces. The educational leaflets attacked Reagan's portrayal of the contras as "freedom fighters" and called for the United States government to negotiate with the government of Nicaragua.

Before marching to the Capitol, there were short talks from Loretta Ross, director of the Women of Color Program for the National Organization for Women and Larry Drake from the Washington-area Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean.

Marching down Pennsylvania Avenue,

protesters chanted, "U.S.A.-C.I.A. Out of Nicaragua, boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua," and "We say 'no' — stop the contra money flow."

The demonstration ended across from the Capitol in front of the Supreme Court, where a message of support was read from Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.). The crowd also heard from Sister Maureen Fiedler, who is a prominent figure among religious opponents to U.S. aggression. Sister Fiedler is codirector of the Quixote Center. The center is coordinating the "Quest for Peace" material aid campaign initiated by several national religious organizations to raise \$27 million in real humanitarian aid to Nicaragua. Material aid and donations were collected at the Capitol.

Filipino people topple Marcos

Continued from Page 3

For Wall Street, this assurance is not irrelevant. The Filipino people are staggering under a foreign debt of \$26 billion. This is a nation where half the work force of 20 million is either jobless or without a fulltime job.

The extent of the U.S. financial plunder of the Philippines is indicated by the fact that fully 35 percent of the nation's export must go for paying just the interest on the debt.

Within the Philippines, U.S. business interests have taken advantage of the repression of unions, low wages, and surplus

of workers. The head of the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines estimates the U.S. investment there at \$2.5 billion.

And there is the Clark Air Base and Subic Bay naval installation, with 15,000 military personnel. For Washington, the bases are of a strategic value throughout Southeast Asia.

The Filipino people have written a vital chapter in their history and now embark on a new one. Surging through the streets, they shattered a once seemingly invincible dictatorship. After doing that, they're not likely to depart the political arena.

Socialist Workers Party sets spring tasks

BY MARGARET JAYKO

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party National Committee adopted a series of reports at its February 8-11 meeting that outlined the tasks of the party over the next several months. The political framework for this discussion was set by a report on the international and U.S. political situation, the key points of which were summarized in an article in last week's *Militant*.

That discussion focused on the centrality of the U.S.-backed war against the Nicaraguan revolution and the stakes in the strike by Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers for the entire class struggle.

The national committee decided to make building solidarity with the Austin, Minnesota, meatpackers the central campaign of the party, and last week's article reviewed the P-9 support work that could be carried out in the unions, with farmers' organizations, and among all those who have a stake in the outcome of that battle.

This article will outline the other tasks that were decided on at the meeting.

The fight for antiwar actions

Thabo Ntweng, reporting for the Organization Bureau, detailed the party's key campaigns and tasks in the coming months.

Tom Fiske gave a report from the SWP's Trade Union Bureau on the political work of party members in the unions. The majority of the SWP's members are industrial workers.

The central campaign of the party in the last couple months was the fight to bring together the broad forces necessary to call and build a national action against Washington's escalating intervention in Central America, said Ntweng. Last April 20, some 125,000 people participated in antiwar protests organized by the April Actions Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice.

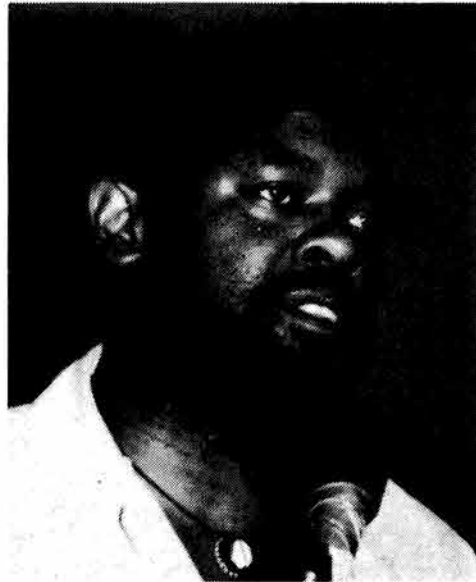
Political retreat

Since then, Ntweng reported, most of the political forces that participate in the coalition have retreated from the previously agreed upon perspective of building nationally coordinated regional antiwar actions on April 26. They have shifted, instead, to proposing that actions be held at some unspecified point in the future in support of the arms talks between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. These protests will not highlight Washington's aggression in Central America, but rather will be limited to vague calls for peace and arms accords.

Members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance — the youth group in political solidarity with the SWP — are participating in the local and national April actions coalitions and talking to other antiwar forces about the importance of nationally coordinated spring antiwar mobilizations, especially in light of Reagan's proposal to give the CIA-organized *contras* (counter-revolutionaries) \$100 million more to escalate their bloody war against Nicaragua.

Fight over contra aid

The stakes are high in the fight over contra aid, Ntweng emphasized. If the Democrats and Republicans grant the funds, it would be a setback for the Nicaraguan



Militant photos by Arthur Hughes, Osborne Hart, and Harry Ring

At the February meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, Larry Seigle (right) reported on publication plans by Pathfinder Press; Tom Fiske (center) on work of party members in unions; and Thabo Ntweng on antiwar activity and efforts to expand circulation of socialist press.

people and U.S. antiwar fighters and an important victory for the imperialists and their mercenaries, who are currently suffering big blows at the hands of the Nicaraguan military.

If Congress is forced to vote against the new aid, however, it will inspire foes of U.S. intervention, help demoralize the *contras*, and buy the Nicaraguan people more time in their fight to defeat the terrorists and strengthen their revolution.

Local and regional antiwar actions are being organized in a number of cities, Ntweng said. They can help convince activists of the need for national coordination, as well as drawing new forces into the fight. On April 19, there will be a march and rally in San Francisco organized by many of the same groups and individuals who built last year's April 20 protest. And in many cities there will be activities during the March 16-24 Central America Week.

In addition, protests organized around the summit and against Washington's nuclear arsenal are a place for antiwar fighters to raise demands against aid to the *contras* and against the U.S.-financed war in El Salvador.

Both Ntweng and Fiske underlined the importance of helping to organize trade union tours to Nicaragua, going on work brigades, and getting Nicaraguan speakers into union locals. Other tours — of farmers, youths, women, Blacks, and Latinos — are also important, along with trips to El Salvador.

Abortion rights demonstrations

The March 9 and 16 national abortion rights protests, called by the National Organization for Women (NOW), will be the most important activities in years in defense of a woman's right to choose, said Ntweng. They have already attracted broad support, including among a layer of women's rights fighters who are Black.

SWP members are building the protests through their NOW and Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) chapters and in their union locals, reproductive rights groups, and other organizations.

Fiske pointed out that the marches provide a way to discuss a key issue facing the union movement — the fight for women's equality. "We have found," he said, "a layer of workers that supports abortion rights and is excited about these actions." And they are building the actions through the union structures to whatever extent is possible.

Anti-apartheid movement

Fiske reported that the past year's upsurge against the white minority regime in South Africa, combined with the U.S. union movement's anti-apartheid stance, had led to significant opportunities to involve the unions and individual workers in building and attending actions against South African racism.

Union members have also been able to get South African freedom fighters and labor leaders to address their locals; set up showings of anti-apartheid videos; and help collect signatures on a "Freedom Letter" to Desmond Tutu, a leader of the United Democratic Front, the broad anti-apartheid coalition in South Africa.

In the next several months, Fiske and Ntweng reported, there will be more opportunities to involve unionists and everyone else in anti-apartheid actions. Regional actions are scheduled for April 4, National Divestment Protest Day, which is part of the 1986 National Weeks of Anti-Apartheid Action from March 21 to April 6. On June 14, the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council is organizing a march and rally to demand no U.S. intervention as well as break all U.S. ties to apartheid.

The boycott of Shell Oil, organized by the United Mine Workers, United Auto Workers, and others, can also provide opportunities to draw the unions into action on this issue.

Democratic rights under attack

Fiske reported that under the guise of defense of "national security" and the fight against "terrorism," the employers and the government have stepped up their attacks on the democratic rights of workers in industries with Pentagon contracts. There's talk of revoking thousands of security clearances, which are routinely required for all sorts of jobs. There's an increase in the number of workers being charged with "sabotage." And drug busts are being used to divide and intimidate workers.

One aspect of this attack that Fiske pointed to is the attempt to get workers to talk to cops in the plants. Fiske said that there is *never* a time when anyone is legally required to voluntarily engage in conversation with the FBI or any other cop agency. And when a worker or any political activist does agree to talk to FBI agents, it gives the FBI an added appearance of legitimacy in intruding on democratic rights.

The goal of the FBI in these circumstances, said Fiske, is not to get you to say something "damaging," but to get you to accept and help establish their "right" to hold such interrogations.

The FBI thus seeks to reinforce one of the most elementary forms of class collaboration: actions based on the illusion that the cops are neutral in the struggle between workers and bosses.

Having FBI agents in the plant and interrogating workers who are singled out on political grounds is an attack on democratic rights, as well as an attack on the union.

Pathfinder Press

Larry Seigle gave a report from the Organization Bureau on Pathfinder Press' 1986 publishing and distribution plans and how this can strengthen socialist bookstores.

Some of the new books and pamphlets that Pathfinder plans to produce in 1986 are two new volumes of the series on the Communist International in Lenin's time; a new, updated version of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*; and more pamphlets in Spanish, including a couple on South Africa. In addition, Pathfinder just released *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. The publishing house also intends to expand the number of titles in Spanish and French that it distributes.

In 1985, Seigle reported, Pathfinder was able to significantly increase its international distribution through its outlets in London, England, and Sydney, Australia. This resulted, among other things, in Path-

finder books beginning to be distributed in the Philippines.

The report also discussed the importance of expanded circulation of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. Each issue of *New International* has substantial political articles and documents and can be promoted even after the next issue is out, Seigle noted.

The upsurge in Haiti has made even clearer the importance of *Nouvelle Internationale*, the French-language sister publication of *New International*. While it is directed primarily at the nationally oppressed, French-speaking population of Quebec, Canada, it is beginning to be read and studied by Haitians in Montreal and the United States, who are trying to figure out the road forward in their fight against imperialist oppression and exploitation.

Upgrading bookstores

Socialist bookstores can reap a lot of benefits by being explicitly associated with Pathfinder Press, Seigle pointed out. Having several dozen bookstores, all named Pathfinder, maximizes the possibility of radical-minded workers and students associating these bookstores with the volumes of speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan, Cuban, and Grenadian revolutions; books by Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela; and other important titles published and distributed by Pathfinder.

Seigle reported that the *Militant*, its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the biweekly international news magazine *Intercontinental Press* all intend to expand their promotion of Pathfinder publications and bookstores.

To get the most out of this national effort, Seigle said, "will require a sustained, systematic, weekly upgrading of the bookstores," including regular hours and attention to what is featured each week, connected with the political work branches are carrying out.

Seigle announced that there will be a spring fund drive of \$100,000 that will run from March 15 to May 10. The money will go to help finance the socialist press and publishing projects.

'Militant,' 'PM' sales drive

Ntweng emphasized the important role that the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* play in building solidarity with the struggles of working people all over the world and getting across the views of the SWP.

To expand circulation of the press, the national committee voted to launch a 10-week drive to sell 45,000 single issues and 2,000 subscriptions to the two publications. The drive goes from March 8 to May 16, with March 29-April 4 being a target week where branches will make special efforts to sell large numbers of papers and subscriptions. (See front-page editorial on sales drive.)

In addition, Ntweng proposed that from February 6 to March 7 branches participate in a renewal campaign to reach *Militant* and *PM* subscribers whose subs are running out and encourage them to renew.

Ntweng also reported that every branch will be running candidates for public office this spring. These campaigns, he said, give the party a chance to explain its ideas to a broader layer of the working class than can

Continued on Page 12

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The National Organization for Women has called two abortion rights actions — in Washington, D.C., for March 9, and in Los Angeles for March 16. The theme of the actions is a "National March for Women's Lives" to keep abortion and birth control safe and legal.

NOW is involving a broad range of women's rights, Black, Latino, student, and labor organizations in building the marches.

For information on the Washington march, contact National March for Women's Lives, 1401 New York Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; telephone (202) 347-2279. For information on the Los Angeles march, 1242 S. La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90035; telephone (213) 652-5576.

Cincinnati: fetal disposal law defeated

BY VAL LIBBY

CINCINNATI — A victory for abortion rights was won here on February 21. U.S. District Chief Judge Carl Rubin granted a preliminary injunction barring the city of Cincinnati from enforcing the recently passed "fetal disposal ordinance."

The victory was won because pro-abortion rights forces have been fighting back with rallies, picket lines, and other public protest activities since the December 9 firebombing of two Cincinnati abortion clinics. On January 25 more than 400 people rallied to protest the firebombings. Almost every week, abortion rights picket lines have been organized.

Judge Rubin's ruling came the day before a city hall rally called by the March 9 Committee, demanding that the city council bring

to justice those responsible for the firebombings. From the rally, abortion-rights activists fanned out through downtown Cincinnati leafleting for the March 9 "March for Women's Lives" and collecting more than 340 signatures on petitions supporting abortion rights and demanding the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the clinic bombings.

The March 9 Committee, which is organizing buses to the national abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C., and the Cincinnati Freedom of Choice Coalition plan continued public activity to assure the ordinance is defeated.

March 9 picking up steam in Philadelphia

BY JOEY ROTHENBERG

PHILADELPHIA — "Women are not the reproductive vessels for any government or church," Doris Pechkurow of Philadelphia NOW told the thousands who had gathered for the March Against Racism in Philadelphia on February 15. She encouraged all to go to Washington, D.C., on March 9 to support abortion rights.

Philadelphia-area organizing for the demonstration has picked up steam. Thirty buses are reserved.

Things got under way on January 22, the 13th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Sixty people gathered in a "night of outrage" demonstration organized by NOW.

Earlier that day, more than 500 people attended a noontime "supreme commemoration" honoring the 1973 Supreme Court decision. The meeting was sponsored by Penn Choice, a statewide coalition in support of abortion rights and

Nacional MARCHA por la Vida de la Mujer

16 de Marzo Los Angeles, Ca. de 1986

Congregacion: 10 a.m. en Century City a lo largo de Century Park East

Manifestacion: 12 del mediodia Parque de Cheviot Hills en la calle Motor al sur del boulevard Pico

Leaflet in Spanish for March 16 West Coast action is available from Los Angeles march center.

by about 50 organizations in Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley. The keynote speaker was Marjorie McGuire from Catholics for Free Choice.

On February 2 and 3, NOW President Eleanor Smeal spoke on three campuses. A meeting at Swarthmore, called on short notice, had 200 people, half of whom were men.

At Bryn Mawr College, Smeal spoke to a crowd of 400, mostly young women.

The theme of Smeal's speech was the need to get out in the streets and defend our rights. This was well-received with a standing ovation at the end of her talk. Tables were set up to sell special bus tickets for students that cost only \$5.00. Organizing is now well

under way on that campus.

'Largest abortion rights actions in history'

In a February 24 press release the National Organization for Women said the March 9/March 16 "National March for Women's Lives" would be "the largest demonstration for a woman's right to birth control and legal abortion in the history of the United States."

NOW said that "tens of thousands of women and men, including students from more than 300 colleges and universities, more than 200 individual delegations, and more than 350 cosponsoring organizations, will participate in the two national marches."

