

## Say no to widening of U.S.-backed 'contra' war

Opponents of the U.S. government's expanding war drive in Central America have an added opportunity to bring antiwar forces to Washington.

The April 16 decision of the House of Representatives to postpone action on providing funds for the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, *contras*, provides that opportunity.

The earliest the House will now vote on aid to the *contras* is May 12, or, failing that, May 26. A big demonstration in Washington before the vote would have an important impact.

Action in the House was postponed after the Republican minority, in a parliamentary maneuver, voted for an amendment to

## EDITORIAL

cut off all aid to the *contras*, knowing it would never pass the House. The measure was opposed by the majority of Democrats. This came after the Democrats attached Reagan's request for contra aid to a budget bill he said he would veto.

Most Democrats — like most Republicans — favor a bill to give Reagan \$100 million for aid to the *contras* as voted earlier by the Senate. The Democrats, however, say they want to add "conditions" to their approval of the \$100-million war fund.

### Reagan will continue to escalate war

Reagan, of course, does not intend to wait on a congressional decision to continue escalating the war. He is doggedly pressing ahead. The war against Nicaragua now threatens to expand into a regional Central American conflict.

The danger that the fighting would spread to involve the military forces of other countries in the area has been inherent in the situation ever since Washington organized military bases for the *contras* in Honduras and Costa Rica.

From the Honduran border area north of Nicaragua, the *contras* have made innumerable strikes into Nicaragua and then fled back to their Honduran sanctuary. On hundreds of occasions, these raids have sparked battles with Nicaraguan defense forces that inevitably spilled across the border.

A prime purpose of Reagan's recent Honduran "invasion" hoax was to push Honduran troops into the border-area fighting between the *contras* and Sandinista forces.

When the Honduran government — after two days of arm-twisting — finally said it agreed with Washington's claim it had been invaded, Reagan promptly dispatched \$20 million in "emergency" military aid to Honduras.

Even more ominous, U.S. helicopters with U.S. pilots were assigned to ferry more than 700 Honduran troops to the Nicaraguan border, site of the mercenary camps.

The Nicaraguan government assessed this as a serious escalation. Because the mercenaries are faring so badly in the war, the Sandinistas warn, Reagan's goal now is to force the Hondurans into the conflict.

In a dispatch last week from Managua, we reported that Nicaragua's defense minister, Humberto Ortega, saw this as a dangerous possibility.

"We are on the edge of a confrontation of armies in the coming months," Ortega warned.

Continued on Page 22

# End Washington's war against Libya now!

BY FRED FELDMAN

On April 14 the U.S. government sent at least 30 bombers and scores of fighter jets and other support aircraft to bomb targets in Libya, including Tripoli and Benghazi, the country's biggest cities. At least 100 people, including many children, were killed.

The U.S. bombers attempted to assassinate Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi and his family by attacking the barracks where they live. Qaddafi survived the attack, but his year-old daughter was killed, his three- and four-year-old sons were seriously hurt, and his wife suffered severe shock.

Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger denied Qaddafi was a target. But a CIA plan approved by Reagan and made public in November called for organizing assassination attempts against Qaddafi.

President Reagan, the Libyan leader said on April 16, was "guilty of issuing orders to regular forces to murder children and attack houses." He should be put on trial, Qaddafi said, "as a war criminal and murderer of children."

"We can tell Reagan," he added, "that he doesn't have to protect his children and citizens because we do not bomb children like the United States does."

The U.S. bombing attack was an act of imperialism war. The Libyan people were targeted for refusing to bow to the dictates of Washington. As a sovereign country, the people rejected Reagan's demand that they depose their government or face Washington's state terrorism.

For this "crime" — politically disagreeing with U.S. imperialism — the U.S. gov-



Many children and other people fell victim to U.S. government's terrorism when U.S. planes bombed this neighborhood in Tripoli, Libya.

ernment carried out the biggest air assault since the end of the Vietnam war. The attack fleet included F-111 bombers launched from U.S. military bases in Britain.

In response to this murderous escalation of the war against Libya, protests occurred in several cities in the United States and Canada, as well as in Britain, other European countries, and around the world. (See story on page 9.)

More such emergency protests are needed by opponents of U.S. military in-

tervention in the Middle East, Central America, southern Africa, and around the world to answer the U.S. government's threats to carry out more acts of war against Libya.

The U.S. air assault was portrayed as a response to alleged Libyan responsibility for the April 5 bombing of a West Berlin discotheque in which two people were killed.

In reality, however, it is part of a continuing effort by Washington to force the

Continued on Page 9

## Thousands back striking meatpackers

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

AUSTIN, Minn. — Unionists, farmers, and students from across the country joined in an enthusiastic demonstration of solidarity for striking meatpackers here April 12. Close to 6,000 participants marched down Main Street in support of Hormel workers striking the giant pork-processing plant in this southern Minnesota town. They were applauded and cheered by Austin residents who lined the sidewalks.

This Saturday march came on the heels of a brutal police attack against the strikers and their supporters at the Hormel plant gate the previous day. In that attack, the cops arrested 17 people and teargassed the crowd. (See story page 16.)

Even as the cops were rioting Friday at the plant gate, Ray Rogers, the local's consultant, was being arrested by the cops in downtown Austin. Later, a warrant to take effect at 7:00 a.m. Monday, April 14, was issued for Jim Guyette, president of the meatpackers' union local.

At a little after 7:00 a.m. April 14, Guyette reported to the courthouse. As he walked from the nearby union hall to the courthouse, Guyette told the press that the government was trying to make him responsible for the Friday cop riot. The government was trying to use the police riot to victimize him. He explained that even if he is in jail, "the strike is still going on. It's a strike led by the rank and file," Guyette said.

The April 12 march was a fitting response to these latest attacks by the government and the cops on the eight-month-long strike against Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

The march, which was the culmination of the April 9-12 national solidarity actions in Austin, was led by the striking meatpackers of the United Food and Com-

mercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 and their families. Dressed in blue and yellow union hats and jackets, they marched behind a banner that read "Local P-9." The strikers were joined by TV star David Soul, who had come to Austin to support their struggle.

Among the participants in the march were delegations from scores of local unions from 40 states across the country. Auto workers, oil workers, coal miners, electrical workers, garment and textile workers, as well as transportation workers

all came to show their solidarity.

Machinists from around the country joined together in one large delegation. Delegations of shipyard workers from Maine, communications workers from New York, painters and longshoremen from California, as well as carpenters from Wisconsin, participated in the action.

There were also delegations from several UFCW locals, including the locals in Albert Lea, Minnesota; Madison, Mason City, Milwaukee, and Cudahy, Wisconsin;

Continued on Page 17

## Nicaraguans hit U.S. attack on Libya; aid to contras

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans — organized through their unions, neighborhood committees, women's organizations, or youth groups — marched throughout the country April 16 to denounce Washington's war against Nicaragua and the U.S. bombing of Libya.

The demonstrations were originally called by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Nicaragua's largest union federation, to protest the proposed \$100 million in aid for U.S.-backed mercenaries in this country. After the U.S. bombardment of Libya, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) called on all the mass organizations of the revolution to turn out the biggest mobilization possible in every city and town across the country. Special emphasis was placed on organizing in

neighborhoods through the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs).

Neighborhood rallies were held throughout Nicaragua on the night of April 15. With bonfires, fireworks, and Uncle Sam effigies, they were reminiscent of the neighborhood organizing carried out during the fight against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza.

Large demonstrations occurred April 16 in areas threatened by mercenary attacks: San Carlos in the south; Ocotal, Somoto, and Jalapa in the north; and Puerto Cabezas on the Atlantic Coast.

Sandinistas say that for many towns, these were the biggest demonstrations in years. Workers, students, peasants, women, professionals, and government and health workers marched in contingents under the banners of their organizations.

Continued on Page 6



# Hormel strike coverage boosts sales in Texas

BY STEVE WARSHALL

HOUSTON — Socialists in the Houston area have been regularly selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gates in the East Texas region. In the im-

mediate Houston area, supporters of the *Militant* regularly target the big refineries organized by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) and major manufacturing plants organized by the International Association of Machinists and the United Steel-

workers of America. Houston's big Southern Pacific railroad yards have also been a weekly focus for plant gate sales efforts.

Because of the *Militant's* regular coverage of the strike by Hor-

*Militant* coverage of the Minnesota strike was made up and passed out with some back issues the first week. The next week, a sales team returned and sold seven copies to the 50 or so workers entering the plant.

Sales teams have also traveled to the huge Gulf Oil Refinery in Port Arthur, Texas, just by the Louisiana border. One week, three salespersons sold 17 copies of the *Militant* to maintenance workers at their shift change at 4:00 p.m. Several made friendly suggestions about coming back the next day in the morning to avoid the traffic rush out of the parking lot and sell more papers. Another worker suggested sending a team to his

union meeting later in the month to spread the word about the meatpackers' strike. A week later another sales team returned to Gulf and sold eight more copies.

While the *Militant* has been featuring news on the Hormel strike, regular sales teams have been dispatched to Texas City. This Gulf port and refining center about 45 miles south of Houston has been hit hard by layoffs in the oil and chemical industry.

Last week, a sales team went to Texas City to sell at the Amoco Oil refinery and the large Union Carbide chemical plant nearby. Eight copies of the *Militant* were sold to members of the Interna-

tional Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at Union Carbide. At Amoco, members of OCAW bought six papers.

One of the workers asked if the sales team was with the striking meatpackers and wanted to know how much the paper cost. "No," the team members replied. "We are with the Socialist Workers Party, and this is a weekly socialist paper that supports the strike."

The Amoco worker gave them a \$5 bill saying, "Take out whatever you need for the paper, and give the rest to the strike." The sales team gave the money to representatives of the striking local who are on tour in the Houston area.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

mediate Houston area, supporters of the *Militant* regularly target the big refineries organized by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) and major manufacturing plants organized by the International Association of Machinists and the United Steel-

mel meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, sales of the socialist press have also been carried out in regional and outlying areas.

*Militant* salespeople learned of a small Hormel plant not too far from Houston in the town of Addicks, Texas. A leaflet featuring

## Boston socialist takes on opponents for Congress

BY BETSY SOARES

BOSTON — In one of the biggest debates of the race in the eighth congressional district here, one "didn't have to be an expert," noted the weekly *Boston Ledger*, "to read the mood of the student crowd" of more than 700 at Boston University.

"One of the largest crowds of admirers gathered around the newest candidate in the race," the *Ledger* explained, "Jon Hillson from the Socialist Workers Party."

The March 13 forum was the first such event Hillson, a textile worker, had participated in since announcing his candidacy at a February 19 news conference covered by the city's major media.

Hillson won the most applause among the 14 candidates running for the congressional seat held by Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill, who is retiring. Thirteen of the candidates are Democrats and Republicans.

The race has received national political attention because of the candidacy of Joseph Kennedy, son of Robert Kennedy and nephew of President John Kennedy.

It has also attracted much local coverage because of the number of left-liberal Democrats running against Kennedy. These include Massachusetts State Rep. Thomas Gallagher, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America; State Sen. George Bachrach, also a DSA member; former state representative and Boston mayoral candidate Mel King, who terms himself the Rainbow Coalition candidate; and nuclear freeze activist Carla Johnston, a member of the Democratic state committee. James Roosevelt, the grandson of President Franklin Roosevelt, is also a candidate.

Audiences for debates are unusually large, attracting many young people who believe that one or more of these candidates must represent an advance over traditional capitalist politics.

As these debates unfold, Hillson's socialist politics are winning support, including from the other candidates' backers.

His strong defense of the Nicaraguan

revolution and calls for national protests against U.S. aid to the contras, support for the striking Minnesota Hormel workers, defense of abortion rights, and support for busing to achieve school desegregation have appealed to many.

At the end of the debate at Boston University, Hillson was surrounded by more than 50 students for more than half an hour. The discussion covered a range of subjects, from the need for the unions to build a new party to oppose the Democrats and Republicans, to the history of the Vietnam war and the role of the Soviet Union in world politics.

On March 18, Hillson debated the same field in front of nearly 900 people in historic Faneuil Hall in a forum on Central America. The Socialist Workers Party candidate was repeatedly interrupted by cheers.

"What should the United States do to bring peace to Central America?" one questioner asked from the floor.

"The question is," Hillson responded, "what can our movement do to turn the majority sentiment against U.S. foreign policy that exists into a fighting movement in the streets."

He urged the building of a broad coalition of antiwar, labor, Black, Latino, and peace forces to "meet the challenge of the Democrats and Republicans. We can't trust the politicians," he said, as applause broke out. "We have to remember who started the Vietnam war — the liberals — and who ended it — us, the people of this country and Vietnam — in the streets and in battle. That's why we need to march on Washington now," Hillson concluded, to cheers of approval.

The revolutionary candidate also crossed swords with Democrat Thomas Gallagher, endorsed by the Democratic Socialists of America, who attacked Cuba as being "undemocratic."

"We can't buy into the big lie about Cuba because that's what's behind arguments to wage war on Nicaragua," Hillson



*Militant*/Don Gurewitz

Socialist Workers candidate Jon Hillson (center) at debate on Central America

retorted. "Tom, you should go to Cuba. It's the only government in the world that fights South African racism gun in hand, that's eliminated racism and unemployment at home. It's Cuba that's got the highest living standard for working people in Latin America, that provides free health care and free education, because it puts human needs before profits. That's why," Hillson ended amidst sustained applause, "we need a government like Cuba's in the United States."

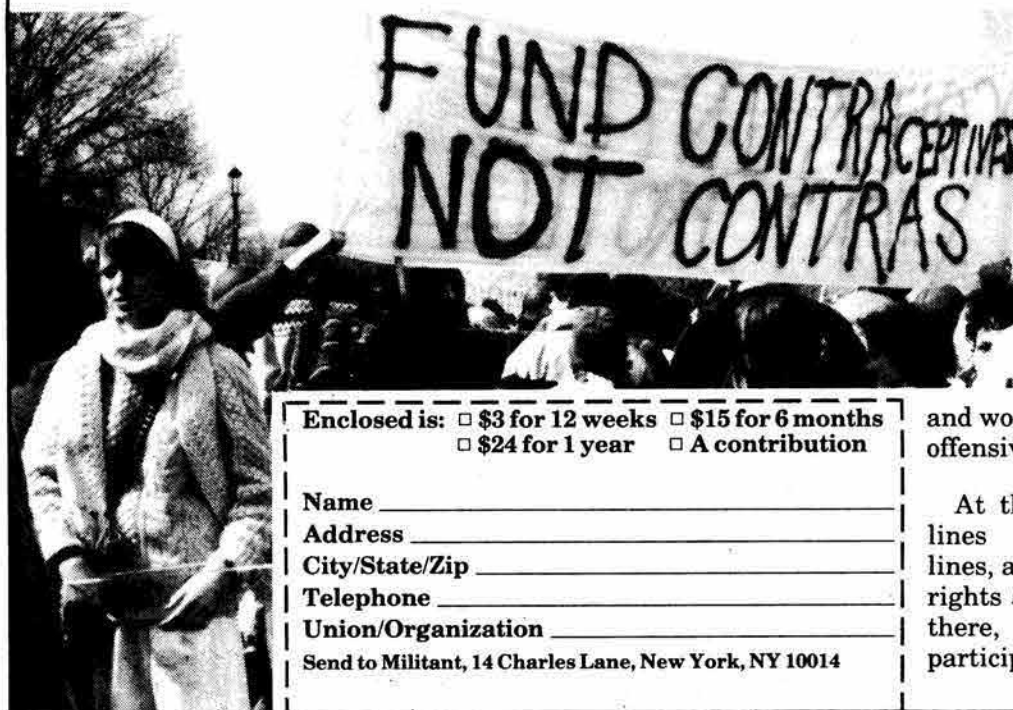
At both events, Hillson urged maximum support to the March 22 Boston demonstration against contra aid, which other candidates refrained from discussing. He then campaigned at the demonstration, which drew nearly 2,000. Some 60 supporters attended an open house after the march to hear the socialist candidate.

Hillson's supporters have put a priority on selling the campaign newspapers, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Forty were sold at the debates, along with several subscriptions, and scores of people signed nominating petitions to put Hillson on the November general election ballot.

Hillson, who lived in Nicaragua in 1983 and 1984 and participated in the country's 1986 coffee harvest, has spoken to hundreds more youths since the flurry of activity in March. He has addressed many high school students, opposing the U.S. wars against Nicaragua and Libya. He addressed a campus rally against the "Star Wars" weapons plans, and campaigned at an emergency action of more than 600 against U.S. aid to the Honduran government. He has campaigned at protests against contra mouthpieces speaking on area campuses and at demonstrations against apartheid.

Hillson's campaign committee is drafting letters to 50 area unions and Black and Latino organizations to get the socialist candidate before their local meetings. Co-workers of his at Malden Mills, a textile plant of nearly 1,000 in Lawrence, have been friendly to his campaign and have attended his events. Hillson is well known among these workers as an activist in his union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, a campaigner against apartheid and against U.S. intervention in Central America, and a supporter of the striking Hormel workers.

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That's the way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from South Africa and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the U.S. Read our ideas on how to stop apartheid, war, the oppression of Blacks and women, and the employer offensive against all workers.

At the plant gates, picket lines and unemployment lines, at antiwar and abortion rights actions, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news, participating in struggle.

### The Militant

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# June 14 anti-apartheid march set for N.Y.

BY MEL MASON

NEW YORK — The New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council has issued a call for a regional march against apartheid on June 14 in New York City.

The call says, "It's time to end 'constructive engagement' and the U.S. government's ongoing support for the Botha regime. It's time for our government to stop vetoing anti-apartheid resolutions at the United Nations. U.S. corporate involvement in apartheid makes possible the continued slaughter of the Black majority. It's time for us to speak out."

The demonstration will begin with marches from Harlem and the United Nations Building and culminate with a rally in Central Park.

Speakers confirmed for the rally are Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa, and Allen Boesak of the United Democratic Front, a broad-based South African anti-apartheid coalition. Attempts are being made to get a representative of the Congress of South African Trade Unions to speak at the rally.

With the stepping up of the U.S. *contra* war against Nicaragua, one of the proposed demands of the demonstration is "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua!" The central demand of the rally will be the call for the United States government to break all ties with the South African regime.

The slogan "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua" was inspired by a speech given by Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers District 65 and first vice-president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), at the September 1985 conference of the New York chapter of the CBTU. In his speech he called for a U.S. boycott of South Africa. "There is no way this government can say they can't boycott South Africa," stated Robinson. "When they boycotted Cuba and Nicaragua, they showed us they know how to boycott." Robinson went on to add that workers should oppose the embargoes on Cuba and Nicaragua and demand that this government boycott South Africa instead.

This demand opens up an opportunity for Central America solidarity activists and peace groups to organize opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America.

The New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council was formed in mid-September 1985 on the heels of the August 13 anti-apartheid demonstration in New York. Some 30,000 people marched that day in opposition to apartheid and the U.S. government's ties to the South African regime. Black trade union leaders such as Robinson and Jim Bell, president of the New York Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, were central organizers of that demonstration.

The coordinating council is made up of a number of anti-apartheid organizations, political groups, religious and civic groups, students, peace groups, and trade unionists and community groups. It has been in the forefront of the fight to force the State of New York to divest its investments with companies doing business with South Africa.

At its monthly meeting April 1, Robinson stated, "Our purpose as an organization is to help build a movement that will bring down the apartheid system." He added that Bishop Desmond Tutu was being contacted by the local Black clergy to speak at the rally.

After a meeting with Jim Bell, all of the major Black clergy in the area endorsed the June 14 demonstration and pledged to build it in their churches and in the Black community.

Tanaquil Jones, a leader of the Columbia University student anti-apartheid protests, reported that the student outreach committee will be getting buttons and bumper stickers and organizing fundraising events, as well as setting up educational camps and reaching out to high schools in the area.

Adeyemi Bandle, an aide to Brooklyn Assemblyman Roger Green, reported for both the Black community and the Black elected officials outreach committees. He said that Black clergy and Black community and Caribbean groups will be tapped to build the demonstration and urged to join

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the anti-apartheid council. He reported that a number of Black and Latino elected officials have signed a letter urging all elected officials in the state to march in the demonstration under the banner "Elected officials of conscience."

Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins has offered his office to the Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council to use in the building of the demonstration.

Dennis Mumble, who is a Black South African, reported that the publicity committee had a flyer ready for distribution and that the National Alliance of Third World Journalists has agreed to assist with all media work for the march.

Jim Bell informed the membership that he and Robinson had been in contact with one of the Dunnes' Stores workers from Ireland. Workers at these chain stores went on strike demanding South African goods

be removed from the shelves. An attempt will be made by the Dunnes workers to pull together a June 14 demonstration in Ireland. "We want our Irish brothers and sisters to lock hands with us on that day," said Bell.

Bell stated that there was interest in building June 14 actions in San Francisco, Portland, and Chicago. Those interested in finding out about the June 14 demonstration should write or call N.Y. Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council, 13 Astor Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone (212) 673-5120.

Mel Mason is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1987 and the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and is a founding member of the New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council.

## Target week builds momentum for a successful sales drive

BY TOM LEONARD

Thanks to the serious efforts of sales teams around the country, we are within 7 percent of being on schedule in our national sales and subscription drive. (See accompanying scoreboard.) Prior to the highly successful April 5-11 target week, single-copy and subscription sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were lagging 10 percent behind. Subscription sales continue to be 10 percent behind.

During the target week, 4,688 *Militants* and 923 copies of the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold, for a grand total of 5,611.

One noteworthy thing about single sales was that there were more *Perspectiva Mundials* sold in the target week than the combined total of 903 sold in the first three weeks of our 10-week national sales drive. In addition, there were 23 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions sold, along with 156 *Militant* subscriptions, for a total of 179.

If we can maintain this sales momentum and average 4,500 single-copy sales and 200 subscription sales to both publications per week, we can reach our 10-week goal of 45,000 single copies and 2,000 subscriptions.

A big boost to maintaining this momentum was the excellent response to *Militant* sales teams at the P-9 strike support rally in Austin, Minnesota, on Saturday, April 12, and at the Jesse Jackson meeting the next day. Sales team members were inspired by the friendly response to the *Militant* by P-9 strikers and other unionists from around the country. They appreciated the *Militant's* support and coverage of the strike and bought 352 copies of the *Militant* and 17 subscriptions. Supporters of the Young Socialist Alliance also sold 29 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

Another highlight of the Austin sales was the response to *Teamster Rebellion*, the first of a four-volume series on the lessons of the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes in the 1930s. Sales teams sold 20 copies, and four more were sold at the literature table.

One United Food and Commercial Worker Local 431 member who had been fired for supporting the P-9 picket line in Ottumwa, Iowa, had already read *Teamster Rebellion* and wanted to read the rest of

the series. When reminded by his wife he could borrow them from a friend who had the complete set, he replied, "I want my own." In addition to *Teamster Rebellion*, a total of nine copies of other volumes in the series were sold in this way.

A highlight of sales during the target week was the enormously successful Saturday community sales in working-class communities. But sales at plant gates and campuses and by regional sales teams were also very good.

New York target-week sales teams set an inspiring example for the rest of the country with their best sales in the recent period. They sold 1,027 single copies, including 710 *Militants* and 317 *Perspectiva Mundials*. They also sold 40 *Militant* and 11 *Perspectiva* subscriptions.

Newark also had an excellent target week, with combined *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* single-copy sales that totaled 536 and with 17 subscriptions.

Another impressive increase in *Perspectiva Mundial* single-copy sales was the fact that 16 areas of the country reported sales of 10 or more. A Seattle team, for example, traveled to Yakima Valley in Washington to attend a farm workers' rally and sold 35 *Perspectiva Mundials*.

*Militant* supporters in Greensboro, North Carolina, sold 139 *Militants*. Saturday community sales accounted for 69 of these, and another 27 *Militants* and two *Militant* subscriptions were sold at a campus anti-apartheid rally at the University of North Carolina.

These are only a few examples of the excellent effort made around the country during the target week. During this period, sales teams continued to report widespread interest in the *Militant's* eyewitness reports from Haiti, Nicaragua, and the Philippines and the continuing coverage and support to the embattled P-9 strikers in Austin.

There is also a lot of interest in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial's* coverage of Washington's acts of war against the working people of Libya.

The key challenge now is to use the sales momentum we gained in the target week to reach out to more working people and students with the truth and to press to make our national goal by May 16.

## SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #5: Totals as of Militant issue #14, PM issue #7)

Area	SINGLE ISSUES			
	Militants and <i>Perspectiva</i> <i>Mundials</i> sold this week	Total sold so far	10-week goal	Subscriptions sold so far
Atlanta	186	476	1,040	9
Baltimore	108	407	810	21
Birmingham	68	271	900	5
Boston	98	620	1,000	58
Capital District, N.Y.	85	320	650	34
Charleston, W. Va.	81	383	600	11
Chicago	174	552	1,500	11
Cincinnati	39	178	500	3
Cleveland	41	294	900	19
Dallas	175	786	1,700	21
Denver	141	406	800	14
Detroit	136	913	1,570	21
Greensboro, N.C.	139	368	650	27
Houston	258	854	1,800	33
Kansas City	49	412	1,120	9
Los Angeles	268	1,029	2,000	45
Louisville	38	189	375	6
Miami	53	234	550	18
Milwaukee	140	362	750	24
Morgantown, W. Va.	85	395	700	6
New Orleans	98	324	650	29
New York	1,027	1,740	3,250	78
Newark	536	1,237	2,600	55
Oakland	82	424	935	10
Philadelphia	108	365	1,000	4
Phoenix	170	623	1,250	22
Pittsburgh	44	257	800	13
Portland	108	342	650	12
Price, Utah	13	68	250	0
Salt Lake City	110	359	425	11
San Diego	58	190	580	2
San Francisco	134	523	1,300	21
San Jose	190	537	1,000	19
Seattle	129	455	800	16
St. Louis	141	536	1,250	14
Tidewater, Va.	20	174	375	7
Toledo	46	264	500	32
Twin Cities	132	764	1,600	24
Washington, D.C.	120	510	800	26
Total sold this week	5,628			
Total sold so far		19,141		790
10-week national goal			45,000	2,000
Percent of national goal reached			43%	40%
To be on schedule			50%	50%



# Newfoundland: 5,200 gov't workers on strike

## Most important labor battle in Canada since 1983 strikes

The following article on a strike of public employees of the Canadian province of Newfoundland is reprinted from the Canadian newspaper *Socialist Voice*.

For readers unfamiliar with the province, it is located in northeast Canada and is made up of the island of Newfoundland and Labrador on the mainland. The great majority of its 600,000 people live on the island.

There is almost no farming and very little manufacturing. The cost of living is the highest in Canada. Most consumer goods are imported and Newfoundland has the highest provincial sales tax in Canada — 12 percent. On top of this is a federal sales tax of 12 percent.

In addition to high unemployment, there is severe underemployment, with some jobs lasting only 10 weeks out of the year. Living costs are comparable to those in the United States and higher for many items. Gasoline, for example, is U.S.\$2.50 a gallon.

BY BOB BRAXTON

ST. JOHN'S, Newfoundland, March 22 — The Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labor (NLFL) and other unions are planning mass demonstrations and public forums in support of 5,200 striking provincial government employees. They have called on workers across Canada to contribute to a solidarity fund for the strikers.

This strike is the most important labor confrontation in Canada since the 1983 strikes of Operation Solidarity in British Columbia and the public sector Common Front in Quebec.

"The deteriorating state of labor relations in this province has finally come to a head. . . . A state of siege has now enveloped the entire province," NLFL President Bill Parsons told reporters March 21.

