

# South Africa regime launches terror raids against neighbors

## Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana attacked

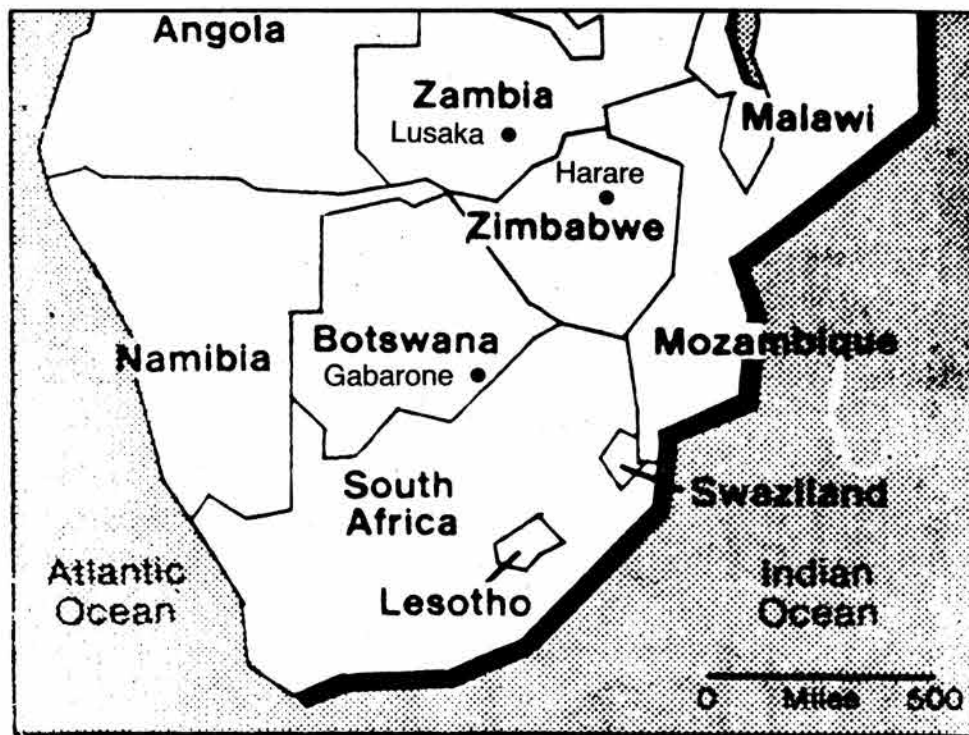
BY FRED FELDMAN

In an escalation of its aggression against the independent countries of southern Africa, the apartheid regime launched coordinated military strikes May 19 against Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Zambia.

Imitating the pretext used by Washington for its terror bombing of Libya, the regime of President Pieter Botha said the targets were alleged "terrorist transit facilities" and "operational centers." Botha cited the aggression against Libya as a precedent. He also said, "If it's necessary, we'll strike again. . . . We have only delivered the first installment."

The aim of the attacks was to intimidate the populations and governments of countries bordering South Africa, which have resisted South African domination, and to disrupt the African National Congress, which has won the support of a growing majority of the oppressed Black population in South Africa.

The first attack struck at Zimbabwe. South African commandos entered the capital city of Harare and threw bombs into the building that houses the African National Congress information office. A suburban



house used by the Congress was also attacked with machine guns and other weapons, but no one was there, as police had warned the occupants in time.

One Zimbabwean was reported injured. The attackers left leaflets bearing the insignia of the South Africa Defense Force.

The Zimbabwean government said it had arrested four people for involvement in the attack and captured vehicles, communications equipment, and explosives.

Botswana was next to come under attack. Eight or more helicopters landed at a

housing project near the capital city of Gaborone. South African commandos leaped out, firing indiscriminately and killing one Botswana citizen. The commandos and the helicopters departed when Botswana troops opened fire on them.

The last attack occurred near Lusaka, the capital of Zambia. (The ANC has its headquarters in Lusaka. It was forced to move its offices from South Africa after it was banned in 1960 and many of its leaders were jailed.) Two South African military

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## N.Y. rally to demand sanctions on S. Africa

BY MEL MASON  
AND RASHAAD ALI

NEW YORK — "We are appalled by yesterday's vicious South African attack on the neighboring sovereign nations of Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia, killing innocent civilians.

"This is only further proof of South Africa's intransigence to peaceful solutions to the escalating violence in the region. The struggle of the people for freedom in South Africa has been met by the most vicious response, aided and abetted by the U.S. government.

"These actions were inspired by the U.S. bombing of the Libyan people a couple of weeks ago. This has left us no choice but to demand immediate and comprehensive sanction against the racist government of South Africa."

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 of the United Auto Workers union and chair of the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council, made these remarks at a press conference held at New York City Central Labor Council headquarters May 20.

"On June 14," he continued, "we are calling on people of goodwill in the greater New York area to come together for a massive rally to demonstrate our support for the people of South Africa and to reiterate our demand for divestment, sanctions, and boycotts to finally force an end to apartheid."

Robinson explained that "the escalating violence, the massacres of the Black majority by the South African police, the torture of detainees, and the consistent aggression against its neighboring states has led us to conclude that mandatory sanctions militarily, economically, culturally, and

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# Court deals blow to affirmative action

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

In a 5-to-4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a union contract provision that protects affirmative action hiring gains during layoffs is unconstitutional. The contract had been signed by the Jackson Education Association and the local school board in Jackson, Michigan.

The May 19 decision in the case of *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education* is an attack on the civil rights of Blacks, other oppressed national minorities, and women.

It is an infringement on union bargaining rights along the same antilabor lines as the Taft-Hartley Act, open shop right-to-work laws, and strikebreaking court injunctions.

As a result of this ruling, it becomes illegal for unions to negotiate affirmative action programs to protect hiring gains during layoffs. Such programs, however, are necessary to begin to overcome years of discrimination in employment.

The contract provision in the Jackson case simply stated: "In the event that it becomes necessary to reduce the number of teachers through layoff from employment by the board, teachers with the most seniority in the district shall be retained, except that at no time will there be a greater percentage of minority personnel laid off than the current percentage of minority personnel employed at the time of the layoff. In no event will the number given notice of a possible layoff be greater than the number of positions to be eliminated. Each teacher so affected will be called back in reverse order for positions for which he is certificated, maintaining the above minority balance."

The union contract thus established—a

percentage of positions for Blacks that had to be maintained regardless of layoffs. Without such protection, Blacks, because they were hired only since affirmative action goals were adopted and have less seniority, would be the first laid off. This contract provision prevented layoffs from wiping out the employment gains that had been made.

In the majority opinion, Justice Lewis Powell, Jr., wrote that contractual protection of affirmative action hiring gains "imposes the entire burden of achieving racial equality on particular individuals, often resulting in serious disruption of their lives. That burden is too intrusive." Powell advises the school board to find "less intrusive means of accomplishing similar purposes — such as the adoption of hiring goals."

While the court's decision is a blow to affirmative action, it doesn't go as far as the U.S. Justice Department would have liked. The Justice Department has been seeking a clear statement declaring unconstitutional any affirmative action program that discriminates against "innocent" whites.

The Reagan administration has long argued that remedies for past discrimination must be "victim specific." According to this view, the fact that Blacks are discriminated against in society is not enough. The victims must provide proof that they were "personally victimized by discrimination." Companies, of course, will never admit that they refused to hire or promote a person because he or she is Black. That's why it is virtually impossible to prove "intentional" discrimination.

The court, however, rejected this view and accepted affirmative action in hiring under certain unspecified conditions.

For this reason, many civil rights groups were reported to be encouraged by the decision. Barry Goldstein of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund told the press that "over all the Supreme Court ap-

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# Hormel strikers win round against union tops' attacks

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Striking Minnesota meatpackers won a round in court May 19 when a federal judge refused to freeze the assets of the strikers' support group.

The court decision denied a motion by the top officialdom of the strikers' International union, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). The motion was part of the officialdom's offensive against striking Local P-9.

The local has been on strike against George A. Hormel and Co. in Austin, Minnesota, for 10 months. In the course of the strike, it has had to face attacks by the company, the cops, the courts, the state government, and, unfortunately, the union's top officialdom.

The officialdom's campaign against the embattled local escalated May 9 when the UFCW International Executive Committee (IEC) announced that the local was in trust-

eeship. The trusteeship followed an IEC March 14 directive to the local withdrawing the strike sanction, ending strike benefits, and ordering the local to end the strike.

Under trusteeship, the local's elected leaders are replaced by an appointed trustee. This trustee takes over all the local's business, including negotiating a contract with Hormel.

Although any contract that is negotiated would have to be voted on by the union members, the UFCW officialdom recognizes 500 of the scabs in the plant as union members. These officials, therefore, would give the scabs the same right to vote on the contract as the strikers.

Immediately after the UFCW tops announced the trusteeship, they went before a U.S. district judge in Minneapolis to get a court order freezing the local's assets and

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# 'Militant' sales pick up at upstate N.Y. factories

BY GEORGE KONTANIS

ALBANY, N.Y. — A lot of snow and conflicting work schedules hurt plant-gate sales during a hard winter in upstate New York, but these sales are now starting to be more regular.

We have resumed sales at the

who used to buy the *Militant* were glad to see us back, and in the past six weeks we've sold a total of 18 *Militants*.

Workers told us the local's executive board recently invited a striking Hormel meatpacker from Austin, Minnesota, to its board

two more when we returned last week.

We are also having good sales to upstate New York rail workers who are on strike against Guilford Transportation Industries, which operates the Delaware Hudson, Maine Central and Boston & Maine railroads. Last April we sold at a railroad strike-support rally held at the Kenwood yard of the Delaware & Hudson railroad located in the port of Albany. Workers there bought 10 copies of the *Militant* and one subscription. The rail strikers were also very interested in the Hormel strike and took all the Hormel strike and boycott literature we had with us.

Another *Militant* sales team traveled to Greenfield, Massachusetts, to attend a solidarity rally on May 3 organized by strik-

ing Boston and Maine rail workers and their supporters in other unions. There were 2,000 workers at this rally, and one of the featured speakers was a member of the striking Hormel local. Workers who bought the *Militant* appreciated its coverage of both the rail and Hormel strikes.