Some of the recent cosponsoring organizations include: American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), District Council 36; American Federation of Teachers Local 1839; American Indian Law Students Association, CUNY (City University of New York) chapter; Between Ourselves; Women of Color; the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA); the Haitian Center for Information, Documentation, and Social Action; and the Hospital and Health Care Employees' Union, District 1199.

Other recent endorsers include the Let Nicaragua Live Pledge Campaign of Southern California, the Mexican American Women's National Association, National Association of Social Workers, National Black Independent Political Party, and the National Black Women's Health Project.

Also cosponsoring are the National Mobilization for Survival, Nicaragua Information Committee, Nicaragua Task Force, Reproductive Rights National Network, Socialist Workers Party, SANE, United States Student Association, the Winnie Mandela Women's Collective, Women Strike for Peace, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

In Washington, D.C., marchers will assemble at 10:00 a.m. on Sunday, March 9, on the Mall between 7th and 14th streets. The demonstration will proceed past the White House to rally at the U.S. Capitol Building on the west side. Please note that the rally site has been changed from the Lincoln Memorial to the Capitol Building.

The Los Angeles March will assemble at 10:00 a.m., March 16, in Century City along Century Park West, proceeding down the Avenue of the Stars to rally at Rancho Park.

N.J. union women back Hormel strikers, March 9

BY MARY ROCHE

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J. — More than 40 signatures were gathered on petitions supporting the Hormel strikers of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 during one morning of a conference of trade union women held here February 7-9. The petition demanded the "removal of the National Guard in the city of Austin, Minnesota," and supported the "right of UFCW Local P-9 to strike and their right to collective bargaining."

Several petition signers from the Communications Workers of America (CWA) mentioned that their locals had either sent a monetary contribution to P-9, adopted a striking family, or sent members to Austin to show their solidarity and gather information. The state staff of the CWA and Teamsters Local 877 have also adopted striking families.

Two hundred fifty women and men from more than 15 unions attended the conference, entitled "Women: meeting the challenge of change — new demands and new agendas," called by the Women's Affirmative Action Committee (WAAC) of the New Jersey State Industrial Union Council, AFL-CIO.

Robbie Cagnina, former WAAC president, told the assembly that "we must make

it clear that our rights cannot be abandoned." She said that "affirmative action with concrete numerical guidelines is absolutely essential for this struggle." To be against the only means to an end is to be against the end.

National Organization for Women (NOW) State President Linda Bowker also addressed the conference plenary. She en-

couraged participation in the "March for Women's Lives" March 9 demonstration in Washington, D.C., to keep abortion safe and legal.

NOW also had a table at the conference, where participants received leaflets, buttons, and bus information for the march.

The film *Rosie the Riveter* was shown at the last session Sunday morning.

Although not many participants remained at the final resolutions session, a resolution supporting the Hormel strikers, introduced by a member of UFCW Local 80, was passed unanimously. A resolution supporting the March 9 "March for Women's Lives" also passed unanimously.

Mary Roche is a member of Teamsters Local 877.

Forum links fight against racism, sexism

BY TAMAR ROSENFELD

CLEVELAND — On February 10 the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) cosponsored a program on the interrelationship of the fights for women's rights and against racism.

Diane Underwood, president of Cleveland NOW, opened the program by plugging the March 9 "March for Women's Lives." "A lot of poor women in this country are already going back to back alley abortions. We have to march on Washington to say 'No more. No more back alley abortions,'" she said.

Celeste Welch, speaking for the Cleveland chapter of NBIPP, said, "NBIPP realizes the commonality in struggles for liberation. The fight against racism runs concurrent with the fight for women's rights. These are both fights against the socioeconomic system that chooses to overlook human needs, human equality, and social justice."

Norma Hanna, a Nicaraguan woman and victim of a racist attack that burned her out of her home in a suburb of Cleveland, spoke about the fight of women in Nicaragua today. "The position of women has changed in Nicaragua since the revolution," she said. "Now we participate in the

decisions that mold the future, which is our future." She appealed to the audience, "As a mother, a woman, a Nicaraguan, I ask you to stop Reagan from sending millions of dollars to the *contras* [U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries]."

Ione Biggs, co-coordinator of the Northeast Ohio Anti-Apartheid Coalition, and Kathleen Geathers, chairperson of the Civil Rights Committee of Women Speak

Out for Peace and Justice, spoke of the many aspects of racism in this country. Biggs cited infant mortality rates for Blacks compared with whites, as well as pay inequities between Black and white workers, as pertinent issues for the women's movement to take up.

Some 40 people in attendance at this meeting participated in the discussion period.

Momentum builds for March 16 action

Continued from back page

held in Long Beach for two visiting Hormel strikers from Austin, Minnesota. The women's committee at the big General Motors plant in Van Nuys has organized a discussion of the march at its next meeting. A 5,000-member, mostly female, Teamsters local in Long Beach has included a prominent article on the march in its latest publication.

The national march leaflet has recently been translated into Spanish and printed, which will facilitate outreach to the large Spanish-speaking community here. A number of important Latino groups have already endorsed the march, including the Hispanic Caucus of the California State

Democratic Party, Comision Femenil de Los Angeles, Let Nicaragua Live Pledge Campaign of Southern California, Nicaraguan Task Force, and the Nicaraguan Information Center. In addition, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and UE — unions which have a largely Spanish-speaking membership — have pledged to distribute the leaflets at union-organized workplaces. *La Opinion*, the largest Spanish-language daily newspaper, attended the February 24 press conference.

In a recent development, the San Diego National Organization for Women chapter is working with a number of women in Tijuana, Mexico, who plan to attend the march.

D.C. poll shows Blacks back abortion rights

A poll conducted by the *Washington Post* last month shows that Blacks in the Washington, D.C., area support abortion on demand by a 2-to-1 ratio.

The poll showed that 64 percent of Blacks supported the right of a woman to choose an abortion for any reason. Support for abortion on demand was expressed by a majority of both Black men and women.

Cuba: battle for economic development i

Communist Party congress makes advances in defense, econom

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA — There have been "two genuine revolutions" in Cuba in recent years, Fidel Castro told the delegates to the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, held here February 4-7. "One in the field of defense and the other in the economic field."

In both spheres, Castro emphasized, there have been fundamental gains. Both defense of the revolution against imperialist aggression and developing the country's productive capacity have come to be understood as genuine "people's wars," he said.

The character of these two revolutions was registered as well in a third development at the party congress, one with equally revolutionary implications: the renewal of the party leadership bodies.

Following an extensive party discussion, 40 percent of those elected to the Central Committee were new members, selected in line with the explicit criteria of the need to advance youth, women, and Blacks into leadership positions. Setting an example for all Cuban society by adopting and implementing such a policy, Castro said, was decisive for the future of the revolution.

The interconnected advances on these three battlefronts — defense, economy, and political leadership — came through strongly at the congress in resolutions, reports, and discussions with the delegates. On each front the fundamental challenge being met is the same.

The delegates to the Cuban Communist Party congress were dealing with the most profound issues of proletarian democracy. They were seeking to develop the forms and institutions that will enable the revolution to continue deepening the participation of the masses of working people in actively defending their revolution, administering their state, deciding on and controlling their economic progress, and renewing their political leadership so it will continue to be a vanguard that is organically part of today's working class in age, composition, experience, and conditions of life.

On the economic front, the issue that received the greatest attention was the need to revitalize the planning mechanism, the driving force of the Cuban economy.

In a capitalist economy, maximizing the profits of a handful of gluttonous private owners of the factories, mines, and fields determines everything. The brutal, anarchic system "corrects" its dislocations through periodic crises, of which the principal victims are the working people themselves — the producers of all wealth.

A planned economy places the welfare of human beings first, and such a qualitative transformation of Cuban society was made possible by the revolutionary expropriation of capitalist property there in 1960. The working class is no longer subject to the ravages of capitalist crises.

But the creation of a self-correcting planning mechanism as the driving force of economic development is not automatic. Like all other tasks of the revolution, it has to be consciously led. It demands a continual battle against bureaucratism and vested interests, routinism, incompetence, and corruption.

It is a battle that can only be won as the working class itself develops the organizational forms through which it can continually increase its educational level, techni-

cal training, and political capacity to democratically assert control over the planning process and its implementation and moves toward management of the economy.

That is why the advances Cuba is making in defense, in production and planning, and on broad political leadership questions are inseparable, and why the forward steps registered at the Cuban Communist Party congress are so important.

Revolution in defense concepts

In the Main Report to the congress, delivered by Castro in his capacity as first secretary of the party's Central Committee, he referred to several speeches he had

“
40% of Central
Committee are new
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and Blacks . . .”

made at the end of 1984, in which the meaning of the two revolutions in defense and economic management had been explained to the entire Cuban people.

In an address to the National Assembly of People's Power on Dec. 28, 1984, Fidel reminded the congress, he had discussed the circumstances that led to the decision, in the spring of 1980, to launch the Territorial Troop Militia.

In response to a series of U.S. provocations in April and May 1980 that led to the Mariel exodus, the Cuban people expressed their renewed revolutionary vitality, boosted by 1979 victories in Nicaragua and Grenada. They poured into the streets three times in million-strong Marches of the Fighting People.

Out of that mass upsurge — "one of the most important political, ideological, and moral victories the revolution has won in its entire history," as Fidel said in December 1980 — came the decision to launch the Territorial Troop Militia.

This popular militia system has since organized, trained, and equipped 1.5 million civilians, the majority of them women, and integrated this force into the defense plans of the country.

The tense international situation and the threat of imperialist aggression in 1980, Castro recalled in 1984, was what "led to a revolution in defense concepts."

It is not that popular participation in defense was lacking before, Fidel noted. It was there "right from the start." But over the years, he explained, as the capabilities of the armed forces grew, so did the view that "defense was strictly a problem for the armed forces."

In 1979, as the U.S. government began to search for ways to crush the advancing popular struggles throughout Central America and the Caribbean, the danger of new U.S. aggression against Cuba intensified.

Under this pressure, Fidel pointed out, "we reached new and revolutionary ideas in the concept of defense. We went from the old idea to the idea that the military defense of the country, on the battlefield and in all the backup work in any form of attack

— blockade, war of attrition, invasion, total or partial occupation of the country — was a task for both the armed forces and the people as a whole, so the people had to be organized and prepared for that struggle."

This is the strategic conception that has been implemented in the last six years, Castro told the Third Congress. As a result, nearly 80 percent of all "men and women of all ages who are capable of fighting" are now organized, and "the means exist" for them to actively participate in Cuba's defense.

Application to economic battles

These same concepts, Fidel explained, are now being implemented in the economic sphere.

"The international crisis, the world economic disaster, the intensified imperialist blockade of our country, maneuvers to drive down the price of sugar, have all led us to another profound revolution of ideas and concepts," Fidel had explained to the National Assembly of People's Power at the end of 1984.

In theory, he went on, the Cuban leadership always thought in terms of people's war, but this idea had not been put into practice. "Our people were not fully organized to fight."

Likewise, "in the economic field there was also talk of certain ideas and concepts but . . . no collective awareness, no collective will, no total determination to implement the idea." Just as the revolution in defense concepts has gained ground, Fidel then noted, so will the revolution in economic concepts. "This must be the economic battle of the entire people, the economic war of the whole people."

Production brigades

This economic war of the whole people was at the center of much of the discussion at the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party. It was the main thing delegates wanted to talk about following the presentation of the Main Report, which dealt extensively with economic perspectives.

"Has dealing with the challenges of Cuba's economic development as a 'people's war' meant anything different for you?" I asked Carmen Sánchez Reyes, a delegate from one of the giant agro-industrial sugar producing complexes in the province of Holguín.

"I'm a *machetera*," she proudly told me. A cane cutter. She was standing chatting with another *machetera*, Celia Hernández López. Before the revolution, they assured me, there were no women in the cane fields. But the revolution changed everything for women, Hernández said. "Today, we have equal rights."

Before, women who worked for employers were mostly maids, Sánchez added. "Now we're proving there is nothing women can't do."

The big change in the last year, Sánchez went on, has been the formation of comprehensive work brigades on the state farm where she works. At first these brigades were tried on an experimental basis in a few places. Now, in line with the resolutions adopted by the congress, she said, they will be generalized throughout industry.

"What is a comprehensive work brigade?" I asked. Sánchez explained, with obvious enthusiasm, that she and other members of her brigade are now responsible not only for cutting cane in their subdivision, but they follow the process through from start to finish. Their brigade, as a collective, plays a bigger role than previously in determining concrete production goals. It is their responsibility, not someone else's, to ensure that adequate supplies are ordered and delivered on time so they won't lose production days.

They harvest the cane, clean the fields, fertilize and prepare the ground, plant the next crop, and make sure the proper pesticides are used. As a result they know at each step how the final yield is being affected.

They feel and are responsible for meeting the production goals they have set themselves. Emulation contests between the brigades and bonuses for meeting and surpassing production targets are added incentives.

Several other workers who had gathered around us explained that similar production brigades were being introduced in their workplaces — one an oil refinery, another a cement plant, another a textile and garment factory.

"What is the effect of the reorganization of the work along these lines?" I asked them.

"We're more efficient and more productive," Sánchez replied, without a moment's hesitation. "The quality of our work has improved. And that means Cuba will develop faster."

The plenary session of the congress was about to reconvene, but Sánchez and Hernández insisted on one final thing.

"You must take a message to the women of the United States," Sánchez said with a smile. "Women in the United States need a revolution like ours. You must liberate yourselves as we have. And then you must send a delegation to our next congress."

I promised the message would be passed on.

Economic gains

The comprehensive Main Report to the congress, as Castro indicated in his opening remarks, was an "encouraging review of what has been done, a vehement criticism of what has been left undone, and an optimistic and resolute projection into the future, confident of our revolutionary strength, our fighting morale, and the immense possibilities of socialism."

The economic and social achievements of the last five years have been impressive. This is even more evident when the progress in Cuba is compared with the devastating economic and social panorama of other Latin American and Caribbean countries in the same period.

The last five-year period, Fidel noted, has been one of the most disastrous ever for the domestic economies of Latin America: "all economic indicators dropped, many of them registered negative growth, and some

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incompetence,
corruption . . .”

fell back to the rates of 20 years ago."

In the same period in Cuba, the Main Report noted, the gross social product grew at an average annual rate of 7.3 percent — considerably higher than the 5 percent rate that had been projected at the Second Congress of the Cuban Communist Party in 1980.

Industrial production increased by 8.8 percent over the five-year period.

Labor productivity increased at an annual rate of 5.2 percent, and personal consumption at an annual rate of 2.8 percent. The corresponding rate for social consumption — which includes items like transportation, health services, and availability of education — grew by 7.1 percent.

Indicators of the relative standard of living showed impressive gains. The number of doctors and dentists rose faster than population increases, and a new comprehensive family doctor program was inaugurated. And this in a society in which medical care is free.

Statistics also showed important increases in the possession of durable goods



Dais at February 4-7 Third Congress. At far right, Fidel Castro. Behind him, Vilma Espín, newly elected to party's Political Bureau, its first woman member.

s a "people's war"

7, leadership

(such as refrigerators, washing machines, and televisions), daily per capita calorie and protein intake, enrollment in child-care centers (and the number of mothers benefiting), and school enrollment and average educational level.