The provincial government employees, members of the Newfoundland Association of Public Employees (NAPE), are entering into the fourth week of an "illegal strike" for wage parity with other Newfoundland public employees.

The union is refusing to abide by Bill 59, which allowed the government to designate 10 percent to 40 percent of workers in a bargaining unit as "essential" employees who have no right to strike.

One hundred twenty-three pickets have been arrested for defying a court injunction and participating in an illegal strike. Those arrested include NAPE President Fraser March (arrested twice), National Union of Provincial Government Employees (NUPGE) President John Fryer, NLFL President Bill Parson, and Newfoundland New Democratic Party leader Peter Fenwick. Two NAPE officials were jailed for seven days when they refused to accept court restrictions for their release. Union headquarters have been raided by the police and records seized.

All striking workers face possible stiff fines and imprisonment for walking the picket lines, and are to be handed automatic 30-day suspensions once they return to work.

But this repression is not working. On the contrary, it has stiffened NAPE members' resolve to fight this battle until they win, "no matter what."

Not only is the strike solid — 95 percent of affected NAPE members are out — but the strikers have overwhelming support from other unions in the province and from the general public.

### Fight for justice

The strike began March 3 when 900 workers in highway-maintenance and snow-clearing crews walked off the job. They were joined March 7 by 800 building maintenance and security personnel. Last week the stakes escalated once again when 3,500 administrative and clerical workers walked off the job.

Workers in Newfoundland already suffer from 25 percent unemployment, the highest cost of living, and the lowest wages in the country. Wages of provincial employees are low even by Newfoundland standards. Those on strike average only \$14,000 [U.S.\$10,100] per year, or about \$7 [U.S.\$5] per hour. Starting wages are as low as \$12,300 [U.S.\$8,900] per year.

To make matters worse, the general ser-

vice and road maintenance workers average some \$3,500 [U.S.\$2,500] per year less than employees doing exactly comparable jobs in other NAPE bargaining units.

Maintenance and general service workers started to fall behind when the [Progressive Conservative Party government of Brian] Peckford imposed insignificant salary increases in 1982. In 1984 the government decreed a two-year wage freeze.

To make sure the workers could never catch up, in 1983 the government passed Bill 59 which makes it impossible to wage an effective strike. Under the legislation, for instance, 800 out of 2,000 maintenance workers have been declared "essential" with no right to strike.

Earlier this year, the International Labor Organization found that Bill 59 violates the international convention signed by Canada in 1948, and NAPE is currently challenging the bill in the courts.

Sure of the justice of their cause, the NAPE workers have simply refused to accept the restrictions imposed by Bill 59. Bill 59 is "designed to destroy this union and destroy free collective bargaining," asserts NAPE President March. Unions have a responsibility to "break the law" in defense of fundamental rights, he argues, even if such action constitutes a "social revolution."

NAPE strikers also object to the arrogance of the Peckford government ("a little Hitler"), to the arrest of union leaders, and to the government lining ministers' pockets with huge car allowances and other perks while workers' wages have been frozen.

Workers across the province, in both the private and public sectors, are giving NAPE strong support. Government strikebreaking and dictatorial methods have managed to alienate the whole labor movement from the Peckford government since its election in 1979. The NLFL has opposed Bill 59 from its inception. NAPE's solidarity in 1984 with hard-fought strikes of the Newfoundland Telephone workers and trawlermen prompted the formation of the Coalition for Equality. The coalition unites all major unions in the

province with women's, church, unemployed, and service groups in support of labor struggles and of the unemployed.

It's this broad unity which is now reflected in support for NAPE. The Federation of Labor; the Fishermen's union, which is the province's largest; Steelworkers who work for Iron Ore Corporation in Labrador City; papermill workers in Corner Brook and Grand Falls; Canadian Union of Public Employees; Public Sector Alliance of Canada; and the Communications Workers of Canada — all have joined NAPE on the picket lines and in mass demonstrations. Here in St. John's, the whole city has been living to the rhythm of the strike over the past three weeks, and particularly since the general service workers walked out March 19.

Provincial government services are quickly grinding to a halt. Over 40 picket lines have been set up around the city. Honking is heard continuously as cars, buses, and trucks show their support for the pickets.

There are daily mass rallies at Confederation Building — the provincial legislature — as up to 2,000 strikers enter the lobby and chant their demands. Strikers are joined by nonstriking NAPE members, other unionists, members of the Coalition for Equality, the New Democratic Party, unemployed workers, technical college and university students — all coming to voice their support.

Despite bitter cold, icy winds, and freezing rain, picket lines are determined and high-spirited. Two busloads of schoolchildren passing Confederation Building roll down their windows and chant "Strike, strike, strike." An older woman in a bus gives strikers a clenched fist in solidarity.

A jeep from Three Cheers bar visits the picket line giving each striker a ticket good for one drink. Strikers at Atlantic Place are given discounts by sympathetic shopkeepers.

More and more, sentiment is developing that what is needed is a general strike to



force the government to give wage parity and withdraw Bill 59.

"A general strike is what's going to turn this thing around," said Ed Hogan, a nonstriking lab technician arrested two weeks ago. "If I had my way," said a cabby, "every union in Newfoundland should go on strike."

### Solidarity needed

With the recent back-to-work order against 4,000 striking city maintenance workers in Montreal, public sector workers' right to strike is coming under increasing pressure across the country.

Newfoundland workers are showing that it is possible to defy unjust laws and defend the right to strike in the public sector while at the same time winning massive public support. They are also putting anti-labor governments on notice that unions can and will fight back.

What is needed now is a massive cross-country movement in solidarity with the Newfoundland strikers. The Canadian

Continued on Page 10

## Fund helps us tell truth in Austin

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

AUSTIN, Minn. — "You people tell the truth about what's happening here." In the last week, I heard this and similar comments about the *Militant* from many striking meatpackers.

The *Militant* can receive no greater compliment than this from embattled workers.

To help us tell the truth, the *Militant* established a resident reporting team of Maggie McCraw and Tom Jaax. They have covered day-to-day developments in the eight-month-long strike by United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 against Hormel.

When the strikers called the April 9-12 solidarity action, the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* sent additional reporters to Austin to ensure the most thorough coverage of these important events.

The enlarged reporting team enabled the *Militant* to get the whole story on the cop riot April 11. And it meant that we could talk to dozens of participants from around the country about why they support the strike.

These special measures take money. And it is your contributions to the Socialist Publication Fund that help pay for them. But the fund does more than help assure this kind of on-the-scene coverage.

It also helps defray the cost of a special subscription offer for strikers of 12 issues of the paper for a dollar. This offer makes it possible for strikers to follow the struggles of workers and farmers here and around the world. More than 50 strikers have taken advantage of it.

The money from the fund also made it possible for Pathfinder Press to offer all participants at the April 12 march and rally *Teamster Rebellion* at half price. This book is about the 1934 battle to organize Minneapolis Teamsters. Written by Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the struggle, it contains

important lessons for today.

The \$100,000 fund helps pay for all of this and much more.

In the last two weeks the spring fund took a big step forward. With three weeks to go, the total pledged stands at \$95,000. Additional pledges and contributions continue to come in from readers of the *Militant* and our sister publications. These should put us over the top in pledges for our \$100,000 goal.

But to date, only \$24,500 has been paid on these pledges. To make our goal of \$100,000 by May 10 will require a big increase in payments on pledges over the next few weeks. Branches of the Socialist Workers Party around the country are currently discussing ways to spearhead this

collection effort.

Many readers of the socialist publications have already responded to the call for payments to the fund. In the first week after the editors of the socialist publications sent out a letter appealing for money, 31 readers responded, contributing \$1,350.

One reader sent a note, along with a \$200 contribution, which, she noted, was "to help ensure the continuation of the Managua Bureau and your overall unmatched coverage of the Nicaraguan revolution."

With three weeks left in the drive, other readers must respond with the same urgency. We must collect more than \$20,000 a week in order to make our goal on time by May 10. We are confident this can be done.

On March 15 we launched the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$100,000 by May 10.

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

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

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

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

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Organization/Union \_\_\_\_\_

\$100,000

Pledged:  
\$95,000

Collected:  
\$24,500



## In Cleveland 300 march against apartheid

BY SCOTT WARE

CLEVELAND — Some 300 enthusiastic demonstrators marched from Cleveland State University down Euclid Avenue to a rally at Public Square in downtown Cleveland on April 5. Large colorful banners and a chorus of chants brought the marchers' demands to the attention of thousands of Saturday shoppers: "End all U.S. ties to apartheid," "Boycott Shell Oil," "Students say no to apartheid," and "Free Nelson Mandela!" were the most prominent slogans.

The march was sponsored by the Northeast Ohio Anti-apartheid Committee and was endorsed by the Cleveland Federation of Labor.

The most vocal and visible contingent at the rally was a large group of high school students organized into Youth United to Oppose Apartheid.

Their spokesperson, Joanna Cagan, told the rally, "If Reagan wants to support 'freedom fighters,'" she said, "he should take all the money away from the *contras* in Nicaragua and give it to the African National Congress."

Shuping Coapoge, a member of the ANC Observer Mission to the United Nations, gave an update on the current struggle in South Africa.

William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union and president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, spoke. "The battle against apartheid is not a civil rights struggle," he said. "It is a battle against the very constitution and foundation of an entire social system."

William Stodghill, International vice-president of the Service Employees International Union, hailed the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. "Today," he said, "we are sending a message that the U.S. labor movement will not rest until the last vestige of apartheid is eliminated."

## 58,000 AMERICANS DIED IN VIETNAM LET'S NOT HAVE MORE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

You don't need a telescope to see the coming war in Central America. American advisors and Marines have already been killed; Navy warships are now firing support missions; mercenaries are being paid with government funds; aerial bombings have reached the highest levels since Cambodia; and Honduras is even being referred to as "Da Nang, East."

Reagan is following the same policies and actions today that led to the deaths of 58,000 Americans in Vietnam. (Not to mention, the million or so dead Vietnamese.) The Air Force has even promised the use of Agent Orange in the jungles of Central America.

In response, Vietnam veterans are promising action. On April 19th, 1986, Vietnam Veterans Against The War will hold regional demonstrations protesting this future "Vietnam" war before we need a monument dedicated to Americans killed in Central America. One of these demonstrations will take place here in Chicago.

April 19th is a special day. It marks the anniversary of Dewey Canyon III. In 1971-2,000 Vietnam veterans protested and marched, in Washington D.C., against the war we had fought in. The action ended with us throwing back the medals we had won in the Vietnam War.

Like most Vietnam veterans we wanted to put the war behind us but again duty calls. We simply can not allow our country to slide into another war or our children to be put thru the wringer like we were.

In 1971 VVAW put the lie to Nixon's position that all Nam vets were blockheads who supported that war and played an important role in ending it.

In 1986 Vietnam vets can put the lie to Rambo and Reagan by protesting the development of this new Vietnam.

You can be effective and you can be heard. On Saturday, April 19th, at 12 noon, at the Federal Plaza we want you!! Duty calls, not for another war but to stop one. Show you are against continuing U.S. involvement in Central America. Show you support the Nam vets, too.



Leaflet to build an April 19 Chicago action against U.S. war in Central America, one of several called by Vietnam Veterans Against the War for that day.

Other speakers included Kathleen Geathers of Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice and Kathy Barbour of Amnesty International.

## Day of solidarity with the victims of apartheid

BY DAVE MAINELLI

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Nearly 300 people rallied against apartheid as part of nationwide protests called by the AFL-CIO.

These actions were organized to commemorate the massacre of anti-apartheid fighters in Sharpeville, South Africa, in 1960.

The overwhelming majority at the rally were trade union mem-

bers. They carried placards from the International Association of Machinists, Office and Professional Employees International Union, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union, Communications Workers of America, government workers' unions, and others. Members of the National Organization for Women and Coalition of Labor Union Women attended.

Signs reading "Apartheid kills," "For workers' rights in South Africa," and "Machinists support South African labor" appeared most frequently. A few linked opposition to the Nicaraguan *contras* with support to the South African freedom fighters.

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, addressed the rally. Kirkland stated, "We will hear from a leader of the South African

labor movement about their struggle against apartheid and the economic exploitation on which it is based. We want them to know that they are not alone, that we stand at their side."

Loud applause greeted James Mndaweni, president of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA). CUSA is an all-Black union federation affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Mndaweni drew cheers when he stated, "CUSA calls for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners." He urged a continued campaign to put economic pressure on the apartheid government.

Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers of America, stressed the international boycott of Shell Oil products as the focus for anti-apartheid action.

A Shell "discredit" card was distributed to rally participants to be signed and collected at the rally's close.

## ANC leader tours Bay Area

BY ADJUA CODJOE  
AND DEBORAH LIATOS

OAKLAND, Calif. — Solly Simelane, a member of the African National Congress UN mission, toured the Northern California Bay Area for more than two weeks last month. The tour was sponsored by the Northern California Conference of the United Church of Christ.

A broad coalition was formed to build the tour.

Hundreds heard Simelane throughout the Bay Area. He addressed labor unions, city councils, and religious and community groups. At a reception held at University of California Berkeley that was cosponsored by the UC student body and the City of Berkeley, Mayor Gus Newport presented him with a proclamation in honor of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

The Labor Committee of the Bay Area Free South Africa Movement hosted two receptions for the ANC representative.

Simelane expressed gratitude to the Bay Area anti-apartheid activists: "The racist regime is using its

army, informers, and security police to crush our struggle. Our struggle is growing in consciousness throughout South Africa, including the white community.

"Our people," he said, "are proving by the millions that we will continue to struggle, no matter how difficult."

"You of the international community have aided and advanced our struggle. We continue to urge you to continue to come out in your thousands, to link the struggle for justice and peace internationally."

"Our people, young and old, will not be fragmented by the ferocious offensive of the enemy; they will continue with courage and determination to fight for the liberation of our country, for the liberation of Namibia until victory is achieved."

## Portland students protest U.S. ties with South Africa

BY LISA HICKLER

PORTLAND, Ore. — Students from several area colleges here rallied and marched to protest U.S. ties to South African apartheid. The April 4 action was part of National Divestment Protest Day, which was called by the American Committee on Africa on the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King. About 200 protesters marched from Portland State University past City Hall and then picketed the IBM Products Center.

The students released a statement pointing out the role of IBM in the "Botha regime's genocidal policy toward South Africa's black majority."

They continued their picket all afternoon outside the IBM Products Center, closing the office for most of the afternoon. Inside, 12 protesters staged a sit-in. At 4:00 p.m. police hauled off the protesters, who were cited for trespassing.

The rally was organized by student groups at Portland State, Reed College, and Lewis and Clark College, which have been working for several years to force their colleges to divest from corporations doing business in South Africa.

# Minn. campaign rally: solidarity with Nicaragua, P-9

BY BILL ARTH

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Solidarity with the strike of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 and opposition to Washington's war moves in Central America and against Libya were the themes at an April 6 Socialist Workers Party election campaign rally. Geoff Mirelowitz, the 1986 SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota, was joined on the platform by a group of fighters and political activists.

Alan Dale, a member of the Central America Coalition, linked the recent U.S. provocations against Libya with the efforts to step up funding for the *contra* terrorists in Nicaragua. "We need to build a social movement of all different political viewpoints of all social forces who stand against this policy. We can put a brake on the U.S. war drive in Central America and against Libya," he said.

Guillermo Da Paz, speaking for the revolutionary movement in El Salvador, gave an update on the situation in his country. He noted that since the Duarte regime came to power, there has been growing opposition to the government's austerity measures.

Janice Dorlaie, a member of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), spoke on the importance of the P-9 strike for the labor movement and the Black community. "The P-9 struggle to me is one of the most catalytic programs of op-

position that we have seen in this country in over 20 years," she said. "This union mustered the strength to say 'Hell no, we are not going to take this shit anymore.'"

"Because racism permeates this society," she continued, "there has been an element in the view of Black workers that white workers don't struggle as hard. Those of us in NBIPP are struggling to get Black trade unionists to get to Austin."

Dorlaie was forced to remain seated while making her remarks because of a broken leg she suffered while on the picket line in Austin last month.

Dan Pedersen, a member of Local P-9, reported on a recent trip to Mobile and Birmingham, Alabama, to win support for the strike. He described one union official's response, who said, "You have to quit fighting so you can fight another day."

Pedersen said he answered back, "When is that day going to come? When every union in the country is busted?"

In spite of the attack on the strike by the top leadership of the UFCW International, Pedersen said, "locals all over the country are still coming through with support."

"1986 has been a bad year for U.S.-sponsored tyrants," Mirelowitz began, referring to Haiti and the Philippines. "Washington is trying to regain the offensive by the attack on Libya. One of the aims of this attack is to demonstrate that U.S. military might will be used against

any people who disagree with imperialism. It is aimed at Nicaragua especially, where the biggest challenge to imperialist domination is posed."

Turning to the offensive against living standards and rights of working people in the United States, Mirelowitz pointed to the refusal of the government to take action to end the debt crisis facing working farmers by enacting a moratorium. "Our answer," he said, "is the debt is unpayable and must be cancelled."

"There's only one answer to the individual devastation that is the product of capitalism," Mirelowitz continued. "The only answer is solidarity. At the forefront of our campaign is the call for solidarity with P-9. This strike is about much more than winning a decent contract. It is a fight over the right to organize a strike that can win and to use the union as a tool for struggle against the bosses. We promise to continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with P-9 and all other supporters."

"What happens in Austin is infinitely more important than whether a Democrat, Rudy Perpich, or a Republican, David Jennings, sits in the governor's chair," concluded Mirelowitz.

Marty Knaeble from the Young Socialist Alliance ended the rally by urging young people who want to effectively fight for a better world to join the YSA.

More than \$1,400 was raised to help fund the SWP campaign.



Militant/Tom Jaax  
Socialist Workers Party candidate Geoff Mirelowitz unloading union-donated food for striking meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota. "At forefront of our campaign is call for solidarity with P-9," he says.



# Thousands of Nicaraguans protest U.S. wars

Continued from front page

Thousands of peasants brandishing machetes came from outlying areas to join marchers in Jinotega, Estelí, Matagalpa, and Rivas.

One of the biggest marches, 30,000-strong, was organized in León.

Humberto Gutiérrez, organization secretary of the CST in León, told the *Militant* that the mobilization there was combined with educational meetings in workplaces during the week before the march. The CST organized 150 meetings and 48 general assemblies in their 56 local unions, he said. Workers discussed the attacks on Libya and the \$100 million proposed for the U.S.-backed mercenaries.

"We say to our government that if [the U.S.] government is declaring war on us, we want more and better arms," Gutiérrez explained. "The *contras* are getting ground-to-air missiles, and we should get more sophisticated weapons, too."

Speakers at many rallies called for more arms and more military training. (Hundreds of thousands of Nicaragua's workers and peasants are already armed and organized by the army, militias, reserves, and peasant self-help cooperatives. Some speakers and individual workers stressed the need to incorporate women in the defense in greater numbers, including in special units in the army and the reserves.)

Here in Managua, workers marched in contingents from their factories late in the afternoon of April 16 to a rally in the center of the industrial district. Many workers wore their militia or reserve uniforms. A large number of women participated, especially from textile plants. Many marchers were young; the Sandinista Youth led most of the chants.

Some marchers carried hand-lettered signs reading: "Three million Nicaraguans



Largest trade union federation in Nicaragua, Sandinista Workers Federation, organized demonstrations to protest U.S. government aid to *contras*. Here, a previous demonstration of union members protesting U.S. military build-up in Honduras.

will defeat your \$100 million," "Libya will win," "Nicaragua will survive," and "United we will win."

Some 10,000 workers and high school students gathered around a speakers' platform formed by placing two Coca-Cola delivery trucks back-to-back across the road. They were addressed by a young army volunteer; Lucio Jiménez, CST general secretary; and María Ramírez, president of the Federation of Secondary Students.

"We, the students, are going to ask the Sandinista Front to propose new ways to integrate us in the defense," Ramírez said. Many male students were already in the army, she explained. But new steps could be taken. "For example, to organize special

combat units, made up primarily of women, in defense of the capital," she said.

"The same with the people's militias," said Ramírez. "The working class and the students must unite to fight the aggression."

Simultaneously, other students, government workers, and members of CDSes were also rallying in other parts of the city. All the marchers converged at the Plaza of the Non-Aligned Movement.

There, Carlos Carrión, FSLN political secretary for the Managua region, told the crowd that the bombing of Libya was meant "to send a message that at any moment [the U.S. government] could also bomb Nicaragua." The discussion in Congress also "sends us a message," he explained. "The U.S. government is determined to destroy the revolution."

This situation "marks the difference between yesterday and today" for Nicaragua, he said. Nicaraguans are going to confront enormous difficulties in the war and with the economy, Carrión explained. They'll

have to work harder and fight harder to defend their homeland and their freedom. The crowd responded with chants of "People's power!" and "One single army!"

"There are no middle positions in this battle," Carrión said. "Either you are with the people, with the nation, with the defense of the revolution, or you are with Ronald Reagan and the enemies of the people."

Carrión urged the demonstrators to go on an educational campaign to explain the difficult situation facing the country and the tasks it poses.

"We must convince those who have not yet been convinced. And those who are going to run away, let them run," he concluded to applause.

Carrión also urged the marchers to continue their demonstration and to organize house-to-house educational discussions. An immediate goal is to build a massive turnout for the CST-called May Day rallies planned all over Nicaragua. FSLN leaders are predicting at least 150,000 at the Managua rally alone for May Day.

## Harvard students sue gov't over right to hear PLO rep

Harvard law students and a law professor have filed suit against the State Department for depriving them of the right to hear the viewpoint of the Palestine Liberation Organization in debate.

A motion filed in federal district court in Boston April 2 asked that the State Department be barred from denying a United Nations representative of the PLO the right to travel to Boston, or elsewhere in the country, to present his views.

The action was taken by Prof. Alan Dershowitz, the Harvard Law School Forum, a student group; and Brad Roth, a student acting on behalf of students at the school.

The suit said the State Department had refused to allow Zuhdi Labib Terzi, the PLO's UN observer for the past decade, to

go to Boston for a scheduled debate with Prof. Dershowitz on the issue, "Prospects for Peace in the Middle East."

State Department regulations prohibit the PLO representative from traveling more than 25 miles outside New York City without authorization. It has permitted such travel for vacations or social functions, but has vetoed his requests to go beyond the travel limit to participate in political discussion on the Mideast.

The Harvard complainants charge that the travel ban violates their constitutional right to hear the scheduled debate.

They say Terzi is ready to do the debate this spring if allowed to travel.

Secretary of State George Shultz is the named defendant.

## Meeting lauds anti-imperialist Middle East news magazine

BY STEVE CRAINE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) celebrated its 15th year in existence with a well-attended anniversary banquet here on April 5.

The group was founded in 1970 and, since 1971, has been publishing *MERIP Reports*, a magazine of news and analysis

of Middle East politics. With the first issue of this year, the magazine's name was changed to *MERIP Middle East Report*.

The fund-raising banquet was sold out, with more than 200 in attendance.

In addition to recognizing the contribution made by MERIP to better understanding of the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of the Middle East, the event honored four other individuals, selected by the MERIP Collective, for their efforts on behalf of justice in that region of the world.

Eqbal Ahmad, a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington and a longtime antiwar activist, received one of the MERIP awards. Another award went to J. Richard Butler, director of Church World Service, who has worked in relief programs for Palestinian refugees since 1960.

Noted French scholar of Islam and the Arab world, Maxime Rodinson, was honored at the banquet also. He is the author of several important books on the Middle East including *Islam and Capitalism* and *Israel: A Colonial Settler State?*

After being presented with his award, Rodinson commented that despite occasional differences of opinion, he and MERIP, along with others, stand on the same side in the battle against "those who defend the rich and powerful." "This is fundamental," he said, "and on this question we should all be fundamentalists."

The last person honored was Saud al-Sabah, a Kuwaiti woman active in support of human rights, who was a leader of the fight for women's right to vote in Kuwait. She was not able to attend the dinner.

Readers interested in subscribing to *MERIP Middle East Report* may write to MERIP, Room 518, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115. A one-year subscription is \$18.

## 'IP' interviews British activist on Ireland

The continued British colonial occupation of Northern Ireland has spurred not only a bitter struggle for freedom among the Irish people, but also a movement within Britain for withdrawal from Ireland.

The upcoming, May 5 *Intercontinental Press* features an interview with a prominent activist in that movement, Martin Collins.

Collins is editor of *Labour and Ireland* and a leader of the Labour Committee on Ireland, a group within the British Labour Party. He has also edited the book *Ireland After Britain*, a compilation of writings by figures in the Labour Party, the Irish nationalist organization Sinn Féin, and other groups. Collins recently completed a speaking tour of the United States.

In the *IP* interview, Collins discusses various aspects of the situation in Ireland today, especially the British government's efforts to suppress the struggle for a free and united Ireland. This has included both military means and diplomatic maneuvers like the recent Anglo-

Irish Accord.

The 1981 hunger strike by Irish nationalist prisoners in the north greatly boosted the solidarity movement in Britain, Collins notes. This has grown within the trade unions and has prompted the leadership of the Labour Party to come out in support of Irish reunification.

*Intercontinental Press* is a biweekly that carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Europe to Oceania and from the Middle East to Central America — than we have room for in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

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# Governors of Mass., Maine, Vt. refuse to send National Guard units to Honduras

BY HARRY RING

Reflecting the continuing opposition to the Central Americanization of the U.S. war against Nicaragua, several governors have refused to send National Guard units to participate in the ongoing U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras.

The governors of Massachusetts, Maine, and Vermont have refused to send state Guard units, which they command, and several other states are considering doing the same.

"Basically, I don't believe Honduras is a very safe place to train," said Gov. Joseph Brennan of Maine. "Secondly, I personally do not happen to agree with our Central American policy. I think we're inching our way into another Vietnam."

The governor said that mail from Maine residents ran three-to-one in favor of his decision.

And in Massachusetts a spokesperson

for Gov. Michael Dukakis said, "These are citizen-soldiers, and they ought not to be placed in a potentially dangerous situation on allegedly friendly training exercises."

Vermont Gov. Madeline Kunin said Washington should respect self-determination in Central America.

In Washington, a spokesperson for the National Guard admitted there is dissension on the issue.

"Many states are looking at it on a case-by-case basis," he said. "Some have put restrictions on — no large units or no combat-oriented units — but they might say fine for a medical unit."

In Arizona, Washington, New York, Kansas, and Texas, questions have been raised, or conditions placed on sending Guard members. In Iowa and Oregon, the issue is a subject of dispute between the governor and the legislature.



U.S. troops land for maneuvers in Honduras in 1983. Troops have been rotated to cover up expansion of U.S. military base there. In escalation of U.S. war on Nicaragua, they recently ferried Honduran troops to border area *contras* use to attack Nicaragua.

In New York, where the Guard has not yet been called for Honduras duty, an aid to Gov. Mario Cuomo said the governor "wouldn't want to see our Guard troops used to further federal policies in Nicaragua."

Last April, 400 members of the Texas National Guard were sent to Honduras to

join in the maneuvers. This evoked a public protest, and a coalition of forces opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America held a press conference assailing the move.

Apparently as a result of the protest, Gov. Mark White felt moved to make a trip to Honduras, briefly donned borrowed combat fatigues, and inspect the troops. He said he was reassured to find they were being trained in a "remote" part of Honduras.

## Nicaraguan rice workers discuss tasks

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Rice workers from throughout Nicaragua met here in February to discuss their experiences and problems in 1985 and economic plans for 1986. The meeting was organized by the Association of Farm Workers (ATC).