There were members of the United Electrical Union attending the rally, one of whom bought a subscription to the *Militant*. He told us that if there was any money left over, to donate it to the Hormel workers. Altogether, we sold a total of three subscriptions and 19 single copies of the *Militant* to rally participants.

We also sent a *Militant* sales team to sell at a rail workers' meeting on May 7 in Watervliet, New York. The meeting was

called to inform strikers belonging to the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way about a court order preventing other rail unions from picketing in support of their strike.

One striker who bought the *Militant* stopped to talk to the sales team. "You know," he told them, "ever since I returned from Vietnam, I knew it would take a revolution to change things."

Another of our sales was in Balat, New York, where some 350 zinc miners have been out on strike against the Fluor company since last July. These members of United Steelworkers Local 3701 were also interested in the meatpackers struggle in Minnesota. They bought four single copies and two subscriptions to the *Militant*.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

General Electric plant in Schenectady where we've had regular plant-gate sales for several years. On successive weeks we sold one, then four, then five *Militants* to members of International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 301. We noted that GE workers

meeting where he raised some money for the strike.

We have also started selling again at Adirondack Steel, where the *Militant's* coverage of the anti-apartheid struggle has always gotten a good response. At our first sale we sold four *Militants* and

# Boston protests set back scheme to close schools

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Protests led by high school students here scored an impressive victory May 6 as the Boston School Committee voted 10 to 3 against a proposal to close some high schools and junior high schools and consolidate others.

The vote, which rejected "cost cutting" moves by schools Superintendent Laval Wilson, was greeted with cheers and applause by 150 students, parents, and teachers who packed the committee's offices.

The decision's significance lay in the fact that the protests — which won it — united Black, Latino, and white students whose street demonstrations, school walk-outs, and mass presence at hearings on the Wilson proposals were the broadest of their kind in memory.

These multiracial demonstrations fueled the largest wave of "student activism" in more than a decade, the liberal *Boston Globe* was forced to admit, despite the paper's drive to win passage of the Wilson cutbacks.

Refusing to be pitted against one another's schools, the students organized under the banner of "an injury to one is an injury to all," and rallied parents and teachers. They won public support from the top leadership of the Boston Teachers Union, which has historically stood aside from community struggles here, especially those demanding desegregation and affirmative action.

The power of these protests in April and May deepened student self-confidence as well.

"How come," one Latino student pointedly asked the school committee during audience participation before the May 6 vote, "whenever there's cutbacks, Roxbury [the city's Black community] gets a boot in the face." Wilson's proposals would have placed the burden of closings on Black and

Hispanic students and potentially changed the character of Roxbury-based Madison Park High School.

"To us," several Madison Park students explained, "MP stands for our high school, but to you, it's 'money and politics.'"

"The community is being robbed," a young Black Madison Park student said.

"If you close us," a young Hispanic student told the school committee, referring to Umana High School, "you will be making a farce of the last 12 years of desegregation. We are a model of desegregation," she explained of the school which is Black, Hispanic, Asian, and white in composition. "If the schools are closed and consolidated, we will be taking a big step backwards."

The consolidation proposal Wilson made for Umana would have turned this high school into an overwhelmingly white junior high school for East Boston residents.

The desegregation process — begun in 1974 and accompanied by racist mob action, backed by local office holders, in which bricks and bottles were heaved at school buses bearing Black students — remains in place in Boston. This is true even though Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity last year returned day-to-day maintenance of the system to the school committee, after more than a decade of virtual receivership.

The school committee, which voted down Wilson's proposals, now states verbal agreement with desegregation. This is a different stance than in 1974, when the then all-white body spurred on all forms of racist resistance to Black equal rights.

Because of the scope and sweep of the Garrity desegregation order — and the more than 400 orders currently in place made subsequent to the 1974 decision — many in the Black community are suspicious about the intent of any school clos-

ings.

While desegregation was eliminating the de facto racist setup of one white and one Black school system, the Hispanic student population has nearly tripled. Latino rights — including affirmative action in teacher hiring and bilingual education — have been added to and deepened the desegregation process.

And for the thousands of working-class whites in the school system, desegregation has become simply a normal part of education.

"We're together now," one white student said at the school committee vote. This statement reflects the undeniable gain in consciousness achieved by a new generation of students over the past decade — a gain of solidarity in action in defense of public desegregated education.

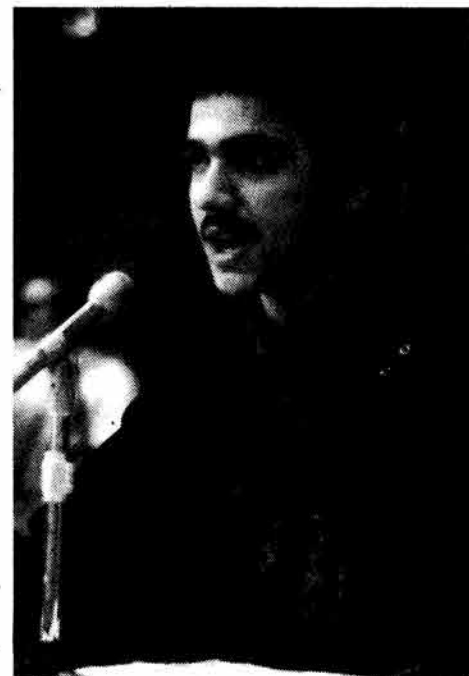
Wilson's "cost cutting" proposals, which would have made up for \$3.9 million shortfall in the 1986-87 budget of \$288 million, ran into a "brick wall of gut reaction," as school committee member Kevin McCluskey put it.

Wilson has now proposed nearly 100 staff and teacher layoffs to come up with the difference. This proposal has provoked further protests from the Boston Teachers Union.

As well, attorneys for the original Black plaintiffs in the desegregation suit are examining the layoffs to see if they are legal under the Garrity court order. Under the order, affirmative action hiring provisions prohibit "last hired, first fired" logic from being applied.

The school committee also voted 10 to 3 to recommend Wilson begin work on a new student-assignment plan to replace the current one. At the same time, and by a similar majority, it accepted in principle the necessity of some closings and consolidations.

"We're asking the superintendent to give us more information and to help us modify



Militant/Jon Hillson

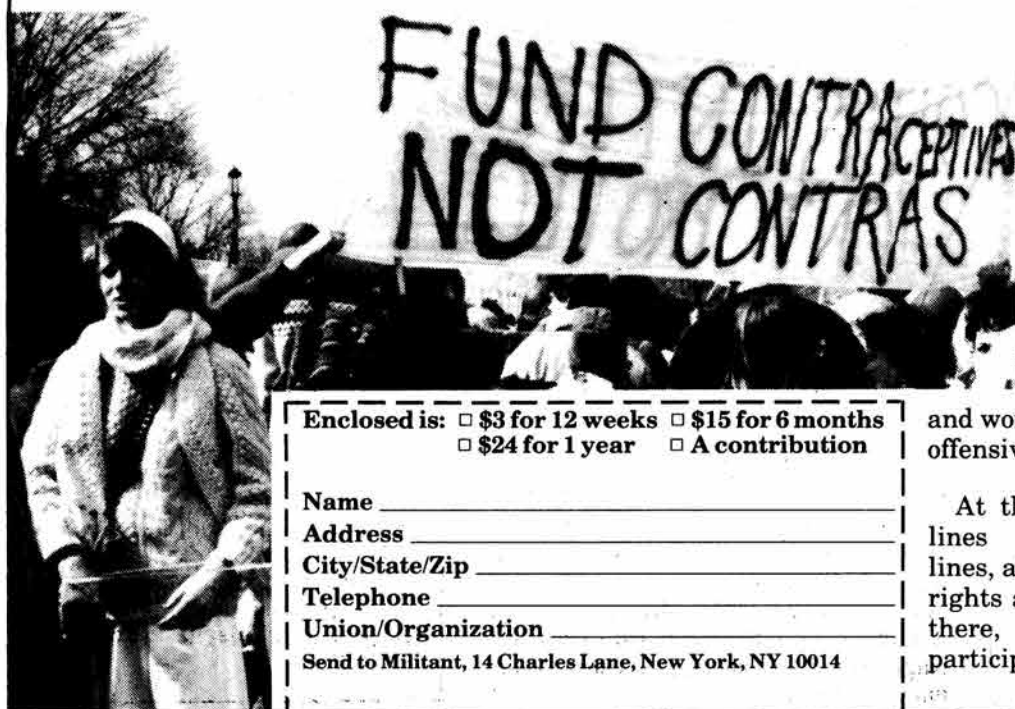
**Student challenges plan to close schools at hearing before Boston School Committee. Committee voted down plan.**

the student process. When this occurs, we'll be back in the room putting in place a school-closing plan," school committee Chairman John Nucci explained. But the most recent closings presented no "overwhelming reason to approve a plan that 10 members, including all the [four Black] minority members, are uncomfortable with."

The *Boston Globe* blasted the committee for its "collective cowardice in the face of orchestrated opposition" — the student-led protests — and hailed the three members, including antidesegregation bigot Joseph Casper, for voting to shut the schools.

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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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# Socialist classes draw young fighters

BY PAT GROGAN

The Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party sponsored regional educational conferences in 10 cities the weekends of May 10 and 17.

The weekends of forums, classes, and political discussion brought together members of the YSA and SWP with other fighters in the trade unions, farm protest movement, on campus, and in the antiwar, anti-apartheid, and women's rights struggles. The weekends were especially enjoyed by the many new members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

In Boston, about 65 people, including active supporters of the SWP from Maine and Massachusetts, took part in the weekend. Eighteen members of the YSA participated, including five YSA members who joined in the last two months. Among those who came to the conference from upstate New York was one of four students at Bard College who have recently asked to join the YSA.

The Boston conference included two series of classes, one on the history of the Black struggle in the United States; a second was held on the lessons of the '30s for trade unionists today in the fight for a class-struggle policy in the unions. Some of the young fighters in the anti-apartheid movement were particularly interested in the revolutionary heritage of Malcolm X.

The conference in Minneapolis-St. Paul also had classes on the trade unions. They were based on the series of books on the Teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs, one of the central leaders of the Teamsters organizing drive of the 1930s and longtime leader of the SWP until his death in 1983.