The number of non-food items that are rationed decreased from 150 to 68. Construction of housing units rose threefold compared with the 1976-80 period.

These impressive gains were the result of planned economic and social investments which are only possible because in Cuba the basic means of production have been taken out of the hands of private profiteers.

Furthermore, as the Cubans always point out, their gains are possible only because Cuba's production and trade are coordinated with the economic planning of the Soviet Union and East European countries, along with Vietnam and Mongolia. Through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Cuba receives favorable terms of trade that are helping the country develop its industrial infrastructure and overcome the 450-year legacy of colonialism and imperialist plunder.

Having eliminated the uncontrolled anarchy of capitalist production, Cuba is able to decide on and implement an economic development strategy.

Discussion of economic strategy

The fundamental guidelines of Cuba's economic strategy from now to the year 2000 were discussed and voted on at this congress.

These guidelines have been under intense discussion on all levels of the party, government, and trade unions for more than a year.

At the end of November 1984, Castro noted, there was a special joint meeting of leaders of the party, the government, and the mass organizations — such as the trade unions, farmers' association, women's organization, and neighborhood committees. The purpose of this exceptional gathering was to make an in-depth study of the persistent problems in the country's economic and social development. "Decisions were adopted," Castro noted, "that have had far-reaching repercussions in revolutionary activity to date and will have even greater repercussions in the future."

The main decisions adopted were publicly outlined by Castro in several speeches given in December 1984, to a National Forum on Energy, to a congress of the Federation of Students in Intermediate Education, and to the National Assembly of People's Power.

Castro referred to all three of these speeches in his Main Report.

On the basis of that review of Cuba's economic situation, emergency measures were taken last year to restructure economic priorities. The purpose was to ensure the future long-term economic development of Cuba's industrial base and a rising standard of living based on real growth of labor productivity.

A working committee, known simply as the Central Group, was established. It was composed of top-level government and party leaders, including members of the Council of Ministers, secretaries and heads of Central Committee departments, and presidents of provincial People's Power bodies. In a matter of weeks the Central Group completely recast the 1985 plan — as well as could be done on the eve of the new year itself — and began revising both the 1986 projections and the long-term plans for 1986-2000.

The fundamental guideline, Fidel reiterated in the report to the party congress, was the determination not to "sacrifice our future to consumerism" — not to become willing victims of the commodity fetish, which rules and warps the capitalist world.

Given the fundamental material and social problems already solved, Castro emphasized, "our problem is development, our problem is the future."

The main economic objective of the de-

velopment strategy is "to speed up the country's industrialization process." Given what has already been accomplished, in health and education especially, it assumes that spending on social projects will decline slightly as a percentage of overall investments.

Absolute priority will be given to "those investments which result in savings on imports from the hard currency area," that is, imports that have to be paid for in currencies that are readily convertible in the world market. This development strategy also assumes that there will be a greater degree of economic integration within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The resolution "Improving the Economic Planning and Management System," also adopted by the congress, summarized the economic objectives of the next period in the following terms:

"In the next few years, the country's purchasing power must be ensured through export growth and import substitution; sustained growth of social production profitability; increased savings of material resources, especially energy; better use of installed production capacities and greater efficiency in the investment process; greater labor productivity through wider use of new forms of labor and wage organization [such as the production brigades and wage structures that encourage workers to raise their levels of technical proficiency]; consistent application of austerity policies in budgetary expenditures; higher quality in production and services; and the promotion of a much more effective and dynamic application of science and technology."

Taken as a whole, Fidel emphasized, the decisions made at the end of 1984 and the measures adopted to implement them meant Cuba "embarked upon a new, qualitatively superior stage of the Revolution."

The results, he added, are already notable. "Undoubtedly, 1985 was the year that afforded the greatest savings and efficiency, the year in which the Revolution obtained the best economic results."

However, he added, "this is just a beginning," and "the Central Group will continue its work."

One of the organizational measures taken in the past year as part of this new stage has been the demonstrative removal from their posts of a number of prominent government and party figures charged with incompetence and failure to carry out policies decided upon. Antonio Pérez Herrero, for example, was removed from his post as an alternate member of the Political Bureau and member of the secretariat of the Central Committee in January 1985 due to "shortcomings and repeated errors committed in the fulfillment of his duties."

Castro pledged that this process would continue where necessary. "Improvements in the structure of state agencies and replacement of unsatisfactory officials will continue," Fidel announced to prolonged applause. "There will be no tolerance whatsoever for laziness, negligence, incompetence, or irresponsibility."

Deficiencies and shortcomings

What are the problems and deficiencies that required extraordinary measures to eradicate them? Why is it so important to call to order and if necessary remove officials whose functioning is an obstacle to deepening workers' involvement and control over economic decisions? Why must the Central Committee and party itself be constantly renewed as part of this process? These questions, too, were explicitly dealt with at the congress.

In a section of the Main Report, Fidel enumerated some of the problems that are all too familiar to the Cuban people. As important as the advances of the last five years may have been, he said, "nevertheless, we could have made better use of our resources and our efforts. Our work has been far from its best. Deficiencies and shortcomings still persist, and we must call them by their names and fight against them with all our might. Only thus will we be



Prensa Latina

Revolution in concept of defense and economy. Castro at congress explained that before organization of 1.5 million-strong Territorial Troop Militia (above) "our people were not fully organized to fight." Now 80 percent of those capable of fighting are prepared. As this concept of people's defense has gained, so will economic battle be transformed. Above top, sugar combine symbolizes rapid rise in Cuban labor productivity.

worthy of the name communist!"

The country's main economic problem during 1981-85, Castro said, "was that although overall growth rates were satisfactory, they proved sluggish where we most needed them: exports of goods and services and import substitution."

In a similar vein the resolution on improving economic planning noted that the last five-year period "witnessed a deficit in the balance of payments, particularly in the area of hard currency. This situation became acute in 1982 as a result of mass credit freezes by capitalist banks, high interest rates, drops in sugar prices, and the reduced availability of financing sources for the National Bank of Cuba."

Emergency measures were taken, with immediate results. But the fact remained that growth rates were being achieved through "imports that exceeded the country's possibilities, excessive energy and raw materials expenditures," and failure to increase and diversify exports.

In his report Castro detailed the kinds of waste and inefficiency that have to be eliminated.

In relationship to sugar production — Cuba's major industry — Castro noted that "growth rates have not matched the pos-

sibilities created by invested resources. By-product development has not been adequately planned. Sugar-cane production targets were not met because of insufficient planting and unsatisfactory agricultural yields. Inadequate soil preparation, short supplies of agricultural machinery drawn by high-power tractors, and improper field leveling and drainage resulted in high crop losses. Delays in the development and introduction of new, more productive, and disease-resistant varieties; low-quality seeds; ill-timed planting; weeding and cultivation delays" all contributed to inadequate agricultural yields.

Specific problems detailed

The purpose and usefulness of the comprehensive production brigades that the macheteras explained becomes clearer when placed side-by-side with the concrete problems detailed by the report.

A similar critical evaluation of other branches of industry and agricultural production followed in Castro's Main Report:

"We have not made the best use of industrial capacities. Lack of skills and labor force instability are basic factors in the slow assimilation of new facilities."

Continued on next page

For further reading, books by Fidel Castro

Speeches Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80. 391 pp. \$8.95.

Speeches Vol. II Building Socialism in Cuba. 368 pp. \$8.95.

Speeches 1984-85 War and Crisis in the Americas. 250 pp. \$7.95.

Selected Speeches 1960-79. 8½×11 format, 134 pp. \$6.00.

Women and the Cuban Revolution. Castro, Vilma Espín, and others. (Stone, ed.) 156 pp. \$4.95.

Fidel Castro on Chile. 8½×11 format, 158 pp. \$6.00.

Fidel Castro at the UN. Pamphlet, 46 pp. \$1.25.

Available from Pathfinder bookstores (see page 16 for one nearest you), or order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for handling.



Cuba's economic battle

Continued from previous page

"Shortages of all kinds of packaging consistently affected several production lines."

"The machine industry is still not making full use of its facilities and is facing difficulties with technological requirements and quality."

"Low efficiency in construction freezes resources and disrupts the construction process."

"Cost effectiveness is still hampered by idle raw materials, spare parts, and other goods and [by] resources frozen because of problems in planning and administering supplies."

"Our scientific and technological work has not been sufficiently linked to research topics that will provide concrete solutions to our main economic problems."

"We are behind in developing our electronics industry" and introducing computer technology.

"Although there has been growing awareness of the need to protect the environment, little progress has been made in the struggle against pollution, and industrial waste recycling is being done at only a small number of plants."

"There has been an inadequate and unstable supply of consumer goods... as well as lack of variety, inappropriate sizes, poor finishing, and outdated and repetitive designs, aggravated by irrational distribution."

In the service sector, "there are instances of insensitivity to the population's problems, treatment that is incompatible with the Revolution's principles, administrative attitudes that allow for irregularities which discredit the state's role."

"Procedures for solving simple legal problems remain excessive and bureaucratic."

"Despite undeniable progress in public health, insistence on quality services is still inadequate."

"The quality of our education still leaves much to be desired."

"Checks on administrative positions and work to reduce administrative overstaffing has been weak throughout the state apparatus."

"As regards employment, one of the fundamental rights of the people [in Cuba, every worker is guaranteed a job], many parts of the country have a labor shortage while others have a surplus."

The harshest criticism of all, however, was directed to the failures of the economic planning system.

"One of our most serious problems has been the absence of comprehensive national planning for economic development," Fidel said, "particularly where individual sectors have planned and executed investments on their own initiative without adequate centralized control. Examples abound: new industries and agricultural projects in sparsely populated areas lacking housing facilities for the labor force; extremely important agricultural plans, such as the citrus fruit plan, where we still have areas planted without irrigation; irrigation systems where there are no pumping stations or electric power to run them; workshops and facilities without the corresponding power supply; housing developments completed without the necessary urban infrastructure, etc."

Following the initial thrust in implementing the Economic Planning and Management System in the mid-1970s, Castro stated, "there has been no consistent follow-through to improve it. The initiative was lost, and the creativity needed to adapt this system to our own conditions — a system largely taken from the experience of other countries — never materialized."

How to increase the creative input of the Cuban workers, in other words, remained the central challenge.

During the greater part of the five-year period, Castro went on, "the budget continued to be ineffective. Rather than regulating spending, it, in effect, promoted it along with improper social consumption."

The Economic Planning and Management System could become "a complete farce," Castro underlined, "if we attempt to achieve enterprise profitability by raising the prices of products, construction, and productive services," rather than by improving efficiency and labor productivity.

"Prices in maintenance, construction, and transportation, to mention just a few sectors, are scandalously high, covering up

for inefficiency, over-staffing, and over-spending."

Fidel concluded his remarks on the deficiencies and shortcomings of the Cuban economy with the remark that if these kinds of defects are not overcome, "the Economic Planning and Management System will cease to be the driving force of our development."

The accuracy of the report's summary of the challenges faced on the economic front was registered by the delegates' applause and by their contributions to the discussion of how to move forward.

Leadership challenge

Delegates spoke to many different aspects of the economic and social tasks facing Cuba, but more than anything else they stressed that the greatest challenge is one of leadership.

Members of the party themselves, they insisted, must set the example in terms of work discipline, commitment to constantly upgrading educational levels and skills, and eradicating favoritism, buck-passing, red tape, and bureaucratic insensitivity to people's needs.

Arquímedes Morales López, a delegate from the province of Ciego de Ávila, for example, discussed the importance of the production brigades, which, he said, were initiated in his province in 1981. They now involve more than 3,000 workers in six industrial centers in that province.

He stressed their important role in developing and implementing production plans and stimulating interest in and a sense of responsibility for the efficient fulfillment of production goals. Brigade members are not only involved in strictly productive tasks, he stressed, but are also assuming what are considered management responsibilities.

One positive result, he noted, is an acceleration in the process of developing leadership cadres in the workplace.

Another delegate, from Santiago de Cuba, Neilia Ramírez Estévez, who works as a tourist guide, discussed the justified criticisms the Cuban people make of the very real deficiencies in the quality, efficiency, and courtesy of services in the hotels, restaurants, and other tourist facilities.

She discussed the importance of the formation of Model Units in the service sector, an experiment that began in 1982 in the Sierra Maestra mountains.

Like the production brigades, they strive to set the example and raise standards of efficiency and discipline, thus making life more pleasant for the Cuban working people who are the main users of the facilities.

The fundamental lesson, she stressed, is that when work is shoddy or absenteeism high the problem does not lie with the workers but with the leadership. And that is where solutions lie and progress must be made. "When administrative cadres are capable of clearly explaining the very real problems that we have, workers not only understand them, but identify and join in the search for solutions," she said.

Yet another aspect of the leadership challenge was dealt with by a delegate from the province of Havana, María Luisa Suárez. "We have to break with old habits," she told delegates. We have to get rid of the deep-rooted tendency to give preferential consideration to those *compañeros* we know the best, she said, to those who for one reason or another have ties with us.

In party units, she went on, there are thousands of *compañeros* who meet all the prerequisites, who have talent, merit, and leadership abilities. "Our responsibility is to bring them forward, educate them, and advance them."

This is especially important, Suárez insisted, in relationship to moving young comrades into leadership positions. As for bringing more women into the leadership, she said, "this is an old problem, but one we are now addressing with new determination." In addition to developing greater consciousness on this, she noted, practical measures should now be implemented as well.

Improving economic planning

The most comprehensive treatment of the measures to be taken to mobilize the working people of Cuba in the people's war on the economic front were contained



Militant/Mary-Alice Waters

Two Cuban textile workers at their mill. Party congress emphasized democratic participation of workers in planning, the driving force in economic development.

in the resolution adopted by the congress on Improving the Economic Planning and Management System.

The resolution stressed the progress made over the decade since the system was introduced in increasing labor productivity, making more efficient use of raw materials and resources, and in raising the educational level and technical training of the work force.

It also emphasized that the mechanisms in place had failed to correct shortcomings and problems and that the system "lacked the dynamism needed to tackle economic problems with speed and flexibility." Management methods, the resolution continued, "have hindered broad participation in the elaboration and implementation of plans."

To overcome these problems, the resolution outlined steps to make the system both more comprehensive and centralized in long-term allocation of resources and more democratic in increasing mass input into, and control over, the planning process and its implementation.

Forms of work organization and wage structures that encourage this as well as promoting increasing technical proficiency and efficiency are to be utilized.

The resolution called for a decentralization of everyday decision-making at the operational stage of production and a closer relationship between various enterprises and unions of enterprises.

For this to be workable, "the concept of democratic management based on collective discussion, and the process of decision-making inherent to it, should be further developed...."

"Greater individual responsibility in the decision-making process will be linked to enhanced executive decision-making at all levels of the economic process in order to eliminate bureaucratic procedures" in management.

To ensure the active participation of workers at every level in the process of drawing up and implementing plans, the resolution stated that "special importance will be attached to the broadest participation of workers' collectives — and their production and service meetings — in the elaboration of plans and the adoption of measures that guarantee the greatest possible efficiency in the use of material and financial resources."

"The higher echelons should give their utmost attention to the opinions and proposals of workers' collectives. These proposals should be examined jointly. All instances of dogmatism will be vigorously eradicated; this includes the lack of explanations by superior levels regarding proposals submitted by the workers."