The 100 delegates were workers and technicians from private and state-owned rice plantations. Half of Nicaragua's rice production is in the hands of private landlords, and half is organized by the state.

The meeting began with the presentation of a written report by the ATC leadership. They pointed out that rice workers were doing their share in defending the country: 2,200 are now in the army, the militias, the reserves, or local vigilance groups, and 21 rice workers have died fighting the U.S.-organized *contras*.

The report said they had made progress in increasing productivity in 1984 and 1985. After the revolution, with the end of the repression suffered by farm workers under the Somoza dictatorship, many workers stopped working a full day. Others were drawn into political organizing and defense tasks. This led to a drastic decrease in the number of hours worked per day. In 1984, the report said, they raised the average to four hours a day and in 1985, to five hours.

The report also called for greater incentive payments to encourage skilled workers and technicians not to leave the rice plantations for other areas of work.

A representative of the Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform (MIDINRA) explained that rice production had increased from 60,000 tons before the 1979 revolution to 100,000 tons in 1985. However, he said, Nicaragua needs at least 125,000 tons to be self-sufficient in rice. Many people who could not afford rice before the revolution now eat it regularly, so demand has increased faster than production.

A large amount of rice goes to feed the soldiers and militias mobilized in defense of Nicaragua against the *contras*, the agrarian reform representative said. Another large part has to be exported to help pay for vital imports of machinery, spare parts, medicines, and other products not made in Nicaragua.

The rice production fell below the goals set for 1985, he reported. The state farms met 84 percent of their goal, while privately owned farms met only 76 percent of their goal.

The shortfall of rice production means the government has had to ration rice to guarantee that everyone gets some at a low price. In Nicaragua, rice, sugar, cooking oil, soap, and salt are sold in rationed

amounts through neighborhood distribution centers to help guarantee the minimum needs of the workers and peasants.

Because rice production in late 1985 and early 1986 fell below the target amounts, the government had to reduce the monthly ration from four pounds per person to three pounds, said the MIDINRA representative. This underscored the importance of rice workers helping take steps to increase output.

Farm Workers General Secretary Edgardo García then asked the workers to take the floor and raise the problems they face and any solutions they had to propose.

Many workers noted the lack of spare parts, worn-out machinery, and shortages of seed and fertilizer. This made it difficult to meet production goals. Workers from privately owned farms, especially, complained about lack of attention by the managers to supply and repairs.

Another problem often raised was a lack of transportation — both to get workers to the farms each day and to bring in supplies and ship out the rice. Several delegates, from both state farms and private enterprises, complained that managers and administrators were using vehicles for personal purposes, at the expense of the farms' production needs.

Other delegates raised the shortage of farm workers due to the need to mobilize many into the army and militias and the fact that some farm workers have decided to take advantage of the country's agrarian reform and get their own land to farm.

A worker from the San Benito corporation, a large, privately owned rice company, reported that the managers were allowing almost all the tractors and harvesters to fall into disrepair. He also said they did not supply enough food for the farm workers or sufficient transportation to bring the workers to their jobs each day.

"If you guarantee food and transportation," the worker asserted, "we will guarantee production."

He also said that he thought that women who worked on the farms were not being paid fairly and called for a revision of the wage structure to correct this.

ATC head García took the floor to explain that workers must take responsibility for leading on the question of production. "We should not be just people who work," he said, "but take responsibility as part of the working class to meet the economic goals of 1986."

García reminded them that the Nicaraguan government was prioritizing funds for social development in the countryside, but that with the high cost of defending Nicaragua against the U.S.-paid mercenaries, there were no guarantees as to how much

could be done this year.

García also addressed the low level of productivity in the countryside. He told the delegates that they had to set a norm of at least six hours working time per working day. They had to take the lead in setting the official norms for amount of production expected for each operation per day. This is part of the national system of wages, which seeks to make wage rates uniform throughout the country and to stimulate production by paying bonuses to workers who exceed the established norms.

García added that he thought the ATC should reassess the wages paid to women farm workers as part of this process.

He explained that a new structure of the ATC unions, which will unite manual and mechanical workers and technicians in one organization, will facilitate working out organizational and production problems on the farms.

The ATC and the workers have a long way to go to produce more efficiently, García said. Members should take the ideas and perspectives from this meeting and meet again in a national assembly in November to evaluate their progress, he concluded.

## Atlantic Coast Indian villages attacked by Miskito *contras*

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Clashes between the Sandinista People's Army and the Miskito armed units that reject a cease-fire with the Nicaraguan government took place on the Río Coco in Northern Zelaya Province in late March.

Details of the current situation on the river were reported at a news conference here April 2 by Douglas Guerrero, of the regional committee of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Northern Zelaya.

On March 15, said Guerrero, 200 members of the armed Miskito group known as Pro-War KISAN entered the villages of Bilwaskarma, Wasla, and Kum, on the Nicaraguan side of the river. They forced 2,500 Miskito residents to cross over into Honduran territory, including many youth, with the intention of recruiting them into the KISAN military units.

Beginning on March 25, battles occurred on the river between the Pro-War KISAN forces and Sandinista troops. Guerrero said two Sandinista soldiers were killed and 16 wounded. Losses were greater among the Pro-War KISAN troops. There was no further fighting after March 28, he said.

Earlier in March, FSLN leaders warned of a CIA-organized plan to attack the river communities in order to open up a new war front for Washington's mercenaries and break down the cease-fire and dialogue that has been established with many of the Miskito armed units. (See April 4 *Militant*).

Reynaldo Reyes, Miskito leader of the group Pro-Peace KISAN, also spoke at the news conference. Pro-Peace KISAN is made up of armed Miskitos who have established cease-fires with the Sandinistas and are working with them to preserve peace in Northern Zelaya.

Reyes denounced the kidnapping of Río Coco residents by Pro-War KISAN. He reported that Miskitos are organizing a May 17 mass meeting in Northern Zelaya, to which all residents of the Atlantic Coast will be invited. The purpose of the assembly is to discuss how to advance the project for regional government autonomy on the Coast.

Also appearing at the news conference was Hazel Law, an FSLN deputy in the National Assembly and a prominent Miskito leader. She issued a statement against U.S. military aid to the mercenaries.



# Farmers in central province of Masaya demand land

This week, the *Militant* begins a new column, "Notes from Nicaragua" prepared by our Managua bureau. The column will appear from time to time, along with the regular news stories and features written by our correspondents in Nicaragua.

"Notes from Nicaragua" will round up the activities of the workers and peasants and their mass organizations in the countryside and the cities, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast. The column will carry reports on how the U.S.-backed mercenary war is affecting different regions of the country, and on how the Sandinista revolution is confronting social and economic problems, as well as including cultural notes. We hope our readers send in their comments.

Waving placards listing the names of big landlords, hundreds of poor peasants and farm workers demonstrated in Masaya Province in the month of March. They were demanding that the government give them title to large private farms where the land is underutilized.

Juan Galán, president of the National

## NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) in Region IV, where Masaya is located, estimated that 20,000 peasant families in the region want land.

The peasants are calling on the government to implement the nation's new land-reform law rapidly so they can get land before the next harvest begins. Under the new law, restrictions have been lifted on the size of properties that can be taken over by the state and distributed to poor peasants.

Peasants already organized into cooperatives have been taking the lead in organizing others to press for land. The Camilo Ortega Cooperative, for example, is backing the struggle of peasants on the privately owned El Encanto farm. There, the peasants still work as sharecroppers, turning over part of their harvest to the landlord in exchange for the use of some land.

UNAG has proposed a list of 21 firms in the Masaya area that should be taken over and parceled out to peasants. In addition, it is encouraging peasants to move to Malacatoya, northeast of Masaya, where the government is making land available. This will not settle all the demands for land, according to Galán. "We will resolve the most serious cases and leave pending for the future those that are less pressing," he said.

The Association of Rural Workers



Militant/Bill Gretter

Proclaiming new national agrarian reform law last January in Masaya. Minister of Agrarian Reform Jaime Wheelock presents AK-47 rifle and land title to peasant. Some 20,000 peasants of Masaya now demand further implementation of new law.

(ATC), Nicaragua's farm workers' union, has published a new pamphlet titled "Revolution and Women of the Countryside." It takes up Nicaragua's land reform and its impact on rural women's lives, the conditions of women wage workers in the countryside, the involvement of rural women in social and political activities, and the challenges that remain in emancipating Nicaraguan women.

In an introduction to the pamphlet, ATC General Secretary Edgardo García states, "The ATC and all the unions have to work in the direction of responding to the historic demands of the workers, and specifically women workers, against exploitation and isolation."

Twelve men captured for conspiring to plant bombs were presented to reporters in the city of León, in the cotton-producing Pacific area of Nicaragua, on March 24. According to Capt. Vicente Chávez, regional head of State Security, the terrorists' plan was to carry out acts of sabotage and murder to create a sense of instability in the region and to encourage the U.S. Congress to approve military aid to Washington's mercenaries.

The men brought before the press were mainly peasants or farm workers. Several were also evaders of Nicaragua's draft. The ringleader, Róger Pérez, explained to reporters that he had taken a boat to El Salvador in order to avoid the draft. When he landed, Salvadoran military personnel recruited him to work for U.S.-financed mercenaries of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). In addition to planting explo-

sives on bridges, the terrorist gang had been assigned to assassinate revolutionary families in the northern port of Potosí. They were also told to organize Nicaraguans to take AK-47s to El Salvador in order to fabricate a story of "Sandinista arms smuggling" to the liberation fighters in that neighboring country.

Division Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa, head of the Group of Cuban Military Specialists working in Nicaragua, was honored at a special ceremony in Managua on March 8. The gathering was a tribute to Ochoa, who is returning to Cuba. He has been replaced in Nicaragua by Cuban Brigade Gen. Néstor López Cuba. Participating in the ceremony were Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, and Vice-minister of the Interior Luis Carrión.

Hundreds of representatives of Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs) from around the country met with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega and other government leaders on March 22 in Managua. The CDSs are the neighborhood committees responsible for dealing with community needs and organizing block-by-block defense patrols.

Ortega urged the CDS members to lay the problems of their communities on the table. "All the problems we have are in the context of the pressure of the [U.S.] aggression," he said, "but that doesn't mean that we can't distinguish between those problems directly or indirectly caused by

the aggression, and those that stem from the failures of the government or of the organized people."

The main demands raised by local CDS leaders were for better supplies of consumer goods and a clearer explanation of the current economic situation from the Ministry of Internal Commerce; for solutions to the housing crisis, especially in regions where there are a lot of war refugees; and for more public works projects, especially to supply potable water and build health clinics.

The Estelí CDS representative called for more help from the Sandinista police to combat juvenile delinquency. National Police Chief Doris Tijerino responded to this, stating that the police should be used only as "the last resort" in dealing with social problems in the community. She called on the CDSs and Sandinista Youth — in collaboration with the police — to take on more responsibility for solving juvenile delinquency.

CDS speakers from the port of Corinto, where many foreign shipments arrive, delivered a blistering attack on those ministries that allow much-needed cargos of supplies to sit on the docks instead of promptly picking them up.

In Bluefields, the prominent artist June Beer died on March 14. A popular figure in the Atlantic Coast town, and an internationally known primitivist painter, Beer concentrated on capturing the everyday life of *costeño* working people, especially Creoles. Her painting "Black Sandino" won several awards.

## Minnesota: 2,500 protest U.S. gov't aid to contras

BY ALAN WEISBOND

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Some 2,500 people gathered at the State Capitol in St. Paul March 23 to protest U.S. government plans to provide an additional \$100 million in aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

The evening's activities began with a commemorative service for slain Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero. It was held at the Cathedral of St. Paul. From there a march was held, heading to the capitol where speakers denounced President Reagan's war on the Nicaraguan people and his attacks on workers and farmers in this country.

Bobbi Polzine, a leader of the farm protest group Groundswell, addressed the crowd. She compared the situation of farmers in Nicaragua to that of farmers in this country. In Nicaragua, she said, "Those peasants fought to get their land back and now the land is going back to the people. Titles are being handed over to the peasants."

In the United States, Polzine said, "Reagan's policies will be responsible for removing another million farmers, taking their land. In Nicaragua he's killing peasants and in this country the peasants despair and kill themselves. Let's use that \$100 million for farms not arms," Polzine concluded.

Carlos Maybeth Guerrero, a Miskito Indian who works with the Indigenous World Association, spoke next. He said of the people of the Atlantic Coast region of Nicaragua and Honduras: "My people, the Miskitos, Sumos, and Ramas, don't want any sort of military aid because that military aid only contributes to destroying peoples' lives." He explained that what Miskitos need is food, schools, hospitals, and better transportation.

Pete Winkels, the business agent for the UFCW local that is waging a bitter strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, brought greetings from the strikers. People in Central America, he said, "Don't want arms and bullets. They want food, they want a future, they want land, not for graves, but to farm. The people that are suffering are the people that are suffering in this country, the farmers, the laborers."

"You don't see any rich people dying down there just like you don't see too many of them going down around here," he concluded.

Kitty Duma, a native of South Africa and secretary of Perspectives on Southern Africa, also spoke. "Many of you may not know, but the Reagan administration is involved in another contra war in Angola," she said, referring to U.S. support for Jonas Savimbi, who heads the South Afri-

can-backed terrorist group UNITA that is trying to overthrow the government of Angola.

Guillermo de Paz, the Midwest representative for the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, was the final speaker. "It is your government today that is asking for \$100 million for 'freedom fighters' in Nicaragua," he said, using Reagan's term for the *contras*. These are the same kind of "freedom fighters" as in El Salvador, de Paz explained, the ones who have received over \$2 billion in military and economic aid from Washington and have killed 70,000 people and forced a

million more to flee the country. "This is what Reagan wants the *contras* to do in Nicaragua," de Paz concluded.

The rally unanimously passed a resolution demanding that Washington use the \$100 million ticketed for the *contras* to fund social programs in this country.

The memorial service and rally were sponsored by the Central America Coalition and endorsed by the Minnesota Education Association, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2822, United Electrical Workers Local 1139, Women Against Military Madness, Socialist Workers Party, and many other organizations.

## Utah: hundreds protest war on Nicaragua

SALT LAKE CITY — About 250 people rallied outside the Federal Building here on March 22 to demonstrate their opposition to all aid for the U.S.-sponsored *contra* war against Nicaragua.

The rally, sponsored by the Central America Solidarity Coalition, was endorsed by more than 20 local organizations and prominent individuals. They included: National Lawyers Guild, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,

University of Utah Young Democrats, Coalition to Stop Apartheid, University Central America Network, National Organization for Women, the MX Information Center/Salt Lake Freeze, Socialist Workers Party, Democratic Socialists of America, Peaceworks of Cache Valley, and others.

The following weekend, on March 29, some 150 people in Logan, Utah, marched to protest U.S. aid to the *contras* and to demand an end to nuclear testing.



# End U.S. war against Libyan people now!

## Continued from front page

Libyan people to accept U.S. domination and to give up the independence they have gained since overthrowing a U.S.-supported monarchy in 1969.

In an April 15 statement to the American Business Conference, Reagan made it clear that Nicaragua — where the workers and farmers won their independence by overthrowing a U.S.-supported dictator in 1979 — is also a target of the war against Libya.

Portraying Qaddafi as an "archterrorist" for such so-called crimes as providing military aid to Nicaragua, Reagan again urged the House of Representatives to vote for open military aid to the U.S.-organized terrorists who are waging a mercenary war against Nicaragua.

And he threatened to step up the war on Libya unless the Qaddafi government changes its policies.

## Reagan claims only military targets hit

In his April 14 statement announcing the bombing of Libya, Reagan claimed, "The attacks were concentrated and carefully targeted to minimize casualties among the Libyan people, with whom we have no quarrel."

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger claimed that the targets were all "terrorist-related." "We have no idea that we killed anybody," he said.

Voice of America broadcasts to Libya left no doubt, however, that the Libyan people were the target. "We hold the Libyan people responsible for Qaddafi's actions," it declared.

Many U.S. reporters were in Tripoli when the bombing took place. Their reports exposed Reagan's and Weinberger's lies about protecting civilian lives.

Timothy Phelps, reporting from Tripoli in the April 16 *New York Newsday*, described "city blocks of destruction in an upper-class residential district."

"Rescue workers and construction crews bulldozed through the rubble of homes and apartment buildings, looking for bodies."

"One rescue worker walked to the back of his pickup truck and took out a plastic bag, from which he pulled the severed foot of a child."

A dead three-year-old girl was pulled from the wreckage of a nearby building.

The French embassy was severely damaged in the bombing. The Finnish embassy, Iranian embassy, residence of the Italian consul, Swiss ambassador's residence, and the Romanian Cultural Building were also damaged.

"And these bloody Americans say they don't hit civilian targets," Taher Mohamed Gubbia told reporters in front of his destroyed home. The *New York Times* reported that at least 15 of his neighbors had been killed.

According to the *New York Times*, the Pentagon claimed that the damage to civilian areas "could just as easily have been Libyan antiaircraft missiles and shells that rained back on the city." On CBS News, April 16, U.S. Senator Richard Lugar echoed this claim.

But the *Washington Post* noted April 16 that "western journalists in Libya reported that the damage appeared to be too widespread to come from antiaircraft missiles."

The attempt to blame Libyan casualties on Libyan antiaircraft is not an original lie. At the beginning of the Vietnam War, the Pentagon made a similar claim to explain away the thousands of civilian casualties caused by U.S. bombings of alleged "military targets" in what was then North Vietnam.

The U.S. government also attempted to cover up the fact that the Libyan antiaircraft shot down one F-111 bomber, killing two men. On April 15, Weinberger claimed not to have "any indication" that the plane had been hit, suggesting that contact had been lost because of "radio trouble." The following day the Pentagon admitted the plane had been shot down and that other pilots had seen it go down in flames.

## Most in Congress back attack

Several congressional leaders were consulted on Monday about the impending attack, but only after the warplanes had already left Britain on their way to Libya.

Most congressional leaders backed the attack on Libya. Thomas O'Neill, the

Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, was among them.

Sen. Richard Lugar, the Republican head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, claimed the attack was justified because Qaddafi is "completely off the reservation." This racist language expresses the imperialists' goal of forcing Libya, Angola, Nicaragua, Cuba, Vietnam, and other countries that have asserted their independence back onto the imperialist-controlled reservation.

Doubt and criticism were voiced by a few legislators, including Senate minority leader Robert Byrd, a Democrat, and Republican Senators Mark Hatfield and Lowell Weicker. The differences over the act of war launched against Libya reflect a broader debate among the capitalist rulers over how far and how fast to go in attempts to reimpose their will on Nicaragua, Libya, and other countries.

As has been the case in every imperialist war since World War II, the U.S. government launched war against Libya without seeking a congressional declaration as required by the U.S. constitution. The rulers fear the debate that would be spurred by seeking such a declaration, not only in Congress, but throughout the country.

In 1973, the War Powers Act was adopted. It required only that members of Congress be consulted "in every possible instance" about acts of war being carried out by the U.S. government. But Congress took no action to block the president's power to take the country to war without a debate.

## Protests around world

While most in Congress voiced support, the U.S. rulers faced criticism and opposition throughout the world. In Europe, only the British government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher supported the aggression. The Israeli and Canadian governments also voiced support.

The French and Spanish governments refused to allow Washington to use their air space to carry out the air raids, forcing the planes to take a circuitous 5,000-mile trip to and from the bases in Britain — 2,400 miles more than would have been required

had the French and Spanish governments gone along.

In India the foreign ministers of 21 countries belonging to the nonaligned movement condemned the bombings. They included the governments of Cuba, Jamaica, Egypt, Ghana, Senegal, Guyana, Nicaragua, Malawi, and others.

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi declared that the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, which he is chairman of, "extends its firm support and solidarity to Libya in this critical hour."

The group condemned the British government's "support and collaboration" in the act of aggression.

Miguel D'Escoto, Nicaragua's foreign minister, pointed out that Washington was practicing "state terrorism" in an effort to "replace the international legal order with the concept that might is right."

The Egyptian government's support to the nonaligned movement's statement was notable. Washington has put intense pressure on the Egyptian rulers in recent months to join in a U.S. invasion of Libya.

The Soviet government denounced the raid and canceled a scheduled meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The government of the People's Republic of China also criticized Washington.

Virtually all Arab governments criticized Washington's action. Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, called for an urgent meeting of Arab governments to discuss a response.

"The moment is something of a lonely one for the United States," complained a *Washington Post* editorial.

## Preparing new pretexts

The U.S. government is already preparing new pretexts for attacks on Libya. When a U.S. diplomat was shot April 15 in Khartoum, Sudan, top U.S. diplomat Vernon Walters instantly blamed the Libyan government.

The terrorism charge is sheer hypocrisy. The bombings of Libya show once again

that Washington is the biggest terrorist in the world. When some of the victims of Washington's domination seek to lash out against their oppressors by using any means available, Washington seizes on this as a pretext to justify stepping up its terror against all the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

And despite all the assertions about "indisputable proof," the U.S. rulers still have not proven that a single act of terrorism was organized by the Libyan government.

## U.S. wants friendly regime

What kind of regime is the U.S. government trying to impose on Libya? Reagan indicated that April 14 when he said, "Before Qaddafi seized power in 1969, the people of Libya had been friends of the United States."

Before 1969, the Libyan people were under the thumb of King Idris — a corrupt monarch placed on the throne by U.S., British, and French imperialism. Despite growing oil wealth, the masses lived in poverty while the imperialist oil companies, the king, and his cronies raked in the cash. Washington maintained its largest air base outside the United States in Libya, and Britain kept troops in the country.

The Libyan people began to change things in 1969 when King Idris was ousted and the Qaddafi government came to power.

British troops were forced to leave, and the U.S. air base was shut down. The country's oil wealth was used to raise wages for many workers, build housing, provide more education and medical care, and improve the living standards of most Libyans. And the Libyan government took a stand in support of many liberation struggles around the world.

The Libyan people want to remain independent of imperialism and preserve these gains. That is why they are defending their government. That is why Washington, in the words of Voice of America, "holds the Libyan people responsible for Qaddafi's actions" and has launched a bloody war against them.

# Worldwide protests hit U.S. bombing

## BY PAT GROGAN

Protests against the U.S. attack on Libya are growing throughout the world.

In Britain, the only country the United States was able to pressure into giving support and assistance in the criminal attack, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher faced an uproar when she went before the House of Commons April 15 to explain her decision.

Even some members of Thatcher's own Conservative Party criticized her action in deciding to aid the U.S. government's strike against Libya.

Tony Benn, a representative of the Labour Party, which is based on Britain's trade unions, told the stormy session that the use of British bases by the U.S. government in the attack on Libya urgently poses the question of closing all U.S. bases in Britain and demanding the withdrawal of all U.S. forces.

"As for terrorism," Benn said, "the U.S. government is the biggest terrorist in the world, with its *contras* in Nicaragua and the systematic policy of destabilizing, undermining, and in some cases attacking progressive regimes which they believe might threaten U.S. economic interests."

## Big protest meeting held

At the initiative of Lord Fenner Brockway, prominent peace campaigner, a meeting was held Tuesday night, April 15, at the House of Commons to protest Britain's complicity in the attack. In attendance at the meeting were representatives from the Campaign Group of Labour MPs (Members of Parliament), European Nuclear Disarmament, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Labor Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Campaign Against Arms Trade, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Liberation, and others.

This authoritative grouping issued a statement saying, "We utterly condemn the American attack on Libya and the use of

British bases authorized by the Prime Minister. We call for an immediate ban on all further military action, the cancellation for permission of the use of our bases, and the immediate reference of this crisis to the United Nations Security Council. We also urge all those who share these views to organize rallies and demonstrations throughout the country and to support the vigils and demonstrations in London on Saturday."

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has called for a massive protest Saturday, April 19. The demand of the action is "U.S. bases out of Britain."

A British poll has shown that 68 percent of the British people are opposed to Reagan's murderous assault on Libya and Britain's hand in it.

Norman Willis, general secretary of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), issued a statement saying that terrorism would not be eliminated by this "massive and indiscriminate use of force." He condemned the U.S. government for "taking the law into its own hands" and urged the U.S. government to make its case before the United Nations. Willis condemned the use of bases in Britain for the attack and said, "I wholly deplore Mrs. Thatcher's acquiescence in this adventure."

The TUC is the British equivalent of the AFL-CIO. It represents 9.8 million workers.

Emergency protests of hundreds of people in London, Manchester, Nottingham, and other English cities were held in immediate response.

As the *Militant* goes to press, sizable demonstrations have been reported in Spain, Austria, France, West Germany, Tunisia, and Pakistan.

Some 10,000 people demonstrated in Khartoum, Sudan, denouncing the United States.

In Italy, more than 100,000 people rallied in Rome and 80 other cities, demand-

ing, "Yankee go home" and "NATO get out of Italy."

More than 50,000 people marched on the U.S. embassy in Athens, Greece, April 15 chanting, "Hands off Libya now," "Americans out of the Mediterranean," and "Out with the bases and the Americans," referring to the four U.S. military bases in Greece. The protest was called by the Greek Student Federation, both of Greece's two communist parties, and several trade unions.

## Emergency protests in U.S.

In the United States, emergency protests were held in a number of cities.

In Los Angeles, 800 demonstrators gathered April 15 for a previously called action against U.S. aid to the *contras*. They cheered loudly as Hugh Byrnes, a spokesperson for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and Blaise Bonpane, director of the Office of the Americas, condemned the bombing of Libya and Reagan's policies in the Middle East.

In Washington, D.C., activists from the Washington Peace Center, SANE, the Coalition against the U.S. War in Nicaragua, and the People's Anti-War Mobilization responded with two picket lines at the White House of about 100 people each. They chanted, "Stop the bombing, stop the war, from Libya to El Salvador."

Four hundred antiwar and solidarity activists marched at the Federal Building in downtown Minneapolis, and 50 people joined a picket line in Detroit.

In New York City, the Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Libya held an action April 15 outside a military recruiting station in midtown Manhattan. More than 400 people joined the action. They chanted, "Hands off Libya," "The real terrorists in the world today are Reagan and the CIA," and "No to contra aid, no to Libyan raid."



# Pakistanis demand end to Zia dictatorship

## Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto heads procession of half million people



Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan April 10 and was greeted by demonstration of several hundred thousand.

BY MALIK MIAH

Nearly half a million people joined a 38-mile procession through the Pakistani countryside April 12 led by Benazir Bhutto, main opposition leader against the military dictatorship of Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, president of that impoverished country of 100 million.

During the procession the 33-year-old Bhutto said, "I have come to bring you freedom and democracy." The crowd chanted "Benazir, Benazir!" and "Zia is a dog!" Effigies of Zia were burned.

Others chanted "Hang Zia, hang Reagan!" The U.S. government has been a strong backer of the brutal Zia regime. The Reagan administration recently agreed to provide Pakistan with more than \$4 billion in aid, nearly half of it military, over six years. Zia's support to the Afghan rightists seeking to topple the Afghanistan government is viewed favorably by Washington.

Pakistanis believe Zia could not survive without U.S. government support.

Benazir Bhutto is the daughter of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was overthrown by Zia in 1977. Zia later executed Bhutto in 1979 on the charge of conspiracy for the 1974 murder of an opponent.

Benazir Bhutto herself has spent most of the last nine years in exile or under detention in Pakistan. Her younger brother, Shahnawaz, died mysteriously in France last summer. She charged he was assassinated by order of Zia. Shahnawaz was planning to return to Pakistan to help organize the opposition.

Bhutto returned to Pakistan on April 10 from London and was greeted by a massive demonstration of several hundred thousand in Lahore. It was the largest antigovernment demonstration in the nearly nine years of Zia's military rule.