The books give an account of how the Midwest Teamsters union built a powerful, militant movement based on the unity of all drivers and on the solidarity of Minnesota farmers. The classes were especially rich in light of the Austin, Minnesota, Hormel

strike, in which the ranks have exercised their right to mobilize union power to combat the employers' offensive.

The Twin Cities conference brought together unionists, young farmers, and students.

Among those who attended the Los Angeles conference was a young Salvadoran who is part of a Marxist study group of Salvadoran students and workers. The study group is sponsored by the YSA.

In New York City, 125 people attended a talk by *Militant* editor Malik Miah on the political situation in the United States and the world today. *Militant* managing editor Margaret Jayko led two classes on women's oppression based on the new book from Pathfinder Press, *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*. SWP leader Andrea González gave two classes on imperialism and the U.S.-backed war in Central America.

On the weekend of May 31-June 1, San Francisco and Pittsburgh will host regional conferences. The Houston conference will take place the weekend of June 7. All three will have class series on the fight for women's liberation based on the *Cosmetics* book.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

*Militant* editor Malik Miah addresses session of socialist educational conference in New York City. Conferences featuring forums, classes, and political discussion have been held in 10 cities.

## Regional sales team a big success

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

COLUMBIA, Mo. — In just two weeks a team of four socialists on tour in Iowa and Missouri sold 1,007 copies of the *Militant* and its sister Spanish-language publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*. The sales were made to working people and students.

Also sold were 72 introductory subscriptions to the two socialist publications and 47 copies and 4 subscriptions to the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper reflect-

ing the views of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The team made important contacts with trade unionists, farmers, and students in these Midwestern states, and signed up four new members into the YSA.

We spent the majority of our two weeks in Iowa visiting meatpacking and agricultural implement plants and college campuses. The team then spent the last few days in Missouri. In northern Missouri we went to Chillicothe, where farmers have been blockading the Farmers Home Administration building since May 17. They are protesting the FmHA's refusal to make loans available for spring planting. They are also pressing for fair farm prices, a moratorium on farm foreclosures, and emergency aid to farmers.

Roger Allison, head of the Missouri Rural Crisis Center, welcomed us into their office, which is located in a garage amid the tractors and other farm machinery blockading the FmHA office next door.

He explained the development of the protest. It began with conversations in a coffee shop among farmers who had been refused loans, and has since grown into "the longest-standing action against the government loan agency."

Allison explained, "This is a focal point for people standing up and getting together. This is about empowerment of rural people taking control of our own lives."

While in the office, we talked with several farmers and sold two copies of the *Militant*, which has covered the Chillicothe protest. We also sold nine *Militants* to

people at the supermarket and by going door-to-door in town. Most of the people we met supported the farm protest and were interested in the *Militant's* antiwar and pro-union stance.

"I sympathize with what you're saying," one man told me after giving several dollars for the *Militant*. "My wife and I both worked in food factories for over 30 years," he continued. "When I retired, I was only making \$4.50 an hour. I'm glad to see someone doing something" to protest these conditions.

We also spent an evening with Jerry and Jeanne Parks who are activists in the Chillicothe protest. The Parks lost all their own land several years ago. To continue farming, Jeanne now works in a law office and Jerry works rented land, although he has been refused operating loans this spring. The Parks are also active supporters of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9's strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, and are outspoken opponents of the U.S. war in Central America. They bought a subscription to the *Militant* from the team.

The next morning we were up at 4:00 a.m. to drive to the Wilson Foods meatpacking plant in Marshall, which is also organized by the Food and Commercial Workers. UFCW union members, some of them newly hired, stopped their cars and bought 36 *Militants* and talked to team members.

That brought our total team sales of the *Militant* to UFCW meatpackers to 385 single copies and 9 subscriptions. An additional 200 *Militants* were sold to other union members.

On the last day of our two-week tour, we traveled to Columbia and sold 77 *Militants*, 2 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and four *Militant* subscriptions to students at the University of Missouri.

As with the 12 campuses we visited in Iowa, much anti-apartheid and antiwar activity had gone on this spring and there was great interest in union and farm struggles.

We spent several hours with Carla Weitzel, a student anti-apartheid leader. She invited the YSA to come back on campus to participate in political discussions among a group of student activists this summer.

## Nat'l campaign ends with good sales week

Single copy sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were higher in the 10th and final week of the national sales and subscription drive than for any other single week. A combined total of 6,307 copies and 246 subscriptions to both publications were sold.

This strong showing enabled us to go over our national goal of 2,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and its sister Spanish-language publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*. (See accompanying scoreboard.)

The final tally on single sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, however, was 41,588 or 3,412 below our projected national goal of 45,000. The reasons for falling short of single-sales goals and a general assessment of national sales campaign experiences is being prepared for future publication.

## SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #10: Totals as of *Militant* issue #19, PM issue #9)

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	143	1,185	1,040	35
Baltimore	144	811	810	46
Birmingham	261	924	900	32
Boston	280	1,255	1,000	126
Capital District, N.Y.	85	653	650	75
Charleston, W. Va.	95	699	600	16
Chicago	281	1,519	1,500	37
Cincinnati	137	500	500	17
Cleveland	151	697	900	33
Dallas	267	1,722	1,700	56
Denver	62	649	800	53
Detroit	306	1,805	1,570	83
Greensboro, N.C.	86	785	700	62
Houston	269	1,827	1,800	59
Kansas City	24	628	1,120	24
Los Angeles	232	2,237	2,200	131
Louisville	68	400	400	19
Miami	84	465	550	61
Milwaukee	46	752	750	33
Morgantown, W. Va.	61	729	700	30
New Orleans	91	667	650	46
New York	507	3,302	3,300	150
Newark	378	2,604	2,600	114
Oakland	428	1,209	1,135	28
Philadelphia	86	686	1,000	19
Phoenix	201	1,426	1,500	52
Pittsburgh	72	560	800	28
Portland	101	704	650	28
Price, Utah	8	109	250	6
Salt Lake City	110	746	640	38
San Diego	6	421	580	19
San Francisco	243	1,400	1,400	87
San Jose	147	1,046	1,000	73
Seattle	47	885	800	48
St. Louis	152	1,174	1,250	39
Tidewater, Va.	13	376	375	20
Toledo	68	511	500	50
Twin Cities	312	1,629	1,600	85
Washington, D.C.	90	884	800	63
Midwest Sales Team	155	1,007	—	75
Total sold this week	6,307			
Total sold so far		41,588		2,145
10-week national goal			45,000	2,000
Percent of national goal reached			92%	107%
To be on schedule			100%	100%

### Labor news in the *Militant*

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.



# New Chernobyl facts puncture U.S. lies

BY HARRY RING

The U.S. admission that the Soviet nuclear installation at Chernobyl had safety containment features similar to those in nuclear facilities here punched a big new hole in a propaganda drive that was already becoming counterproductive.

In addition to inciting anti-Soviet sentiment, the campaign of gross exaggerations and reckless lies was intended to persuade people that Chernobyl happened because the Soviet Union does not have the nuclear safety regulations that allegedly prevail in this country. So, not to worry, it can't happen here.

But they've had to backpedal on that because more and more people are coming to realize that the exact opposite is true — Chernobyl shows it can happen here.

U.S. officials now admit that the reactor that exploded was surrounded by a large structure of heavy steel and concrete similar to those in many reactors operating here.

In addition, they concede, there was an unusually large water table under the reactor, well-protected duplicate power cable, plus safety control equipment of a type used here.

Robert Bernero, a Nuclear Regulatory Commission safety official, told reporters, "Our first impression was that it had no containment, based on other designs we had of older Soviet plants."

He and other "Western experts" explained it had taken time to compile the new information.

Even that's a lie. More than a week earlier, the *Washington Post* had reported about the Chernobyl containment features on the basis of information obtained from U.S. government agencies.

From Washington's vantage point, there was good reason to lie about the alleged absence of safety features at Chernobyl. If

those features didn't prevent an explosion there, they won't prevent one here.

"There are a lot of implications," said Dr. Richard Wilson, a Harvard expert in the field of nuclear safety.

"I'm just a little nervous," he said, "that we have the same design, and it didn't work."

"The Soviets would not have operated that reactor if their estimated probability of failure was as big as it turned out to be," Wilson added. "They are not fools."

No, the Soviet officials are not fools. But their estimate that the chance of disaster was so remote as to make it worth the risk proved dead wrong.

Yet, aren't we being given the same baseless assurances here?

And the government and nuclear industry know how false their assurances are. That's why they lie and cover up the way they do.

Recently, Daniel Ford and Robert Polard of the Union of Concerned Scientists disclosed information the government has tried to suppress regarding an urgent safety problem at nuclear plants designed by General Electric.

Fifteen years ago, an Atomic Energy Commission study found that the containment structures of GE-designed nuclear plants might rupture or collapse under the stress of a major explosion. A ban on such design was urged.

The government rejected this finding. It would raise too many embarrassing questions about the dozens of GE nuclear plants already operating.

"GE wants us ... not to mention the problem publicly," a government adviser reported.

Today there are 39 nuclear plants designed by GE operating in 19 states.

A May 16 editorial in the *New York*

## U.S. hid Pacific bomb test dangers

U.S. anti-Soviet propaganda since Chernobyl has focused on the theme that the USSR was not prompt and straightforward in making known what happened. Coming from Washington, this is really the height of hypocrisy. One particularly grisly historical example of its record on this score was recalled in the May 13 *Washington Post*. The following is an excerpt.

Thirty-two years ago, on March 1, 1954, U.S. scientists exploded the first deliverable hydrogen bomb on the tiny coral atoll of Bikini in the Marshall Islands. To their surprise, the explosion was more than twice the yield expected.

At 15 megatons (the equivalent of 15 million tons of TNT), the blast obliterated the island and heaved tons of radioactive fallout across the Pacific to the east, rather than to the north as U.S. scientists had expected.

Within four hours, white radioactive particles began falling like snow on the 64 Marshallese men, women and children who lived on Rongelap, an atoll 105 miles east from Bikini. Four hours later the fallout began to drop on Rongerik, another Pacific island where 28 U.S. weathermen were stationed.

The "rain" of radioactive white powder continued for 12 hours. It came down on the roofs of Marshallese houses and, with an evening rainfall, was washed into barrels that were the prime source of drinking water. It covered the fish and coconuts drying in the sun for that evening's meal.