As virtually any worker in Cuba will tell you, few things are more resented than the fact that suggestions and proposals for accomplishing such agreed-on aims often disappear into a bureaucratic maw, never to be heard of again, responded to, or implemented.

Resolutions, reports, and congresses of the Cuban Communist Party occupy an important place in the political life of Cuban working people. Reports and resolutions are printed in the daily papers. Many congress sessions are broadcast live on television and radio and often rebroadcast at a dif-

ferent time the next day for those whose work schedules prevented them from hearing them.

The congress is an occasion to draw a balance sheet and record the progress, problems, goals, and objectives of the revolution. That process is itself an education and orientation for the broadest layers of Cuban working people.

Deeds first

What is decisive, however, is not the words — printed or spoken. What is happening in the factories and fields, in the militia and army units, in the trade unions, women's organizations, and neighborhood committees, in the units of the party and Union of Young Communists, in the government ministries and departments — that is what counts.

That is why the three "revolutions," affecting defense, the economy, and the leadership, that were registered at this congress are so important.

Progress on any one of the three battlefronts would be important, but not necessarily decisive. Taken together they confirm a direction of motion, a new step forward in the revolution that has continued to deepen and broaden the revolutionary mobilization of the Cuban people for 27 years.

Moreover, these advances are combined — as they would have to be — with the deep-going internationalism of the Cuban revolution. The commitment of the Cuban people to "pay their debt to humanity," as they proudly say, is registered by the fact that more than 100,000 Cubans completed internationalist missions in the last five years, working as doctors, teachers, engineers, and, when necessary, soldiers in dozens of countries around the world, from Angola to Nicaragua to Vietnam.

The Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, more than any other single thing, registered the continuing impact on Cuba of the 1979 revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada and the ensuing years of struggles. Revitalized and renewed, the "people's war" goes on.

SWP sets tasks

Continued from Page 8

be reached otherwise.

The YSA has made some important steps forward in the past several months, Ntweng's report noted. These include the appearance of a regular, monthly *Young Socialist*, which reflects the views of the YSA; increased circulation of the YS; successful fall speaking tours by YSA national leaders; and the fact that a modest but significant number of high school students have joined the YSA since August.

The national committee also voted to hold regional educational conferences on the weekends of May 17 and 24 and to make national party leaders available to speak at them.

"The pace of the class struggle has picked up," Ntweng concluded. This has resulted in more workers and students being attracted to the ideas and activities of the SWP and YSA, some of whom want to join a socialist organization.

Taking the time to talk to these fighters about becoming members of the SWP or YSA is a key job for every branch.

Boycott victory: Winn-Dixie dumps S. African goods

ATLANTA — The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on January 15 announced the victory of a boycott against the Winn-Dixie supermarket chain. Winn-Dixie, with stores in 14 southern states, had been selling canned peaches and pears and frozen fish from South Africa.

SCLC initiated the boycott 14 weeks ago when Winn-Dixie refused to meet with SCLC representatives to discuss removing the goods from its shelves. During this boycott hundreds of people participated in informational picketing on a daily basis at stores in eight states. Sit-ins occurred on three occasions at three different stores in the Atlanta area. Some 60 people were arrested.

Winn-Dixie placed ads in major newspapers on January 13 announcing that it had removed all South African goods from its stores. Spot checks confirmed the announcement.

SCLC President Joseph Lowery, with Georgia state AFL-CIO President Herbert Mabry at his

side, said at the January 15 announcement, "The primary issue in our boycott was the removal of all South African products from the shelves of all 1,262 stores. There are other issues raised in the boycott yet unresolved, which we intend to pursue, but the primary issue is the sale of South African products and the support of the oppressive apartheid system in South Africa. We are determined to do all we can to aid and assist the 25 million Black brothers and sisters in South Africa to bury apartheid and resurrect justice in their land."

Lowery thanked the many organizations that supported the boycott, and added, "Most of all we give thanks to the thousands of shoppers whose commitment to justice and human dignity led them to withhold their patronage during this campaign."

June 14 protest called in Canada

TORONTO — The Toronto Anti-Intervention Coalition (TAIC) has called on all individuals and groups across English Canada and Quebec to demonstrate on June 14 — Africa Liberation Day — in

support of the following demands:

- Stop U.S. economic and military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.
- End apartheid in South Africa.
- Oppose Canadian support for apartheid and U.S. intervention.

The call put out by the coalition "is issued on behalf of the more than 90 anti-war, solidarity, labor, church, women's rights and community organizations affiliated to the TAIC," and their "hope is to spark cross-country actions, in conjunction with anti-intervention and anti-apartheid protest in the spring," taking place around the world.

"Our decision to link the situations in Central America and South Africa," it continues, "is a response to stepped-up efforts by Washington and its allies to attempt to block and reverse movements in the forefront of the international struggle for self-determination, peace, and social justice."

"The urgency of mass peaceful protest against U.S. aggression, and against Ottawa's complicity, is underscored by the recent disturbing developments."

"We demand that our government embargo South Africa and increase aid to Nicaragua."

"On June 14 we must show Reagan and [Canadian Prime Minister Brian] Mulroney that we stand opposed to the real terrorists, those who uphold racism, poverty, repression, and U.S. intervention."

For more information regarding the protest write Toronto Anti-Intervention Coalition, 427 Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ontario M5S 1X7. Or telephone (416) 535-8779.

Anti-apartheid leader speaks at Arizona State

BY ANDY ENGLISH

PHOENIX — Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica and national coordinator of the Free South Africa Movement, spoke to 200 persons at Arizona State University in Tempe on February 12. The lecture was sponsored by the Black Student Union.

Robinson praised the actions of anti-apartheid activists in Arizona that led to the divestment by the state university of its funds in companies involved in South Africa.

He denounced U.S. corporate

involvement in South Africa as being "the legs on which the ugly system of apartheid stands."

He pointed to the role of Shell Oil Co., which is the main oil exporter to apartheid South Africa. He also announced that the Free South Africa Movement would be beginning a nationwide campaign of demonstrations against Shell Oil similar to last year's protests at the South Africa embassy in Washington, D.C. This campaign would also be used as a means of pressuring Congress to enact a bill for complete disinvestment of U.S. corporations from South Africa.

Robinson ended his speech saying, "We African-Americans know that our destiny is indissolubly linked to Africa. A strong Africa means a strong Afro-America. The blood that unites us is stronger than the waters that divide us."

Following the speech members of Students Against Apartheid distributed flyers for an April 5 noon-time rally to demand a free South Africa. It will take place at Phoenix College and is sponsored by the Arizona Coalition Against Apartheid, Central Arizona Labor Council, and the Maricopa County NAACP.

Interview with 'Haïti Progrès' editor, Ben Dupuy

Continued from back page

Q. Can you say a little on what you know about how things are organized?

A. Well, one has to realize that there was repression of the trade unions by the Duvalier regime, with many of the leaders being forced into exile, underground, or killed. The only unions that were allowed to exist were the ones controlled by the regime. After Jean-Claude left, the Haitian American Sugar Company — the largest sugar-producing plant in Haiti — was struck by the workers, asking for the removal of all the officials who were supporters of Duvalier.

Over the years the people have built very decentralized structures to carry out their fight against the regime. The mobilization of the people over the last months showed us that different underground leaders are coordinating their actions and their demands. The 25 demands are an example of this collaboration.

The fact is, it is now that the people are starting a process of structuralization. For example, there is a committee that was formed that is called KEB. In Creole it's the Committee for a Beautiful Haiti. The committee has set as one of its tasks helping the people to organize labor unions and associations.

Organization and leadership is why the junta is not at ease with the exile community and doesn't know how to handle it.

Q. Can you explain?

A. Well, so far the government has the same visa policy as Duvalier. They don't want the exiles back in Haiti. Some people have managed to get visas, and a few people have gone back to Haiti. [According to the February 24 *New York Times*, Haitians who have been abroad more than 90 days must get a re-entry visa to return home. So far, only a handful of political exiles are known to have returned.]

Reports we have received indicate that as soon as exiles arrive in Haiti, they are retained and questioned for hours before being allowed to go home. Then they are carefully watched. Now we are only talking about a handful of people.

The Committee Against Repression in Haiti is studying a plan to have some prominent exile people here go to Haiti without visas in a group and see what will be the attitude of the government. If they allow us to return, we will give a press conference and bring our particular demands directly to the government.

Q. What has been the role of the student youth?

A. The students have played a big role in the fight to get Duvalier out and are still leading the way in the fight with the junta. They have not gone back to school except in certain areas, like in Port-au-Prince, where most schools have been reopened. But we know that in Gonaïves students have put out a statement to the effect that schools that exist in the country are for a minority of privileged people. They want the situation changed, and until that happens, they will not return to school. They would rather go to the countryside and teach the illiterate peasant to read and write. This is something that will not make the junta very happy.

Q. What about motion amongst the peasants?

A. Well, not that we can see from here, but when you realized that 80 percent of the people live in the countryside, sooner or later the question of the agrarian structures that exploit the peasants will come forth in the picture. With the students going to the countryside to teach the peasant to read and write, we will hear the demands of the rural population.

Q. Is there anything you would like to say to U.S. working people?

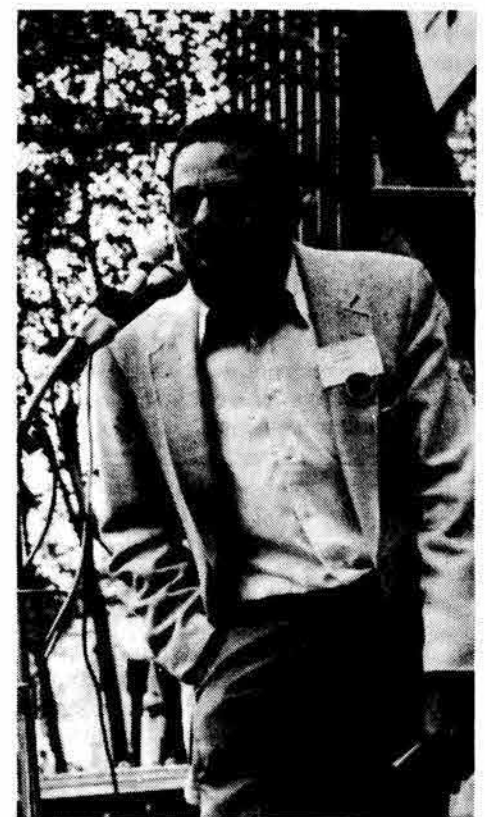
A. Well, I think the American public can help us in many ways. First, by being informed about U.S. relations with Haiti. This can be very difficult because of the media. I'm talking of the big media. Instead of informing, they disinform.

They should keep in mind that the U.S. has big stakes in what's happening in Haiti. It is the largest investor in the country — in baseball, electronics, clothes, agribusiness, and many others.

But it does not want to see another government like the one that was in Grenada (in 1979-83). This makes them and their allies in the Caribbean worried.

Things are very unstable. There will be more confrontation between the people in the streets and the junta, as can be seen by the huge demonstration in Gonaïves a couple of days ago. This makes the possibility of the United States sending troops to Haiti very real — particularly if they feel that the junta is losing control of the situation.

This makes our March 29 demonstration in Washington, D.C., important for the freedom of Haiti.



Ben Dupuy, editor of *Haïti Progrès*

Haiti: petition demands fundamental changes

The following 25-point petition, demanding fundamental changes in the government, has been circulating in Gonaïves and in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. The text is taken from the Feb. 12-18, 1986, issue of *Haïti Progrès*, a weekly published in New York. The translation from French is by *Intercontinental Press*.

Gonaïves, February 10, 1986
Petition to the National Council of Government
Mr. Lieut. General Henri Namphy

The people's demands

1. Dissolution and disarming of the militia.
2. Arrest of all militia members guilty of extortion against the civilian population; delivery of these militia members to their natural judges in the period stipulated by law.
3. Expel the Macoutes officers from the army.
4. Immediately reestablish the blue and red flag.
5. Immediate lifting of the state of siege and curfew.

6. Remove [Alix] Cinéas, [Col. Prosper] Avril, and [Col. Max] Vallès from the national junta or National Council of Government.

7. Form a ministerial cabinet representing the nation.

8. Immediate dissolution of the Duvalierist Legislative Chamber.

9. Adoption of the 1957 Constitution, with modifications.

10. Removal from public functions of all incompetent and corrupt officials.

11. Immediate reform in the diplomatic and consular corps.

12. Arrest all those guilty of embezzlement or misappropriation of public funds, and restore the pilfered assets to the Haitian state and to the specific institutions.

13. Demand extradition of the Duvaliers and their accomplices for misappropriation of the funds of the Haitian state.

14. Cancel the requirement for entry visas for Haitians living abroad.

15. Reduction of all taxes and especially taxes on medicines, basic necessities (cooking oil, milk, sugar, flour, etc.), and abolition of taxes on the wages of workers, such as the CLE, APTR, licenses, etc.

16. Reduction of the tax on gasoline and small cars.

17. Lift the ban on importation of used cars.

18. Close the special courts, such as the land court, the special labor court, the presidential agricultural commission.

19. Raise low wages especially in the army, teaching, industry, and commerce.

20. Free functioning of trade unions and political parties.

21. General elections, municipal elections, legislative elections (for deputies and senators), presidential elections.

22. Hourly wages of \$1 per hour for the labor of the worker.

23. Elimination of torture rooms and torture instruments.

24. Elimination of military officers from civilian functions.

25. Expulsion from the ministerial cabinet of PNP [Duvalier's National Progressive Party] President [Social Affairs Minister] Tony Auguste, and of the dishonest [Minister of Commerce] Odonel Fénestor, a member of the PNP, and of officers Georges Valcin [information secretary] and his hangers-on.

Palestinians refuse to give up demand for self-determination

Behind the collapse of the Arafat-Hussein talks

BY STEVE CRAINE

Just a year after Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yassir Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein agreed to a common approach to negotiations with the Israeli government, talks between the two leaders to concretize their joint position broke down.

Two weeks of discussions in Amman, the Jordanian capital, ended February 7 when Arafat and the high-level PLO delegation accompanying him left the country. The same day a special envoy from the

Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, Hussein also called for an international peace conference in which Palestinian and Jordanian representatives would work together in a joint delegation.

From the time the Amman document was signed, Hussein has interpreted it differently than has the PLO. Particularly, Hussein claims the accord constituted PLO acceptance of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 as the basis for negotiations with the Israeli government. The U.S. government endorses Hussein's view on this.

Resolution 242, adopted in November 1967, calls for Israel to withdraw from most of the territory it had occupied in June of that year. But it also supports the "sovereignty" of the Israeli state over other Palestinian land. Furthermore, the resolution refers to the Palestinians' rights only as a refugee problem. The PLO has therefore consistently rejected the resolution as a starting point for negotiations. By referring to all United Nations and Security Council resolutions, the February 11 agreement based itself on the many UN resolutions that do recognize Palestinian sovereignty.

The PLO Executive Committee clarified its interpretation of the Feb. 11, 1985, agreement one week after it was signed. The Executive Committee approved the plan, but stipulated that joint Jordanian-Palestinian action must be based on "ending the Zionist occupation of the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem . . . rejecting capitulatory plans and unilateral deals such as . . . UN Security Council Resolution 242 . . . [and] rejecting authorization of any party to represent the Palestinians, or having any share in the right."