At that demonstration the crowd shouted, "Zia out. Zia must go!" Bhutto responded by saying, "The time has come to be united and push out the dictator who has ruled us for these nine years."

The next day at a press conference calling for Zia's ouster and new elections, she said, "If it was our intention to have a changeover with bloodshed, if it was our intention to have a changeover with burning of property and with the loss of lives, we could have done that."

At the Lahore rally Bhutto made a link between the struggle for restoration of democracy in Pakistan with the fall of the

Marcos and Duvalier dictatorships. "Marcos is gone, the president of Haiti is gone, and now another dictator must go."

In an attempt to win international backing for the corrupt regime, Zia appointed a civilian government and ended martial law Dec. 30, 1985, although he remains head of the army and has wide powers.

So far the regime has refused to listen to the opposition's demands. Zia's response to Bhutto's return was to question the opposition's sanity and pledge the government's determination to maintain law and order.

"There should be no violence and it [the opposition] should not create a law-and-order situation and must be kept to a limit which we want to maintain," said Zia. He added that the rallies must not "transcend the borders of sanity."

His handpicked prime minister, Mohammed Khan Junejo, said the opposition rallies proved that democracy exists in Pakistan. But he added that no elections will occur before 1990. "The political parties," he claimed, "have no reason to campaign for the elections, as they are four years away."

The last elections were held in February 1985. But none of the main opposition parties participated because of undemocratic restrictions imposed on them by the regime. The Pakistan People's Party, which is led by Bhutto, and the broader 11-party Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, have not been legalized since they refused to agree to the government's demand that they not criticize the military and the way the regime has "Islamized" the country.

The opposition leaders, like most Pakistanis, are Muslims, but reject Zia's use of Islam to justify his dictatorship.

The size of the turnout for Bhutto's return and her march through the countryside indicate that the regime is on shaky ground. While Bhutto says, "I have not come here to take revenge," the mood among workers, peasants, and other opponents of the dictatorship is for some fundamental change — and soon.

## New Orleans Blacks win cop-terror suits

BY DERRICK MORRISON

NEW ORLEANS — A measure of justice was finally achieved for residents of the Algiers section of this city's Black community when the city government agreed to pay more than \$3 million in an out-of-court settlement of suits charging police brutality and murder.

The lawsuits stemmed from a reign of police terror in November 1980 after a cop, Gregory Neupert, was killed in an Algiers neighborhood over an alleged drug deal in which four Blacks were killed.

According to residents' descriptions of police behavior to this reporter at the time, the U.S. Constitution had been, in effect, suspended in the city of New Orleans. Police stormed through the community, kicking in doors and searching and dispersing people on the streets. Residents were rounded up and taken down to police headquarters for questioning, beatings, and outright sessions of torture to exact "confessions."

This five-day episode of terror and repression culminated the morning of November 13 when groups of heavily armed police raided two homes and shot to death Sherry Singleton, Reginald Myles, and James Billy, Jr. People throughout the city called it the "Algiers massacre."

A fourth Black was also killed. Raymond Ferdinand was shot down two days before the massacre.

"My mother was in the tub screaming and screaming, and her eye came out." That is what Cornell Singleton, who was four years old at that time, told Mary Singleton Byrd, Sherry's sister. He witnessed the police killing of his mother as she pleaded, "Please don't shoot. Please don't shoot!"

This quote in the *Times-Picayune* of April 12 points to the chief reason the city administration of Mayor Dutch Morial wanted an out-of-court settlement: had

there been a trial, it would have exposed police violence and the cover-up that came after.

Of several police charged with civil rights violations, three are now serving five-year sentences in federal prison. The others got off; none were charged or convicted for the murder of these four innocent Blacks.

Of the 16 Algiers residents who filed suit, four are children who lost a parent at the hands of the police.

According to the April 2 *Times-Picayune*, Cornell Singleton got the biggest settlement, \$800,000. Johnny

Brownlee and Robert Davis, who charged the police with torturing them to implicate Billy and Myles, got \$775,000 and \$475,000 respectively. Billy's daughter and wife got \$450,000 collectively, and the children of Ferdinand got \$412,500.

The city government also agreed to pay all of the attorneys' fees of the plaintiffs.

The settlements were a victory for Algiers residents and those who fought against this particular case of cop terror. Deep feelings remain in the New Orleans Black community that those involved should have been tried for murder.

## 'Nicaraguans are working people, like us'

BY DAVID SANDOR

SALT LAKE CITY — "The U.S. government is guilty of state-sponsored terrorism against Nicaragua," declared Scott Breen, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. House of Representatives from Utah's 2nd Congressional District. Breen, 34, held a news conference here March 20 to denounce the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua and the Reagan administration's proposal to send military aid openly to the *contras*.

Washington, Breen said, "funds and directs a mercenary army led by dictator Somoza's military officers. They attack civilians. They kidnap, rape, assassinate, and mutilate. This monstrous crime must be stopped."

Breen described visiting Nicaragua last December. "What I saw was a very popular workers' and farmers' government that has provided jobs, education, free health care, land, and real freedom to workers and farmers for the first time in their lives. The truth is that the Nicaraguans are working people like ourselves, struggling for a decent life against the same corporations that put profits before human needs in this country."

"And they want peace with us. They are no threat to me or any other working person in the United States; not now, not tomorrow, not ever. Instead of attacking Nicaragua, we should provide them with aid to rebuild their country."

Breen is a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, who works at Amoco Oil Co. in Salt Lake City. He said he views opposition to the U.S. war in Central America as a vital part of advancing the fight against the capitalist ruling class and its government in the United States.

"The Democratic and Republican par-

ties," he said, "enforce the interests of the rich. That is why Governor Babbitt in Arizona called out the National Guard against striking copper miners and why Governor Perpich called out the Guard against Hormel workers in Minnesota."

"It's time for working people to initiate a political party of our own," he said. Breen said the need for a labor party based on a fighting union movement would be a theme of his campaign.

"A labor party would be a powerful instrument to fight for a workers' and farmers' government — one that would be as loyal to us as Reagan's government is to its

rich masters. A workers' and farmers' government would enable us to get to the root of our problems — the capitalist profit system — and to establish a society run by working people from top to bottom, a socialist society."

The news conference was covered by both daily newspapers in Salt Lake City, three television stations, and three radio stations.

On March 21, the socialist campaign began circulating nominating petitions to meet the requirements set by the state government for placing candidates on the ballot.

## San Jose socialist candidate denounces U.S. war on Libya

BY ROBERT SCAFE

SAN JOSE — The Socialist Workers Party here announced March 20 that it has nominated Greg Nelson as its candidate for mayor.

Nelson, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 2225, is making opposition to Washington's war moves in Central America and the Middle East a central focus of his campaign.

He has denounced Washington's war moves against Libya as a "calculated provocation and a murderous act of war against the people of Libya."

Nelson, a supporter of the Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutions, plans to go to Nicaragua April 26. He has challenged the other candidates to join him. "Seeing Nicaragua for yourself is one of the best ways to expose the lies that the U.S. government is using to justify a criminal war," he said.

In February Nelson went to Austin, Minnesota, scene of the Hormel strike. Since

he returned to San Jose, he has helped organize solidarity for the strikers.

"The roots of San Jose's problems are the same as the roots of the problems facing working people across the country. The capitalist government of this country serves a ruling class that benefits from war, racism, sexism, unemployment, union-busting, and declining living standards for workers and farmers. The Republican and Democratic parties serve a capitalist system that works against workers and farmers."

Nelson calls for forming a labor party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers' and farmers' government in this country that can participate in the worldwide fight for socialism.

On April 25, the day before Nelson leaves for Nicaragua, a rally will be held in support of the Socialist Workers Party mayoral campaign. It will be held at SWP campaign headquarters. (See the directory on page 20 for the address.)

## Newfoundland

Continued from Page 4

Labor Congress, NUPGE, and the Canadian Union of Public Employees are all supporting the striking NAPE workers. They are demanding that the Peckford government rescind Bill 59, withdraw the 30-day suspensions, and stop jailing unionists. NUPGE has promised financial support and nationwide demonstrations if necessary. Other unions and locals should add their support.

Telegrams should be sent to NAPE, P.O. Box 1085, St. John's, Newfoundland, A1C 5M5 [Canada]. Phone (709) 754-0700.



# International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant April 1986

## 125th anniversary of U.S. Civil War: a Marxist appraisal

BY MALIK MIAH

Just before dawn on April 12, 1861, a 10-inch mortar was shot over the ramparts of Fort Sumter, South Carolina. That shot was the first round in a 34-hour bombardment of the fort by the 5,500 troops of the Confederate States of America — the newly declared government of the wealthy plantation owners, the slavocracy. The Confederate troops were besieging the federal garrison's 85 soldiers, who finally surrendered. No one was killed.

On April 12, 1986, the U.S. National Park Service held a quiet ceremony at a spot overlooking the harbor of Charleston. It was the first in a series of anniversaries scheduled for this year, and over the next four, to commemorate the U.S. Civil War, which officially began 125 years ago that day.

Meanwhile, in Atlanta, Mayor Andrew Young, who is Black, signed a proclamation on behalf of two all-white groups, the Sons of the Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, marking April 26 as Confederate Memorial Day in that city.

In Montgomery, Alabama, the first capital of the Confederacy, nothing is planned for this year. "We are sensitive these days to doing anything that would tend to perpetuate the old stereotypes," said Alice Knierim, an official of the Alabama Department of Archives and History.

What's involved here, however, is not perpetuating "old stereotypes," but seriously studying and understanding this historic chapter of North American and world history and where it fits into the struggles of U.S. working people.

The Civil War was not a "War Between the States," as nostalgic supporters of the old Confederacy like to put it. There was nothing *at all* progressive about the Confederacy and the 300,000 slaveholders who ruled by force of arms. The obliteration of this slave-owning class was a giant step forward for humanity.

The defeat of the Confederacy marked a turning point in U.S. history. It put an end once and for all to the coexistence — at times very violent — of what had become two antagonistic social systems within the borders of the United States.

The social system in the U.S. South, although deeply integrated into the world capitalist market, was based on slave labor. Over the first half of the 19th century in particular, this reactionary system came increasingly into conflict with an alliance of class forces in the North and what is today the Midwest (at that time called the Northwest):

- The rising industrial capitalist class in the North clashed repeatedly with the slavocracy, which had captured growing control over U.S. government policy. The interests of the capitalist factory owners, contrary to those of the plantation owners, were served by the expansion of the system of wage labor in the United States, by high tariffs to protect their emerging industries, and by the expansion of an internal U.S. market for consumer goods based among the growing farm population in the newly opened territories to the west.

- Working farmers saw the slavocracy as a direct threat to their way of life. Workers and artisans from the U.S. Northeast, and small farmers with too little land to eke out a decent life, had moved west to stake out homesteads. Hundreds of thousands of immigrant working people had come to this country in search of land, seeking to escape miserable urban slums in Europe or rural conditions still burdened by feudal hangovers. These farmers were determined to halt the westward encroachment of the slaveholders' plantation system.

- Wage workers had a big stake in the fight against the slave system. On the one hand, the availability of land opened the possibility for them to become farmers and improve their livelihoods, while the relative shortage of labor resulting from westward migration tended to give them more leverage against the bosses in their fight for better wages and conditions. The expansion of slave labor, on the other hand, was the greatest danger conceivable to the rights and conditions of free laborers.

In short, the Civil War marked the culmination of a struggle between a reactionary landowning class fighting to preserve and extend slave labor and a coalition of class forces fighting to defend free soil and free labor.

The Southern oligarchy — the slaveholders — sought



to forcibly extend slavery westward (including to California) and ultimately to make their own social and political power dominant in the country as a whole. The irrepressible conflict over this drive to extend slavery was the underlying cause of the Civil War.

The slave owners had no choice but to expand because of the economic nature of the plantation system, which was based on the intensive exploitation of slave labor on a mass scale and on wide expanses of naturally fertile soil. This manner of cultivation of tobacco, sugar, and especially cotton resulted in relatively rapid exhaustion of the soil, and therefore new land constantly had to be acquired.

U.S. capitalism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries had been built in large part on the boom in the cotton trade and then on the blood and bones of African slaves.

By the mid-1800s, however, the expansion of the

wealth and power of Northern capitalist merchants and traders had laid the basis for the emergence of a new and growing layer of capitalist factory owners whose economic and political interests were blocked by the slave system and by the clout of the slaveholders in Washington. Linking up with the small farmers, the most progressive layers of the industrialists launched the Republican Party in the 1850s to advance their common cause against that of the slavocracy. Many Northern workers and craftsmen were won to the Republican cause, as well.

Even the Republican Party, however, did not initially advocate the abolition of slavery but only the limitation of its extension beyond those states where it already existed. At the outset of the Civil War, the new Republican President Abraham Lincoln — whose election in 1860 served as the planters' pretext for launching their proslavery rebellion — insisted that only the preservation of the Union was at stake in the war, not the abolition of slavery.

It took the massive social upheaval of the Civil War itself to change this.

The underlying social roots of the Civil War were best explained at the time by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of the modern communist workers' movement. Their analysis still stands up today.

In articles and letters, Marx and Engels analyzed the economic, sociopolitical, and military aspects of the Civil War. They explained why its outcome would provide a stimulus to democratic and working-class movements in the United States and worldwide.

Marx explained the stakes in the war in two articles written in October 1861, only a few months after the attack on Fort Sumter. These are: "The North American Civil War" and "The Civil War in the United States."

"It is above all to be remembered that the war did not originate with the North, but with the South," wrote Marx. "The North finds itself on the defensive. For months it had quietly looked on while the secessionists appropriated the Union's forts, arsenals, shipyards, customs houses, pay offices, ships and supplies of arms, insulted its flag and took prisoner bodies of its troops. Finally the secessionists resolved to force the Union government out of its passive attitude by a blatant act of war, and *solely for this reason* proceeded to the bombardment of Fort Sumter near Charleston."

Marx described secession as "usurpations without exception" by a handful of slaveholders — a policy that was at odds with the interests of the vast majority of the people even in the Southern states.

To underline that slavery was the principal issue of the war for the slaveholders, one leader of the secessionists in the capital city of Montgomery said, "For us it is a question of founding a great slave republic."

### Battle for Kansas

Marx explained that, in the most fundamental sense, the Civil War had actually begun a number of years prior to the bombardment of Fort Sumter in 1861. It was the 1854-56 battle between pro- and antislavery forces in Kansas "from which this war really dates," Marx wrote in July 1861.

"It was the population of these North Western [states] who came to blows with the Border Ruffians." The armed defeat of these proslave ruffians by the largely "self-working farmers" led the slave owners to begin their step-by-step preparation for the secession and all-out shooting war seven years later.

Ever since the United States had won its independence, the slaveholders had scored one victory after another in eroding legal limits on the extension of slavery to new territories. The biggest blow to free soil and free labor, however, came in 1854 with adoption of the so-called Kansas-Nebraska Act, which, as Marx put it, placed chattel slavery and wage labor on an equal footing in the new Western territories. Under the figleaf of popular sovereignty, the act cleared the way for the slave owners to use violence, intimidation, and fraud to vote in slavery in these regions.

"Thus," wrote Marx, "for the first time in the history

Continued on ISR/4



# Britain's Mineworkers' union continues

## Introduction

In the articles on this and the facing page, Kathy Mickells describes some of the ways that the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain is fighting back against the attacks of the employers and their government.

Mickells is a coal miner who lives in Morgantown, West Virginia. She is a member of the United Mine Workers of America.

These articles are based on her December 1985 visit to the British coalfields, nine months after the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) ended a one-year strike against the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The coal-mining industry in Britain has been nationalized since 1947. Miners view nationalization as a tremendous victory that the working class fought for and won. The industry is managed by a government body, the National Coal Board.

On March 12, 1984, the miners' union went on strike against the Coal Board's plan to shut down more than 20 mines and eliminate the jobs of 20,000 miners.

On March 3, 1985, an NUM delegates' meeting voted to return to work. In the face of the concerted attack by the British capitalist class, the miners were not able to compel the British rulers to drop the shutdown plans.

In the course of the strike, more than 10,000 miners were arrested, thousands were injured, and seven were killed. Invasion squads of riot police terrorized mining communities. At times tens of thousands of cops were mobilized against the strikers.

The rulers also sought to split the miners' ranks, giving encouragement to union officials in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire who opposed the strike and encouraged scabbing by union members in these areas. But the overwhelming majority of union members supported the strike.

Since the end of the strike, 16,000 miners have lost their jobs. *The Miner*, the union journal, published a list of 55 mines that the government is threatening to shut down.

During the strike and afterwards, the National Union of Mineworkers reached out at home and abroad for support. In 1984 Mickells went to Britain to bring solidarity from her United Mine Workers' local and from the Coal Employment Project, a union-supported group that fights for the rights of women miners.

## How Mineworkers took on union splitters

BY KATHY MICKELLS

On December 6, 1985, the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher certified the Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM) as a legal trade union. The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which organizes the great majority of Britain's coal miners, prefers to describe this proemployer outfit as "Under Direct Management."

The fight for unity and against the split is at the head of the National Union of Mineworkers' campaign to beat back the government's plans to close coal mines, or "pits" as they are called in Britain.

In the months since the end of the strike the government has targeted 28 pits for closure. The union has launched a major campaign to fight these closures, holding rallies and demonstrations and leafleting. The UDM split-off is the wedge that the National Coal Board and the government are using to push through their plans.

As Peter Heathfield, NUM general secretary, explained, "We need to seize the initiative and go on to the offensive, explaining in the breakaway pockets that splits have never helped working people, but merely paved the way for those whose ultimate intention is to hammer into the ground the people who do the labor."

"With clear-sighted and vigorous arguments we can rebuild the unity which is essential to defend every mineworker."

Seizing the initiative and going on the offensive is exactly what the NUM is doing. Two special editions of *The Miner*, the NUM journal, have been produced with major articles explaining the importance of unity, the lies the media has been telling about the strength of the UDM, and exposing the Coal Board's complicity with the UDM. Thousands of leaflets with questions and answers about the split are distributed at every mine in the splitters' areas. Many of these leaflets are produced by the miners' wives' organization, Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC).



G.M. Cookson

June 1984 march in support of British Miners' strike. Split from NUM by 21,000 miners is biggest obstacle to continuing fight against government's plans to close coal mines.

Kim Young, National Coordinator of WAPC, explained to me that the wives felt it was "absolutely crucial for us to take a position in support of unity and the NUM."

### Scabs basis for breakaway

According to NUM figures, the split involves 21,000 miners — leaving the NUM with 160,000. The capitalist media greatly exaggerates the numbers of splitters to create a bandwagon impression and hence demoralize the miners. Miners in Nottinghamshire explained that more than 7,000 miners in that area voted to stay with the NUM, and 18,000 to split.

Nottinghamshire is one of the bases of the UDM. The vast majority of those miners who scabbed during the strike came from this area. Roy Lynk and David Pendergast, two of the area leaders, and Ken Toon from South Derbyshire, are the leaders of the UDM.

Miners in these areas voted in October whether or not to stay in the NUM. In Nottinghamshire only about 5,000 miners had struck and 7,000 voted to remain loyal to the NUM. In South Derbyshire, 1,286 voted to split and 1,260 to remain in the NUM, giving the UDM a wafer-thin majority.

Lynk, Pendergast, and Toon were adamantly opposed to the strike and encouraged their memberships to work. But other NUM leaders who were opposed to the strike have stepped forward in support of the NUM. One such leader, an NUM National Executive Committee member, is Jack Jones.

### New ally

Jones, from the Leicestershire area, had vociferously spoken out against the year-long strike of the NUM. In the Leicestershire area only 30 miners, who became known as the "Dirty Thirty," struck while over 2,000 scabbed.

I went with Nigel Jeffery, one of the Dirty Thirty, to meet with Jack Jones at the NUM area offices. It wasn't easy convincing Jeffery that we should meet with Jones. The last time he had gone to the area offices was during the strike. Jones threatened to have him arrested and showed him the door.

But Nigel was convinced we should go when we went to the Bagworth Colliery. On a table as you entered the main mine building were stacks of hundreds of *The Miner* featuring a statement by Jones exposing the Coal Board's involvement in the split. When Jeffery saw his coworkers reading this latest issue in the canteen and recognized the importance of Jones' stand, he said, "Right, we'll see Jones."

On arriving at the area offices, we were more than graciously welcomed. Jones immediately shook Jeffery's

hand and then spent two hours explaining the importance of the fight for unity.

He called the UDM "a gaffer's union — a real bosses' union." He had been offered "financial rewards to take the Leicestershire miners out of the NUM." The NCB deputy chairman guaranteed Jones his pension and promised a car and other incentives, he told us.

Jones explained the recent wage negotiations that the Coal Board had conducted with the UDM. "It is the lowest wage increase in 13 years."

He said that these negotiations had taken place in direct violation of the National Reference Tribunal, which had ruled that the NUM is the sole negotiating representative for miners. "The NCB is using this breakaway to push through lower wage and safety standards. It sends shivers down my spine," he said.

The Coal Board is trying to push through standards developed in the nonunion mines in the United States, such as the A.T. Massey Elk Run mine. The plans are to extend the workday so that more hours are spent at the coal face. This emphasis on production "is a direct attack on safety. Men are being encouraged to work with injuries in the interest of production. Not only will the injured man be hurting himself, but he becomes a safety hazard to others," he said.

The NUM sees Jones as an important ally in the battle against the splitters. The information he has provided on the Coal Board and the UDM has been widely distributed. The NUM is on an educational campaign to explain how the Coal Board is using the breakaway. All of the area NUM newspapers are carrying articles on the wage negotiations between the board and the UDM.

On January 24, Leicestershire miners voted to remain with the union and rejected the UDM by a vote of 885 to 490.

### Coal Board and UDM

While refusing to negotiate with the NUM leadership over the issue of wages, the Coal Board has concluded a wage deal with the UDM in Nottinghamshire and South Derbyshire. At the same time, the South Midlands National Coal Board informed miners that at pits where the breakaway had a majority they would begin paying miners the wage increase negotiated with the UDM. But in those pits where the breakaway does not have a majority there will be no increase.

This is a flagrant move to break the industry's National Agreement. It is a breach of the negotiating procedures by which all parties have abided for 40 years.

Commenting on this deal, NUM President Arthur Scargill said, "The Board's aim is to establish different rates of pay in different parts of the British coalfield. The tactic is to try to influence miners to join the NCB-backed breakaway. The ultimate goal is to weaken mineworkers, allowing the board to push through its savage pit-closure program."

The Coal Board has also launched a campaign of harassment and intimidation against NUM supporters in Nottinghamshire.

Mark Hunter, Welbeck NUM branch secretary, explained that miners caught with NUM literature are subject to discipline and are targets for harassment. Information that has been put out by the NUM has been torn up by the management. Some miners have been told that they will be fired if they are caught with anything from the NUM.

The Women Against Pit Closures has become the main way that the union's message is getting across in the Nottinghamshire area. It is the WAPC that organizes distribution of leaflets at the area's mines since the men will be targets for the Coal Board.

Paul Galloway, a miner from Thoresby in Nottinghamshire, told of another form of intimidation that the board is using at their mine. "In the canteen, they've got on display a policeman's uniform, a nightstick, and riot shields and helmets." During the strike, police violence against the miners reached unprecedented levels. Miners despise the police, and rightly so. At the same time they displayed these items, the management sponsored a "champagne breakfast for the miners for setting a production record." It's a case of the carrot and the stick — if you're bad we'll beat you and if you're good we'll feed you.

It's not just the Coal Board that has launched a campaign of intimidation. The UDM itself follows miners to meetings of the NUM and then sends them letters requiring the miners to sign loyalty pledges to the UDM. If the loyalty pledge is not forthcoming the UDM threatens to take the matter further.

But the NUM is not buckling under to these threats; they have reestablished NUM branches at all of the mines in Nottinghamshire.

It's the old capitalist game of divide and rule," said Henry Richardson, Nottinghamshire NUM secretary. "We've built up the unity to beat them before and we'll do it again."



# ies struggle against gov't

It is this kind of determination and commitment that has placed the NUM at the forefront of the British labor movement.

## 'Birth of working-class women's movement'

"The miners' strike was the birth of a working-class women's movement," said Ann Jones, a leader of the South Wales Women Support Group. Everywhere I visited in the coalfields of Britain, that assessment of the development of the women was unanimous. Miners, their wives, and supporters all point to the role of the women as a major achievement of the strike.

During the strike, the wives, sisters, mothers, and companions of the miners were in the forefront of the battle. They picketed, organized soup kitchens, raised money, organized rallies, spoke before other organizations to win support for the miners, and organized holidays abroad for the children. To many miners they were the backbone of the strike. As Keith Potts, a miner from Durham, said, "If it weren't for the women we would have given up the ghost."

The women continue to be important participants in the campaigns of the National Union of Mineworkers. The women have established a national network and organization — Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC). Its top priorities are fighting for jobs and against the Thatcher government's program of shutting down many coal mines; fighting for unity of the National Union of Mineworkers and against the split from the union that the National Coal Board is fostering; campaigning and collecting funds for miners fired for strike activity; and striving for "associate membership" in the miners' union.

What is most impressive is their determination to continue to struggle against the antiunion, antiwoman, and anti-working class government.

In South Wales, an area that will be devastated if the proposed pit closures go through, Ann Jones told me about the campaign the women and union are carrying out.

"It's a campaign for the future, for our children; that's why we are involved. We've produced leaflets and got them out to all the pits targeted for closure," she said. The women organize teams to get to the pit heads at the shift changes. They see this work as being crucial to giving the men strength and courage to continue to fight the shutdowns. It lets them know "they're not alone."

In Yorkshire, one of the mines targeted for closure was Darfield Main. The women and support groups held demonstrations and rallies and put out leaflets and posters. They reached out to all sectors of the community, including other unions and the church.

"The main thing we knew we had to do was to unite the whole community," said Marsha Marshall, secretary of the Darfield Main campaign and leader of the Women Action Group. "We organized meetings and took collections round the local shops. The response was fantastic. We made a video presenting our case, which we took to meetings. We also produced a regular newsletter and went out speaking to different places. We even managed to get the local press on our side, and they advertised our rally for us."

The Darfield Main campaign led to a victory — the Coal Board suddenly withdrew its closure proposal. A protest demonstration scheduled for December 7 turned instead into a victory celebration.

### Solidarity — main achievement

The women in many cases were the driving force in creating the solidarity that the miners won during the strike. And they continue to maintain this role today. It is through their efforts that many alliances have been forged. Not only do they garner solidarity but they also give it. The rallies and demonstrations organized by the women have become a platform for any and all workers who are in struggle around the world.

At one of the rallies held during the Darfield Main campaign an impressive array of speakers shared the platform — NUM President Arthur Scargill, other trade union leaders, and Labour Party representatives. Two leaders of the power workers' union from El Salvador spoke. They were given a rousing reception as they brought greetings and solidarity from the workers of El Salvador.

I learned in my travels in Britain that the women's groups have sponsored receptions, socials, and house meetings for workers in struggle from Ireland, South Africa, and Chile, as well as from revolutionary Nicaragua. And their solidarity is being reciprocated with invitations to visit Nicaragua, Chile, and El Salvador.

This understanding of the importance of solidarity and unity has led the Women Against Pit Closures to decide to produce a statement against the breakaway from the National Union of Mineworkers and to play a major role in the campaign to defend the unity of the NUM.

In July 1985 a group of leaders of the NUM who had opposed the strike left the NUM to form a separate union. Their main base of support was among the miners of the Nottinghamshire area who scabbed during the strike. (See accompanying article.)