The Soviets have been widely criticized for failing to publicly announce the disaster until it was detected in western Europe and for underplaying the health hazards involved.

Following the 1954 Bikini blast, the U.S. government initially was silent, waiting 10 days before acknowledging to the world that the Marshallese and American servicemen had been exposed to radioactive fallout.

That disclosure came only after a small U.S. newspaper received a letter from a

U.S. Marine on Kwajalein reporting that natives and servicemen had arrived at that base "suffering from various burns and radioactivity."

U.S. officials initially maintained that the Marshallese had not been exposed to dangerous radioactive levels. In fact, some victims were suffering from classic symptoms of radioactive exposure: burns, nausea and hair loss.

For the Marshallese on Rongelap, it was not until March 3, more than 40 hours after the first radioactive fallout began, that a U.S. Navy destroyer arrived to evacuate them from the island.

For three years, the Rongelap people remained away from their island because it

was considered too radioactive. When they returned in 1957, their diet was limited to imported foods. Last year, 31 years after the blast, the northern islands of the Rongelap Atoll were found to still contain unsafe levels of radiation in coconuts and other crops; consequently the Rongelap people finally abandoned their homes and moved to another atoll.

In the interim, all 15 children who were under the age of 10 at the time of radiation exposure suffered thyroid abnormalities. One child, a year old at the time of the explosion, died of leukemia; miscarriages and stillbirths among the exposed women were more than twice the normal rate and deaths were 30 percent higher.

## Nuclear accident 'could easily happen here'

Since the Chernobyl disaster, a major theme of U.S. pronuclear propagandists has been "It can't happen here." A well-documented response to that fraudulent claim was offered in the May 13 issue of the *New York Village Voice* by reporter James Ridgeway.

Ridgeway declared that Chernobyl was "an accident to be expected," one that "could easily take place here." The following is an excerpt from his report.

From the start, there were fears of a catastrophic accident. A study done for the AEC [Atomic Energy Commission] in 1965 found that a meltdown could kill 45,000 people, injure another 100,000 and cause \$17 billion (in 1965 dollars) worth of property damage.

In 1975, the AEC's successor, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, commissioned a new analysis. That report, the Rasmussen "Reactor Study," concluded that a "worst case" accident would mean 3,300 immediate human deaths, 45,000 human deaths from cancer, 45,000 radiation sickness victims requiring hospitaliza-

tion, 240,000 people suffering from thyroid tumors, 5,000 children born with genetic defects in the first generation following the accident, 350,000 males suffering temporary sterility, and 40,000 to 100,000 women suffering prolonged or permanent sterility.

The Rasmussen analysis was based on the assumption that everyone within 25 miles downwind of the nuclear facility would be evacuated.

In addition to human casualties, hundreds of square miles of land would be rendered uninhabitable and unfit for agriculture, and thousands would be severely contaminated with radiation.

Numerous accidents at nuclear facilities have added to the anxieties created by the studies. The near meltdown at the Three Mile Island plant near Harrisburg is the best-known example.

But in 1975, a massive fire crippled what was then the world's largest reactor, at Brown's Ferry, Alabama. Officials there said the reactor was only hours away from a meltdown.

governments."

For sure. Including the government of the United States, and the *New York Times*.

The *Times* reported as fact the initial assertions from Washington that there had been a core meltdown, that the second reactor was ablaze, that the fire would rage for weeks, and that initial Soviet reports of the casualties were "preposterous."

The *Times* featured that odious UPI dispatch, purportedly from a "reliable" source in Kiev, that 2,000 people had died of radiation on the way to the hospital.

Now the *Times* apparently has opted for a less strident approach.

The paper gave its editorial blessing to Gorbachev's proposal for international cooperation in dealing with nuclear accidents and for "safe development of nuclear power."

With that kind of a more reasoned and enlightened attitude, the *Times* apparently calculates, maybe people will calm down, and the mounting demand for a halt to the use of nuclear power can be better contained.

At first glance, international cooperation for the development of safe nuclear power sounds like a good idea — except for one stubborn fact. There is no such thing as safe nuclear power.

In 1966, a near meltdown occurred at Detroit Edison's fast breeder reactor. Today that reactor is shut down.

An accident at the SL-1 military reactor in Idaho that same year left three workers dead.

Hundreds of other "abnormalities" have occurred, resulting in radioactive leaks, worker exposures, lengthy shutdowns, and costly repairs. Researchers at the government's Oak Ridge National Laboratory concluded in a 1980 report that at least 20 such incidents could have led to core meltdowns in 1979.

As safety hazards increased, little was done to correct them. In 1977, the NRC gave Congress a list of 177 serious, unresolved problems in American nuclear reactors.

In 1979, the Kemeny Commission that investigated the TMI accident found that only two of the 177 problems had been resolved, and that neither solution had been implemented at Three Mile Island.

In 1984, the General Accounting Office said that the NRC had more unresolved safety issues in 1983 than at the time of the TMI accident.



EDITORS' ADVISORY

**INFO** News release

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### THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET REACTORS

The enclosed material is intended as a follow-up to the numerous conversations between Atomic Industrial Forum staff and reporters in the days following the nuclear accident at Chernobyl.

Special note is made of the following:

At the Chernobyl RBMK-1000 reactor, no containment building capable of sustaining overpressure is provided. The building that housed the reactor apparently was constructed for structural rather than containment integrity.

All commercial nuclear power plants operating in the United States use a series of multiple physical barriers to prevent the release of large quantities of radioactive material during both normal and accident conditions.

For further information contact Don Winston, Scott Peters or Ellen Werther at (301) 654-9260 or Eugene Gantzhorn at (212) 599-1881.

May 6, 1986

The nuclear industry trade association was caught flat-footed with this lying press release when it was subsequently reported that Chernobyl plant "did" have containment structure. Said a spokesman, "Probably there was a little bit of simplification."



## 1,000 rally at Univ. of Texas against apartheid

BY HENRY ZAMARRON

AUSTIN, Texas — On April 25 more than 1,000 UT students here rallied against apartheid in South Africa. Capping a series of protests organized by the Steve Biko Committee and other organizations, the students demanded divestment of UT funds from companies with investments in South Africa and an end to campus recruitment by these companies. Also protested were attacks by the UT administration on the students' right to free speech and assembly.

In previous weeks 265 students had been arrested by university police for violating a university rule prohibiting rallies on campus except between the hours of noon and 1:00 p.m.

Two weeks earlier, on April 11, several hundred students showed up on the West Mall to demand divestment. At 12:40 p.m. students moved a wooden and cardboard shanty onto the steps of the West Mall where they began a rally. At 1:30 p.m., UT security cops began arresting students. Forty-two were charged with disruptive activities — a violation of the Texas Educational Code and a Class B misdemeanor that carries a penalty of six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine. The shanty was later de-

## TERMINEMOS EL "APARTHEID"

Recordemos A Soweto



CONCILIO DE COORDINACION "ANTI-APARTHEID" DE NUEVA YORK

**MARCHA Y DEMOSTRACION: JUNE 14, 1986**

**MARCHA 10 A.M.** • DAG HAMMERKJOLD PLAZA (47th & 1st Ave.)  
• HARLEM STATE OFFICE BUILDING (125th & 7th Ave.)

**DEMOSTRACION 1:00 P.M.** EN EL PARQUE CENTRAL (CENTRAL PARK)

Spanish leaflet for June 14 action. It reads "End Apartheid, Remember Soweto."

molished by university officials claiming it posed a fire hazard.

On April 16 students again rallied, this time in response to the U.S. bombing of Libya, denouncing Reagan as a terrorist. In addition, the protesters denounced apartheid, U.S. support for the Nicaraguan *contras*, and Washington's backing of the Chilean dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet.

Two days later 500 students held another rally on the West Mall. With banners calling for UT divestment, the protesters stood with gags over their mouths to symbolize the UT administration's attack on free speech and assembly. At 1:00 p.m. police began moving in, arresting groups of the chanting and clapping protesters who were on the mall steps. Ar-

rests continued this way every 10-15 minutes for the next two hours. As one group was led off, other students from the crowd would take their places. In all, 182 students were arrested.

Discussions are currently taking place among the students on the next moves to take in the struggle. Consideration is being given to filing a lawsuit protesting the undemocratic campus restrictions.

## High school students debate 'contra' war

BY NAOMI CRAINE

DETROIT — Students Against War (SAW) at Renaissance High here sponsored a debate May 5 on whether the U.S. should support the *contras* trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. The debate, featuring three SAW members and three Rangers (a part of the Reserve Officer Training Corps), was attended by about 20 students, most of whom ended up supporting SAW's antiwar position.

About a month before, a letter had been posted on the school walls requesting that students make donations of medical and military supplies for the *contras*, to be sent through a Soldier of Fortune warehouse. This was apparently in response to an earlier plea by SAW to collect school supplies for children in Nicaragua. SAW

responded by challenging the person responsible, and any other supporters of U.S. aid to the *contras*, to a public debate.

Two of those representing SAW, Tamara Robinson and myself, had visited Nicaragua the previous summer. The debate was moderated by the social studies department chair Christine Davis. Questions from the floor were addressed by both panels.

One question posed to the *contra* supporters was to define communism and explain why we in the U.S. should oppose it. The first one to answer the question stated that he had no real definition for communism, but that it is aggression against other Central American nations that makes Nicaragua dangerous. We pointed out that the U.S. government supports countries like Israel and South Africa, which have a long history of aggression against their neighbors and that the Nicaraguans simply defend themselves.

Other points raised were the history of U.S. intervention in Central America, improvements in Nicaraguan health and education since the 1979 revolution, and the lack of any support for the *contras* among the Nicaraguan masses.

The discussion lasted for one-and-a-half hours and ended with an offer of further debates, starting with ones over the bombing of Libya. This will provide a good opportunity to get out more of the truth and help build Students Against War.

# Apartheid regime terrorizes neighboring nations

Continued from front page

vehicles, disguised as Zambian police trucks, drove up to a United Nations refugee camp near the capital.

South African troops opened fire. As people fled, South African planes strafed the camp and dropped fragmentation bombs. At least one person, a Namibian refugee, was killed, and 10 were injured, including several small children.