In a recent interview, Yassir Arafat described his agreement with King Hussein as a "political tool that can be effective to force the execution of the Fez summit resolutions." The Arab League summit meeting at Fez, Morocco, in 1982 called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital and recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The imperialist governments sought to use Arafat's closer relations with Hussein to begin to shove aside the PLO leaders as the only representatives of their people. The Jordanian government, which administered the West Bank from 1948 to 1967, has often tried to assert its right to speak for the Palestinians.

Washington and Tel Aviv attempted to dictate which Palestinians could participate in negotiations along with Hussein's delegation and which would be excluded. In mid-1985 the U.S. government expressed a desire to meet with Palestinians, but it vetoed several individuals proposed by the PLO, including people who were not formal members of the liberation organization.

Attempts to exclude PLO

Throughout the past year the PLO leadership has faced mounting pressures on other fronts as well. The Israeli bombing of PLO headquarters in Tunisia in October was followed by an all-out campaign of slander against the organization as the source, rather than the victim, of terrorism.

Diplomatic openings like a scheduled meeting of PLO representatives with officials of the British government were slammed shut. Divisions within the Palestinian movement were widened by opponents of cooperation with Hussein, further undermining the authority of the PLO.

The Israeli government has tried to exacerbate Palestinian fears of a Jordanian double-cross. While the recent discussions in Jordan were under way, Prime Minister Shimon Peres implied that Hussein was about to dump Arafat and link up with West Bank Palestinians outside the framework of the PLO.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has also sought to pressure Arafat. "Time is running," he said in late December, "and if Arafat doesn't recognize [UN Resolution 242] he will be the big fat loser." He also



Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yassir Arafat refused to bargain away Palestinian rights for any deal with Israel.

implied that Hussein is likely to make a deal with Tel Aviv behind the back of the PLO.

Washington blackmails Jordan

At the same time, the U.S. government was blackmailing Hussein to do its bidding. In October the U.S. Congress held up a proposed \$1.9 billion arms sale to Jordan, which would have included 40 modern jet fighters, anti-aircraft missiles, and other top-of-the-line military hardware. It made closing this deal contingent on Hussein beginning direct negotiations with Tel Aviv before March 1, 1986.

Under this deadline, Hussein was anxious to bring Arafat and PLO under his control within a joint delegation. The series of meetings in Amman began January 25 for this purpose.

Tel Aviv and Washington hoped these meetings would accomplish what last February's accord did not — to get the PLO to recognize Israeli sovereignty over at least part of Palestine even before formal negotiations were to begin.

But the PLO leaders were asked to concede even more than this in Amman. Hussein reportedly conveyed Washington's demands that the PLO suspend all armed operations, condemn terrorism, and exclude from any peace talks all members of the PLO Executive Committee and any Palestinians who have had anything to do with armed actions.

The PLO leaders refused to go along with these conditions as the price for maintaining their cooperative negotiating position with the Jordanian government.

The outcome of a year of diplomatic maneuvering around the concept of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian approach to Israel has been the clear refusal of the PLO to compromise the Palestinian struggle. As the Palestinian newspaper *Al-Shaab* noted on February 4, "The Palestinian 'no,' which has contradicted the calculations of some circles, is an effective response to those who excessively accused the PLO of selling out."

From Intercontinental Press

Lowest-ever increase in wages reported

The U.S. Labor Department reported January 27 that 487 major union-employer contracts in 1985 provided an average first-year wage increase of only 2.3 percent — the lowest ever recorded by the department.

Over the life of the contracts, average increases were 2.7 percent.

Consumer prices, by contrast, rose 3.8 percent between December 1984 and December 1985.

Automatic cost-of-living adjustments were dropped in settlements covering 471,000 workers, including contracts negotiated by the Teamsters and Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

The brief summary of the Labor Department report published in the January 28 *New York Times* made no mention of the spread of two-tier wage systems. The substantial cuts these impose in pay for new hires significantly bring down — over time — the real average pay rates of workers covered by such contracts.

Big-business spokespeople were pleased by the statistics. Roger Brinner of Data Resources Inc. hailed them as signaling a "greater realism at the bargaining table."



King Hussein, right, with U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. The king, who seeks U.S. arms, says he won't "deal with PLO leadership anymore. It's over."

Reagan administration also returned home. State Department adviser Wat Cluverius had been meeting separately with Jordanian officials to monitor the talks and to communicate Washington's views indirectly to the PLO.

On February 19 Hussein announced in a televised speech, "We do not want to deal with the PLO leadership anymore, it's over."

The Hussein-Arafat meetings proved inconclusive because the PLO leadership has refused to give up the basic demands of the Palestinian people for self-determination, despite enormous pressures to do so. Washington and Tel Aviv remain adamant that the Palestinians must relinquish that right.

Since Feb. 11, 1985, when Arafat signed the agreement with King Hussein, Tel Aviv and Washington have been pressing the PLO to abandon its fight for Pales-

tinian rights. These imperialist governments have used the Hussein regime as the fulcrum in their effort to pry substantial concessions from the Palestinians. Their strategy has meant stepping up the pressure on both the Palestinian movement and the Jordanian regime.

Last February's Amman agreement raised hopes in the imperialist camp and fears among some supporters of Palestinian rights that the PLO was moving toward an accommodation with imperialism. PLO opponents of Arafat's leadership called the agreement a sell-out.

Jordanian-Palestinian confederation

What was new in the February 11 accord was the suggestion that "Palestinians will exercise their inalienable right of self-determination when Jordanians and Palestinians will be able to do so within the context of the formation of the proposed confederated Arab states of Jordan and Palestine."

In keeping with this goal of eventual Jor-

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

'PM' on support for P-9

In the face of vicious union-busting attempts against striking workers at the Hormel meatpacking plant in Austin, Minnesota, there has been a growing wave of solidarity with this important labor struggle. Unionists, farmers, and others from all over the country have traveled to Austin to show their support for the strikers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9.

But to win this strike, even more support is needed, as the company and the bosses' government step up their attacks on the meatpackers. The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* has on-the-spot coverage of the Hormel strike and the growing solidarity efforts. It explains what's at stake in this struggle by workers who are fighting for their right to organize a successful strike.

This issue of *PM* also covers the building of the March 9 and 16 abortion rights actions. It features an article explaining what conditions were like for women before abortion was legalized in 1973 and what it took to win this right.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of



working people and the oppressed in the U.S. and around the world. ¡Suscribete ahora!

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'The Color Purple': a true story rarely told

The Color Purple. Produced and directed by Steven Spielberg, based on the novel by Alice Walker, released by Warner Brothers.

BY PAT WRIGHT

A heated political debate is raging today over the movie *The Color Purple*. Based on Alice Walker's Pulitzer prize-winning novel of the same name, the movie has come under sharp attack. It's been called racist and charged with presenting a negative stereotype of

FILM REVIEW

Black men. Several Black newspapers have run articles criticizing the movie.

I considered some of these views as I watched it. I disagree with them. To me it was a powerful, inspiring story about the sisterhood between Black women and how they struggle to overcome the problems they face. It exposes the triple oppression we've had to bear being poor, Black, and female. And it's a glimpse of how Black women survive hard times.

The Color Purple tells the story of Celie, a Black girl in the 1920s in Georgia, and the people in her life.

At the age of 14, Celie is raped by her stepfather. She has two children, both of whom he gives away. She never sees them again until they are grown. Warned by her stepfather never to tell anybody but God, she tells her story through letters to God. She is married off to a man she hardly knows — Mister, she calls him — to take care of his children and house.

Nettie, Celie's sister, comes to live with her to flee the rapist stepfather. But Mister kicks her out when she fights off his advances to her.

Nettie later goes to Africa to become a missionary. She writes Celie about her experiences, attempting to give Celie a broader outlook than she's getting in Georgia. But sticking to his promise to keep the sisters apart, Mister hides the letters from Celie.

Celie does all the work around the house, and Mister beats her whenever he feels like it. Celie is abused and neglected until Shug Avery comes along, Mister's lover.

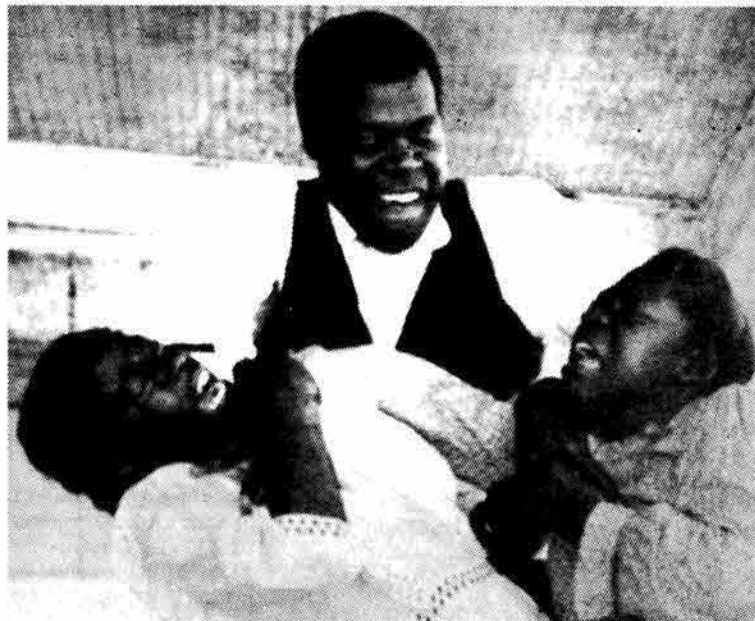
Shug is a singer who's been put down by virtually the entire community. But she holds her head up high and won't be run over by anyone. She takes an interest in Celie and tries to pass on a little of herself to Celie. Celie and Shug become lovers.

Sophia, Celie's stepson's wife, is a tough, strong-minded woman whose husband "can't get her to mind."

A scene from town illustrates the kind of oppression and degradation Blacks faced from racist whites at that time. Sophia and her two children are approached by the mayor's wife, who tells Sophia that her children are so



Whoopi Goldberg as Miss Celie (left). At right, scene from movie shows Mister separating Miss Celie from her sister.



clean and asks her if she would like to be her maid. Sophia replies, "Hell, no!"

The mayor comes over and smacks Sophia, who punches him out. A racist mob attacks her, beating her half to death, and she is taken off to jail.

Years later, she gets sprung from prison to work for the mayor's wife as a maid, which Sophia says is "like trading one jail for another." Sophia seems like a broken woman.

Later, when Celie finally gets the confidence to stand up to Mister, Sophia regains her spirit.

The resistance of Celie and the other women in the film to their degraded status also has an impact on the consciousness of the men in their lives.

Some people who have criticized the film try to deny the reality of the violence that Celie experiences. "Things aren't really that bad," we're told. But everyone knows these things do happen. And it's a story that rarely gets told.

I think that's why many women — white as well as Black — like and identify with the movie. It reflects their experiences or the experiences of women they know.

And it's about time our story is told for all to see and learn from. For Black women to recognize our oppression and fight against it is an important part of Black women being leaders of the Black and working-class movement. That is what many of those who attack the movie can't accept.

Men who behave the way Mister does surely have

problems caused by the capitalist system under which we live. But these problems are not limited to Black men. Men of all races are guilty of violence against women. To cover up what Black women have been through and pretend it doesn't exist, however, doesn't solve anything.

Men — Black and white — need to get their act together and support the rights of women. And that means speaking out against rape, wife-beating, and sexist exploitation. This is what will strengthen the Black movement.

After seeing the movie, a poem by Ntozake Shange came to my mind, from her 1976 play *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow is Enuf*.

somebody/anybody
sing a black girl's song
bring her out
to know yourself
to know you
but sing her rhythms
carin/struggle/hard times
sing her song of life
she's been dead so long
closed in silence so long
she doesn't know the sound
of her own voice
her infinite beauty

The Color Purple sings that song and does it well.

The 'fetish of cosmetics' and women's oppression

Women today are being subjected to a barrage of propaganda by the government, employers, and the big-business media designed to roll back — or at least slow down — the progressive changes in consciousness about women's place in society that have taken place in the last several decades.

One goal of this reactionary ideological offensive is to convince women to blame themselves, not the social relations of production, for the economic and social problems they confront every day.

In doing so, the ruling rich encourage women — and all working people — to search for individual, not social, solutions to these problems. The capitalists who reap billions off the sales of cosmetics play a prominent role in pushing this idea.

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women, a new book by Pathfinder Press, includes several pieces from a lively 1954 debate inside the Socialist Workers Party over the relation of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the exploitation of women.

It also contains a lengthy introduction by Mary-Alice Waters that relates this controversy to the capitalist ideological offensive against women's rights today.

To encourage *Militant* readers to purchase this timely Marxist presentation on women's oppression, we are reprinting excerpts from one of the articles in the collection. Titled "The Fetish of Cosmetics," it was written by Joseph Hansen, former editor of the *Militant*, in 1954. In this section, he explains that cosmetics are endowed by their creators with the power to right all that's wrong in our lives. But this simply covers up, he explains, the real problems associated with relations between men and women, the family, and women's second-class status.

To purchase a copy of *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, visit

the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you (see directory on page 16) or send \$4.95 to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

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* * *

When my electric razor breaks down, I go back to the old safety razor. Afterward I splash on a cosmetic that stings at first but seems to help take away the raw feeling you get from scraping a razor across your hide. I bought it because it says "fifty percent alcohol" on the label, and legend has it that alcohol reduces the chances of infection from using a razor. On the back of the label is a short message in which Mennen Skin Bracer tells about itself. It is demagogically silent about the risk and annoyance of shaving. It doesn't say a single word about the *economic necessity* that compels me to go through the daily ritual in order to keep a job. Instead, it proclaims:

"A delightful after-shave lotion. Cooling, refreshing, mildly astringent. A pleasant easy-to-use deodorant. Use Skin Bracer any time of the day or night — it peps you up. And the intriguing aroma wows the ladies!"

That last sentence is intriguing isn't it? If it were really true, think how simplified some of life's problems could become for our hardworking proletarian. When he comes home unstrung from the terrific pace of eight hours on the belt line and goes to the bathroom to pep himself up with Mennen Skin Bracer, he suddenly sees the way out. No more drab, endless perspectives of a lifetime of poverty and toil. He shaves with a new sparkle in his eyes, puts on the intriguing aroma, goes to the right part of town, astutely sidles around an heiress until he gets her downwind, "wows" her,

and from then on lives the life of Riley.

Now surely the public relations department of the Mennen Company wouldn't put something on millions of bottles that no man would possibly believe. But what is it that the men users of the cosmetic are induced to believe? Obviously that there is a *thing* that can help smooth out their relations with women. And that means, doesn't it, that there is something basically wrong on a wide scale in the *relations* between men and women? What is it? And what is its cause?

Long ago in analyzing the strange powers of money, Marx called attention to this projection by which human beings see their relations not as relations but as *things* which they endow with remarkable powers. Indicating the parallel to certain magic objects in primitive beliefs and religions he called it *fetishism*. What we have in cosmetics is a fetish, a particular fetish in the general fetishism that exists in the world of commodities. The special power that cosmetics have derives from the fact that in addition to economic relations, sexual relations attach to them. That is the real source of the "beauty" both men and women see in cosmetics.