Women Against Pit Closures and its local affiliates in the Nottinghamshire area are in the leadership of the fight for unity. Women explained that "since the men are victimized for having literature from the NUM, we've taken on the distribution." They've also organized socials in the areas where the breakaway group is strongest. At these gatherings the national leadership of the NUM is present and can put forward the case for unity.

Socials are also organized by the women to raise funds for fired miners.

Nationally, 550 miners remain fired and 9 imprisoned as a result of the strike. The women's group and the NUM see the case of the fired miners as a top priority. While in Britain I learned of plans for a major march, rally, and concert to be held in London on March 2. The Durham Miners' Support Group was at the center of the organizing for this display of support. (The Heroes concert drew a packed house March 2. It was preceded by a mass march of thousands of miners and their supporters from Jubilee Gardens to Hyde Park, by way of the National Coal Board headquarters. The concert launched the Justice for Mineworkers Campaign.)

Anne Suddick, a leader of the Durham Support Group, explained that "March is a year since the end of the strike. We want to show everyone that we haven't gone away." The "Heroes concert and demonstration will draw together the women, union, and other groups to fight for a bill in Parliament calling for amnesty and reinstatement for the miners."

The Heroes concert is based on an album distributed by the Durham Support Group and is written and performed by artists who support the miners. The Women Against Pit Closures and support groups are working very closely with the miners' union on this and the other campaigns.

### 'Associate membership'

This close working relationship with the union is behind the WAPC striving for "associate membership" in the NUM. The National Executive Committee of the NUM voted not to grant the women "associate membership." The women are trying to get this designation from local NUM bodies.

The women see this designation as a recognition of the role they played during the strike and continue to play today. They explain that they do not want to have a vote on union policy but rather a way to have more input on the campaigns that they are organizing jointly with the union.

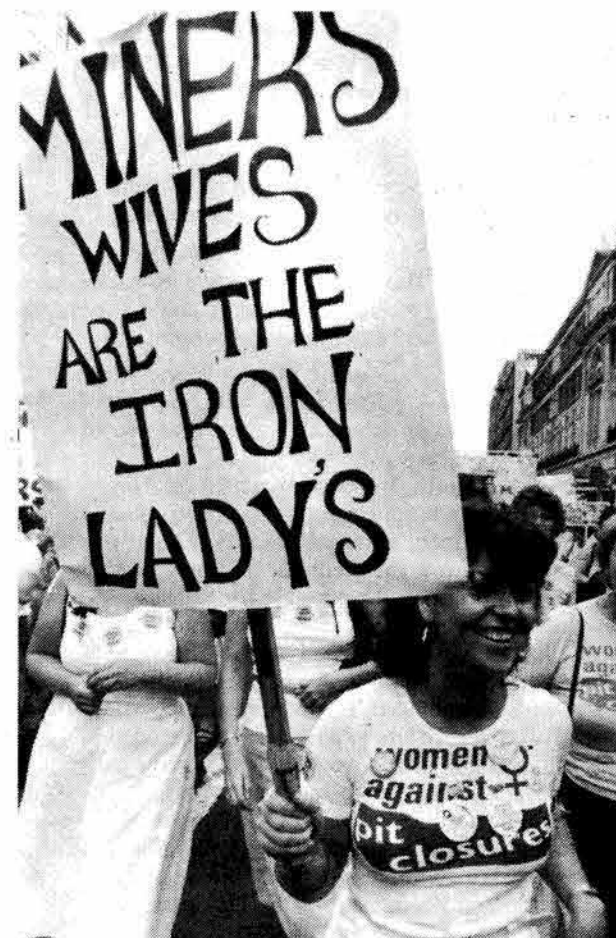
Some of the areas, such as Scotland, have given the women associate membership.

The role that women played during the strike has broadened their horizons to include many other issues.

Ann Jones enthusiastically explained to me the women's involvement in the peace and nuclear disarmament movements and in the women's movement.

"We began to learn about these other issues when their organizations offered us support in our strike — we spoke on the same platforms at rallies. They learned about the strike and us about the issues. Now we speak at their rallies in support of issues such as abortion and peace," she said.

Numerous miners' wives told me about going down to Greenham Common to support the women who are pro-



G.M. Cookson  
A miner's wife, member of Women Against Pit Closures, demonstrating while strike was on.

testing against the presence of nuclear arms there.

And the wives, sisters, mothers, and companions of miners haven't stopped picketing. Wherever workers are out on the picket lines, the WAPC will organize to be there with the strikers.

### WAPC — a national organization

A major gain for the British working class is the development of the Women Against Pit Closures as a national organization. The WAPC plans to hold its next national conference this spring. At this conference the women will decide the priorities and direction of the WAPC.

In Sheffield I met with Kim Young, who is WAPC national coordinator. WAPC's office is in the national headquarters of the miners' union. Kim is a miner's wife who volunteers her time to be a liaison for the area women's groups.

The office is covered with posters, leaflets, buttons, and books that the women have put out. She explained that every area of the WAPC is putting out books of poetry and prose that the women have written. They provide an account of the development of the women and are also fundraising items.

As we talked she folded the latest issue of *Coalfield Woman*. It is the national newsletter of the wives' organization. It carries articles on the campaigns being carried out in different areas. There are articles on major developments like the Darfield Main Victory, as well as letters, poetry, prose, and reviews of books and albums about the strike.

*Coalfield Woman* is an organizing tool for the WAPC. They also have a national executive committee, Young explained, that meets monthly. The national executive committee is based on the areas of the NUM with the area groups electing representatives.

The wives and women supporters of the mineworkers, organized in the Women Against Pit Closures, are an inspiration to all workers in Britain and around the world. One miner summed it up when he said, "No miner's household will ever be the same. The women have stepped forward and there will be no going back."



Mineworkers' President Arthur Scargill addresses WAPC conference August 1985

G.M. Cookson



## 125th anniversary of U.S. Civil War: a Marxist appraisal

Continued from ISR/1

of the United States, every geographical and legal limit to the extension of slavery in the Territories was removed."

In Kansas this led to an armed struggle between pro- and antislavery forces. The slavocracy sought to make Kansas a slave state by force of arms against the will of the majority of farmers and other working people.

But they failed. Farmers — and their supporters, including John Brown — joined battle with the slaveholders and blocked them. It was in Kansas that Brown won national recognition.

"Throughout the North, but particularly in the Northwest," Marx wrote, "a relief organization was formed to support Kansas with men, arms, and money. Out of this relief organization arose the *Republican Party*, which therefore owes its origin to the struggle for Kansas."

"After the attempt to transform Kansas into a *slave Territory* by force of arms had failed, the South sought to achieve the same result by political intrigues. [Democratic President James] Buchanan's government, in particular, exerted its utmost efforts to have Kansas included in the States of the Union as a *slave state* with a slave constitution imposed on it. Hence renewed struggle, this time mainly conducted in Congress at Washington."

It was these political machinations in Washington that allowed the proslavery forces — with the support of Buchanan — to keep Kansas out of the Union as a free state. It became part of the Union in 1861.

Likewise the U.S. Supreme Court sided with the slave owners. The infamous Dred Scott decision in 1857 ruled that slaveholders had the right to take with them into any territory any property recognized by the Constitution — that is, their slaves.

(Dred Scott was a Black slave who had lived for four years in the nonslave states of Illinois and Wisconsin. He had brought a lawsuit in 1848 to win his freedom.)

### 1860 presidential election

The armed defeat in Kansas put the slave owners on notice. To protect their interests, they had to take the offensive.

Thus Marx wrote: "As the struggle for Kansas, therefore, called the *Republican Party* into being, it at the same time occasioned the first *split within the Democratic Party itself*."

Stephen Douglas, the candidate for president in 1860 for the Northern Democrats, strongly supported the reactionary Kansas-Nebraska Act. But this was no longer enough for the slave owners, who put up their own Democratic presidential candidate, John Breckinridge. Breckinridge insisted that the U.S. Constitution guaranteed that slavery could be applied *anywhere* in the territories, and even advocated legal reopening of the slave trade.

The key plank in the platform of the victorious Republican Party in 1860 was that not a foot of fresh terrain would be conceded to slavery; slavery would be confined within boundaries of the states where it already legally existed. The platform also called for free settlement of the Western territories and for protectionist tariffs to stimulate the development of national industry.

In the face of the Republican victory, Marx explained, the slaveholders had to prepare for war and take the offensive against the federal republic, the Union. It was a matter of life or death for the slave owners.

The people of the South were not allowed to vote on secession. The 300,000-strong slaveholding oligarchy decided for them — in most cases against the majority views of the people. The plantation owners imposed secession on the Southern states.

Their step was particularly unpopular among the free farmers of the mountainous regions of Virginia, Tennessee, and northern Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina.

Take the case of Virginia. In the northwest highlands of the state the number of slaves was 15,000. The free population was 20 times larger. When the Southern slaveholders announced war, this area actively opposed it and joined the Union. It is now the state of West Virginia.

But in the eastern lowlands of Virginia, there were nearly a half million slaves who provided the backbone of the area's income. There the slaveholders manipulated the state legislature for the Confederacy and its army.

Marx pointed out that the mountainous country formed by the "Allegheny Mountains with their two parallel ranges, the Cumberland Range to the west and the Blue Mountains to the east, divides wedge-like the lowlands along the western coast of the Atlantic Ocean from the lowlands in the southern valleys of the Mississippi." These areas, he explained, drove a wedge into the heart of slavery and are soil rich in coal, salt, limestone, iron ore, and gold — "in short, every raw material necessary for a many-sided industrial development."

"In accordance with its physical constitution," he explained, "the soil here can only be cultivated with success by free small farmers. Here the slave system vegetates only sporadically and has never struck root. In the

larger part of so-called border states, the dwellers of these highlands comprise the core of the free population, which sides with the North if only for the sake of self-preservation."

Marx explained that the size of the slave population in relationship to the free population was *decisive* in the attitude of the states toward secession and staying in the Union. That's why where the slaveholders had minority support, such as in Missouri and Kentucky, they used armed force to attempt to get their way.

"It will have been observed," Marx wrote, "that we lay particular emphasis on the numerical proportion of slaves to free men in the individual border states. . . ."

"The attempts of the Confederacy to annex Missouri and Kentucky, for example, against the will of these states," he added, "prove the hollowiness of the pretext that it is fighting for the rights of the individual states against the encroachments of the union. On the individual state that it considers to belong to the 'South' it confers to be sure, the right to secede from the Union, but by no means the right to remain in the Union."

It is for that reason, Marx wrote, that "the whole movement was and is based, as one sees, on the *slave question*. Not in the sense of whether the slaves within the existing slave states should be emancipated outright or not, but whether the 20 million free men of the North should submit any longer to an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders; whether the vast Territories of the republic should be nurseries for free states or for slavery; finally, whether the national policy of the Union should take armed spreading of slavery in Mexico, Central, and South America as its device."

The turning point in the war came in mid-1862. That was when what Marx called the "constitutional war" was finally transformed into "a revolutionary war" by the implementation of a series of sweeping democratic measures by the Lincoln government.

"So far we have only witnessed the first act of the Civil War — the *constitutional* waging of war," Marx wrote after these measures were announced. "The second act, the *revolutionary* waging of war, is at hand."

During the first 18 months after Fort Sumter, the Union fought the war in a way that undermined the mobilization of the farmers and workers who made up the bulk of the volunteer troops.

This reflected the *political* approach taken by the bourgeois leadership of the Union.

Lincoln sought to live up to the letter of the 1860 Republican platform, and not one iota more. He expressed great concern about maintaining the "neutrality" of slaveholders in the Border States that had not seceded, and attempted to persuade the Southerners to give up their rebellion and rejoin the Union without challenging the existence of slavery where it had traditionally existed.

Lincoln rejected the Abolitionists' call to abolish slavery forthwith.

Eighteen months of this type of diplomatic and political war led to demoralization in the Union's ranks, and mounting military defeats and setbacks. Lincoln was slow in removing top officers who were either sympathetic to the slaveholders' cause or hoped for a reconciliation with the planters.

By 1862 the Radical Republicans, who favored abolition, became stronger in the party. They came out for immediate emancipation of the slaves — some as an effective way to end the rebellion, others because they strongly believed it was right.

### Waging revolutionary war

What were some of the key revolutionary measures that the Lincoln administration finally carried out in 1862, and that began to turn the tide in the military course of the war?

There were four:

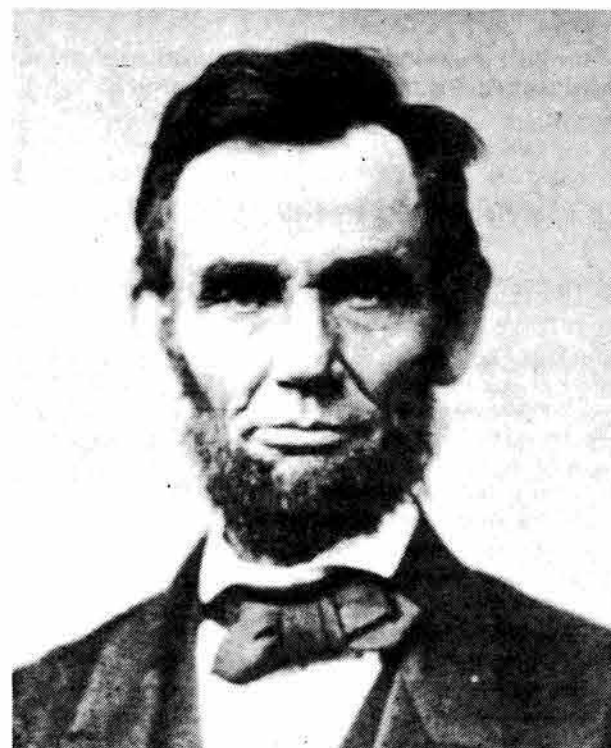
First, the Republican-controlled Congress adopted the Homestead Act, which the Northern masses — especially farmers — had long striven for in vain. This radical land-reform act provided — for the nominal charge of \$10 — 160 acres of state-owned land to every person — indigenous or newcomer.

Second, the Congress voted to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia — the Northern capital. The government agreed to pay \$300 in compensation for every released slave to the former owner.

Third, a law was adopted outlawing slavery in all the territories of the United States. This act, which allowed West Virginia to be admitted to the Union, prescribed abolition of slavery by stages and declared that all Black children born after July 4, 1863, were born free.

Fourth, Lincoln published the Emancipation Proclamation on Sept. 22, 1862, declaring all slaves of Confederate rebels were to be emancipated as soon as they fell into the hands of the Union army. This went into effect on Jan. 1, 1863. In addition, another law provided that, for the first time, these emancipated slaves could be militarily organized and put into the field against the South.

These actions, carried out under popular pressure, set



Abraham Lincoln, president during Civil War. In 1862 Lincoln administration carried out a series of revolutionary-democratic measures that began to turn the tide in the military course of the war.

the stage for the amendment to the Constitution in 1865 that finally put an end to slavery in the entire country.

Marx wrote soon after these revolutionary measures were adopted: "Thus, no matter how the dice may fall in the fortunes of war, even now it can safely be said that Negro slavery will not long outlive the Civil War."

"The fury with which the Southerners are greeting Lincoln's acts," Marx added, "is proof of the importance of these measures."

He also said of the Emancipation Proclamation, it "is the most important document in American history since the establishment of the Union, tantamount to the tearing up of the old American Constitution."

These revolutionary political measures had a profound impact on the military course of the war. The farmers, workers, and growing numbers of freed slaves in the Union ranks were inspired to press for victory over the Confederacy in a new way. Those Union officers labeled by Engels as either jackasses or traitors were largely pushed aside and replaced by others more committed to winning a decisive victory.

When that victory came in April 1865, the slave system had gone down to defeat. All that remained was for this historic conquest to be fully registered in the U.S. Constitution.

### Bloodiest war in U.S. history

The Civil War was the bloodiest war in U.S. history. According to the U.S. Census of 1860, the country's population was approximately 31 million people — a little over 21 million in the North, and 10 million in the South (including 3.5 million slaves). The North suffered about 360,000 dead and 275,000 wounded; the 11 seceding states of the South (out of a total of 34 states), another 260,000 dead and 225,000 wounded.

Some 68,000 Blacks died as Union soldiers. The mortality rate for Blacks in the army was nearly 40 percent higher than among white soldiers.

Marx's analysis of the Civil War was based on the concrete assessment of the class and social forces involved. The system of slave labor was reactionary. It had become an obstacle to the further social, economic, and political progress in the United States.

The destruction of the outmoded slaveholding oligarchy as a class facilitated the rapid development of industrial capitalism in the United States. This in turn led to a massive growth of the U.S. working class and laid the foundation for the struggles that built the U.S. labor movement.

The defeat of the slavocracy was an enormous victory for all working people in the United States — first and foremost for the freed slaves, but also for all workers and working farmers. Since that time there have been many other struggles by working people for our basic rights and a decent life. There have been other victories, as well as setbacks and defeats.

All those in struggle today against the inhuman and oppressive policies of the capitalist rulers in this country can justly claim the mantle of the victorious Union forces who brought down the slavocracy. We can learn many lessons from a serious study of the Civil War. That revolutionary conquest is *our* heritage today, not that of Wall Street, Washington, and the Pentagon — the current-day Confederacy of exploitation, oppression, and racism in this country and the world over.





Planned Parenthood  
Margaret Sanger (left), early feminist and pioneer of the right of women to birth control, shown with supporters in 1916.

# Questions and answers on a woman's right to choose abortion

BY PAT GROGAN

The recent "National March for Women's Lives" showed the determination of women's rights supporters to defend a woman's right to choose abortion.

Part of the fightback to defend abortion rights is to take on the massive propaganda campaign that is being waged against abortion rights.

This is the third in a series of four articles that answers some of the most common questions, lies, misconceptions, and myths about abortion.

The first articles appeared in the March 14 and April 11 issues of the *Militant*.

**Question.** In order to be consistent with ideals that place a high value on human life, shouldn't people who oppose war, racism, and injustice also join in opposing abortion?

**Answer.** This is the new line being pushed by some sections of the Roman Catholic church hierarchy and it finds an echo among liberals who have retreated from the defense of women's rights.

New York Cardinal John O'Connor, for example, put it this way, "No one in public life would admit to being a racist or a war-monger." How, then, he asked, can anyone justify "putting babies to death?"

O'Connor and his ilk go so far as to call their campaign against a woman's right to choose abortion "the new civil rights movement."

They argue that abortion is a social evil, like war, racism, the death penalty, and poverty, and that the fight against it is progressive.

O'Connor and others like him understand that the right-wing antiabortion fanatics — while serving an important role as the shock troops in a broader assault on abortion rights — will make little headway among the big majority of working people who support women's equality and abortion rights. The openly prowar, pro-death penalty, racist, and woman-hating views of the right wing do not find a sympathetic hearing among most working people.

So the bishops decided to change their tune. At a conference of the country's Roman Catholic bishops last November in Washington, D.C., they decided to adopt a new approach to the antiabortion campaign. They voted to project what they called a "consistent ethic of life" based on the theme of "the intrinsic dignity of human life."

By linking abortion to genuine social wrongs like war, racism, and poverty, they hope to make their reactionary campaign against women's rights more acceptable to working people.

The "consistent ethic," however, hits a snag when it comes to women: *women's lives*, evidently, have a very small measure of "intrinsic dignity" apart from childbearing functions. And the thousands of women who were injured or killed every year when abortion was illegal don't count for much either.

Abortion is not a social wrong. It is a woman's basic right — a right without which women can never achieve equality and freedom.

The right of women to control their own bodies and their lives — which is at stake in the fight over legal abortion — is an elementary precondition for the liberation of women from the oppression they suffer as a sex.

In carrying out their attacks against women's rights, the bishops are trying to cloak themselves in the moral authority of the civil rights movement, the mass anti-apartheid movement, and the deep opposition to Washington's war in Central America.

But it is the fight for women's rights that is kindred to the civil rights, antiwar, and anti-apartheid movements.

Fighters in these battles stand together against inequality, discrimination, injustice, and exploitation.

**Q.** Isn't it true that society has always recognized abortion as wrong? Haven't there always been laws against abortion?

**A.** This is false. In practice, human society has always judged that human life takes precedence over fetal life.

In the United States, for a long time, the common law inherited from England protected the right of abortion in early pregnancy, or until "quickening."

Early abortion did not become illegal in the United States until around the Civil War in the mid-19th century.

Before that, abortion was accepted. It was widely advertised and practiced by midwives and healers.

It was only in the mid-1850s that science discovered how conception occurs and began developing effective methods to prevent it. By the 1900s the diaphragm and contraceptive jelly were being developed in France, but only later were imported into this country. There were simply no reliable contraceptive devices available for women although many were tried. In practice, abortion was practiced on a massive scale as the only effective available method of birth control.

But beginning in the 1860s, before women had the right to vote, criminal laws outlawing abortion and contraception were passed in one state after another.

The laws outlawing abortion and birth control came in the context of a widespread feminist movement that emerged in the mid-19th century and grew into a massive social struggle for women's rights and suffrage.

While other factors played a role in the passage of these laws, such as the establishment of medicine as a profession under the exclusive control of male physicians, the laws were clearly designed to keep women in their place.

Early laws against abortion and contraception had nothing to say about murder or the rights of the unborn. Instead, they harped on the idea that abortion was "an offense against morality" that "interferes with the mysteries of nature by which the human race is propagated and continued." The laws reveal an overriding concern that abortion allows "lewd women" to hide the mark of their shame.

In 1873, Congress passed the Comstock bill entitled, "An Act for the Suppression of Trade in and Circulation of Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use." In addition to establishing government censorship over material it deemed "obscene," it banned from the mails any drug, medicine, or article for abortion or contraception.

Anthony Comstock, who authored the bill and was given power to enforce it, vowed to turn the country into a battleground against sin. "If I could but live

without sin," he wrote in his diary, "I should be the happiest living soul, but sin, that foe is ever lurking, stealing happiness from me."

Comstock's federal law became the model for many state laws. Margaret Sanger, the early feminist and pioneer of birth control, was indicted under the Comstock law for mailing out the first issue of her newspaper. She was arrested in 1916 for opening a birth control clinic.

It was only in 1936 that the courts ruled that doctors had the right to prescribe contraceptive devices for a patient's well-being, and that, furthermore, these devices could be sent through the mail. It would be another 37 years before the laws making abortion a crime would be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on Jan. 22, 1973.

The laws and politics of reproductive rights were also affected by racism and class prejudice.

In 1905, for example, then President Theodore Roosevelt blamed white women of "native Yankee stock" for "selfishly refusing to bear large families" and allowing Blacks and immigrant workers to outproduce them.

Related to this was the view that "overpopulation" — and not class exploitation — was the cause of poverty and "social unrest."

Sanger herself mistakenly espoused this view. Feminists and birth control advocates themselves sometimes used such racist and antiwoman views in appealing for legitimacy and money.

Beginning in the 1920s, social scientists known as "eugenicists" began to urge measures to limit the propagation of those considered "unfit," including the poor and unemployed, Blacks, immigrants, convicts, and persons classified as "feeble-minded."

One result was the passage of a rash of laws in many states — that remained on the books into the 1970s — that justified the forced sterilization of thousands of Black and immigrant women and men.

Population control arguments have been and are still used to bolster forced sterilization, which has been practiced on a mass scale against Black, Puerto Rican, and American Indian women and other victims of racist discrimination.

The women's liberation movement that emerged in the 1960s firmly rejected population control arguments as inconsistent with the fight for women's rights. They based the fight to legalize abortion squarely on the right of all women to control their own bodies and coupled the demand for legal abortion with the demand for an end to forced sterilization.

**Q.** Although the majority of Blacks support legal abortion, some hold the view that abortion is aimed at racist genocide. Given the history of forced sterilization and racist "population control" schemes, isn't this view justified?

**A.** In 1970, Whitney Young, then president of the National Urban League, reported that "a recent study shows that of all maternal deaths caused by criminal abortions in New York County, 50 percent were Black, 44 percent were Puerto Rican, and only 6 percent were women from all other ethnic groups combined."

Another study at the time estimated that 80 percent of the women who died as a result of illegal, back-alley abortions were

Black women and Latinas. If there should be a charge of "genocide," it should be leveled against the antiabortion laws that caused the deaths of thousands of Black and Latina women.

It is no accident that the first woman to die of an illegal abortion after the congressional Hyde Amendment cut off federal funding for abortions was a young Chicana, Rosie Jimenez.

Under slavery, Black women were forced to bear children against their will and were used as breeders to enrich the plantation owners. Black women have been fighting for centuries to control their own bodies.

The fight against forced sterilization is the other side of the coin in this struggle. Forced sterilization is the practice of coercing women into having an operation that ends forever their ability to have children.

Black, Puerto Rican, and American Indian women and other victims of racism in this country — as well as women in colonial and semicolonial countries — have been subjected to forced sterilization. These are the results of racist fears of being "outnumbered" and population control schemes that blame "too many babies" for poverty caused by class exploitation.

Forced sterilization and denying women the right to abortion go hand in hand. Both deny the woman the right to choose.

Before abortion was legal in this country, sterilization was often the price poor women had to pay to obtain an abortion.

Beginning in 1977, the federal government cut off all public funding for abortion, except to save the life of the mother.

But it still continues to pay 90 percent of the costs of sterilization. This coerces poor women, who are unable to afford abortions, into being sterilized as the only way to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

Nowhere is the connection between forced sterilization and denying women the right to abortion more clear than in South Africa.

In the official view of the apartheid regime, Black women have no value outside of the work they do for whites. The official policy is to fire African women from their jobs and dump them in the barren reservations known as Bantustans if they have a child.

Drugs that have been banned in the United States because they are extremely dangerous, such as the long-acting contraceptive Depo Provera, are pushed on African women. In fact, in order to get a job in an urban area, a woman must carry not only her pass, but a certificate that shows that she has had a Depo-Provera shot.

While the apartheid regime exhorts white women to "have a baby for Botha [Pieter Botha, South Africa's president]," sterilization of Black women is encouraged and, in many cases, forced.

Abortions are illegal for all women in South Africa. But it is Black women who suffer the most.

In Soweto, the largest African township, 80 percent of all deaths in the gynecological ward are caused by complications resulting from botched abortions.

Safe, legal abortion that gives women the right to control their own bodies is not racist. Anything that restricts that right is, whether it is the Hyde Amendment that denies poor women access to abortion or forced sterilization.



# Cops riot against protest at Hormel plant

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ  
AND PACO SÁNCHEZ

AUSTIN, Minn. — Austin city police, along with sheriffs' deputies from counties across the state, rioted against striking meatpackers and their supporters at the main gate of the Geo. A. Hormel plant April 11. During the cop riot, 17 people were arrested, some were badly beaten, and a peaceful crowd of 400 protesters was tear-gassed.

While demonstrators were being brutally attacked at the plant gate, Austin cops arrested union consultant Ray Rogers across town. The cops have so far refused to say why they arrested Rogers.

The police riot came on the third day of the April 9-12 national actions called to build support for the eight-month-long strike against Hormel. Before the action began, Mower County Sheriff Wayne Goodnature, along with Hormel officials, called on Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich to send in the National Guard to herd scabs for the company. Goodnature and Hormel charged that the solidarity actions would develop into a "full-scale riot." The governor refused to send troops, saying it was "premature." The sheriff then brought in cops from across the state.

On the first day of the actions, April 9, about 100 people carrying signs lined the street outside the plant at 5:00 a.m. The people chanted slogans and sang union songs to "greet" the scabs entering the plant. Some 30 cops were outside.

The next day, there were 350 pickets at the gate. Again they chanted and sang. This time, there were 75 cops with attack dogs, which were kept in their cars.

Although the sheriff admitted the actions had been totally peaceful, he continued to predict there was going to be a "riot."