On May 20 foreign ministers from the six independent Frontline States near South Africa (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania) called for mandatory economic sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda linked the attack on his country to the U.S. attack on Libya. "I warned at that time that South Africa would take this as a signal to do likewise to its neighbors," he said.

"This is President Reagan's constructive engagement," said Kaunda. "Constructive engagement" is the Reagan administration's name for the U.S. policy of supporting the apartheid regime while urging reforms in the racist setup. "It's very constructive indeed, killing children, very constructive."

Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe declared that his government "will not be deterred from rendering assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa in the form of political, material, and moral support." He called for moves "to isolate the South African regime by imposing comprehensive, mandatory sanctions."

Botswana's President Quett Masire said, "My reaction is that of horror."

Reagan administration spokesperson Larry Speakes voiced strong criticism of the raid.

State Department spokesperson Bernard Kalb balanced criticism of the apartheid regime with criticism of the African National Congress for resorting to violence against the apartheid state and accepting support from the Soviet Union.

Speakes said the administration was opposed to economic sanctions against South Africa. He said imposing sanctions "punishes the very people we are trying to help." This is a transparent pretext.

Washington has imposed sanctions on Nicaragua, Cuba, Libya, and Vietnam without a twinge of concern about the

hardship caused to the people of these countries.

The British government, while criticizing the apartheid regime's actions, also opposed sanctions. At the last meeting of the Commonwealth nations, a grouping including the British government and the governments of many former British colonies, only Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher opposed economic sanctions against South Africa.

Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are members of the Commonwealth, and a Commonwealth delegation was in South Africa at the time of the raids.

The murderous attacks by the apartheid regime are the latest step in an escalating pattern of aggression in southern Africa by the apartheid regime.

Lesotho, a country of 1.4 million people entirely encircled by South African territory, has taken heavy military blows. In December 1982, South African commandos massacred 40 people in the capital of Maseru. On Dec. 20, 1985, commandos attacked again, gunning down nine people. This was followed by a military blockade, which ended after a January 20 military coup brought to power a government that

expelled supporters of the African National Congress from the country.

In June 1985 the apartheid regime's commandos murdered 12 people in the capital of Botswana, a country of 900,000 bordered by South Africa and the South African-occupied country of Namibia. On Jan. 26, 1986, the apartheid regime warned Botswana that it faced military attack unless it broke all ties with the African National Congress. ANC representatives left the country, after being informed by President Masire that their safety could not be guaranteed. After having obtained this concession, the Botha regime has struck again.

The apartheid regime admitted continuing to aid terrorists who have devastated much of the countryside of Mozambique, despite a treaty with that country barring such aid and despite the Mozambican government's expulsion of scores of ANC supporters.

The South African regime continues to occupy Namibia and rule it as a colony.

And Angola, which borders Namibia, continues to face massive aggression from South Africa, an aggression that is backed by Washington.

South African troops occupy parts of

southern Angola and have armed the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, a group headed by Jonas Savimbi. Savimbi received a hero's welcome from the Reagan administration in Washington in January, and the U.S. government now openly admits it is aiding his forces — and therefore South Africa.

Neo Mnumzana, head of the African National Congress mission to the United Nations, said that the latest South African attacks "were not simply aimed at the ANC. They want to isolate the ANC and stop our struggle, and they also want to destabilize and topple the independent states of the region and impose puppet regimes."

"The apartheid regime," he continued, "took the U.S. aggression against Libya as a cue for its own aggression against what it claims are states involved in terrorism against the regime."

"Similarly," Mnumzana said, "Washington's aid to Savimbi's bandits in Angola signaled the Reagan administration's support to the South African regime's efforts to overthrow the Angolan government. This was a subtle encouragement to continue the destabilization of southern African countries and reaffirmed the administration's support to the apartheid regime."

## 70 protests held May 17 against 'contra' aid

BY RASHAAD ALI

Pledge of Resistance National Coordinator Stephen Slade reports that antiwar protests took place in more than 70 communities on May 17, Armed Forces Day.

The actions were organized to call on the House of Representatives to vote against any and all aid to the U.S.-backed *contras*.

Many opponents of the U.S. government's war drive in Central America used the protest to continue to focus on Reagan's proposal to send \$100 million in aid to beef up the anti-Sandinista mercenaries. Congress is expected to vote on the proposal sometime in June.

More than 200 people rallied in Miami despite threats from pro-*contra* forces who attacked a similar protest last March.

Miami's mayor, Xavier Suarez, along with other officials, led a prowar mob in disrupting an antiwar protest March 22.

For two hours they threw bottles, rocks, eggs, and other objects at peaceful demonstrators in downtown Miami.

This attack on free speech was denounced by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at a rally at City Hall. The May 17 antiwar protest was sponsored by a broad array of organizations.

Pledge and antiwar activists marched through Washington, D.C., Armed Forces Day to protest not only U.S. government backing for the *contras*, but also to denounce private funding for them. The marchers stopped at the offices of Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, at the Heritage Foundation, and at other right-wing symbols of the war. More than 200 attended the rally in the mall area of the capitol grounds.

In Cleveland anti-*contra* protesters heard from a leader of the Ohio Family Farm Movement. He explained the connection

between the war in Central America and the farm crisis in the United States.

Protesters came out to the USS *Intrepid*, an old warship that has been turned into a military museum in New York. They came to condemn "the increasing militaristic and illegal acts of U.S. interference throughout the Third World." The 150 activists also condemned U.S. policy in Central America, Puerto Rico, Libya, and South Africa.

Pledge supporters in Detroit reported that they had talked to members of the National Guard and found them surprisingly receptive to their antiwar message.

The National Pledge has called on antiwar activists to protest before the Congress votes on Reagan's aid package and to demonstrate after the vote.

For more information call the Pledge Hotline at (202) 328-4042 or the Pledge of Resistance National Clearinghouse at (202) 328-4040.



# Sri Lanka gov't continues drive to crush fight of Tamil people

BY MALIK MIAH

The South Asian island-nation of Sri Lanka off the southern coast of India has been in the news lately.

On May 4 an Air Lanka jet preparing to leave the capital city of Colombo's Katunayake International Airport was blown up. Twenty-one people, mostly tourists from Europe and Japan, died, and 41 others were injured in the explosion.

Four days later the interior of Colombo's Central Telegraph Office was hit by an explosion, killing 12 people and wounding more than 100.

While no individual or group claimed responsibility for the explosions, the government immediately charged it was the work of Tamil "terrorists."

Tamils are a discriminated-against national minority. Of Sri Lanka's 16 million people, 75 percent are Sinhala, 18 percent Tamil. The Tamils are mainly concentrated in the northern and eastern provinces.

Since the late 1970s, a number of Tamil groups have waged an armed struggle to

end the Sinhala-dominated government's rule of the northern and eastern provinces, declaring for "Eelam" — an independent Tamil homeland.

The government has responded with repression, including military occupation of the Tamil areas. It has also attacked the democratic rights of left-wing and liberal Sinhalese in the southern part of the country who support Tamil self-determination and oppose the government's broadside attacks on civil liberties under the guise of fighting "terrorism."

In a May Day speech, Sri Lanka's president, J.R. Jayewardene, reaffirmed his government's policy of a military solution, instead of meeting the just demands of the Tamil people. According to *Sri Lanka News*, "The president drew rounds of applause when he said that a military solution was the answer to a military question. One cannot preach non-violence to those who come with the gun."

Taking advantage of recent factional warfare between two Tamil armed groups — the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO) — in which the leader of TELO was killed, National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali repeated the government's charge that the Tamil guerrilla groups are "criminals" and called on the Indian government to help the Sri Lankan government find a solution to the "terrorist" problem.

Jayewardene also demanded that the Indian government close down offices and bases of Sri Lankan Tamil organizations based in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

The Indian government favors a political solution to the civil conflict between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil minority. Many Indians are supportive of the

Tamil democratic struggle because of the ethnic links between the 50 million Indian Tamils in Tamil Nadu and those in Sri Lanka. The Indian government is also concerned about the Sri Lankan government's growing military ties with the Israeli and Pakistani governments.

Despite this pressure from New Delhi, the Sri Lankan government continues its drive to crush the democratic struggle of the Tamil minority. This has led to a rise in the number of political prisoners and "disappeared" in the country.

A May Day statement by the civil rights organization, Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners (CROPP), reported that there are more than 3,000 people detained under the government's Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and Emergency regulations. The detainees are held in prisons and camps throughout the island.

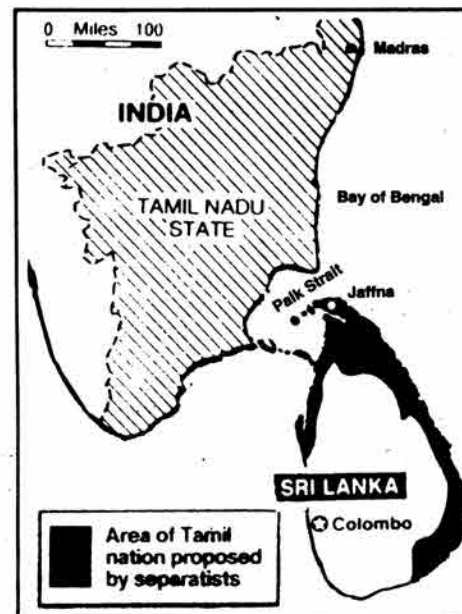
The overwhelming majority of these prisoners are Tamils, "some who have been held for even over 18 months — the maximum time stipulated in the PTA."

CROPP reports that many prisoners are physically harassed and tortured; some have died in police cells.

The problem of "disappeared" was also noted in a report from the U.S. State Department. It said that "reported disappearances rose during 1985. There were a number of reports of the disappearance of young Tamil males who have been arrested and taken in for questioning by the security forces."

The State Department reported that Amnesty International estimated in October 1985 that "180 such detainees had 'disappeared' in recent months."

According to information provided to the *Militant* by Qadri Ismail, a reporter for a major English-language daily, the *Island*, there has been an increase in arrests in the



Many Indians support Tamil people's struggle for self-determination because of ethnic links between 50 million Indian Tamils in Tamil Nadu and those in Sri Lanka.

South. Those apprehended are mainly Sinhalese youths and persons associated with human rights groups, such as the Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE)."