The duality of cosmetics

As we can see by now, the use of cosmetics, although it need not be placed among the unsmiling questions, has a most serious side from the viewpoint of Marxist philosophy. Every student of *Capital* who has really pondered over "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof" will know what I mean. But even without going into it that deeply, I think it is possible to grasp the essence of the matter through a special case with which most people are familiar.

At a certain age, girls — sometime very young ones — begin trying out lipstick,

powder, and rouge. In almost every case, this either causes or is associated with a sharpening of relations with their parents. At the same time they often seem to leap ahead of their age group so far as their former boy associates are concerned. If they can get away with it, they go out with youths considerably older than they are. The reason such girls use cosmetics is to facilitate this *by appearing older than they are*.

What they seek to say is quite obvious. Through the magic of cosmetics they express their wish to cut short their childhood and youth and achieve the most desirable thing in the world — adulthood. Why they want to be adults can be surmised in the light of how capitalist society treats its youth. Precisely at the age when the sexual drives begin to appear and an intense need is felt for both knowledge and experience, capitalist society denies both of them. Just when the developing human being must set out to establish normal relations with the opposite sex, capitalist society through the family intervenes and attempts to suppress the urge.

The relation with the other sex thus tends to become distorted and the interest that belongs to the relation shifts to a considerable degree to a symbol. The powers and allure of the relation — some at least — are likewise transferred to the symbol. Lipstick, for instance, comes to signify adulthood; that is, the adult capacity and freedom to engage in activities forbidden to children. By smearing her lips the child says, this gives me the power to do what I want. Naturally it's only a wish and an imaginary satisfaction — or at least that's what most parents imagine it to be or wish to rate it as, and the real power of the drive toward relations with the opposite sex, disguised by the fetish, is not always recognized.

Continued on next page

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Hormel: the United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 Strike. Video showing of *Nightline* interviews with Local P-9 President Jim Guyette and an International representative of the UFCW. Presentation to follow by Glenn Orlie, member International Association of Machinists Local 763 and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 1, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Haiti: What's Going On. Speaker: Greg Jackson, representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Bilingual forum in English and Spanish. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

Bitter Cane. Award-winning documentary film on Haiti. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Jose

Bitter Cane. Award-winning documentary film on Haiti. Sun., March 2, 6:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

Keep Abortion Safe and Legal. Speakers: Janet Cook, Northern California coordinator for March 16 abortion rights march in Los Angeles, National Organization for Women; Lynn Reynolds, executive director of San Jose Planned Parenthood; Sherry Turner, member International Association of Machinists Local 562 and Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 8, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO

Denver

Meatcutters Up Against Hormel, National Guard, Union-busting. Speaker: Michael Chamberlain, member United Auto Workers Local 766. Sun., March 2, 5 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

Fighting for Abortion Rights. Speakers: Veronica Dodgen; others. Fri., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Rebellion in Haiti. Speakers: Pierre Jean-Baptiste, an American in solidarity with Haiti; Nelson González, member Socialist Workers Party

See Nicaragua with delegation of performers, artists, writers

Join Ventana group as guests of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers in Nicaragua, April 10-20, 1986. Tour includes contact with Nicaraguan cultural workers, attendance at performances, and day trips outside of Managua. Cost — including airfare from Mexico City and back, room and board, and travel within Nicaragua — approximately \$1,000. Contact Ventana, 250 W 54th St., room 800, New York, N.Y. 10019. Telephone (212) 586-3700.

and United Steelworkers of America. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 15, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Upsurge in Haiti. Speaker: Ted Leonard, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 775 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

Black Women's Struggle for Equality. A panel discussion. Sat., March 15, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

Hormel Strike: Union Democracy in Action. Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 22, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

No Aid to 'Contras' — Stop the War on Nicaragua! Speakers: Ellie Garcia, member United Paperworkers International Local 264 and Socialist Workers Party; Karen Hanson, member of Women Against Military Madness; others. Sun., March 2, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Boycott Hormel: A Benefit Concert. Concert and dance, proceeds to support United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 Emergency Hardship Fund. Performers: Larry Long, Kathy and Leo Lara, Carrie Garendasy, and Jennifer Holt from "Tets Noires." Sun., March 16, 6 p.m. UAW Local 879 Hall, 2191 Ford Parkway. Donation: \$10. Sponsored by the performing artists. For more information call (612) 871-0885.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Stop Union-busting — from Austin, Minnesota, to Kansas City, Missouri. Panel discussion. Sun., March 2, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

International Women's Day. A panel of speakers on women's struggles around the world. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Discussion Series Sponsored by Young Socialist Alliance and Ruth Nebbia for Mayor Campaign.

1. "The Revolution in South Africa and the Fight Against Racism in the United States." Sat., March 1, 3 p.m.

2. "How to Defend Against Attacks on Women's Right to Abortion and Affirmative Action." Sat., March 8, 3 p.m. 141 Halsey St. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Civil Rights Struggle: Lessons for Today. Speaker: Mac Warren, National Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 7, 7:30 p.m., preforum dinner served 6:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Hormel Workers Appeal for Nationwide Solidarity: Eyewitness Report from Austin, Minnesota. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Heroic Struggle of the Haitian People. Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 15, 7:30 p.m. 402 N Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

A Socialist View of the Fight for Women's Liberation Today. Speaker: Susie Beck, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 7, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Solidarity with Hormel Strikers. An eyewitness report. Speaker: Mike Fitzsimmons, mem-

ber International Association of Machinists Lodge 796. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 1, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Why Support a Woman's Right to Choose? Speakers: Sister Barbara Ferraro and Sister Patricia Hussey, signers of 1984 abortion rights ad, under threat of dismissal from their order. Sat., March 1, 2 p.m. West Virginia University, Collegiate Room in Mountainlair building. Ausp: Center for Women's Studies, Morgantown National Organization for Women.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Health Care for People or Profits? A panel discussion. Speakers: Doug Nance, assistant professor UWM School of Nursing; Karen Murphy, Concerned Citizens for HMO Reform; and Lenore Holyon, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Union elects woman miner

BY PAT GROGAN

United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) history was made February 11 when Joy Huitt was elected the first woman district official in the 96-year history of the union.

Huitt, a laid-off coal miner from East Carbon, Utah, was elected secretary-treasurer of UMWA District 22 by a vote of 1,199 to 975. Since she was laid off from her job in the mines, she has served as the western organizing coordinator of the Coal Employment Project (CEP). The CEP is an organization that helps women get and keep jobs in the mines.

"The results of this election make me proud of our union," Huitt said. Also elected in District 22 was Rita Miller, the

district's first female auditor. Huitt said she had received phone calls of support from women miners throughout the country as the election drew near.

Betty Jean Hall, director of the CEP, said, "We are elated with her victory, as are women miners throughout the nation's coalfields. Her victory is a milestone."

Hall said a lot of credit for the victory belongs to "the women miners throughout the country who have rallied to support each other." And she pointed to the strong support from the UMWA International leadership for women miners, "despite their small numbers." She said this victory would encourage other women to seek leadership in the union, which is 98 percent male.

Book on cosmetics and women

Continued from previous page

To a child, as we have noted, cosmetics are a means of hiding and disguising youth, a means of appearing to be at the age when it is socially acceptable to gratify the urge for knowledge and especially experience in sexual relations. Thus the same fetish displays opposite powers at one and the same time — the power to make old women young and young women old. Mother uses cosmetics to hide her age and bring out her youth by covering up the dark circles under her eyes. Daughter uses them to hide her youth and even touches up her eyes with blue shading to bring out her adult beauty.

The application of Marxist method has thus forced cosmetics to yield two important results. We find ourselves touching two problems of utmost moment in capitalist society — the interrelation of men and women and the interrelation of youth and adults; that is, the whole problem of the family. In addition, we have discovered that these interrelations as shaped by capitalist society are bad, for it is from

the lack of harmony and freedom in them that the fetish of cosmetics arises. Existence of the fetish, in turn, helps maintain the current form of interrelations by creating a diversionary channel and an illusory palliative.

Our application of Marxist method has given us even more. If we deny that beauty is inherent in a thing, then it must be found in a human relation; or at least its source must be found in such a relation. Doesn't that mean that the beauty associated with sex is at bottom the beauty not of a thing but of a relation? If we want to understand that beauty we must seek it first in the truth of the relation; that is, through science. Is it really so difficult to see that in the society of the future, the society of socialism where all fetishes are correctly viewed as barbaric, that beauty will be sought in human relationships and that after science has turned its light into the depths that seem so dark to us — the depths of the mind — the great new arts will be developed in those virgin fields?

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For the family fetish freak — Suspenders, featuring a choice of



Harry Ring

bulls or bears on a ticker-tape background. \$85 a pair.

Fashion tip — Bored with that seedy old fur coat? Check out Koos van den Akker in New York. He'll cut it and patch it back together with pieces of tweed, pais-

ley, whatever. \$2,500. Or drop in at nearby Bendels. They'll turn out a fur-lined silk poplin raincoat. You provide the fur and \$1,650.

Don't sit on it — Law Enforcement Associates offers specialty items for security conscious business execs. Like a briefcase with an alarm that shrieks and gives out 4,000 volts of electricity. \$1,200.

Dry clean only — That self-defense firm also offers, for \$1,000, a bullet-resistant raincoat. We trust it's more bullet resistant than ours is water resistant.

In that order, right? — "My job is to teach executives how to

use the equipment they are born with — hands, feet, and brains." — Ted West, director of a New York self-defense spa.

Oh — Explaining why he signed up for a self-defense course, Robert Fisher, president of a real estate firm, says, "I'm forever reading about executives who find themselves in compromising positions with criminals. I want to be prepared." We thought he was talking about business associates, but apparently he meant kidnappers.

Of lies and liars — The White House has compiled a document showing the Sandinistas are man-

ipulating U.S. public opinion through a vast campaign of disinformation. How? Unfortunately, that can't be disclosed. White House aide Larry Speakes explains the document is "highly classified."

Rational arrangement — The owner and manager of a New York towing firm with a Police Department contract to clear stolen cars off the streets have been charged with stealing cars to peddle the parts.

Sheer coincidence — "WASHINGTON — Two government lawyers who decided against prosecuting the makers of NutraSweet

for allegedly falsifying test results later joined the law firm that represented the company during the criminal investigation, Senate investigators charged." — News item.

Safety first — While Donald Manes resigned as president of New York's borough of Queens, pending disposition of graft charges, the road signs still say, "Welcome to Queens. Donald R. Manes, President." Under one, a wag added, "Home of the best Democratic politicians money can buy." It was promptly removed. Officials explained funny signs are a hazard because they distract motorists.

Workers at Eastern Airlines discuss takeover

Continued from Page 3

flight this morning told me, "Callahan (TWU Local 553 president and Eastern board member) sold us out and has the nerve to tell us to stay calm. His pay and job aren't threatened. I'm a Black woman and have two strikes against me to start with. I'd rather be unemployed than take concessions without a fight. We would have been better off going on strike January 20 when the company imposed the new work rules."

Another flight attendant said she was on an overnight flight early Monday morning when the pilot heard about the Lorenzo takeover on the radio. When the pilot called the flight attendant into the cockpit to tell her about it, he was crying. He felt his career and standard of living were threatened, and there was nothing he could do about it.

"If the news media is lying as much about the Philippines as they are about Eastern, then we don't know what the hell is going on there." That was the remark of an aircraft servicer while we watched the TV news in a break room. The Eastern story had been number two after the reports on the overthrow of Marcos.

It's not hard to see through the news media lies about Eastern. "Those news reports must get written in the 'ivory tower,'" an air freight worker said one night. The "ivory tower" is the management office building at the northeast corner of Miami airport.

Every news story is filled with lies: Eastern is on the brink of bankruptcy; \$2.5 billion in debts are about to be called in; company problems come from overpaid workers who have made the airlines uncompetitive.

All news stories charge that Charlie Bryan refused to accept the company's takeback demands because of personal hatred for Eastern Chairman Frank Borman. What really happened is that the IAM union leadership reflected the pressure from the ranks to stand up to the company and not to make concessions. The only criticism of Charlie Bryan on the fields now is that he shouldn't have given in on anything.

The IAM contract with Eastern expires at the end of 1987. Until a week ago, IAM union officials said the contract would not be reopened. This position reflected the large majority of IAM members. Unfortunately the union's position was weakened when IAM International President William Winpisinger told the news media here that he had met with company officials and was convinced Eastern really was in trouble, and that the IAM should help them out.

On February 23, when the company made its final demand for all the unions to accept a 20 percent cut, IAM District President Bryan offered to accept a 15 percent pay reduction without cutting other benefits if the company got rid of Borman. The

company rejected the offer and then announced acceptance of the takeover bid from Lorenzo.

Most Eastern workers want Borman to go. His reign has been a decade of lies and takebacks. The ex-Air Force colonel and ex-astronaut is not respected. Last week on a television interview he denounced the pilots as "looney tunes being led into mass suicide by people like Jim Jones in Guyana."

Charlie Bryan's refusal to cave in to company threats is a welcome development. It is a different course than Bryan's previous proposals to the membership to fight the company by buying Eastern stock. That scheme weakened the union and made a fightback more difficult.

The IAM is still a strong union at East-

ern, and the latest developments have inspired the members.

Some of the press reports reveal that the company concession demands included a script with the threat of loan defaults, bankruptcy, and takeover by Texas Air. It's not surprising that Lorenzo of Texas Air was one option in the plan. Frank Lorenzo is a longtime employee of the Rockefeller family. The phony bankruptcy and destruction of the unions at Continental in 1983 was planned and orchestrated by those banking interests. Now they've shifted the attack to a much larger airline with a strong union presence.

February 26 — Last Sunday night, just before the Eastern board of directors an-

nounced its support for the takeover by Texas Air, officials of the pilots' and flight attendants' unions agreed to the company's takeback demands. The pilots' union and company officials signed the concessions agreement. But flight attendants' union President Robert Callahan did not get the takeback agreement signed before the board agreed to the Lorenzo deal. Now the company refuses to sign with the flight attendants and is demanding even deeper cuts. The flight attendants rejected this and have called a strike for 12:01 a.m. March 1. Representatives of both the pilots' and machinists' unions say their members will honor flight attendants' picket lines.

Stu Singer is a member of IAM Local 702 and works at Eastern in Miami.

Nicaraguan farmers discuss land reform

Continued from Page 6

pointing government outposts where contras can turn themselves in.

Contra propaganda on land reform

The mercenaries of the FDN still beam their propaganda into Nicaragua from Honduras via their radio station, "15th of September." The latest broadcasts reaching this area were lies that the new land reform measures were aimed at expropriating small individual producers.

One such producer had come to the meeting to ask about this. Was he going to lose his land? President Ortega explained that the new law was aimed at large farmers who refuse to produce, not poor peasants who are working the land.

A number of peasants asked when they would be allowed to return to the land they were working before the war, which was evacuated by the army to enable government troops to carry out military operations against the remaining FDN bands without endangering civilians. The answer varied, depending on where the peasants were from. But government officials indicated that gradually the evacuated territory is being reopened as the contra bands are driven out.

The clearest evidence of this was the fact that coffee is being harvested in parts of this region for the first time since 1983, when the war reached such an intensity that it was too dangerous to try to bring in the crop. Officials announced that there is room for 400 more families to move onto coffee-producing land that has been purged of the mercenaries.