On the third day, while the protesters continued to peacefully demonstrate, the cops made the sheriff's prediction come true and rioted.

At 4:00 a.m. on April 11, several hundred people gathered at the hall of striking United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. After a brief meeting, the crowd left the hall and drove or walked to several gates at the plant.

By 4:30 a.m. the strikers had circled their cars in the roadway leading to the plant, successfully stopping any scabs from entering.

The strikers and their supporters grouped inside the circled cars. They chanted, "What do we want? A contract" and "Who are we? P-9."

Among the crowd were unionists from as far away as Bath, Maine, and Portland, Oregon, including striking cannery workers from Watsonville, California, and TWA flight attendants. About 30 farmers from Missouri participated in the action. Students, some as young as 12 years old, also joined the protest.

On the off ramp of the interstate highway above the plant, 50 cops were lined up. Some wore riot gear. Others held attack dogs by leashes. The cops had cars,



Cops teargassing crowd at Hormel plant protest April 11

vans, a Jeep, and a tow truck.

For an hour and a half, the protesters stood peacefully, chanting and singing. But about 6:00 a.m., the cops began to approach the encircled cars. As the cops approached, the protesters chanted, "Go home, scab patrol" and "Hormel company, have you heard? This is not Johannesburg."

Using the Jeep, the cops pulled apart two of the cars in the circle and began to grab the protesters. The demonstrators locked arms to keep the cops out of the crowd. As the cops began pulling people from the line, the protesters chanted, "No arrests."

When protesters were pulled from the line, four or five cops would drag or carry them to a van. The cops twisted their arms,

pulled their hair, and punched them even though they offered no resistance. These reporters watched as two cops grabbed a woman and threw her to the ground. Protesters report that at least one person was badly beaten.

Twice the cops attacked the protesters head-on. They arrested about six people, but could not force the demonstrators back. The cops then pulled back. They put on their helmets and shields. Over a bullhorn, the cops declared that the protest was a riot.

At the announcement, protesters chanted, "Police riot!"

Just as the cops were declaring a riot, it was announced on the radio that the Hormel plant was closed for the day.

With the declaration of a riot, the cops announced that anyone arrested at this time would be charged with a felony. Still the crowd stood its ground. The cops then announced that tear gas would be used. The demonstrators did not move, but began yelling, "The whole world is watching."

At that point, some cops moved back, and others put on gas masks. Then they threw tear-gas canisters.

As the canisters landed, some protesters picked them up and threw them back at the cops. Eight cops went to the hospital as a result of the gassing.

The cops threw more canisters, forcing the protesters to flee the gas. As the demonstrators tried to regroup on the road in

Continued on Page 20

## Unionists at march: 'We must win'

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — "I believe in what P-9 is doing," said Sherman Thurlow. He was one of the close to 6,000 people who came to Austin April 9-12 to support the striking members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9. Thurlow is also one of more than 50 members of UFCW Local 22 in Fremont, Nebraska, who was fired by Hormel for honoring P-9's roving picket lines at the plant there. He worked for Hormel for more than 21 years.

Despite the fact that his local union officials, like the top UFCW officialdom, are opposed to the Austin strike, Thurlow has gone on the road, speaking and raising funds for the strikers. He explained that the more he travels, the more he comes to see that "the corporations control the press, the National Guard, and the police."

Thurlow was among those who were attacked and teargassed by the cops on April 11 at the Austin Hormel plant. Referring to that experience, he said, "What our government is doing is what I thought communism is. Now I find out it's what capitalism is." The attack, he said, wouldn't dampen his efforts to help P-9 win a decent contract and to prepare for the

upcoming contract fight in the Fremont plant in September.

Deloris Dryden is another fired worker from Fremont. She was excited by the size of the April 12 rally. It showed, she said, that "there's a lot more support and unity because somebody's fighting."

Dryden said she came to protest the recent cop attacks on the strikers and their supporters. These attacks show, she said, "that the police are Hormel's private bodyguards."

Meatpackers also came for the march and rally from the Oscar Mayer plant in Madison, Wisconsin, and the Cudahy plant in Cudahy, Wisconsin. A leader of the Cudahy local, P-40, told the rally, "We're going to win. We must win. We have to fight together."

The workers from Cudahy have fought together with the Austin strikers. On March 28 they placed an ad in the Milwaukee *Sentinel*. The ad encouraged supporters to send donations to the Austin strikers and to refuse to buy Hormel products until the strike is justly settled.

Because of this ad and their recent vote to withhold dues from the UFCW International until it restores the sanction to the P-

9 strike, the top union officials are now threatening to put Local P-40 into trusteeship.

Spirited contingents of union members from the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, and the Farmstead plant in Albert Lea, Minnesota, also participated. An important addition to the march and rally was a delegation of workers from the Wilson meatpacking plant in Cherokee, Iowa.

Other striking workers also attended the April 12 march and rally to show their solidarity with the Austin strikers and to win support for their own struggle.

Ten strikers from the *Chicago Tribune* traveled to Austin. Richard Sleszig, a pressman for 17 years and a member of Pressmen's Local 7, told the *Militant*, "We support P-9 because it's open season on the unions. If the unions don't unite and if the smaller ones don't get bigger, we're all going down the tubes."

Sleszig explained that the *Chicago Tribune* strikers have shown solidarity by walking the picket line with TWA flight attendants at Chicago's O'Hare airport. He and other pressmen stressed how important this kind of mutual help is. The striking meatpackers, he said, will be participating in the May 4 solidarity rally with the *Tribune* strikers in Chicago.

A group of striking TWA flight attendants also participated in the march. Their representative, Michael McDermott, told the *Militant* that they were fighting TWA's effort to make profits at the expense of public safety and workers' wages and benefits. "We're here with P-9 because they're showing Hormel they can't do that either."

The TWA flight attendants solidarized with the Austin strikers' battle against the government, the cops, and top UFCW officials. In both strikes, McDermott said, "the police are working on behalf of management to make our picketing less effective than it should be."

Willie Mae Nunn is a Black woman punch-press operator on strike against Wire Cloth outside Chicago. Talking with the *Militant* after Saturday's rally, she explained that when the Austin strikers were in Chicago, they walked the picket line at Wire Cloth. In a true show of solidarity, Nunn organized a collection for them. The 66 striking members of her Steelworkers' local donated \$243 to P-9.

As the Chicago bus was pulling out of Austin, Nunn said, "This rally today touched me. We should be as one, and that's a union. I'm taking the message back to Chicago. If we do like P-9 does, we can win against the union-busters."

## Farmers solidarize with Hormel strikers

BY TOM JAAX

AUSTIN, Minn. — Responding to the call for solidarity by striking meatpackers, 25 farmers and supporters from Chillicothe, Missouri, came to Austin in their bus, called the "Good Ol' Boys."

For almost a month, farmers in Chillicothe have been encircling the offices of federal farm loan agencies with tractors in protest of the government's farm policies. Delegations of fired Hormel meatpackers from Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska, as well as striking meatpackers from Austin have joined in the farm protest.

Bob Smith, a Chillicothe farmer, explained that he came to Austin because it's time for farmers to support union struggles "instead of giving unions hell."

Smith thought that farmers should come to Austin to learn the real issues in the fight. Once farmers knew the issues, Smith said, he thought they would support the strikers.

Jerry Parks, another activist in the Chillicothe protest, said, "Corporations have always put labor people and farmers

against one another, blaming each other for high prices. People believed this and stayed fighting one another all these years."

But, Parks explained, by farmers joining in labor protests they can build the type of unity needed to fight the government-company attacks on both of them. "We can turn this country back around, when labor and farmers get together," Parks said.

He made it clear that when Hormel cuts workers' wages, this does not mean farmers get higher prices for hogs. It just means higher profits for Hormel.

Faced with foreclosure, Parks explained, many farmers are threatened by the banks and forced to scab at Hormel. "They [Hormel] can offer farmers \$5 an hour. And we can work for \$5 an hour, buy groceries, and try to save the farm. If they can force farmers to do that, they can break the unions."

In the course of our discussions on the struggle of workers and farmers in the United States, Parks pointed to the gains of the Nicaraguan farmers since the revolution there. An opponent of the U.S.-backed

war against Nicaragua, Parks explained that Nicaragua has a law against farm foreclosures. The Nicaraguan government has put thousands of farmers back on the land.

The U.S.-backed war, he said, is aimed at reversing these gains for farmers. Another Missouri farmer, Perry Wilson, Sr., also opposes the U.S. war in Nicaragua. He explained he's opposed to sending money to aid the *contras* in Nicaragua. "We've got no business over there. They can spend millions and have nothing for us," Wilson said. "We're fed up with this, and enough is enough."

Wilson explained that he came to Austin to help fight for "justice for these strikers." He witnessed the cop riot at the Hormel plant gate on Friday, April 11. "I don't like the justice that went on here," Wilson said. "I call that Gestapo tactics."

Parks and Wilson pledged that the "Good Ol' Boys" bus would ride again in support of the meatpackers' strike. They pledged to go to Ottumwa, Iowa, for the May 10 solidarity rally there. And they promised to return to Austin the next time strikers call a major demonstration.



# Thousands rally for Austin strikers

Continued from front page  
as well as Fremont, Nebraska, and Cherokee, Iowa.

## Big Ottumwa contingent

A large contingent came from UFCW Local 431 in Ottumwa, Iowa, where more than 500 members of the union were fired by Hormel for honoring P-9's roving picket lines. Wearing their red and white union jackets and caps, they marched behind a banner that read, "We honor picket lines."

The presence of so many other UFCW locals was particularly important since the top officials of that union have publicly attacked Local P-9 and withdrawn the strike sanction. These officials are currently trying to put Local P-9 into trusteeship, replacing the local's elected officials with those appointed by the officialdom. The participation in the march of these other UFCW locals was a clear repudiation of the officialdom's attack on the strikers by the ranks of that union.

Other workers, who are themselves fighting for a decent contract, also marched in support of the meatpackers. There were delegations of workers from the *Chicago Tribune* strike, striking TWA flight attendants, steelworkers on strike in Chicago, and a representative of the striking cannery workers from Watsonville, California.

## Farmers' delegation

Among the participants was a delegation of farmers who have been blockading the offices of government farm lending agencies in Chillicothe, Missouri. Farm activists from Minnesota and Wisconsin also participated in the march.

There were also delegations of high school and college students from Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois.

As the parade marched down Main Street, the protesters chanted, "They say give back, we say fight back" and "Who are we? P-9!"

When they passed the courthouse where the 17 strikers and supporters who were arrested in the cop riot were being held, the crowd booed and chanted, "Let our people go" and "Hormel scab patrol."

The rally following the parade was opened by P-9 President Jim Guyette. As he came to the podium, the crowd chanted, "P-9, P-9, P-9!"

Guyette began the rally by paying tribute to the 17 people arrested the day before. These strikers and supporters, he said, "were charged and brutalized by the forces of oppression in our town. Their sacrifice today and tomorrow," he continued, "will not be in vain." Guyette drew a parallel between the vicious attack on the peaceful protest at the plant gate the day before with the cop violence against Blacks who fought for their civil rights. Civil rights activists, he said, "were confronted by mace, guard dogs, and intimidation. But they were not moved, and we will not be moved."

"We can, must, and will win this struggle," Guyette said to applause. "We intend to keep rising to the challenge. We intend to keep confronting the company. And we intend to win."

Guyette then announced to great applause that Jesse Jackson, who had a prior commitment during the rally, would be coming to Austin the next day, April 13.

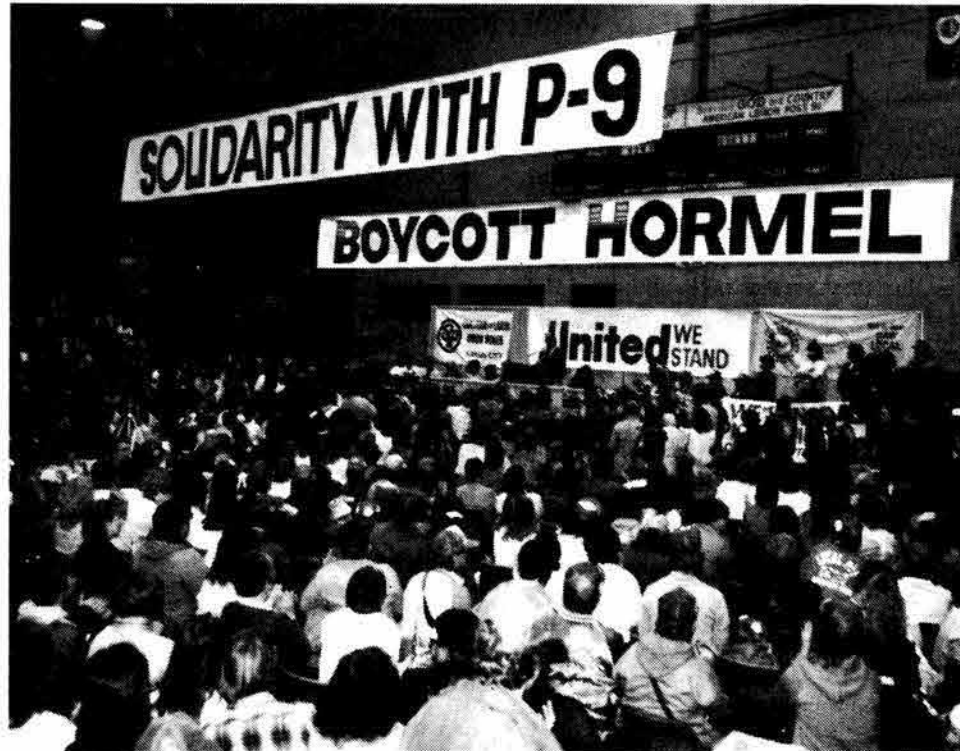
## 'You are symbol of courage'

Paying tribute to the strikers, TV star David Soul told the crowd that "you are an active symbol of courage." The strike, he said, shows the people of the United States that they can fight back and win.

The crowd rose to its feet chanting "431, 431, 431," as Mike Dudley, one of the fired workers of Local 431 from the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, came to the podium. Inviting everyone to join the 500 fired Hormel workers and march on the plant Wednesday, April 16, Dudley said, "We're going to tell the Hormel company that we're not going to take it anymore." He also announced plans for a solidarity rally in Ottumwa May 10.

Bobbi Polzine, a leader of the farm activist group Minnesota Groundswell, explained that by refusing to sell their hogs to Hormel, farmers can play a special role in this fight. The slogan in the countryside, she said, must be "Don't sell to Hormel."

The crowd rose to its feet to greet Michael McDermott, a representative of



Nearly 6,000 workers, farmers, and students rally in support of Hormel strikers April 12.

the striking TWA flight attendants. After explaining his union's struggle against the airline, he appealed to the crowd to support the boycott of Hormel products called by Local P-9 and not to fly TWA.

A representative of UFCW Local P-40 in Cudahy, Wisconsin, reported the decision of that local to withhold their dues from the International until the officialdom restores the sanction to P-9's strike. Despite threats by the officialdom to put P-40 into trusteeship, the members voted 291 to 73 not to pay International dues. With this action, she said, the members are telling the officials "we don't like what you're doing." "Local P-9," she continued, "we're going to win. We're going to win!"

## Missouri farm leader speaks

Charlie Peniston, a central activist in the month-long Chillicothe farm protest, was warmly received when he went to the podium to speak. While workers' wages are being cut and farmers are being driven off the land, he said, "Hormel's making profits. The farmers need you, and you need the farmers. Together we can win."

"We can whip this thing," Peniston continued. "We need to whip this thing."

Not for ourselves, but for our children and our children's children." Peniston pledged to build support for the Hormel boycott by organizing farmers not to sell hogs to the company. He promised that the Chillicothe farmers will join in the April 16 protest at Hormel's Ottumwa plant.

More than a dozen representatives from local unions lined the stage to present messages of support and financial contributions to the strikers. They included representatives from a local of New York City's teachers' union, a steelworkers' local from Baltimore, a letter-carriers local in San Francisco, and locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees from St. Paul and Detroit.

The crowd cheered when Dick Blin, editor of *The Labor World*, the Duluth AFL-CIO newspaper, presented Jim Guyette with two big wads of bills that had been collected at plant gates in that city.

David Foster, chairperson of the National Rank and File Against Concessions, announced to the crowd that the New York City Council had passed a resolution to support the P-9 strike.

Among the other speakers at the rally

were Bob Brown, national vice-president of the United Electrical Workers; Jim Coakley, president of Local 1200 of the United Auto Workers in Detroit; and Marsha Mickins, president of the Bakery Workers local in Detroit.

## Message to victims of cop riot

The rally ended with the reading of a message from the strikers and supporters arrested during the police riot. The police attack, they wrote, demonstrates that "the role of the police is not to keep the peace, but to defend the interest of Hormel. The police and Hormel," the message continued, "are the real criminals. We are political prisoners."

The message called for a public campaign to demand that Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich investigate the cop riot. Finally, those arrested appealed to all trade unionists to call on the AFL-CIO to mobilize its resources to defend Local P-9.

The weekend solidarity activities ended with a visit by Jesse Jackson April 13. More than 600 strikers and supporters greeted Jackson at the airport Sunday morning. Later, Jackson met with Charles Nyberg, vice-president of Hormel, and with Mower County Sheriff Goodnature. He also visited with the people arrested during the cop riot.

After these meetings, Jackson, who was accompanied by Jan Pearce, national vice-president of the Communications Workers of America, stopped at the union hall to talk to the press and some 400 strikers and supporters. Later that day Jackson spoke to more than 1,000 at a rally in a church here.

At this rally, Jackson advised the strikers not to campaign against the latest police attack. "We don't want the nation to focus on tear-gas and the police. It's not appealing," Jackson advised. Jackson also appealed for the release of those arrested Friday. They "were jailed for a principle," he said. "We want them set free. They must be set free," he said as the crowd cheered and applauded.

As we go to press, 16 of the 17 people arrested during the cop riot have been arraigned on charges ranging from felonious riot to obstructing legal process. They have been released on bail. The other victim was charged with a misdemeanor.

Jim Guyette and Ray Rogers face charges ranging from felonious aiding and abetting a riot, which is punishable by five years in prison, to contempt of court. They were released on \$5,000 bail each.

# Union tops begin trusteeship hearings

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ  
AND TOM LEONARD

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — Can a scab still be a good union member? According to Al Zack, the public relations officer of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) International Union, the answer is yes.

This surprising admission was made at an April 15 press briefing on the current trusteeship hearing organized by the union's top officialdom against UFCW Local P-9.

These hearings are being held to determine if the striking local violated a March 14 directive from the International officials that ordered the local to end its strike and boycott of Hormel. After receiving this directive, local members voted overwhelmingly, March 16, to continue the strike and to request that the International Executive Committee restore the strike sanction.

If these hearings decide that P-9 is guilty of this alleged violation of the UFCW constitution, the International Executive Committee could move to place the local into trusteeship. Such action includes replacing the local's elected leaders with officials appointed by the International.

During the press briefing, one reporter asked Zack if placing P-9 in trusteeship would not, in fact, destroy the local union. The members, she pointed out, vehemently oppose this move and would not follow the leadership of the appointed officials.

She asked, "Doesn't the union's strength come from its members?"

In response, Zack claimed that Local P-9 was "very divided." There are those mem-

bers who want to continue the strike, Zack said, and "there are 500 members working in the plant."

Militant reporter Andrea González asked if the International union considered the scabs, who crossed a sanctioned picket line, to be union members. Zack replied that as far as the International leadership is concerned, they are still union members.

González then asked if the International union was, therefore, talking with these scabs. Zack refused to confirm any communication with what he called "union members."

However, Jim Guyette, president of the striking local, told the press that during the hearings, the International representatives admitted that they "have been in constant communication with the strikebreakers."

Some 150 striking members of Local P-9 traveled 100 miles from Austin to exercise their right under the UFCW constitution to attend the hearing. It was clear that the strikers were prepared to defend their strike and boycott against Hormel, as well as show support for their local leadership. Many of the strikers had read the UFCW constitution and felt that it protected their right to continue their struggle.

When the strikers arrived, however, they found that the hearing was scheduled to take place in a room that held only 54 people. Only 25 to 30 strikers could get into the room. While waiting for news about the hearing, the strikers circulated thousands of Hormel boycott leaflets in downtown Minneapolis.

The hearings began at 10:00 a.m. April

14 without P-9 President Jim Guyette. He was in a Mower County courtroom being arraigned on felony charges stemming from the cop riot against the strikers and their supporters April 11. (See story on page 16.)

Guyette was able to attend the afternoon session. Before entering the hearing, he told the press that Local P-9's fight had never been with the International leadership. "Our fight," he said, "has been with the Hormel company and First Bank system. This process with the International is the International's thing. Now the International has decided to make it a public thing. Our disagreements with the International are such that it ought to be internal — and they have made it external."

When the first day's hearing recessed at 5:00 p.m., the rank-and-file members who were able to attend filed out of the room in an angry mood. One striker said, "I just can't believe it. The [International representatives] came to our rally and never let us know they were in town. The International union — our union brothers — didn't even have the courtesy to come talk to the local union brothers who have been on strike for over eight months now. Instead they go and talk to scab labor in the plant."

After the hearing, Guyette told the press that the officialdom was trying to focus the hearing only on that part of the union's constitution that covers the directive instead of on the constitution in its entirety, which protects the local's right to fight for a decent contract.



# Mexico garment workers organize

## Out of devastation and exploitation, women fight for union

BY MELINDA BROWN

MEXICO CITY, Mexico — Following the earthquake that devastated this city last September 19, women garment workers have been organizing to fight for their jobs, working conditions, and livelihood, which were severely affected by the disaster. Through their struggle, these workers — among the lowest paid and most exploited — have won a union, as well as broad support from other workers and quake victims.

The disaster, which resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of Mexicans, was particularly devastating in an industrial zone in the center of the city, where the clothing industry is concentrated. Some 800 factories and shops were seriously damaged or destroyed, resulting in the loss of some 40,000 jobs. Hundreds of workers, mainly women, died trapped in the rubble.

Destroyed buildings and vacant lots where buildings once stood can be seen throughout this city of some 17 million people. But the visitor who gets off the subway at San Antonio Abad in the heart of the garment district is flabbergasted by the sight of block after block of rubble, including tall buildings that no longer have ceilings, floors, or windows. A local resident pointed out to this reporter a three-story structure at 150 San Antonio Abad that had been 11 stories tall and that had housed some 25 garment shops.

### Terrible working conditions

Even before the earthquake, garment workers in Mexico labored under harsh conditions. Few were paid social security or the minimum wage. Often workers would be forced to work overtime without being paid. Pregnant women and older workers were often fired if they could not keep up the pace, which was extremely difficult.

The labor of these women workers has made millionaires out of some 3,000 entrepreneurs in the industry. A woman who has worked as a sewer in the garment industry for some 25 years explained that typically a sewer will be paid 50 pesos (about 10 cents) for assembling a garment, which is sold in the market for 2,000–3,000 pesos (\$4 to \$6).

Since the earthquake, workers have been pressured to return to work in damaged buildings. A rescue volunteer, engineer Heliodoro Hacias Moncada, accused the garment bosses and government authorities of jeopardizing lives in this manner. "People come to say that the buildings are okay, but they have to take radiographs of the columns to determine that," he said.

In another building, women are sewing as debris is removed. "It is dangerous for them to be in there, because if the debris is removed the building is going to tilt," warned Hacias Moncada. A man working on the third floor said the building moves when they remove the rubble.

The biggest immediate danger to these workers is the possibility of another earthquake, even a minor one, that could cause an already weakened structure to come crashing down. In the seven months since September 19, Mexico has experienced several such minor quakes.

### Bosses save safes, not workers

The earthquake took place in the morning, as most workers were preparing to go to work or were in transit. Those unfortunate who started early or worked the night shift were those who lost their lives in the factories.

As thousands of garment workers poured into the district that morning, they found the buildings destroyed and friends and coworkers trapped inside. In many cases they could hear cries for help. In desperation, they went to the government, the bosses, the Red Cross — anybody they could find to help rescue these workers. Nothing happened.

Arturo Díaz, a rescue volunteer, said, "The help for the rescue effort began to appear when the possibility of finding survivors had disappeared."

While help for the workers was slow in coming, some bosses used their connections in the government, and/or monetary bribes, to secure equipment to remove safes and other valuables. Outraged family and friends watched as machinery and raw materials were removed ahead of the trapped workers.

To add insult to injury, thousands of workers from shops damaged or destroyed

in the quake were dismissed without being paid the wages owed them or the severance pay mandated by law in Mexico for all workers. Benefits were denied to family members of those workers killed in the quake.

To avoid dealing with the troublesome complaints of employees to whom they owed wages, several owners tried to sneak out what machinery could be salvaged in the middle of the night to move it to a new location and set up shop under a different name.

### Workers begin to fight back

In this situation, faced with the loss of their friends and their jobs, and with nothing whatsoever to lose, the workers began to organize themselves on the streets, in front of the shops, amidst the rubble. Aldegunda Rojas, now a leader of the garment workers' union, explained how it happened in her shop.

"I was from one of the first shops where the struggle began. We went to the boss, and he told us he wasn't going to pay us, that he was bankrupt. One of the *compañeras* told him we would go to the Congreso de Trabajo (union federation) to seek justice. We went, and from there we began to mobilize. We got lawyers, who told us the machinery in the building was salvageable and that we would have to prevent the machinery from being removed to protect ourselves.

"We spent the first night there, alongside the Metro [subway]."

Two weeks later, still camped in the street, the workers and their supporters formed a human wall and prevented the army from moving a trailer of machinery out of the plant. The boss backed down and agreed to meet at least some of the workers' demands.

The same story was repeated in hundreds of shops. Bosses pleaded poverty, refusing to pay the measly wages and benefits owed to their employees, most of whom lived on the edge of starvation despite working 8–14 hours a day.

Guadalupe Conde, now general secretary of the newly formed union, told her story this way:

"When I realized that my shop had caved in, I went down the streets looking for work. I saw how everything had been destroyed.

"I had read that in San Antonio Abad a lot of *compañeras* had died and that others still alive were helping. I went to help them. I joined with them, and one night while we were talking — and for the first time talking without the boss or the supervisor hearing us — we daydreamed about building a union.

"As if it were a game, we decided: You will be the secretary general, you the treasurer, etc. We didn't dream that all of this would be decided in an assembly."

### Sewers present grievances

In the weeks and months since the earthquake, the sewers have presented their grievances to the president of the republic, to the media, and to progressive and trade union organizations in Mexico, as well as to the bosses.

On one occasion, 4,000 sewers marched through the streets to the president's office chanting, "We sew the clothes that you wear!" and "We produce, that's why we demand!"

They received a charter — legal recognition as "The National Union of Garment Workers — September 19."

Through their battles they have won severance pay for 70–80 percent of the workers laid off since the earthquake.

They have a contract signed with one of the larger manufacturers and have a majority of the workers organized and fighting for the union at an additional eight plants.

Their struggle takes place in the midst of a severe economic crisis in Mexico. Following the earthquake, the drastic fall in oil prices has crippled the economy, which is heavily dependent on oil revenues. At the same time, the country is staggering under a foreign debt of some \$100 billion, the second largest in Latin America.



Mexico City garment factory after 1985 earthquake. Some 800 such factories and shops were destroyed or damaged resulting in loss of 40,000 jobs.

Runaway inflation has meant that even workers with relatively good-paying jobs are finding it impossible to make ends meet.

In this context, the struggle of the garment workers has won sympathy and support from many quarters.