MIRJE advocates a peaceful, just, and democratic solution to the ethnic problem. This, it says, is only possible when the government ends its repression, meets with the recognized Tamil leadership, and begins serious negotiations toward finding "a just political solution."

CROPP recently issued a major statement taking up the new wave of arrests in the South. It called on "progressive and democratic organizations, political parties and trade unions, students and intellectuals to exert pressure on the government to compel it to desist from the use of these laws [PTA and Emergency regulations] to persecute their political opponents and, in connection with these arrests, to act in conformity with the normal process of law."

The statement was signed by leaders of all the major opposition parties, including the former governing party, Sri Lanka Freedom Party. In addition, central leaders of major trade unions, left-wing groups, and scores of prominent academics — most of whom are Sinhalese — signed the statement.

This broad support of democratic rights is an indication of the growing opposition to the United National Party-led government's repressive policies. While many of the signers do not support self-determination for the Tamil minority, they favor a political solution and oppose government violations of civil rights.

CROPP is calling for international solidarity with their campaign to free political prisoners and defend the democratic rights of all Sri Lankans.

Statements of support can be sent to CROPP, c/o MIRJE, Aloe Avenue, Colombo 3, Sri Lanka.



Tamil guerrilla fighters. Since late 1970s, Tamil groups have waged armed struggle for an independent Tamil homeland.

## 'Contra' leader Edén Pastora gives up

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

On May 16 Edén Pastora, a leader of one group of counterrevolutionaries (*contras*), gave up his role in the U.S.-sponsored war against the Nicaraguan workers and farmers. Pastora is seeking political asylum in Costa Rica.

Pastora said he was giving up because he had been "shot down by the CIA," which denied him aid. "There is no reason for one more Nicaraguan to die," he told reporters, "because there is no possibility of military victory."

Pastora, a former Sandinista turned traitor, received aid from the CIA from 1982 to 1984. The U.S. government cut off this aid after Pastora refused to unify with the other U.S.-backed contra forces organized in the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). The majority of the leaders of the FDN were supporters of Anastasio Somoza, the U.S.-backed dictator who was overthrown by the 1979 revolution. The FDN's military command is run by former officers of Somoza's National Guard.

Prior to Pastora's announcement, six of the eight commanders in his group deserted him and joined the United Nicaraguan Opposition.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the United Nicaraguan Opposition were meeting in Miami. It was formed 11 months ago under pressure from the CIA and the U.S. State Department and was an attempt by the Reagan administration to clean up the *contras*' image — here in the United States and abroad. It was to act as the united political voice of the *contras*. The Miami meeting brought together Arturo Cruz, Alfonso Robelo and FDN head Adolfo Calero.

Supervised by the Reagan administration, the meeting aimed at patching up differences among the three leaders.

"We have a credibility problem," *contra* leader Arturo Cruz told the press. "We should take the necessary measures to re-vamp the organization to make it more viable in the political arena."

Cruz was the U.S. government's hand-picked candidate for president in Nicaragua's 1984 election, but later he withdrew from the campaign and led a right-wing boycott. He is now threatening to resign from the *contra* organization unless the mercenary forces are put under the control of all three leaders.

However, Colonel Enrique Bermúdez of the mercenary high command and a close ally of Calero has already publicly rejected Cruz's demand.

According to the May 15 *Wall Street Journal*, Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams warned the *contra* leaders that they risk losing the \$100 million in aid currently before the U.S. Congress unless they patch up their differences.

To assure the success of the meeting, the

Reagan administration dispatched its special Central America envoy Philip Habib to talk to the *contra* leaders.

The *contras* have already suffered one major defection, when Edgar Chamorro resigned from the unholy alliance in the fall of 1984. A year after he left the *contras*, Chamorro sent an affidavit to the World Court testifying to the terrorism practiced against the Nicaraguan people by the *contras*.

The Sandinista government had brought a suit against Washington before the World Court. The suit charges that the U.S. government is violating international law by organizing a mercenary army to wage war against the Nicaraguan people.

## 'IP': Political conflict in Philippines

Three months after the popular upsurge that toppled the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, political life in that country is becoming increasingly polarized. Many Filipinos, especially working people, are seeking to take advantage of the new democratic opening under the Corazon Aquino government to push for radical changes. Others, including the army hierarchy and former Marcos supporters, are resisting this.

The current, June 2 *Intercontinental Press* features a major article by Will Reissner surveying the political situation in the Philippines today.

"The overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship has led to expanded possibilities for the workers and peasants in the Philippines to press forward their claims for a better life and to fight for their class interests," Reissner writes.

Meanwhile, pro-Marcos forces have gone on an offensive in recent weeks.

These conflicting pressures have deepened the political divisions

within the Aquino government itself, which, Reissner notes, includes both "longtime opponents of the ousted Marcos dictatorship as well as longtime Marcos stalwarts." In addition, the new government has come under pressure from Washington not to give in to popular demands.

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Cuba's Battle of the Economy



# Striking meatpackers win round in court

Continued from front page

blocking the local from moving any records. The officialdom also requested that the judge freeze the assets of the strikers' support group.

The United Support Group is made up of strikers, their families, and other supporters. It was formed to organize solidarity with the fight against Hormel. The support group has raised money for strikers and organized grocery distribution and a union kitchen. When strike benefits were cut off by the officialdom, the United Support Group began to provide the strikers with their only income.

The officialdom's move to freeze the United Support Group's assets was a clear attempt to try to starve out the workers and force them to end their strike.

As we go to press, the UFCW's top leadership has not enforced the trusteeship. The designated trustee, however, has taken an office in downtown Austin.

Despite the trusteeship, support for the strike from other working people across the country continues to grow. P-9 has received letters from other locals restating their support and expressing their outrage at the trusteeship.

Other UFCW locals are also protesting the officialdom's attack on the strikers. UFCW Local 538 in Madison, Wisconsin,

is currently discussing withholding its dues from the International union to protest the trusteeship. UFCW Local P-40 in Cudahy, Wisconsin, has already voted to do so. That local was recently joined by UFCW Local P-6 in Albert Lea, Minnesota.

Meanwhile, Hormel has reported that its earnings have declined by 26 percent in the past three months.

Hormel admitted in the May 20 *Wall Street Journal* that the drop in earnings was the result of the strike at its Austin plant. The company claims that the decline reflects the expenses it incurred in opening the plant with scab labor and is therefore only "temporary."

Hormel workers at plants in Beloit, Wisconsin; Atlanta, Georgia; and Fremont, Nebraska, however, report that they are on short weeks and layoff.

Hormel did admit that part of the drop in its earnings was the result of the closing down of the slaughter department at its Ottumwa, Iowa, plant. The department has been closed since January 27 when the company fired more than 500 workers honoring P-9's picket lines.

Messages of support and contributions for the strikers should be sent to: United Support Group, P.O. Box 396, Austin, Minnesota 55912.

## Black South African unionist speaks to Hormel strikers

BY TOM JAAX

AUSTIN, Minn. — "We are fighting the same companies. So we are saying your struggle is our struggle." This message of support to the Hormel strikers was delivered by Joseph Mokoena, a South African trade unionist. He is regional secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union in the South African province of Transvaal.

Mokoena's national union represents workers at a 3M Company plant in South Africa. These workers walked off their jobs February 28 in a one-day solidarity action in support of 3M workers fighting a plant shutdown in Freehold, New Jersey.

Mokoena was in Austin as part of a nationwide tour sponsored by the African American Labor Center.

Addressing a crowd of over 200 at the April 28 strike-support meeting, Mokoena said, "we thought, as workers in South Africa, we were alone in the struggle against the racist regime in South Africa. I am very encouraged that many of you are now realizing you can come to our rescue. You have made your struggle along with ours."

The Hormel Co., Mokoena said, is exploiting workers here and in South Africa. Therefore, he said, "you have an important role to play in our struggle. This role you

have recognized and have definitely undertaken."

Striking Austin meatpackers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, have participated in anti-apartheid rallies across the country as part of their effort to win support for their strike. In the course of their struggle, the strikers have exposed Hormel's links to South Africa. This, Mokoena said, means that Hormel can no longer deny they are doing business in South Africa.

The audience stood and applauded when Mokoena assured them that "despite all the repression, the killings, we still believe, we still hope that one day South Africa will be free." Black workers, he continued, believe that all people, irrespective of race, color, or sex should enjoy their rights as citizens of South Africa.

After Mokoena's presentation, local President Jim Guyette speaking for the strikers said, "we are sympathetic, but we're more than sympathetic. We want to be part of turning the struggle around in South Africa."

Mokoena told the *Militant* that he plans to speak out about the struggle in Austin during the rest of his tour in the United States.

## Affirmative action attacked

Continued from front page

proved the use of affirmative action goals."

But the Justice Department hailed the ruling as "a good decision that furthers the objective of nondiscrimination for all our citizens." Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds said the court action was a victory, if less than a total one, for his side.

The decision does go a long way toward reversing other Supreme Court decisions protecting affirmative action programs in employment, particularly the 1979 Weber case.

In that case, Brian Weber, a white technician at the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, Louisiana, charged that an affirmative action training plan constituted "reverse discrimination" against white males. The plan, which required that half of the openings in a craft training program be filled by Black and women workers, formed part of the 1974 union contract negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America.

In a 5-to-2 decision, the Supreme Court rejected Weber's phony "reverse discrimination" charges. "It would be ironic,"

stated the majority opinion in that case, "if a law triggered by a Nation's concern over centuries of racial injustice . . . constituted the first legislative prohibition of all voluntary, private, race-conscious efforts to abolish traditional patterns of racial segregation and hierarchy."

The current court decision goes in the exact opposite direction.

In his dissenting opinion in the Jackson case, Justice Thurgood Marshall correctly characterized the majority opinion as "untenable." He wrote, "The sole question posed by this case is whether the Constitution prohibits a union and a local school board from developing a collective bargaining agreement that apportions layoffs between two racially determined groups as a means of preserving an affirmative hiring policy, the constitutionality of which is unchallenged."

Marshall points out that the majority opinion represents a vicious cycle in which no affirmative action gains can be maintained.

"As a matter of logic as well as fact," Marshall wrote, "a hiring policy achieves no purpose at all if it is eviscerated [eradicated] by layoffs."



Militant/Tom Jaax

Some of the women in United Support Group. Judge refused top UFCW officials' request to freeze support group's assets. It has been paying strike benefits since March, when UFCW tops terminated payments.