Priority to countryside

Peasants from several cooperatives requested more people to join them and help work their land. One man made this appeal from a cooperative that grows potato seedlings. "We need more people, hundreds more. We could be producing a lot," he said. He suggested that those peasants in the audience who had complained that their land is too dry consider joining the potato seedling cooperative. People ought to come from the cities, too, he said.

This was a major theme of President Ortega's closing remarks at the meeting. "We want to raise the value of rural labor," he told the peasants. The government is prioritizing resources for the countryside in order to discourage people from migrating

to the cities, where there is a shortage of productive jobs. The hope is to attract working people in the cities who are not engaged in productive labor to move back onto the land and help develop the nation's agriculture.

"We're going to respond to the problems in the countryside first, not in the cities," said Ortega.

Virtually the only construction projects in Nicaragua today are in rural areas. Much of it is new housing for war refugees. In the course of resettling the war victims, the government has sought to upgrade their living conditions as much as possible.

The housing at Casa Blanca, for example, was all made of brick. Each home had a latrine as well, although no electricity or running water. Many Nicaraguan peasants still live in mud houses or rickety huts constructed of branches bound together.

Trucks, jeeps, other vehicles, and tires have also been prioritized for the countryside. At the meeting here it was announced that 46 pickup trucks and 30 tractors have been earmarked for this region.

Limitations imposed by war

The enormous costs of the war, however, impose limitations on how much can be done. The head of the cooperative at Casa Blanca, for example, asked for a

school for the village's 200 children, a health clinic, and a children's cafeteria so that mothers could work.

Government officials said that a teacher and a nurse's aid would be sent to Casa Blanca, and that the possibility of building some classrooms would be discussed. Constructing other facilities was beyond their reach, they explained.

In response to a request from another member of the Casa Blanca cooperative for electricity, they promised that a transformer and some wire would be found so the settlement could tap into the power line that runs nearby.

From other cooperatives came requests for potable water, pickup trucks, and car batteries. The representative of a coffee cooperative asked for more guns. A group of young men who had just finished their military service requested materials to build housing.

The answers didn't always satisfy everyone in the crowd, especially those who received the answer that their requests could not be met. But there was a sense that progress is slowly being made here, and that it is the peasants themselves who are bringing it about — by voicing their demands, increasing production, and defending the gains the revolution has brought them, guns in hand.

Grenadians protest Reagan visit

Continued from back page

there. Workers' rights have been seriously eroded, and efforts are under way to weaken the unions. Assistance to farmers has been slashed.

At the same time, repression has mounted. With U.S. and British funds and training, a 600-man police force has been built up, as well as a heavily armed paramilitary force. Since April 1984 they have shot and killed at least five young Grenadians.

Louison himself was recently arrested and interrogated for several hours on trumped-up charges of involvement in military training for opposition forces on the island. On the night before Reagan's arrival, 15 Grenadians were arrested for being "rowdy" during a rehearsal of the presidential motorcade.

Yet despite the repression, resistance to

the policies of the U.S.-backed regime is continuing. Some of the trade unions are putting up a stiff fight against the attacks on working people. In November construction workers at the Grenada Beach Hotel won a pay increase after a brief strike.

Support for the MBPM continues to be publicly expressed, including in some sizable demonstrations. On Oct. 19, 1985, some 1,500 people turned out for an MBPM-organized commemoration on the second anniversary of Bishop's murder.

Just a month before Reagan's visit, labor activists and supporters of democratic rights in Grenada won an important victory when a court freed imprisoned unionist Chester Humphrey and denied a U.S. request that he be extradited to the United States to face gun-running charges. Humphrey's release followed a hunger strike he launched in prison and a public defense campaign led by the MBPM.

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Signal victory for farm union

In a major victory for unionism, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) has won a contract — the first of its kind — with Campbell Soup Co. and with growers who supply it tomatoes and cucumbers. With the signing of the pact February 19, the FLOC-initiated boycott of Campbell products was ended.

FLOC has worked for several decades organizing Ohio and Michigan farm workers and soon learned that it could not deal effectively with farm employers who contract to sell their crops to giant processors such as Campbell unless it also dealt with the processor. Growers have insisted that their ability to pay is determined by how much they receive from companies like Campbell, on whom they are almost totally dependent for the sale of their crops.

According to news accounts, FLOC President Baldemar Velasquez said the Campbell-grower contract covers 400 workers on 12 cucumber farms in Michigan and about 150 migrant field workers on 20 tomato farms in Ohio.

Also, 71 other cucumber growers under contract to Campbell agreed to hold union representation elections this summer.

Last fall, in initial voting at cucumber farms, the workers voted 60 percent in favor of being represented by FLOC.

The new agreement with tomato growers will run three years, the cucumber pact four. Campbell reportedly guaranteed the growers a market over the life of the contracts.

The contract will hike base pay for tomato pickers to \$4.50 an hour. Velasquez said that until now, workers often earned less than the \$3.35 an hour minimum wage

at the beginning and end of the harvest season. In the peak season, when they are paid by the amount of tomatoes they pick, workers can earn up to \$9 an hour.

The cucumber pay scale is still being negotiated. Both agreements, the union president said, will improve notoriously bad housing, health care, and working conditions.

Tomatoes and cucumbers are major crops in five Midwestern states, involving more than 30,000 migrant workers at harvest time.

The victory at Campbell, Velasquez said, now opens the way to wresting similar agreements from two other major processors who operate in the area — Heinz and Beatrice.

The Campbell boycott was launched in 1979 and gained ground over the years. The company conceded it was feeling the pressure of the boycott, noting that a number of church groups had gotten behind it.

FLOC has persistently organized in the area and has moved forward. At its convention last August, 238 delegates participated, double the number at the previous convention two years earlier.

At the August convention, César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers, spoke, voicing solidarity with FLOC. FLOC is unaffiliated but has developed fraternal relations with the UFW.

A range of unions, community and church organizations, and social activists participated in the Campbell boycott. For the past two years, FLOC has also targeted the Philadelphia National Bank and other financial institutions tied in with Campbell.

The victory points the way forward for farm workers in many areas where big processors are more powerful than the growers who supply them.

Homeless get brushoff

U.S. Budget Director James Miller insists that meeting the needs of homeless people is no business of the federal government. He said this to a February 18 session of the House of Representatives Budget Committee.

There are estimated to be 500,000 to 3 million homeless people in the United States. If the number of people who are sleeping on sidewalks, park benches, and in subway stations in big cities is an indicator, the figure is rising.

If meeting the needs of working people was a top priority for the U.S. government, the immediate problem of the homeless could be solved within days. There is plenty of housing available — but the price is increasingly beyond the reach of working people.

The capitalist government, however, has much higher priorities. If money was spent to provide decent, low-cost housing for the homeless, there would be less money available for U.S.-supported terrorists who destroy homes, farms, schools, and medical centers in Nicaragua; for the U.S.-organized bombing of the farms and villages of Salvadoran peasants; and for the U.S.-armed terrorists who are helping the South African apartheid regime devastate southern Angola.

There might be fewer nuclear bombs to threaten the people of the world and less loose cash to pour into the coffers of General Dynamics and other military contractors.

Housing the homeless would mean fewer apartments and houses that banks, landlords, and other real estate sharks could milk for soaring rents, sale prices, or high-interest mortgages.

Help sell the socialist press

Continued from front page

protests commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr.; the April 19 antiwar march and rally in San Francisco; the June 14 march and rally against apartheid in New York City; and others.

Sales will be organized at plant gates, union events, farm protests, and elsewhere.

The increased interest among working people in the *Militant* and *PM* is a response to the continuing offensive by the employers and their government, which aims to grind down the resistance of workers and farmers around the world to the demands of U.S. big business.

In Nicaragua, despite the thousands killed by U.S.-organized counterrevolutionaries, the workers' and farmers' government has pushed back the attackers.

United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 has waged an effective strike against Hormel Co.'s drive to weaken and destroy safety and other rights at their Austin, Minnesota, plant.

In the Philippines and Haiti, masses of people have toppled U.S.-supported dictators. In South Africa, the struggle to overthrow apartheid and white minority rule continues.

Working people want to know more about all these struggles. The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* provide

this coverage regularly.

To get out the truth about Nicaragua, for instance, the *Militant* and *PM* have reporters stationed in that country. They counter the lies of the U.S. government and capitalist media by writing the truth about the advances made and problems faced by the revolution. And both publications fight for action to oppose the escalating U.S.-organized war.

Similarly, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* tell the truth about the Austin meatpackers' strike — exposing lies that portray them as concerned only about a few cents an hour — and help spread the message of solidarity.

On every issue, these publications present the standpoint of working people in opposition to the propaganda campaigns of the capitalist media, which are an essential part of the ruling-class offensive.

We urge all *Militant* readers to join the campaign to further expand the circulation of the revolutionary socialist press. If you want to help distribute the *Militant* and/or *Perspectiva Mundial*, contact the *Militant* business office at 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014, (212) 929-3486, or a branch of the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance listed in the directory on page 16.

Eugene V. Debs on role of courts in strikebreaking

The courts have once again attacked United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9 on strike against the Hormel meatpacking company in Austin, Minnesota.

On February 14 Judge Bruce Stone further restricted the strikers' right to picket the plant. In an amendment to an earlier injunction, the judge limited to six the number

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

of strikers or supporters who could be near the plant at any one time.

The courts in general and the injunction in particular have long been strikebreaking tools of the bosses. The injunction, for example, was used by the bosses against the famous 1894 Pullman strike in Chicago.

Eugene V. Debs, a leader of that strike and one of the best-known unionists and socialists in U.S. history, served six months in prison for violation of that injunction.

Upon his release from prison in 1895, Debs gave a speech entitled, "The Role of the Courts." What he said then will ring true to P-9 strikers and other working people.

Excerpts of that speech are reprinted below. The speech can be read in its entirety in *Eugene V. Debs Speaks* from Pathfinder Press. The book costs \$6.95 and can be ordered by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.) © Copyright 1970, Pathfinder Press; reprinted by permission of the publisher.

In our cases [the leaders of the Pullman strike] at Chicago an injunction was issued at a time when the American Railway Union [led by Debs] had its great struggle for human rights, and they were triumphant in restraining myself and colleagues from doing what we never intended to do and never did do; and then we were put in jail for not doing it.

When that injunction was served on me, to show that I acted in good faith, I went to two of the best constitutional lawyers in the city of Chicago and said, "What rights, if any, have I under this injunction? I am a law-abiding citizen; I want to do what is right. I want you to examine this injunction and then advise me what to do."

They examined the injunction. They said, "Proceed just as you have been doing. You are not committing any violence; you are not advising violence, but you are trying to do everything in your power to restrain men from the commission of crime or violating the law." I followed their advice and got six months for it. [Laughter and applause.]

Now what is an injunction? It has all of the force and vital effect of a law, but it is not a law in and by the representatives of the people; it is not a law signed by a president or by a governor. It is simply the wish and will of the judge. A judge issues an injunction; serves it upon his intended victim. The next day he is arrested. He is brought into the presence of the same judge. Sentence is pronounced upon him by the same judge, who constitutes the judge and court and jury, and he goes to jail and he has no right of appeal. Under this injunctive process, the plain provisions of the Constitution have been disregarded. The right of trial by jury has been abrogated, and this at the behest of the money power of the country.

What is the effect upon the workingmen and especially railway employees to bind them to their task? The government goes into partnership with a corporation. The workingmen are intimidated; if there is a reduction of wages, they submit; if unjust conditions are imposed, they are silent. And what is the tendency? To demoralize, to degrade workingmen until they have reached the very deadline of degradation.

And how does it happen and why does it happen that corporations are never restrained? Are they absolutely law-abiding? Are they always right? Do they never transgress the law, or is it because the federal judges are their creatures? Certain it is that the united voice of labor in this country would be insufficient to name a federal judge. If all the common people united and asked for the appointment of a federal judge their voice would not be heeded any more than if it were the chirp of a cricket. Money talks. Yes, money talks. And I have no hesitancy in declaring that money has even invaded, or the influence, that power conferred by money, has invaded the Supreme Court and left that august tribunal reeking with more stench than Coleridge discovered in Cologne and left all the people wondering how it was ever to be deodorized.

There is something wrong in this country; the judicial nets are so adjusted as to catch the minnows and let the whales slip through, and the federal judge is as far removed from the common people as if he inhabited another planet.

Black community should rally in support of P-9

On February 15 some 4,000 members and supporters of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 gathered in Austin, Minnesota, to protest attempts by the Hormel meatpacking company to bust the union.

Black leaders and civil rights organizations have not said much about the strike in Austin.

But the stakes in the battle are in the *direct* interest of Blacks, as they are of all working people. A victory for



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Rashaad Ali

P-9 would be an inspiration for all those fighting racism and capitalist injustice.

Yet at the recent national board meeting of the NAACP held in New York, there was no mention of P-9's fight. The National Urban League has not said one word about the labor battle. And at the Martin Luther King Day events in January — total silence.

Nor has any prominent Black leader or organization sent a message of solidarity to P-9.

This default by the traditional leadership of the Black community is also reflected in the Black press. There has been little coverage of the strike.

The default is even more glaring when measured against the forces that are being pitted against P-9.

On one side are the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party governor of Minnesota, the National Guard, cops, courts, and the big business media. They've all ganged

up on P-9 in an attempt to isolate, demoralize, and defeat the strike.

On the other side are Local P-9 and all the forces that it can bring together nationally. By reaching out and linking up with them, a united front against a common enemy can be formed. This includes working farmers, American Indians, students, and the Black, Chicano, and Mexican communities.

There is no one fighting for social change who does not have a stake in the outcome of this battle.

I get the impression that many leaders of the Black community don't see this war in Austin as an important issue for Black people because of the racial composition of Austin and P-9.

P-9 is an overwhelmingly white local. In fact, only a handful of Blacks live in Austin, with just two Blacks working at the Hormel plant. One, unfortunately, is a scab.

But to look at this tells you absolutely nothing about whether this is a Black issue or not — whether it represents our interests.

This strike is a Black issue.

The most important ally that the Black community has in the United States is the working class as a whole and its unions.

Any action that can strengthen the union movement in its fight against the employing class strengthens the position of Blacks in our fight for equality against that same class.

That's why an issue or fight is not pro-Black based on the racial composition of the forces involved. Pro-Black-rights issues today include opposition to the U.S.-sponsored aggression in Central America and the Caribbean and support for abortion rights, jobs, equal education, and many other issues that are in the interests of other workers and exploited farmers too.

On the other hand, an all-Black group that opposes affirmative action quotas or backs the U.S.-backed terrorists fighting the Angolan government is working against the interests of Blacks.

The P-9 strike is qualitatively different from any strike that has taken place in this country in decades. What we are seeing is a glimpse of real union power, when the membership democratically decides the policies of the union.

The Austin meatpackers are showing a way forward in the fight against the capitalist owners of factories and their government. The strike is a powerful example that political solidarity and reliance on the union membership is the only road to unleashing union power and fighting the bosses' antilabor offensive.

A win for the meatpackers will put the unions in a better position to use their power to defend the rights of Blacks and others who are fighting for their rights.

A P-9 win means a change in the rules of the game, on how battles are fought to advance the cause of the labor movement and all its allies.

The Black community cannot be neutral in this battle. We have to take a stand on the side of the strikers in their fight against Hormel.