### Union office: beehive of activity

The union headquarters, a makeshift camp set up amidst the rubble, is a beehive of activity. On one Saturday, in the morning, a group of women workers from a factory previously unorganized by the union came to seek advice. In the afternoon, some 30 electricians from a sympathetic union came to offer solidarity.

College students, progressive lawyers, and journalists have all offered assistance to the union, and they work on different projects throughout the day.

At 3:00 p.m. a general assembly of the union was held that was attended by some 100 workers, as well as 20 to 30 observers. A couple dozen different factories were represented by the workers, at various stages of organization and struggle.

Being involved in the union is an exciting experience for these women.

One *compañera*, when it is her turn to speak, is hesitant to use the microphone. She wants someone else to make her presentation for her. The audience begins to chant, "Speech! speech!" and applauds loudly after her presentation.

Under the financial report, a debate takes place over how to use union funds. The proposal of the leadership is defeated by the majority at the assembly. The president of the union then takes the floor to point out how important it is to have a democratic union where the members make the decisions. "That is one thing," she says, "that makes this union different from other unions in Mexico."

The garment workers' struggle is far from over. They are still fighting for many of their demands. Evangelina Corona, a leader of the new union and a sewer for the past 22 years, explained: "With the union, the sisters feel somewhat protected, but at the same time fearful of the bosses' reprisals."

However, she adds, "the aim of the union is to give them confidence, and to affirm that now we have more power, a right that we must guard."

## Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM': Nicaragua land reform

Since the beginning of 1986, the Nicaraguan land reform has been extended and deepened. This development is taken up extensively in the new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, which features an interview with Daniel Núñez, president of Nicaragua's National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), as well as excerpts of the speech that Sandinista Commander Víctor Tirado gave at the closing session of the national assembly held by UNAG last January.

"When a plot of land is needed for economic development, this land will be given to the peasant, even if it means affecting a larger producer, no matter how efficient he may be. And the peasant will have to make good use of that land and surpass the production goals set for him," said Tirado.

The 124,000-strong UNAG held its assembly in preparation for the First National Peasant Congress to take place April 25–26.

Besides the land reform, Núñez and Tirado both go over the effect of Washington's *contra* war, international solidarity, the worker-farmer alliance and other important issues.

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

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August 1985 anti-apartheid march of 30,000 in New York. Inset, Tutu.

# Nation of Islam's 'Final Call' attacks Desmond Tutu and anti-apartheid fight

## Reactionary consequences of anti-Semitism

BY RASHAAD ALI

Shortly after South African anti-apartheid leader Bishop Desmond Tutu completed a successful tour of the United States, the *Final Call*, a monthly newspaper published by the Nation of Islam in Chicago, ran an article attacking the tour. The Nation of Islam's central leader is Louis Farrakhan.

The article poses the question: "Who sponsored the bishop's visit, and what is the history of the sponsor in regard to the struggle for freedom of the South African people?"

It answers by quoting Lesanosa Makhanda, deputy chief representative of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). They say Makhanda "when informed that the tour was organized by a group whose president, Lia Belli, is the wife of prominent Jewish attorney Melvin Belli, pointed out some contradictions."

### What contradictions

What were some of the so-called contradictions?

"Makhanda said Jews are heavily involved in supporting the Free South Africa Movement, but at the same time Jews own the Anglo-American Corporation which runs the South African mines, and they virtually control the South African economy."

(A representative of PAC confirmed that the discussion with the *Final Call* took place, but refused to confirm or deny the quotations attributed to Makhanda.)

The *Final Call* reports: "Jews are also strongly allied with the African National Congress (ANC), which is probably why the bishop chose to identify himself with the group in some of his U.S. appearances instead of remaining neutral, Makhanda said."

"He added that it was due to Jewish influence over the ANC which caused the PAC to withdraw from the organization in 1955. The new 'Freedom Charter' says that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Makhanda said."

"The Freedom Charter negated the national question of ownership of the land," Makhanda said."

The main problem in South Africa, it turns out, is the Jews — those in the ANC, and those the *Final Call* claims are in the white minority regime.

### Reactionary consequences

The views expressed in this article clearly show the reactionary consequences of anti-Semitism. For the Nation of Islam, Louis Farrakhan, and the PAC, the key issue facing Blacks in South Africa and around the world is the Jews.

Tutu's tour is suspect because the wife of a lawyer who is Jewish helped to organize it.

This is pure anti-Semitism. It is no less poisonous than the anti-Semitic propaganda that comes from ultraright groups like the Nazis, Ku Klux Klan, National Democratic Policy Committee of Lyndon LaRouche, and other such groups.

It's just as reactionary and dangerous when Blacks and other working people make the dirty charge.

The problem in South Africa is not Jews, or Christians, or Muslims. It is the apartheid state that denies the Black majority the right to own land, to live, work, and travel where they choose, and to have political and trade union rights.

To say Jews are the problem is a form of scapegoatism. It blocks the road forward and confuses who the enemy of the South

African people is: the apartheid regime in Pretoria and its imperialist backers in Washington and other imperialist centers.

### Democratic revolution

The ANC explains that the revolution in South Africa is a national, democratic revolution — for a single, united, nonracial, and democratic South Africa.

A democratic South Africa will include those the apartheid system classifies as Coloureds and Indians, who, together with the Africans, constitute the oppressed Black population. And it will include those whites who accept living and working as citizens with equal rights — no more, no less — in this new state.

In fact, the largest anti-apartheid organization in South Africa, the United Democratic Front, as well as the ANC and the newly formed half-million-member Congress of South African Trade Unions, are all organized on a nonracial basis. This helps give the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa its breadth and growing strength.

The approach outlined by the Freedom Charter, which was adopted by nearly 3,000 delegates attending the Congress of the People in 1955, draws the fire of the *Final Call* and the PAC. Why? Because the perspective of the Freedom Charter is "that South Africa belongs to all who live in it."

Exactly. That's what's needed in South Africa today. It is the democratic program that the freedom struggle, led by the ANC, is fighting for. This program has enabled the movement to fight against linguistic and tribal divisions fostered by the racist regime and draw more and more of the South African population into the battle against apartheid, including whites. Many white students have joined anti-apartheid protests. Some have refused to be drafted.

## Political ferment grows on campuses

Continued from back page

and solidarity to the embattled unionists, as well as to other struggles of working people.

This kind of broad political discussion and action is repeated on campuses throughout the country.

More than 50,000 students from more than 400 campuses turned out for the March 9 and March 16 actions in defense of a woman's right to choose abortion.

The slogans, banners, and cheers of their contingents reflected the students' militancy, internationalism, and determination to fight to defend the rights won by the civil rights and women's liberation movements.

"Fund contraceptives, not contras" was one of the most popular slogans.

One of the largest contingents at the demonstration in Washington, D.C., came from Barnard/Columbia in New York City. Some of the organizers of the contingent were also leaders and activists in the divestment struggle. Most had also been active supporters of campus workers who had gone on strike for pay equity.

Campus activists have continued to organize picket lines, escort services at abortion clinics, demonstrations, walkathons, and other local actions in support of abortion rights. Conferences, forums, and talks on topics of women's rights draw overflow crowds.

Students are confronting crude attempts by university officials to curtail democratic

Moreover, the democratic program embodied in the Freedom Charter is winning wider support among the oppressed Black population, who are gaining more confidence as the freedom struggle deepens.

The *Final Call*'s scurrilous attacks on the Free South Africa Movement are also without foundation. The movement is broad-based and growing day by day. It has touched millions throughout the world's population and is drawing them into action against the apartheid beast and its friends. It is fighting to break all political, social, and economic ties that the U.S. government and employers have with the racist regime in South Africa.

### Tutu's tour

The tour of Desmond Tutu helped to advance the struggle in the United States for South African freedom. Through the many interviews with newspapers and on television he was able to explain the cause of the South African majority to millions.

His presence at the celebration of the first observance of Martin Luther King, Jr., Day helped prevent those who wanted to keep the event nonpolitical from achieving their aim. Tutu injected opposition to South African apartheid and U.S. government friendship with it into the commemoration.

The anti-Semitic attack on Tutu, the ANC, and others fighting apartheid is the same method used by the white minority rulers of South Africa when they bait the ANC and the freedom movement as "communist."

Tutu has answered these slanders. He explained that the source of violence in South Africa is the apartheid regime and called for legalizing the ANC, freeing Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners,

and imposing full economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

He condemned the U.S. news media's red-baiting and explained that the ANC is the organization that most of the freedom fighters look to.

### The real enemy

Anti-Semitism is not just a poison, but an obstacle to Black and other working people joining the fight against U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa. That fight is clearly a low priority for the editors of the *Final Call*.

Blaming Jews for the evils of capitalism confuses, not clarifies, for working people who the real enemy is — the capitalist ruling class.

It is this capitalist ruling class that is the source of anti-Semitism and other forms of religious bigotry, as well as racism, sexual oppression, antihomosexual propaganda, and anti-immigrant attitudes. These will continue as long as this class of rulers and its government exist.

To blame Jews as the problem is not only reactionary, but can fuel backward positions on some of the most important questions of the day.

It's the U.S. ruling class and its imperialist allies that benefit from and foster anti-Semitism. Making Jews the enemy — and anti-Semitism the framework for political activity — helps the rulers maintain, reinforce, and deepen divisions among working people here and abroad. It undermines a united struggle against the common oppressors and exploiters.

Standing on the sidelines and taking anti-Semitic potshots at the tour of Tutu and the Free South Africa Movement as the *Final Call* and the Pan Africanist Congress did only helps the enemies of the movement for South African freedom.

rights in the hope of nipping protests in the bud.

At the Catholic University in Washington, D.C., students are challenging a ban on outside speakers who support abortion rights.

On many campuses, students are fighting the university's use of videotapes of protests to try to spot "troublemakers."

At UC Berkeley, the administration tried to ban nonstudents from the campus grounds, branding them as "outside agitators." So far, the students have defeated this attempt.

The upswing in political protest on the campuses has evoked a reaction from small numbers of right-wing students.

At Dartmouth College, in Hanover, New Hampshire, 12 right-wing students wielding sledgehammers attacked a cluster of shanties erected by anti-apartheid protesters. The attack took place on January 21.

Most of those who carried out the attack are associated with a right-wing student paper, *The Review*. The paper's editor, Roland Reynolds, described the sledgehammer crew that destroyed the shanties as "the Bernhard Goetz of Dartmouth."

Reynolds complains that the university has given in too much to the demands of women, Blacks, and gays and lesbians.

University officials are taking a hard line against the anti-apartheid protesters. They have authorized police attacks and arrests,

used court injunctions, and attempted to curtail democratic rights of free speech on the campuses in the hope of defusing the protest movement.

### Fight for the future

But they underestimate the deep commitment and determination of the students. "What kind of future would it be if we didn't stand up for what we believe in?" is how a young woman protester at the University of California at Santa Barbara put it.

Jackie Floyd, national cochairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance, told the *Militant* there is a big interest in socialist ideas on the campus. Students have joined the YSA in Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Boston; Houston; New Hampshire; North Carolina; Los Angeles; and Cincinnati.

"The students are looking for a way to put it all together," she said. "They are attracted to the YSA because we bring together young workers, farmers, and students, because it's an organization where young fighters — Black, white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, male and female, come together to struggle for a better world. They're attracted to our internationalism and solidarity with the struggles of working people throughout the world. There are clearly big opportunities on the campuses to win a new generation of young fighters to a revolutionary working-class perspective."



## CALIFORNIA

### Oakland

**Eyewitness Reports: The Hormel Strike and Solidarity Action in Austin, Minnesota.** Trade unionists report back. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

**May Day Picnic.** Sun., May 4, 11 a.m. at the Joaquin Miller Park at Pinewood site. Donation: \$5. Aup: California 1986 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

### San Diego

**Report Back from Austin, Minnesota, Meatpackers' Strike.** Speakers: Mary Hawkes, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1125; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 2803 B St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Solidarity With P-9 Workers on Strike Against Hormel.** An eyewitness account by Atlantans who attended recent solidarity rally in Austin, Minnesota. Sat., April 19, 7 p.m. 132 Cone St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## KENTUCKY

### Louisville

**Help Launch the Socialist Campaign.** Speaker: Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 3rd C.D. and member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., May 10, reception at 7 p.m., rally at 8 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$3. Aup: Socialist Workers '86 Campaign. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

## LOUISIANA

### New Orleans

**Hands Off Libya! What's Behind the U.S. Attack.** Dr. Ben Serety, Arab-American Friendship Society; representative of the General Union of Palestinian Students; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 19, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

**Open House to Celebrate Pathfinder Books.** Speakers, refreshments, and music. Fri., April 25, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$2. Aup: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**Grand Opening Celebration of Pathfinder Books.** Speakers: Rev. Ted Braun, recently returned from Cuba; Pat Grogan, staff writer for the *Militant*. Sat., April 19, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. Donation: \$3. Aup: Pathfinder Books. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

**Educational Conference on Women's Liberation.**

1. "Origins of Women's Oppression." Sat., April 19, 2:30 p.m. Speaker: Pat Grogan, staff writer for the *Militant*.

2. "The Second Wave of Feminism." Sun., April 20, 10:30 a.m. Speaker: Pat Grogan.

3. "The Nicaraguan Abortion Debate." Sun., April 20, 1 p.m. Speaker: Vivian Sahner, leader of St. Louis Socialist Workers Party.

Donation: \$2 per class, \$5 for series. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**U.S. Hands Off Libya! Protest meeting against Washington's attacks on the Libyan people.** Speakers to be announced. Translation

to Spanish. Fri., April 25, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

**Report from El Salvador.** Slide show by Don Gurewitz, attended convention of Salvadoran trade union federation. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 3, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Israel/South Africa: the Apartheid Connection?** Speakers: African National Congress representative; South West Africa People's Organisation UN Mission representative; November 29th Committee for Palestine representative; Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Valerie van Isler, Interfaith journalist. Thurs., April 17, 6:30-10 p.m. Harriet Tubman School (127th St. between Clayton and Douglass). Aup: African National Congress and November 29th Committee for Palestine. For more information call (212) 867-5166.

**The Color Purple: Aid or Obstacle in the Struggle for Black and Women's Liberation?** Speakers: Gregory Banks, National Black Independent Political Party; Pat Wright, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 18, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**A U.S. Imposed Crisis: the Case of the Dominican Republic.** Speakers: David Ortiz, Socialist Bloc of Dominican Republic; Francisco Picado, member of Young Socialist Alliance and staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Translation to English. Fri., April 25, 7:30

p.m. Preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Aup: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**What Socialists Stand For.** Panel discussion. Sun., April 20, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

**Protest U.S. War on Libya and Nicaragua.** Panel discussion. Sun., April 27, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Cincinnati

**Defend Workers' Compensation.** A video presentation and discussion. Speakers: Dan Radford, executive secretary, Cincinnati Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Doug Fields, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 402; Lorraine Starsky, member United Auto Workers Local 645 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

### Cleveland

**Hormel Strike: Hear the Union Side.** Video: *We're Not Gonna Take It*. Speakers: Marcia Halverson, member of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants; Henry Scheer, Socialist Workers Party and member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Sat., April 19, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$3. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

# Cops riot against protest at Hormel plant

Continued from Page 16

front of the main gate, the cops picked off individual strikers and supporters for arrest. The cops then formed a line across the road at the main gate, opening it up to traffic.

When the cops lined up across the road, the strikers confronted them. One striker, Dude Arndt, told the cops, "This is Hormel, U.S.A. They own the whole goddamn town and all the goons in it. I'd quit if I had to do what you're doing."

By 8:30 a.m. the cops had pulled the cars from the circle, opening the road and allowing the scabs to enter the plant.

As the scabs entered, the crowd shouted at the cops, "Scab lover" and "Why don't you go in the plant and just be a scab."

After the plant was opened, demonstrators marched to the courthouse to protest the arrests. At the courthouse, 25 cops in full riot gear stood guard. Chanting, "Let them go," the protesters circled the courthouse several times and then marched to the union hall.

At a union press conference two hours later, P-9 President Jim Guyette denounced the police violence to the cheers of some 200 strikers and supporters. "This morning," he said, "we felt we had a peaceful demonstration that was turned into a riot by the police and state law-enforcement officials."

Guyette reported that the cops refused to tell the union who had been arrested or what they had been charged with. The cops, he said, had also refused the strike supporters' requests to see the union's at-

torneys.

At the news conference, Emily Bass, a P-9 attorney, announced an important victory for the union and Ray Rogers. Judge Bruce Stone, she said, had just dismissed the criminal syndicalism charge against Rogers.

Criminal syndicalism is a felony, punishable by five years in jail and a \$5,000 fine. The statute defines criminal syndicalism as "the doctrine which advocates crime, malicious damage or injury to the property of an employer, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means to accomplish industrial and politi-

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Labor Fights Back: United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 On Strike Against Hormel.** Eyewitness report from April 12 national solidarity rally in Austin, Minnesota. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 19, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

**Hands Off Libya!** A panel discussion. Sat., April 26, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## VIRGINIA

### Newport News

**The Hormel Strike: Labor's Fight Against Concessions.** Videotape and eyewitness reports from Austin, Minnesota. Sun., April 27, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$3. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Stop the U.S. War in Central America.** A strategy discussion. Speakers: David Hostetter, coordinator Washington Peace Center; Ike Nahem, member of United Transportation Union Local 1522 and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 20, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**The Philippines: What Next After Marcos?** Speakers: Chat Canlas, Philippine Support Committee; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 26, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

cal ends."

In dismissing the charge, Bass told the press, the judge stated that the law was unconstitutional. The ruling, she continued, also declared that the prosecutor's claim that Local P-9 and Rogers' Corporate Campaign, Inc. were criminal syndicalist organizations was without any basis in fact or in law.

Although the government was forced to drop the charges against Rogers, she told the press, the cops had arrested him again.

That evening 150 people returned to the courthouse, as did 300 people the next morning, to protest the arrests.

# D.C. protest: 'No contra aid'

Continued from back page

both Nicaragua and South Africa imperialistic policies systematically violate human rights and deny the peoples' struggle for liberation."

Cecile Counts, a leader of TransAfrica and the Free South Africa Movement, compared U.S. backing for the Nicaraguan contras with the recent push for U.S. aid for the South African-backed UNITA contras in Angola. She pledged the Free South Africa Movement's continued and strong opposition to U.S. aid to the contras.

Michael Urquhart, president of American Federation of Government Employees Local 12 and co-chair of the Washington-area Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean, told the crowd, "No longer can the U.S. government take for

granted that the labor movement will support U.S. foreign policy."

A message in support of the protest from William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, was read.

Other speakers included Damu Smith of the April Actions Coalition for Peace, Jobs and Justice and of the Washington Office on Africa; Hilder Mason of the Washington, D.C., City Council; and Bart Tripit, of Veterans for Peace.

The April 13 protest received significant press coverage, including articles in the *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, and the *Philadelphia Daily News*. There was coverage on all local television stations as well as the Cable News Network and International News Network.

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

**CALIFORNIA:** Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 2803 B St. Zip: 92102. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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

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

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



**He rented them out?** — Discussing the five dialysis machines found in Malacañang Palace, ex-dictator Marcos insisted that he did not take daily dialysis treatment.



**Harry Ring**

ment. "If I had needed dialysis, why should I have needed five?" he inquired. To nail down the point, he noted the palace also had two X-ray machines which he had

no special use for.

**They've got an opening?** — The White House has asked the United Nations War Crimes Commission for a copy of the secret file on Kurt Waldheim, former UN secretary general and former Nazi.

**No more givebacks** — Remember those givebacks by Chrysler workers, assertedly to save the company from going under? And how Lee Iacocca worked for several months for \$1 a year? Well, Iacocca, at least, is catching up. Last year, he "earned" \$1.6 million. Plus, he's due for 225,000 shares of common stock, worth almost \$10 million.

**Sort of like Republicans and Dems** — McDonald's decision to switch from the new Coke to the "Classic" will not affect the company's bottom line, "since they're swapping one Coke product for another," a spokesperson explains.

**Now wait a minute** — The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors voted to change the name of the Angeles National Forest to Reagan National Forest. Snorted a Sierra Club spokesperson, "Naming a national forest after Reagan is like naming a day-care center after W.C. Fields."

**Perfect capitalist tool** — Publisher Malcolm Forbes' new yacht

gets a rave *New York Times* review. "Quietly lavish," lots of leather and marble, priceless art works, video and sound in all rooms, ample space for cocktails and dinner for 80. And, considerably, quarters for those who run the ship "situated so guests rarely encounter the crew."

**Our mixed economy** — Pierre Cardin's Man's Musk, a fragrance, is a product of American Cyanimid.

**A prevue** — Neighbors of the Reagan California ranch who have remote controls on their automatic garage doors are getting PO'd with presidential vacations. When his command plane, heavy with elec-

tronic gear, sets down, their remotes jam up. The plane is designed to be a command center in a nuclear war.

**Fun and games** — A *New York Times* visitor to the "modest" \$4,500 a month Marcos pad in Honolulu reported: "Arriving at lunchtime with a group of friends from Manila, and carrying gifts of cake and cookies, his daughter Irene Areneta said gayly: 'We're all refugees. Isn't it fun?'"

**A pro** — Imelda Marcos said she had split from Manila with but one good dress. Obviously, she's familiar with the old travel maxim: Take half the clothes and twice the money.

## 'Their only crime was their Japanese ancestry'

**Justice at War: the Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases** by Peter Irons. Oxford University Press, New York, 1983. \$8.95, 407 pages, paperback.

BY PATTI IYAMA

Forty-four years ago, on Feb. 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. This order authorized the Secretary of War and military

### BOOK REVIEW

commanders designated by him to exclude any and all persons from military zones in the United States.

It was two months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The West Coast was designated a military area on March 2. A curfew requiring all Japanese Americans to stay in their homes every night from 8:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. was imposed on March 24. This order also restricted Japanese Americans to a five-mile radius from their homes and workplaces during noncurfew hours.

On March 24 General DeWitt, commander of the Western Defense Command, issued the first of 108 "exclusion orders" directing all Japanese Americans to evacuate the West Coast, and report to assembly centers hastily erected in racetracks and fairgrounds.

While Executive Order 9066 gave the military the power to issue orders, it did not give the military the power to punish people for not obeying the orders. Congress moved quickly to grant that authority. On March 19, without debate or dissent, both houses of Congress passed Public Law 503, which gave the Justice Department the responsibility for punishing violations of military orders.

By the summer of 1942, over 120,000 men, women, and children of Japanese descent had been put behind barbed wire in 10 concentration camps. Two-thirds of the evacuees held illegally without trial were citizens of the United States. (The others were prevented by law from becoming U.S. citizens.)

Their only crime was their Japanese ancestry. They were locked up for one to four years. The last concentration camp, at Tule Lake, California, was closed on March 20, 1946, six months after the Japanese had surrendered and World War II had ended.

#### History of discrimination

Japanese in the United States had faced widespread discrimination since they began arriving in the late 19th century. They could not by law become U.S. citizens, buy land, marry whites, or enter the United States after 1924. The evacuation from the West Coast and internment in concentration camps were logical extensions of this legalized racism.

Out of the 120,000 interned, only a dozen tried to use the legal system to challenge the military orders. *Justice at War* documents the cases of the four Japanese Americans that ultimately reached the Supreme Court. Using documents uncovered through the Freedom of Information Act, Peter Irons reveals the governmental cover-up of evidence favorable to the Japanese Americans.

In this process, he reveals the true face of justice in the United States, demonstrating that there is no such thing as "impartial justice" that stands above politics. Instead, the entire legal system, from bottom to top, works to defend the interests of the ruling class. In these four cases of Japanese Americans, all of the decisions were based on political considerations.

#### Case of Gordon Hirabayashi

Take Gordon Hirabayashi's case as an example. He was a 23-year-old math major at the University of Washington when the military curfew was imposed. Active in a Quaker group, he challenged the military orders, believing them to be unconstitutional since they were based solely on his race and ancestry. He refused to obey the curfew, to register for evacuation to a concentration camp, and later to register for the draft because of his pacifist views.

Hirabayashi never went to camp. He spent nearly two

years in county jails and federal prisons for his refusal to go along with the U.S. government's treatment of Japanese Americans.

At his trial the prosecution's first witness was Gordon Hirabayashi's father, whose testimony established only that both he and his wife had been born in Japan and were Gordon's parents.

In his closing arguments the prosecutor told the jury, "It is your duty to obey the instructions of the Court. If we don't win this war with Japan, there will be no trial by jury."

The judge then instructed the jury that "it is your duty to accept the laws as stated by the Court, despite any opinion of your own that the law should be different." He ordered the jury to find that Hirabayashi was of Japanese ancestry, that he was therefore subject to the military orders for curfew and evacuation, and that he in fact violated those orders. "You are instructed to return a finding of guilty, and if you will not, you are violating your oath." Not surprisingly, the jury took 10 minutes to find Hirabayashi guilty on both counts.

In 1943 the Supreme Court upheld Gordon Hirabayashi's conviction, as well as those of two other young Japanese American men who had resisted the military-imposed curfew and/or evacuation. The grounds on which the Court justified the government's actions against the Japanese Americans was "military necessity."

According to this view, there was a danger of sabotage and espionage by the Japanese Americans, and therefore it was necessary to remove this potential fifth column from the "war zone" on the West Coast. No cases of sabotage or espionage were ever proven against any people of Japanese descent living in the United States.

#### New evidence of U.S. gov't cover-up

This book uncovers important new evidence that the U.S. government withheld, suppressed, and altered evidence indicating that there was no military necessity to incarcerate the Japanese Americans. For instance, military officials had based their decision to intern Japanese Americans on the racist theory that it was impossible to tell loyal from disloyal ones because they all look alike and can never be "Americanized."

General John DeWitt, commander of the U.S. Western Defense Command, who ordered evacuation, told a congressional committee, "A Jap's a Jap. They are a dangerous element. . . . There is no way to determine their loyalty. . . . It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen; theoretically he is still Japanese, and you can't change him by giving him a piece of paper."

Thus the military told the Supreme Court that the internment was necessary because there was no time to separate the loyal from the disloyal Japanese Americans.

But in a first version of DeWitt's final report on the evacuation, he admitted that lack of time to conduct individual loyalty hearings was not a factor in his decision to recommend evacuation. He implied that there was no way to separate "the sheep from the goats" because Japanese Americans were such a "tightly-knit racial group."

The government went so far as to suppress the first version of DeWitt's report because of its open racism. This version undermined the government's argument that the internments were carried out for military necessity.

The report was rewritten to bolster the government's case. And it erased the existence of the original report, burning the galley proofs, galley pages, drafts, and memoranda. Nothing was left in the Pentagon to show that this first version had ever existed. Only a confidential file at the San Francisco Army headquarters contained the remaining records.

#### ACLU's refusal to defend Japanese Americans

*Justice at War* also reveals that lawyers working for the Japanese Americans were not immune to the political pressures of wartime hysteria. None of the lawyers who represented the Japanese Americans had the official backing of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), even though they were individually members of the ACLU. The ACLU national board, in the name of the national war effort, adopted a resolution not to challenge



Evacuation of Japanese Americans to concentration camps on Bainbridge Island, Washington, 1942.

the government's constitutional right to evacuate and incarcerate the Japanese Americans.

The evidence compiled by the author of this book was key to reopening three of the convictions of Japanese Americans who resisted curfew and/or evacuation. The discovery of documents on governmental misconduct has led to the overturn of all their convictions and has knocked out the factual underpinnings of the Supreme Court decisions. These decisions have vindicated the Japanese Americans, who were put into concentration camps because of racism, not because they posed — much less carried out — a military threat.