## N.Y. anti-apartheid action

Continued from front page

diplomatically are the only policy that our government can morally take."

The press conference was called to promote and report on the June 14 anti-apartheid protest. The latest aggression by the South African regime was pointed to as one of the reasons people in this country should demand an end to all U.S. ties with apartheid.

Thomas Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, chaired the press conference. It was attended by a host of labor, community, and religious leaders.

Information was provided on new endorsements and on how the action is building.

It was reported that American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 420 will use its Harlem office to organize the Harlem contingent and its phone bank and sound truck to get the word out. Stanley Hill, associate director of District Council 37 of AFSCME, said that a meeting of the district council's 58 local leaderships will be held to plan how to involve the district membership in the march.

David Livingston, president of District 65 of the United Auto Workers said that the union plans to hold a special membership meeting as a way to organize its participation in the march.

New labor endorsements include Humphrey Donahue, regional director, AFL-CIO; Barry Feinstein, Teamsters; Henry Foner, president of Local 1 of the Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers union; Thomas Gleason, president, International Longshoremen's Association; Victor Gotbaum, executive director, District Council 37, AFSCME; John Hudson, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); Sal Ingrassia, president, District 3, International Union of Electrical Workers; William Lucy, president, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Jay Mazur, general secretary-treasurer, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Paschal McGuinness, president, District Council, Carpenters; Henry Nicholas, president, National Union of Health and Hospital Workers, District 1199; Jan Pierce, vice-president, Communications Workers of America; and Jacob Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer, ACTWU.

Support also continues to grow in the Black community. Benjamin Hooks, executive director, NAACP; Harry Belafonte; David Dinkins, Manhattan Borough president; Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee; Jesse Jack-

son, president of the National Rainbow Coalition; Harriet Michel, executive director, New York Urban League; National Black United Front; Rep. Major Owens; Randall Robinson, TransAfrica; Authur Ashe; and Rep. Edolphus Towns have all endorsed.

The council has produced a bilingual leaflet for the demonstration, which will be helpful in reaching this city's large Spanish-speaking population, particularly Puerto Ricans. Endorsements from the Puerto Rican community have increased with the addition of Congressman Robert Garcia; Nathan Quinones, chancellor, New York City schools; Zoilo Torres, New York City chapter president, National Congress of Puerto Rican Rights; Jose Rivera, vice chairperson, New York State Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus; and the Puerto Rican Bar Association.

With the momentum building toward June 14, leaders of the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council expect this to be the largest anti-apartheid rally in U.S. history.

The march will demand an end to all U.S. ties to the racist regime in South Africa, as well as commemorate the 10th anniversary of the rebellion in Soweto, South Africa.

Speakers at the rally will include 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, as well as others.

The march will begin at 10 a.m. from the United Nations, from 116 St. and Lexington Avenue in the heart of the Puerto Rican community, and from the Harlem State Office Building. It will culminate in a rally at Central Park.

Speakers are available from the coordinating council for union, community, campus, and other meetings.

We must "send a message to Washington," said David Dinkins, Manhattan Borough president, "that we will not tolerate the continued support of the Reagan administration for the only government in the world that legally justifies white supremacy."

"We welcome all to the rally who want to stand with us and the Black majority and their leaders on June 14," explained Cleveland Robinson.

For more information contact: New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council, c/o District 65 UAW, 13 Astor Place, New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 673-5120, extension 390.

## S.F. Machinists back Hormel strike

BY LARRY LUKECART

SAN FRANCISCO — In an act of union solidarity, International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1781 voted to send \$1,000 to the striking meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota. Local 1781 organizes the mechanics and ramp and kitchen workers at San Francisco International Airport.

The machinists' local voted on this aid after a letter of thanks from the striking meatpackers for the local's previous donation of \$1,781 was read at a membership meeting. The local also voted to organize a plant-gate collection at the airport for the strikers.

Buck Heegard, a striking member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 currently on tour on the West Coast, addressed the local union meeting. He was greeted enthusiastically by the more than 200 members present. They listened as he explained how the fight of Local P-9 was in the interest of all working people. "Labor needs a victory," Heegard said. "With your help and solidarity we can win."

After the meeting, union members gathered around P-9's table to discuss the strike and to buy "Boycott Hormel" stickers and "Cram your Spam" T-shirts. More than \$150 was collected.



# Nicaraguan workers and farmers celebrate

## 190,000 participate in actions called by Sandinista Workers Federation

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Trade unionists rallied across Nicaragua on May Day in a show of determination to defeat Washington's military and economic aggression against their country.

The scope of the challenge before the workers was highlighted in the speech by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. He announced that the country's export income will fall \$100 million short of what had been hoped for this year, seriously affecting the production goals recently mapped out by the labor movement and the government.

The May 1 actions were called by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). This is the country's largest trade union federation. It is based on industrial workers and led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Also participating in the actions were the unions of farm workers, government employees, health care workers, and teachers.

The CST estimates that 190,000 working people took part in the actions nationwide. They were held in the major cities on both the Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

### Workers' assemblies

The demonstrations were the culmination of several months of political organizing in factories and fields. In March and April, assemblies of workers were held in nearly every branch of industry and agriculture to discuss what is called Economic Plan '86. The meetings heard reports on the war situation and the national economic picture, and workers discussed concretely

what kind of production goals they could meet in their workplaces.

Stress was placed on increasing production, despite the strain of the five-year, U.S.-organized war, by improving discipline on the job, greater conservation of scarce raw materials and better care of machinery, creativity in inventing spare parts when the old ones wear out, and putting in voluntary labor.

The assemblies were also an opportunity for workers to raise problems that are not the direct effect of the *contra* war, such as poor planning on the part of factory administrations or state agencies.

The CST and the farm workers' union also sponsored "Red and Black" days during those two months, in which tens of thousands of workers volunteered to come in on Sunday to work without pay, the money going to the war fronts or projects such as child-care centers.

To encourage what is known as the "innovators' movement," the union federation organized public showings of the spare parts that workers have invented. Much of Nicaragua's machinery is of U.S. origin, and the U.S. government's trade embargo has had a crippling effect on some factories.

Educational articles appeared in *Barricada*, the FSLN daily paper, on the history of May Day, noting its origins in U.S. workers' struggle for the eight-hour day.

On May 1, *Barricada* ran a full-page editorial on the history of the international working-class struggle for political power. It included the initial organizing efforts of British and German workers in the early

19th century, the drafting of the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founding of the First International, the rise of the Paris Commune, the October 1917 Russian revolution, and the Cuban revolution.

### Haymarket martyrs

The May Day demonstrations were dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the 1886 strikes in the United States for the eight-hour day and in honor of the Haymarket martyrs, the Chicago union leaders framed up and executed for their role in those strikes.

The same U.S. government that murdered those workers' leaders are today killing workers around the world, Lucio Jiménez told the rally here. The general secretary of the CST, Jiménez focused his remarks on how Nicaraguan working people are meeting the U.S.-run aggression by fighting in the armed forces and by trying to produce more in the factories and on the farms.

At the march in Managua, which more than 80,000 people participated in, the factory contingents were made up in their majority of young workers. Some peasants from nearby cooperatives joined in, as did members of industrial cooperatives, students, and soldiers.

Quite a few workers brought handmade signs. One contingent bore placards with the faces of the Haymarket martyrs. A worker from the ENABAS food packaging plant carried a carefully illustrated sign explaining how Economic Plan '86 would be organized in his factory. Another sign

said, "Workers' unity is fundamental against the aggression."

The CST had called on the union federations run by the ultraleft parties and those led by the capitalist parties to join them in a common May Day action. But all the other union federations ultimately rejected the CST appeal for unity and held their own, small activities. (See stories elsewhere on page.)

### CST perspective

The great bulk of Nicaraguan working people identified with the CST's May Day call, which emphasized three main points:

1) the most important conquest of the July 19, 1979, Sandinista revolution is that workers and peasants hold political power;

2) Washington's war is aimed at taking away that power and thus everything, including immediate economic gains for the working class, must be subordinated to national defense;

3) increasing farm and factory production is the duty of all working people in the "rearguard," to back up the soldiers at the front and to compensate for the damage the war is doing to the economy.

This perspective was summed up in the slogans on two large billboards at the rally site here: "Our power is being consolidated through work and defense" and "We workers and peasants are one single power."

Ortega told the crowd that given Washington's escalating aggression, "we cannot have expectations of peace; we have to prepare more and better for war."

To shouts of approval he declared that the Nicaraguan government would never

## 1,000 join march of union federations led by ultraleft groups

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua—Approximately 1,000 workers and students joined a May Day march here sponsored by the General Confederation of Labor-Independent (CGT-I) and the Federation of Trade Union and Action Unity (CAUS). The CGT-I is led by the Nicaraguan Socialist Party, and the CAUS by the Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN) — two sectarian ultraleft groups opposed to the Sandinista-led government.

The main workers' contingents came from the construction workers organized by the CGT-I. Their banners read: "For peace, self-determination, and sovereignty"; "For trade union freedom and democracy."

Chants of "Down with imperialism!" and "Long live socialism!" alternated with criticisms of Nicaragua's workers' and peasants' government. Speakers at the march called for "wage increases"; "freedom for all trade unions"; and an "end to

corruption in the government." They said that the Sandinista National Liberation Front had failed in its leadership of the working class and in responding to the economic crisis.

The Sandinista Police escorted the march, diverting traffic as it proceeded through working-class neighborhoods in eastern Managua.

The *Militant* asked Domingo Sánchez, a Socialist Party deputy in Nicaragua's National Assembly and a long-time leader of

the CGT-I, if he had any message for U.S. workers. He said he would urge them to "stand up to their government for their own rights and to stop the U.S. attacks against Nicaragua."

The CGT-I-CAUS march here, however, said very little about what Nicaraguan workers can do to defeat Washington's war. Organizers focused instead on assailing the Sandinista National Liberation Front and other rival currents in the labor movement.

Leaders of the CAUS and CGT-I claimed that the march was a big step forward in working-class unity. They chided the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) and the rightist Council on Trade Union Unification (CUS) and Workers Federation of Nicaragua-Autonomous (CTNa) for what they called "sectarianism, anti-communism, and hegemonism."