We should do everything that is possible to open up a discussion in the Black community on the stakes in the Hormel strike for Blacks and fight to get leaders and organizations whom they represent to come out squarely on the side of UFCW Local P-9.

We should go to Austin and show our solidarity with strikers; get our unions, churches, and other organizations to adopt a P-9 family; and join the boycott of all Hormel products.

Our support for the Austin strikers can add another voice to those that have already stood up to be counted on the side of justice.

We should march so there will be no more Rosies

Rosie Jimenez, a young mother of two small children, was working toward her college degree when she died in 1977. Her death was the result of a botched abortion.

Rosie was the first victim of the Hyde Amendment. This law, which outlawed the use of federal money to pay for abortion, was passed by Congress in 1976. It effectively denied safe abortions to poor women in this country.

The death of this young Chicana gave the lie to the idea — popular at the time — that Hispanic women had little

interest in fighting for abortion rights.

In the last 10 years, many Hispanic organizations have come out in defense of abortion rights. These include the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Mexican American National Women's Association, National Conference of Puerto Rican Women, National Council of La Raza, National Council of Puerto Rican Women, and the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights.

These organizations, as well as many other Hispanics, have come to recognize that abortion is a basic right for all women.

It is the only way we can control our bodies.
It is the only way we can control our lives.

Without access to safe and legal abortion, our future is dictated not by our conscious choices, but by our biology.

Abortion is also a fact of life for all women. When it is legal, Hispanic women, like anglos and Blacks, can safely choose this option. When it is illegal or restricted in any way, women pay for abortion with mutilated bodies or, like Rosie, with their lives.

The fight to keep abortion safe and legal is our fight. It is a fight for the right of women, and women alone, to decide our future. Therefore it goes hand in hand with the fight against sterilization abuse.

When women are coerced into getting sterilized, the decision to bear children is taken out of their hands. This decision is made not by them, but by the doctor, nurse, or social worker who, through threats or subterfuge, forces them to be sterilized.

When abortion is restricted, the decision also leaves the hand of the woman. It passes to Congress, the president, the courts, or groups of right-wing terrorists who destroy clinics. This effectively cuts off safe abortion.

Sterilization abuse has long been a question among Hispanic women. We have been abused in this way both

in our homelands and in the United States.

Almost all Hispanics know the case of Puerto Rico. On that island, one-third of all women of childbearing age had been sterilized by 1974. The majority of these women had been coerced into the procedure.

When this became known, there was a massive public outcry. But 12 years later, the number of women who have been sterilized has not decreased — it has risen to 40 percent. So common is sterilization on the island that it is simply called *la operación* (the operation).

When I was in Puerto Rico in 1984, a group of women explained that while coercion still goes on, the increase in sterilization is due as much to women's inability to receive safe abortion as to coercion. Women on the island, without the option of abortion, were turning to sterilization as the only way to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

The death of Rosie Jimenez — and the case of Puerto Rico — demonstrates that we, like all other women, have a stake in the fight to defend our right to choose: to keep abortion safe and legal and to end sterilization abuse.

The National Organization for Women has initiated two important actions to advance this fight. They are part of the national "March for Women's Lives," which will take place in Washington, D.C., on March 9 and in Los Angeles on March 16.

We should march to tell the world we remember Rosie Jimenez.

We should march so there will be no more Rosies.



¡BASTA YA!

Andrea González

LETTERS

Kate O'Hare

I am so pleased that Doug Jenness took the time to comment on my Kate Richards O'Hare article that appeared in last December's *International Socialist Review* supplement to the *Militant*. [See Jenness letter in January *ISR*.]

The matter he raises is one that troubled me from the time I started the research two or three years ago, but somehow it ended up getting less attention than it should have. Without making excuses, I think it was because I became preoccupied with the questions concerning O'Hare's views on race and the issues surrounding her views on the women's movement, sexism, and so on.

I had been disturbed with historians Philip Foner and Miller's treatment of O'Hare on a number of issues — they seem in some respects to play down her contribution to the revolutionary movement during the early years. I, on the other hand, as Jenness so correctly pointed out, have gone too far the other way.

I had intended to handle O'Hare

in a fashion showing how the U.S. government succeeded in breaking her mind and spirit and how she finally succumbed to bourgeois "democracy." In a sense, what she did in those early years retains all its vitality, which no one can undo.
*Erling Sannes
Bismarck, North Dakota*

After five years

This is to let you know that I've been transferred to another part of the beast.

After five years of reading the *Militant*, I still enjoy getting the "real" analysis of domestic and foreign events that you've consistently given over the years.

Being a victim of the Department of Corrections Slavocracy, I remain as impoverished as ever.

Any windfall that might happen to come my way will definitely spur a contribution to your fund.
*A prisoner
Huntsville, Texas*

Detention of Farrakhan

The *Militant* received a copy of the following mailgram ad-

ressed to the British ambassador to the United States.

We are appalled to note that your government recently opted to detain Minister Louis Farrakhan and his entourage for an unduly excessive period of time at London's Heathrow airport on Feb. 6, 1986.

This is, needless to say, construed as a tremendous insult to American citizens, Muslims, and all African-Americans of diverse backgrounds. Minister Farrakhan and his delegation are on a legitimate international fact-finding mission and speaking tour.

Therefore, we likewise appreciate and join our fellow brethren in Chicago, New York, Washington, D.C., and elsewhere who are raising their voices in protest over this unwarranted act by the British government and request that an appropriate apology be extended.

In light of the above it shall be further assumed that the [Farrakhan] delegation will be granted clear, courteous, and timely pas-

sage should they opt to return to their home via Great Britain.

*The members of the
National Islamic Assembly, (NIA)
Chicago, Illinois*

Costa Rica

I recently returned to the United States after working for six months in Nicaragua. On my way I spent a few days in Costa Rica. At the Costa Rican airport as I was on my way to the gate the Directorate of Intelligence and Security stopped me. They looked carefully through the literature I was carrying, reading a bit from each book and periodical. After an hour of harassing me about my activities, friends and politics, and reviewing my baggage, they set aside a stack of literature. They said, "These stay."

Nicaragua: An Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution, published by Pathfinder Press, was of particular interest to them and was confiscated.

*Susan Bailey
Upper Montclair, New Jersey*

People's newspaper

I would like to take a little space to thank you and your staff for writing such a people's newspaper. More need to read the *Militant* and get the facts of what's going on in the world today.

*A prisoner
Auburn, New York*

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

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Grenada protest says 'no' to Reagan

BY ERNEST HARSCH

As President Ronald Reagan touched down in Grenada for a few hours on February 20, some 200 Grenadians rallied to protest his visit. They came out to Market Square in the heart of St. George's, the capital, to express their opposition to the person who ordered the massive October 1983 U.S. invasion of that Eastern Caribbean island of only 110,000 people.

"No to U.S. colony!" and "Resist Reagan, resist slavery!" were among the slogans of the demonstration.

"Maurice Bishop liberated us, Reagan oppresses us!" the protesters also declared, recalling the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who headed the workers' and peasants' government that was in power from March 1979 to October 1983. Bishop was murdered by opponents within his own party on Oct. 19, 1983, just a week before the U.S. invasion, and remains a popular hero to the masses of Grenadians.

This demonstration culminated a week of actions in different villages and towns throughout the island, drawing from 300 to 600 participants each. They were all organized by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), which is led by several of Bishop's surviving comrades and bases itself on the legacy of the Grenada revolution.

A 'national hero'?

Most of the U.S. news media that accompanied Reagan to Grenada made no mention of these protests. Instead, they sought to portray Reagan's visit as that of a "conquering hero," as a *New York Times* editorial put it.

A large crowd did turn out to see Reagan. Schools and workplaces were officially closed for the occasion. In addition, illusions among the Grenadian people about Washington's role remain widespread, since the government in power at the time of the U.S. invasion was the brutal regime headed by Bernard Coard that had destroyed the Grenada revolution and murdered Bishop.

Seeking to perpetuate the myth that the U.S. invasion "liberated" Grenada, Prime Minister Herbert Blaize introduced Reagan in the most subservient terms, calling him "our own national hero, our own rescuer."

In a telephone interview, George Louison, a leader of the MBPM, said that Blaize's comments were "an affront to the history and the dignity of the Grenadian people." Grenada's real national hero is Maurice Bishop, he said.

During his visit, Reagan laid a wreath at a monument to the 19 U.S. soldiers who died during the Grenada invasion.

No such monuments have been erected in Grenada to the scores of Grenadians and Cuban construction workers who were killed by the U.S. invasion forces. "What about the Grenadian people who died during the invasion?" asked Angela Bishop, the late prime minister's widow, who now lives in Canada. "Are they not fit to be honored on their own soil? Don't forget: They were fighting for their own country."

Targeting Nicaragua

A major theme of Reagan's speech in Grenada was Washington's opposition to the popular revolution in Nicaragua. He also blasted revolutionary Cuba.

Reagan explicitly compared the situation in Nicaragua today to the one that led to the U.S. invasion of Grenada, employing some of the same anticommunist slanders his administration had earlier leveled against the Bishop government.

"Today, in Nicaragua," Reagan maintained, "we see a chain of events similar to what happened here. We hear the same excuses made for the Communists, while the people of Nicaragua see their freedom, slowly but surely, eaten away."

Reagan's comments were part of the ongoing White House campaign to drum up support for greater U.S. military aid for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary terrorists

operating out of Honduras.

Reagan's threats against Nicaragua are "a very dangerous development," Louison told us. "We in our party continue to give the firmest solidarity to Nicaragua. We continue to protest against Reagan's attempt to destabilize Nicaragua. And we say that if he invades Nicaragua he will get a lesson that the American people will never forget."

Fruits of U.S. occupation

In his speech Reagan also claimed that the U.S. intervention in Grenada brought the island "liberty and justice."

Responding, Louison stated, "The opposite is the truth. The invasion has brought unemployment. It has brought a destruction of the productive forces in this country. It has brought crime, prostitution, and drug trafficking — cocaine is now a major problem in the country, and that came as a direct result of the Yankee invasion. It has destroyed the social sector, education, health. All of these are on the decline."

In 1983 unemployment in Grenada was 12 percent and falling. Soon after the invasion it jumped to around 40 percent, as the U.S. occupation authorities and their Gre-



U.S. soldier guards captured Grenadian during 1983 invasion of island

nadian collaborators shut down many of the state-run enterprises set up under the Bishop government.

Social services have been allowed to deteriorate. For example, there is now only

one practicing dentist in the entire country, while the new government refuses to employ young Grenadians who returned from Cuba after finishing their dental studies

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Interview with 'Haïti Progrès' editor

On March 29 the Committee Against Repression in Haiti will sponsor a rally in Washington, D.C., to protest "the installation of a Duvalierist junta under the auspices of the United States" and the threat of North American military intervention in Haiti. The action will also condemn the interference in Haiti's internal affairs conducted by the U.S. State Department.

Jean-Claude Duvalier, the former dictator, fled Haiti February 7. He is now seeking asylum in France.

The new regime is composed of six members. Four of them were high-ranking military officers under Duvalier. The head of the junta, Lt. General Henri Namphy, was a close collaborator of "Papa Doc" Duvalier. He was appointed army chief of staff in 1984. Col. William Regala was named inspector-general of the armed forces in March 1984. Col. Max Vallès commanded the presidential guard for "Baby Doc" Duvalier. And Col. Prosper Avril was an officer in the presidential guard.

Alix Cinéas is one of two civilians on the junta. He served as a minister under Duvalier.

Only Gérard Gourgue, chairman of the Haitian League for Human Rights, had a record as an opponent of Duvalier.

Below is an interview with Ben Dupuy, a spokesman for the Committee Against Repression in Haiti and the editor of the New York-based Haitian weekly *Haïti Progrès*. The interview was conducted by Militant staff member Rashaad Ali on February 15 at the *Haïti Progrès* office.

For more information on the March 29 Washington, D.C., action call the Committee Against Repression in Haiti at (718) 434-3940.

Question. As far as you can tell, what is the situation in Haiti today?

Answer. The situation is still very unclear. Now that we have won a partial victory by removing Jean-Claude through mass protest, the people are demanding more from the junta.

We have already accomplished a few things since he left. The dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, Duvalier's rubber-stamp chamber.

Another was the official announcement of the disbanding of the Tontons Macoutes [Duvalier's private police force] and the roundup of the high-ranking members of the Tontons Macoutes. And, the changing of Duvalier's black and red flag back to the

original flag of the country — the blue and red flag.

The junta made these changes with the idea of demobilizing the people. So the situation is still very unstable, with people wanting more than just a few little changes. They want some big ones.

I don't know if you know about the 25 demands that were presented to the junta on February 10, called "the people's demands." [See page 13.]

It's understood that the document came from the underground leadership that had led the social protests.

The 25 demands are what the people want, not a Duvalierist junta without Duvalier. The demands are directed against the worst things under Duvalier — to try to get them out of the new regime.

It tries to remove from the government all traces of Baby Doc's party — the PNP

[National Progressive Party] — unjust taxes, hated and corrupt officials. And it safeguards the rights of the people.

Q. Who are some of these officials who are most hated by the people of Haiti?

A. Three of the present members of the junta are known by the people to be Duvalierist and must be removed from the government. They are Col. Max Vallès, who was commander of the presidential guard; Col. Prosper Avril, an officer of the presidential guard; and Alix Cinéas, one of the ministers of the Duvalier regime. Others are PNP members, such as Tony Auguste, president of the PNP and minister of social affairs; Odonel Fénelor, minister of commerce; and Georges Valcin, information secretary.

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Momentum builds for March 16 L.A. abortion rights action

BY PAM BURCHETT AND JEAN SAVAGE

LOS ANGELES — Kathy Spillar, the West Coast coordinator for the March 16 "National March for Women's Lives," chaired a well-attended press conference February 24 to publicize the abortion rights action and to protest California Senate Bill 7. This bill would require women under 18 to obtain written parental consent or a court order to obtain abortion services. Jo Ellen Pasman, speaking for Californians for Choice, a broad-based coalition that helped defeat two recent attempts to place anti-abortion referenda on the ballot, and Carrie Fisher, a well-known Hollywood actress, also spoke.

Spillar said the March 16 action would leave "no doubt that the majority of Americans support safe and legal abortion and birth control." She pointed to a need for ongoing efforts after March 16 to defeat other initiatives, antiabortion bills, or court challenges. "The organizing efforts," she said, "are putting together a nationwide, activist base that will be mobilized" against efforts to outlaw abortion and birth control.

A visit to the Los Angeles march office confirms that the momentum for the action is growing as the word gets around. Spillar recently appeared on a popular afternoon TV talk show, debating with representatives of the so-called right to life. Volun-

teers reported that the office was flooded with telephone calls expressing support and interest.

Of special importance has been the National Organization for Women's outreach to local unions through a mailing and follow-up phone calls. Three large union locals in the area — Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 660 with its 25,000 members, SEIU Local 535, and United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 1421 — have endorsed and sent out information to their membership. American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District 36, another large union, has both endorsed and organized buses to get its members to the action.

Some 35 other local union officials have asked for information packets and pledged to publicize the march. The local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women printed an article on the action in its recent newsletter. It is organizing a phone bank to call its membership in the next two weeks. The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor newsletter, which reaches 4,000 area union locals, included an article about the upcoming march in the most recent issue.

Individual union members are also taking initiatives to publicize March 16. Flyers were distributed at a recent rally

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