In 1983 the Commission on Wartime Relocation appointed by President Carter condemned the internment of Japanese Americans as "a grave injustice." It agreed unanimously that "Executive Order 9066 was not justified by military necessity" but had been motivated by "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership."

Peter Irons in *Justice at War* concludes that the outcome of the four Japanese American cases reflected the failure of the legal system. While this book is a valuable source of information not available elsewhere (although the author sometimes gets lost in the details of legal machinations), this view is its weakest point. Irons considers these cases to be a mistake, an aberration of the legal system.

But in truth this history shows how the decisions in these cases were not an accident. They were an integral part of a campaign by the capitalist ruling class carried out during World War II by all branches of its government. The president signed Executive Order 9066, Congress voted to punish those disobeying it, and the Supreme Court decided to uphold it.

Justice is not blind. The legal system serves the class that is in power. These cases show that we cannot depend on a moral concept of "justice" to protect us, nor on the big-business politicians or the mass media that are controlled by big business.

What we learn from these cases is that the only way we can guarantee our rights under this system is to fight for them. That is how these Japanese Americans were able to get the decisions against them overturned. And that is how we will be able to prevent in the future another mass roundup of people based solely on their race.



## Hormel strike can win

The April 19-12 solidarity actions culminating in a big rally in Austin, Minnesota, were a big boost to the embattled strikers of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW).

Close to 6,000 trade unionists, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, and students participated in these protests against the union-busting drive of the Geo. A. Hormel Co. P-9 has been on strike for eight months to win a decent contract.

The demonstrators came from 40 states and represented scores of AFL-CIO-affiliated unions, as well as major independent unions, including the Teamsters, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and United Mine Workers of America. (See front-page story.)

They came to embrace the meatpackers' strike as their own and to share with Local P-9 members their determination that this strike can still be won.

Unfortunately this winning spirit does not extend to the UFCW International officialdom. After first declaring the strike lost and then removing their strike sanction last month, it is now seeking to place P-9 under its trusteeship. (See story page 17.) This is an effort to gain control of the local's resources by removing the elected leadership and thus end the strike without the approval of the membership.

P-9 members have responded by meeting with UFCW members in the union's meatpacking division, urging them to aid P-9 in its internal dispute with the International leadership.

In March they also called on UFCW President William Wynn and the union's International Executive Committee to support the strike and not attack it.

During the April 11 police assault on strike picket lines outside Hormel plant gates, 17 strikers and supporters were arrested. They are facing charges of criminal felony. P-9 has responded to this frame-up by urging working people, students, and others to send messages to Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich demanding an investigation of this police riot.

We urge support for all these demands and that the frame-up charges be dropped.

More than ever, working people and their allies need to support the striking meatpackers. This includes:

- Getting your union local to send delegations to Austin.
- Building support for the Hormel boycott.
- Sending resolutions of support.
- Continuing support for P-9's "Adopt A Family" program and raising other funds for the strike.
- Continuing to support P-9's calls for solidarity actions like those on April 9-12.

## Say no to U.S. contra war

Continued from front page

If Honduras is drawn in, it will increase the danger of direct U.S. intervention as well. "Saving" Honduras could be the pretext for direct blows by U.S. military forces against Nicaragua.

The criminal attacks against Libya are also intended to help create a climate for direct aggression against Nicaragua.

At the current meeting of the foreign ministers of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, Nicaragua's Miguel D'Escoto joined in the unanimous condemnation of the U.S. strike against Libya.

Linking Washington's attack on Libya to Reagan's drive for aid to the contras, D'Escoto said this made clear that Washington wants to "replace the international legal order with the concept that might is right."

The Libya-Nicaragua linkage was confirmed by Reagan in a speech the day after the bombing. Reagan asserted that Libyan aid to Nicaragua was designed to "bring his [Muammar el-Qaddafi's] war home to the United States."

Reagan claimed that Qaddafi "has bragged that he is helping the Nicaraguans because they fight America on its own ground."

With U.S. bombers striking at Libya in "self-defense," is there any reason to doubt that, at some point, Nicaragua could be targeted for the same treatment if Washington feels it can get away with it?

Reagan has pressed the anti-Nicaragua drive on all fronts. This includes stepping up pressure on the Central and South American governments to denounce Nicaragua.

The meeting of the Contadora group in Panama City in early April focused on pushing a loaded proposition Nicaragua could not accept.

In 1984 Nicaragua signed the original Contadora pact, which included a proposal to remove foreign military advisers and bases from the region. Washington rejected that treaty because it saw the pact as an obstacle to its massive military buildup in the area.

The recent meeting was sponsored by the expanded Contadora group — the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela, plus Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay. It included the Central American governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

There it was proposed that the Central American governments sign a new accord. The key point in the accord was that each of the governments agree to reduce the size of its armed forces. The biggest reduction by far would have been Nicaragua's.

The Contadora sponsors argued, quite implausibly, that if Nicaragua cut back its armed forces, it would be more difficult for Washington to continue backing the contra war.

Nicaragua was not persuaded. It explained it could not risk reducing its armed forces until Washington ended its support to the contras. In fact, it's only the growing effectiveness of the Nicaraguan military against the contras that has prevented Washington from sending them even more aid.

The escalating involvement of Honduras against Nicaragua, the Contadora meeting, and the aggression against Libya — all these developments signal that the Central Americanization of the war drive has increased.

This makes it even more imperative that opponents of

Washington's dirty war redouble their efforts to build an effective mass movement against it.

Despite its military power and grim determination to crush the Nicaraguan revolution, it is by no means preordained that Washington will achieve its reactionary goal.

For one thing, Nicaragua has resisted the aggression with incredible effectiveness and has dealt the contras crippling blows. The 3.5 million people of this tiny nation have proven themselves a force to be reckoned with.

Nor do they stand alone. The foot-dragging of the Honduran government in accepting Washington's dictates testifies to the absence of any popular support for war in that country.

And the overwhelming majority of the people of Latin America are dead opposed to intervention by the imperialist bullies to the north.

Here at home, a majority of working people oppose aid to the contras and are hostile to direct U.S. involvement in the fighting. Maneuvers by congressional Democrats on funding the contras are, in part, a recognition of that sentiment. And so is the decision of three governors not to have their National Guard contingents participate in Honduran training maneuvers. (See story on page 7.)

In the days before the House vote on contra aid, protest demonstrations were held in scores of cities, and reports indicate good turnouts.

The forces that initiated these actions should now be drawn together for the next necessary step, a national march on Washington. Such a demonstration would have an important political impact, particularly if held before the congressional dispute on contra funding is resolved. It would be a much-needed blow to the moves to regionalize the war.



## Fidel Castro on revolutionary fight for peace

The following are excerpts from a speech Cuban President Fidel Castro delivered Dec. 8, 1984, to the closing session of the Sixth Congress of the Federation of Students in Intermediate Education, meeting in Havana. It is contained in the Pathfinder Press book, *Fidel Castro Speeches 1984-85: War and Crisis in the Americas*. Copyright © 1985 by Pathfinder Press; reprinted by permission.

We will do all that is in our hands to further international détente, to foster a climate of peace; we will do all that is in our hands to further détente in our area, in Cuba and in Central America; we will do all that is in our hands to further détente even in other areas, as part of our principled policy and our awareness of the need to fight for peace. By doing so, we feel we are interpreting the finer aspirations of humanity and of our own people.

But peace is not attained through weakness. Peace is attained through strength, courage, and determination of

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

peoples. I believe this is what has characterized our revolution over these 25 years.

Without a firm line, without the determination to struggle, to resist, and to pay whatever price for our revolution and independence, we do not think our revolution would have survived under the difficult conditions in which it came about and developed, within a few miles of the world's most powerful imperialist country. I believe that spirit of our people has been decisive, first to the survival and later to the momentum and development of the revolution.

One day our adversaries will have to understand this: we have no interest in seeing the bloodshed of the U.S. people and the Cuban people in an imperialist adventure in our country. This is why we will always be on the alert for any sign or indication of U.S. leaders veering toward a policy of respect or a policy of aggression toward our country.

We do not believe that the people of the United States want war. It is evident that the immense majority of the people of the United States reject the idea of war, of any war, but most of all a world war.

We know that socialism doesn't want war, has no interest in war, and makes no business out of war or weaponry. Wars and the arms race have always been the business of capitalists, of imperialists, not of socialism, which has no economic reason for investing huge resources in destructive weapons when there are so many needs to be met, so many aspirations to social and economic development for the well-being of man that must be made a reality.

And so wars, the arms race, and the arms business are inherent to capitalist society and diametrically opposed to the nature, concept, philosophy, and needs of a socialist society. For the socialist countries, arming themselves is a bitter necessity, a costly necessity, which they do without hesitation because they have no alternative.

It is our conclusion, therefore, that the main danger of whether or not there is war in the world and the danger of nuclear war comes largely from the United States. There are even those who dream of military supremacy and space weapons capable of creating an invulnerable shield, fantasies that could only lead to an increase in the arms race and in the danger of war.

But we know that the people of the United States do not want war. They can be fooled in regard to certain things and through the skillful use of the mass media. They can be skillfully manipulated into certain prejudices, false conceptions, and lies, and on certain occasions a large part of U.S. public opinion has been led to support criminal acts for which there can be no defense or justification, as for example in the case of the invasion of Grenada over a year ago.

The threats against our country have served only to multiply our forces, over and over again, because not only the number of organized, armed, and trained men and women has multiplied, but so also have the ideas.

Clearly we prefer peace to war. This is a basic duty of every revolutionary, of every Marxist-Leninist, and, above all, of every party in power, every responsible government.

It's very important for every citizen — every mother, father, brother, sister, and child — to know what the revolutionary government's stand is on this, to know that the government does not act on impulse or pride but is rather characterized, and must always be characterized, by calm, deliberation, and cool-headedness, because the responsibility for the life and destiny of an entire nation falls on our party and government. This obliges us to look ahead, to take every measure, and make every effort to be strong and, at the same time, calm.



# Fight against sexual harassment is union issue

BY ROBBIE SCHERR

About 50 women and men from Toledo, Ohio, attended a forum on sexual harassment that was sponsored by the Women's Committee of United Auto Workers Local 12. Held at the union hall in March, the forum had participants from various local units of the UAW in Toledo. Some members of the Toledo Chapter of the National Organization for Women also took part.

The program included a showing of the video, *Would You Let Someone Do This To Your Sister?* which was

## UNION TALK

produced by the national UAW's educational department. It was followed by a talk by Dottie Jones, the UAW's assistant director of education.

The video is a moving and informative documentary that traces the experiences of six women who have been victims of sexual harassment by supervisors or male coworkers. A Spanish-language version is being produced.

Joe Tomasi, director of Region 2B of the UAW, opens the film by explaining, "If we sit by while one union member harasses another then union solidarity means nothing."

The women featured in the film include office workers, an auto assembler, and a truck driver. They describe the torture of day after day of verbal or physical abuse. The women described how the experience affected their jobs, their self-confidence, and their personal lives.

As Dottie Jones explained, sexual harassment is like rape in the sense that it is a "hostile act of aggression displayed in a sexual manner. She quoted the UAW's position statement on sexual harassment that labels any "unwanted sexual attention" as a form of harassment. This policy was adopted on Jan. 15, 1981, and has been circulated to all union presidents.

Jones reviewed the UAW's procedure for filing a grievance on the issue when the offender is a boss or supervisor. She told an amusing story of how women workers in one plant used some creative action to draw attention to their problem with a particularly sexist foreman. They poured green paint in the foreman's shoes. The women all started wearing sweatshirts with pictures of green footprints on them to put him on the defensive and to illustrate their plight to coworkers.

Jones outlined seven steps experience has shown to be effective in fighting sexual harassment cases. They are: 1. Inform the person that the attention is unwanted. 2. Keep a written record of the incidents. 3. Try to get sup-



Left, woman auto worker. Right, sticker printed in a local United Auto Workers union newspaper next to an article about sexual harassment. Many women wore stickers to work the next day.

TO ALL FOREMEN:  
**HANDS OFF!**  
PERSONAL PROPERTY

port from coworkers. 4. Keep a copy of your own work-performance record so that foremen can't use poor workmanship as a phony excuse to cover up a sexual harassment issue. 5. Get witnesses if possible. 6. Look for other victims. 7. Use the union channels up to and including the UAW International appeals process.

Much of the discussion centered on how to handle harassment from coworkers and on how to get local union officials to take the problem seriously.

A woman from the Jeep assembly plant told a story of a coworker whose racist and sexist comments "made life hell" for her. She went to the union committeeman, who called the guy to task. She hasn't been bothered since.

Another woman said a coworker is always dropping his pants to shock her and other women workers. She doesn't want to turn him in to the company, but her local union officials just laughed when she told them about it. Another woman, a union committeeperson who is trying to stop sexual harassment against a coworker, also reported that her local union president wouldn't take the case seriously.

Another woman described how a shop-floor fight against sexual harassment had inspired her to run for union office. Although she didn't win this time, she felt that she was able to assert her dignity and help educate the union on this issue.

Dottie Jones explained that sexual harassment is il-

legal, and this should be pointed out to offenders. Furthermore, she explained, the union has a constitutional procedure for filing charges against a member for conduct unbecoming a union member. Although this is certainly a last step, Jones said, it is a constitutional guarantee that union members will be treated with respect.

Although the fact that the union has an official policy against sexual harassment doesn't automatically solve the problem, it does put women and supporters of women's rights in a strong position to press our case.

It helps explain why sexual harassment isn't a joke, but a vicious weapon used against women workers in an attempt to intimidate or drive us out.

This is a basic question of equality and solidarity among workers. Most male coworkers can be won to support women workers in fighting sexual harassment — be it from the bosses or from another worker — and to understand that it is a union issue.

The video is an excellent educational tool. It is available, along with copies of the UAW's position paper on sexual harassment, from Solidarity House, 8000 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Mich. 48214.

Robbie Scherr is a member of the Women's Committee of UAW Local 12 in Toledo. Scherr is also the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio.

## LETTERS

### The Color Purple

On Pat Wright's advice I went to see *The Color Purple*. (Also to satisfy my own curiosity about the charges hurled against it by the NAACP and others.) I thought the book was great and the movie brilliant.

I got angry, because none of the male Black actors were nominated for Oscars, nor Steven Spielberg, the director who did a magnificent job in putting the movie together and brought the feel of the novel to the screen.

And what also angered me was that in order to slam the movie and still like the book, the NAACP and other critics had to lie about the movie and its portrayal of Blacks.

Then on March 24 I got really angry. *The Color Purple* didn't receive one Oscar! Movie critics afterward said it's happened before and there was no racism involved. But when you look at the picture that won the best-picture Oscar, *Out of Africa*, you know the voting was racist.

*Out of Africa* is an apology for colonialism and imperialism. The protagonist is a rich noblewoman who writes under the pen name Isak Dinesen, and critics say the movie is about how she was transformed by Africa.

In fact, she is not changed by Africa. She represents those who took up "the white man's burden" and is condescending toward Blacks. Blacks are portrayed as quaint, ignorant savages just waiting to be handed education by the whites — and then show their gratitude by becoming doting servants or meek field hands.

Blacks are also mythologized — the romantic figures of Masai warriors are made to seem so unreal that when we are told they are

"dying out" we aren't supposed to feel angry about colonialism but just nostalgically sad.

*The Color Purple* has only one scene about colonialism and imperialism. In it a wave of bulldozers and heavily armed Black mercenary collaborators, commanded by white overseers, move in to destroy the tribal village where Celie's sister is a missionary. Why? To make way for a railroad that will aid the imperialists in plundering African wealth.

It's a brilliantly done segment of the movie.

And guess which movie the NAACP labels racist? J.W.

Indianapolis, Indiana

### Utah anti-apartheid

Students at the University of Utah have jumped into the anti-apartheid fight with both feet.

Last fall the student government passed a resolution calling for the university to divest. On February 10 the Institutional Council, a body that governs the university, voted unanimously to continue with the Sullivan Principles, ignoring arguments by the Coalition to Stop Apartheid that these principles are irrelevant to ending apartheid.

On Sunday night, February 23, a student group, "U of Utah Students Against Apartheid," erected a shanty on campus, declaring, "We intend for this structure to stand until the university jettisons its approximately \$2 million in holdings" in companies that do business in South Africa.

The following night while the shack was unoccupied, several white South African students tried to tear down the shanty.

On March 7 unknown racists es-

calated the attacks by trying to burn down the shanties. Fortunately, the firebomb they threw exploded 20 feet from a shanty where four people were sleeping.

As the quarter ended, a spirited march of several hundred people took copies of more than 2,000 signatures collected so far calling for divestment and presented them and a book explaining the irrelevance of the Sullivan Principles to the university president.

Al Campbell  
Salt Lake City, Utah

### Ruling-class justice

Springfield, Missouri, is the home of the Federal Medical Center, a prison. We see many people come here, victims of U.S. ruling-class justice.

The area has also become infested with neo-Nazi and other white supremacist, religious, and paramilitary groups.

We are accustomed to hearing of liberty being raped. The case of Jerome Mallett is one example of this.

Last year David Tate, a member of The Order — a white supremacist group — was fleeing federal and state law enforcement agencies when he killed a Missouri state trooper.

When his van was stopped by the troopers, he gunned down two of them with a submachine gun.

He was charged and convicted of murder and received a life sentence.

Jerome Mallett, a Black man from Texas, was charged and convicted of the same crime: killing a state trooper who pulled him over in St. Louis. He was sentenced to death in the Missouri State gas chamber.

The state NAACP and others have protested. The judge said it

was unfair to compare the cases.

He also said, "I'm firmly convinced that the murder of the highway patrolman in this case (Mallett) was committed after deliberation."

My big question is, if Tate's procuring of a submachine gun, fleeing to avoid prosecution, having the gun at the ready, and mowing down two law officers isn't liberation, then what is it?

Jack Bresée  
Fordland, Missouri

### Lincoln, Cromwell

In his letter to the editor appearing in the February 28 *Militant*, Derrick Morrison described the Abraham Lincoln government as a "popular, revolutionary dictatorship." I don't see how such a view can be defended. Lenin described the source of power in a revolutionary dictatorship as "not a law previously discussed and enacted by parliament, but the direct action of the people from below." I don't think that this describes the Lincoln government, which was a legally elected government deriving its power from the U.S. Constitution, rather than from the "direct action of the people."

If we want to study "popular, revolutionary dictatorship" in the American Civil War, then we must study the Reconstruction governments in the South. Our best source for that study is W.E.B. DuBois' classic *Black Reconstruction*, and not Gore Vidal. If we want to study revolutionaries in the U.S. Civil War, then we are going to have to study William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips, Thaddeus Stevens, and Charles Sumner (the abolitionists and Radical Republicans), not Lincoln.

I would also like to comment on Georgia Fleming's criticism [letters, *Militant*, March 14] of Morrison's letter.

In spite of Oliver Cromwell's record of genocidal butchery in Ireland, I think Morrison was correct to refer to him as a revolutionary, in the context of the English Civil War. To paraphrase Trotsky, Cromwell was able to find the joint in the king's neckbone and detach the royal head, crown and all. I think Cromwell has to be seen as playing a progressive role in dealing a decisive blow to absolutism and English feudalism.

Unfortunately, the victors in the English Civil War were not the poor peasants and craftsmen who did the fighting and dying for the Parliamentary cause, but the rising capitalist class. Naturally, that class in power carried out its program. Among the uglier features of their program was the destruction of the population of Ulster so the land could be taken over by the "English Adventurers in Ireland."

The victory of the English Puritan Revolution brought national disaster to our people. However, the historical legacy of the British conquest will be abolished by the victory of the Irish Republican Army and the establishment of a 32-county Irish Socialist Republic, not by stripping Cromwell of a title.

Roy Inglee  
Beacon Hill, Delaware

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.



## Political ferment grows on campuses

Students take action against apartheid, war, racism; for women's rights

BY PAT GROGAN

There is growing political ferment on college campuses throughout the country. In the last couple of years, students have moved into action under the impact of big political events, both internationally and in this country.

They have spearheaded a massive movement against U.S. and campus complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa. They have been in the forefront of mobilizations to stop Washington's mercenary war against Nicaragua and bloody aggression against the people of El Salvador.

They turned out in record numbers to demand a woman's right to choose abortion at the March 9 and March 16 "National March for Women's Lives."

Students have come out in support of struggles by working people from Austin, Minnesota, to Watsonville, California, and have solidarized with the protests of working farmers.

While many students were drawn into political activity around one particular issue, they are taking on a broad range of questions, from racism, to the nuclear arms buildup, to abortion rights, to environmental issues.

And they are making the connection between Washington's war on working people throughout the world and its attacks on the rights of workers, farmers, Blacks, and women in this country.

### Anti-apartheid, antiwar protests

The mass student protests against apartheid have been the most striking example of the willingness of students to fight for what they believe in.

At the University of California at Berkeley, thousands of students continue their anti-apartheid protests despite cop attacks, beatings, arrests, and threats.

Berkeley is only one of more than a hundred campuses where students launched a new wave of anti-apartheid protests as part of the "National Weeks of Anti-Apartheid Action" called by the American Committee on Africa. The protests began on March 21, the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa.

At campuses across the country, sit-ins, demonstrations, picket lines, hunger strikes, mock funeral processions, and building occupations took place. Campus buildings were renamed for African National Congress (ANC) leaders Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela.

On 15 campuses, students erected shantytowns to symbolize the oppression of Blacks under apartheid. Hundreds of students were arrested during the weeks of divestment actions. Sit-ins, building occupations, and shantytown protests continue at Berkeley, Georgetown, Yale, the University of Illinois, and other campuses.

Another major focus of the weeks of protest was opposition to the U.S. *contra* war against Nicaragua and solidarity with the people of El Salvador. Demands against sending aid to the *contras* were coupled with demands that the U.S. end its support to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, the counterrevolutionary organization that is South Africa's surrogate in Angola.

The actions also linked demands for affirmative action and against racist practices in the universities to the fight against apartheid in South Africa.

### Students active on many issues

A sketch of some of the events at UC Berkeley as the anti-apartheid protests developed shows the students' broad range of concerns.

As 500 protesters kept an all-night vigil to guard students sleeping in the shanties, various speakers addressed the crowd.

One spoke about the need for a big turn-

out at the April 19 demonstration in San Francisco to try to stop Congress from sending \$100 million in aid to the *contras*.

Throughout the vigil, students discussed events in South Africa, Haiti, the Philippines, and Libya. They discussed strategy in the divestment and antiwar movements.

Some students who had traveled to Nicaragua discussed what they learned there. Thousands of U.S. students have visited Nicaragua, many as part of work brigades, and have forged links with the revolutionary struggle of the Nicaraguan people. The *brigadistas* play a big role in helping get out the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution.

At a noon rally, representatives of the American Indian Movement explained the struggle to prevent the forced resettlement of 14,000 Navajo and Hopi Indians from their ancestral lands near Big Mountain, Arizona.

A representative of striking members of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, who are waging a heroic battle against the Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota, addressed the rally. Students on many campuses have given warm support

Continued on Page 19



Recent anti-apartheid protest at University of California, Berkeley. Students across country are increasingly politically active on wide range of issues.

## Rail workers shut down Maine Central

BY DeANN RATHBUN AND FRED STANTON

ALEXANDRIA, Va. — Some 360 workers at the Potomac Yard here walked off the job early on the morning of April 4. Workers walked out after picket lines were set up by striking members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE) from the Maine Central Railroad.

Almost 100 members of the BMWE went on strike against the Maine Central on March 3. The next day pickets spread to Maine Central's two companion railroads, the Boston & Maine and the Delaware & Hudson. All three are operated by Guilford Transportation, which is owned by Timothy Mellon.

BMWE union members have set up pickets to shut down freight operations throughout New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. On April 9 strikers went to Richmond, Virginia, and Ohio to shut down terminals and yards there.

"We came down here on a moment's notice," Leo Caron, a BMWE member from Waterville, Maine, told us. "We came here because it is one of the largest rail yards on the East Coast, but mainly because Conrail is running freight over D&H tracks here. We came to shut it down." Six railroads use the yard.

When the picket lines went up at Potomac Yard all the unions honored them. At the beginning of each shift workers from the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad (RF&P) gather at the three gates to give support to the strikers. Because they are not on strike, the RF&P workers cannot picket or carry signs. "We are firmly behind them," the RF&P workers told us.

The only freight being moved in the yard was moved by supervisory personnel.

The central issue in the Maine Central strike is job security.

There used to be 300 to 350 BMWE members at Maine Central and Portland Terminal, Caron told us. "Now we are down to less than 100." On February 28, three days before the union struck, he said the company laid off 16 more workers. "We've been two years without a contract and Guilford Transportation has told us they have no intention of negotiating in good faith for another year. They'll keep cutting and cutting. They want to get down

to 50 people or so. They want to cut the track maintenance crews from four and three people to two people. The safety factor goes way down."

The Maine Central also wants to cut wages 20 percent across the board. They want employees to pick up 50 percent of medical coverage, which would cost workers an average of between \$100 and \$150 a month. They want to take away protective seniority rights, which means workers would not have the right to bid on or select their job but could be assigned anywhere.

"Some people have never been on strike," Caron said, "and we have to explain what we stand to lose." Although the Maine Central is a small railroad with only 450 miles of track, he explained, "the issues we are fighting on are for all workers."

"All the railroad unions are being attacked the same way. It's too bad we can't all go out together. But all 14 brother and sister unions are supporting us. It's the strongest in Maine."

In the past month the strike in Maine has received support from rail unions and the community. Laid-off members from the United Transportation Union, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, the Carmen, the Firemen and Oilers, and other unions have walked picket lines and given money and food. Workers from Amtrak in Connecticut went to Massachusetts to help

staff strike headquarters and give support.

On March 22 there was a march and rally in Waterville, Maine, where 2,000 people turned out to support the striking Maintenance of Way workers. There were 25 unions represented at the rally.

In the Alexandria-Washington, D.C., area, the BMWE strikers have gotten support not only from rail workers, but also from airline workers from nearby National Airport. The BMWE strikers have been to the airport to picket with members of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants on strike against TWA.

On April 11 nearly 150 railroad workers from the RF&P and the Maine Central rallied in front of the White House.

The striking BMWE workers are sending picket squads to other cities to shut down freight operations. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo has asked Reagan to stop the strike, saying that picketing on other lines "threatens . . . to seriously disrupt our commerce with other states."

The rail workers here are standing firm in their support for the Maine Central workers.

DeAnn Rathbun and Fred Stanton both work for Amtrak in Washington, D.C. Rathbun is a member of the United Transportation Union. Stanton is a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 362.

## D.C. protest: 'No contra aid!'

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Close to 1,000 people picketed the White House on April 13 demanding an end to the U.S.-sponsored war on Nicaragua and no aid to the *contras*. The demonstration was organized by the Coalition to Stop U.S. War on Nicaragua, a coalition of 60 Washington-area organizations.

A number of protesters came from other cities to participate in the upcoming anti-*contra* protests called by the Pledge of Resistance for April 14 and 15 here.

The spirited crowd brought signs and banners that read: "No U.S. terrorism in Central America," "Farm aid, not *contra* aid," "Contra aid now means U.S. troops next," and "Reagan lies about Nicaragua."

Following the picket, a rally was held in

Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House.

David Hostetter, coordinator of the Washington Peace Center, noted that "Ronald Reagan lies every time he opens his mouth about Nicaragua. . . . The people in Nicaragua are standing up for what is right for them, and we are standing up for their right to self-determination."

Georgetown University student Cornell Womack, a leader of the Student Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism, represented some 100 students who have occupied the campus administration building since April 11 demanding that Georgetown divest from companies doing business with South Africa.

Womack said, "We recognize that in

Continued on Page 20