Earlier this year, the CST held a series of meetings with these four other federations to try to build a joint May Day action as a show of workers unity against the U.S. government's attacks on Nicaragua. The CST represents 110,000 industrial workers in Nicaragua. The CGT-I has 17,000 members, while the other federations have 2,000 or less.

The CAUS, CUS, CGT-I and CTNa all rejected the CST unity proposal. The CUS held their own mass and march that attracted several hundred people. The CTNa organized a small meeting in their headquarters "to defend Christian and Western values," according to the capitalist daily *La Prensa*.

PSN and PCN activists told the *Militant* that they could not participate in the big rally organized by the CST because Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega was speaking there. Since Ortega is a member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, his participation made the CST rally "partisan," whereas the CAUS-CGT-I march would "speak for all workers," they said.

The CAUS-CGT-I march ended up at the big Iván Montenegro market where 250 people stayed for a short rally. Organizers told them they could return home "content with having participated in a historic action for the working class."

## May Day rally of right-wing union federation draws 500

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — With cries of "No to communism, yes to democracy!" and "Obando! Obando! Obando!" 500 people rallied in a May Day mass here presided over by Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo.

The mass was sponsored by the Nicaraguan Workers Federation (CTN), a small, right-wing union federation closely identified with the U.S.-backed terrorist attacks

on Nicaragua. Some CTN leaders have been arrested for trying to organize bombing and sabotage campaigns within Nicaragua and for recruiting Nicaraguans to join the CIA-organized mercenaries (*contras*).

Two other rightist groups, the Social Christian Party (PSC) and the Social Democratic Party (PSD) also participated in the event. Their supporters carried signs reading "CTN = Liberty"; "The power of the people is resisting — we will win"; "Russians and Cubans out!"; and "Workers are

fighting for trade union freedom."

Most of the participants appeared to be middle-class and professionals, though there were a number of workers present. The CTN's base of support includes some bus drivers, market vendors, and employees of the right-wing daily *La Prensa*. Nearly everyone seemed to have come for an anti-Sandinista rally and enthusiastically joined the chants.

In his speech, Obando y Bravo attacked "class struggle, totalitarian regimes, and the dictatorship of the proletariat." He called for workers to fight for "independent unions" and "social justice" through various means, including strikes.

Luis Vega Miranda, a leader of the Social Christian Party and editorial writer for *La Prensa*, read an open letter to Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega calling for the release of "hundreds of peasants arrested this year." This apparently referred to the government's success in uncovering and arresting spies and messengers collaborating with the U.S.-backed mercenaries operating in rural Nicaragua.

The PSC call to release these "innocent peasants" was greeted with prolonged cries of "Down with communism"; "Long Live Edén Pastora [one of the *contra* leaders]"; and "Obando! Obando! Obando!"

At the end of the mass, the Social Democratic Party led a short march out of the church and around the block. About 150 people participated, chanting "No to communism"; "Long live the Church"; and "Long live the CTN."



Social Democratic Party participated in rally sponsored by right-wing union federation, some of whose leaders have been arrested for trying to organize bombing and sabotage campaigns inside Nicaragua. Banner reads, "Long live Contadora peace, Russians and Cubans out!"



# May Day

accept the U.S. government's two stated conditions for ending its murderous aggression — that the Sandinistas negotiate with the mercenaries, who are armed, financed, and organized by Washington, and that Nicaragua reduce its armaments. He stressed, in fact, that Nicaraguan workers and peasants want and need more weapons to defend their revolution.

The bulk of Ortega's speech focused on the grinding economic war Washington is imposing on Nicaragua.

Just two weeks earlier, the pressures this war brings to bear on the working class, and on the government, were brought into bold relief when the Ministry of Labor fired 57 textile workers for going on strike at a state-run plant. (See story on facing page.)

## 'You are the best economists'

"We have serious economic problems, grave economic problems," Ortega told the crowd. "You know this perfectly well, because you deal with production, supply, and the economy every day. You are the best economists who can exist in Nicaragua."

He spoke of the frustrations workers experience as they try to overcome the country's economic problems:

"You have the will to work. You arrive at the factory with enthusiasm, with discipline. But you find that there are no raw materials or the raw materials are late in arriving. The foreign exchange wasn't there in time to get the raw materials or the parts didn't arrive because they were blocked by the United States."

"In the best of circumstances, you have the raw materials, you have the spare parts, you have the plant functioning — but then the power goes out. And the power goes out because the Nicaraguan Energy Institute doesn't have all the foreign exchange needed to maintain 100 percent of our energy installations."

Ortega said that as long as the war exists, these problems will remain. But workers can exert greater control over the economic crisis by going on a campaign to increase labor discipline, conserve raw materials, work harder, and raise productivity. Farm production can also increase, he said, because the government is extending the land reform, putting farms in the hands of poor peasants who want to produce.

Another aspect of exerting more control, he continued, is "redoubling vigilance and revolutionary criticism." He said, "We have to forcefully criticize those who commit errors in the government, in the ranks of the FSLN, in the ranks of the workers, in factory administrations, and among technicians."

## Divide-and-rule strategy

Ortega said the U.S. government, unable to overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution through mercenaries, hopes to do so by wearing down working people economically and dividing them from the FSLN.

"Reagan thinks if he can't demoralize the people with bullets, he can do so with hunger," said Ortega. "He wants people to blame the Sandinista National Liberation Front for the problems in the economy, for the shortages of toothpaste, soap, boots, clothing, work tools, and food."

"But the people of Nicaragua cannot be confused, and even with the greatest difficulties, we are going to defend this revolution."

He explained that this year's export income will be only \$260 or \$270 million, instead of the projected \$350 to \$360 million. Before the 1979 revolution here, under the Somoza capitalist government, there were times when export income reached \$650 million, Ortega pointed out.

Today, he continued, Nicaraguan capitalists and landlords argue that the drop in income is the fault of the FSLN and the revolutionary government, that nationalized factories are inherently less productive, as are farms in the hands of poor peasants.

But under Somoza, he asked, "Did you receive any benefits from those \$650 mil-



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

More than 80,000 people participated in May Day rally in Managua dedicated to 100th anniversary of the strikes in United States that called for eight-hour workday. General secretary of Sandinista union federation explained that Nicaraguan working people are combating U.S.-sponsored war against their country by fighting in armed forces and by producing more in factories and on farms.

lion, comrade workers? What did the capitalist exploiters, the *latifundists* [big landowners] leave us with? They left us with illiteracy. Did they worry perchance about using those \$650 million to teach the people to read and write? No. Did they worry about giving the workers housing? No."

The wealth produced by working people under Somoza, he continued, was used "for the enrichment of a group of capitalist exploiters. We prefer the difficulties [we have today] — which are not caused by the revolution — to the regime of exploitation that the capitalists offer us."

The president reiterated what it is Nicaraguan working people are defending today through their sacrifices — a government of

workers and peasants that acts in their interests.

"July 19, 1979," he explained, "was the historic victory of the working people in Nicaragua. Beginning at that moment and for the first time in history, Nicaraguan working people are the masters of power ... they have access to the means of communication ... they are the masters of words and action ... they have the opportunity to participate in the management of factories; they have the real possibility of obtaining health care, education, and housing."

"The sweat and blood of the working people will never again be shed to enrich the proimperialist government of capitalist exploitation that we sent to hell on July 19,

1979," he declared.

"In 1871, when the power of workers was nothing more than a dream and seemed to be a utopia, the working people of Paris launched what Karl Marx called 'the assault on the heavens.' That was the great insurrection of the Paris Commune."

"Today in Nicaragua, on May Day 1986, the workers have assaulted the heavens, and nothing and no one is ever going to dislodge us from this tropical and celestial trench that is the Sandinista People's Revolution. The victory is ours."

The rally closed with the singing of the Sandinista national anthem and the *International*, the hymn of the world working class.

## Strike at Nicaraguan garment factory leads to discussion on how to resolve labor disputes

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA — An important discussion is unfolding in the workers' movement here in the wake of a strike that took place at the ENAVES garment plant in mid-April.

ENAVES is a major state-run factory that produces military and school uniforms, as well as pants for export. It has suffered big production problems because of the U.S. trade embargo. The factory also has had a history of leadership problems in both the administration and the union.

These all came to a head April 11, when a minority of workers went on strike demanding that the factory administration be fired. They occupied the plant gates, barring entry to administrative personnel.

The Ministry of Labor declared the strike a violation of the country's state of emergency laws. Fifty-seven workers, out of a work force of 900, were fired. On April 12, the ministry called in the Sandinista Police to remove the strikers from the gates.

The union at ENAVES is affiliated to the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which is led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). But at the time of the strike, several other political currents also existed in the ENAVES union leadership and membership.

The CST, which the majority of Nicaraguan's workers look to for leadership, has the position that given the war against the U.S.-backed mercenaries and the big economic problems that have been exacerbated by it, strikes are the wrong way to struggle for workers' interests at this time. The CST calls on workers to solve conflicts with administration through political dis-

cussion, in order to keep production going.

Last October the Nicaraguan government imposed a legal ban on strikes as part of restoring state-of-emergency measures that had been decreed in 1982 and then lifted in mid-1984.

Since October, there have been some sharp conflicts and even work stoppages in other plants. But this was the first time that the state of emergency had been invoked against workers or that the police had been called on.

The first public statement on the ENAVES strike was a communiqué from the Ministry of Labor in the April 14 *Barricada*, daily newspaper of the FSLN. It reported that the ENAVES workers had been fired, and police had removed them from the factory gates.

The ministry statement did not say anything about the strikers' demands. It ended with the warning that in accordance with the state of emergency and Nicaragua's labor code, "all actions related to takeovers, strikes, and acts of coercion that block the smooth functioning of work centers and production will be declared illegal."

On April 19 an article appeared on the front page of *Barricada* titled "What happened at ENAVES?"

*Barricada* said that there was "a weak and divided union leadership" at ENAVES, an administration-union factory committee "that did not function," and "a worker participation that was not real."

This added to the problems of lack of raw materials and spare parts, which most factories here suffer, but which became acute at ENAVES. Some 466 machines were in disrepair, out of a total of 842. The government had not allocated any dollars to the enterprise to buy raw materials or

spare parts this year.

This situation, combined with poor production planning, meant that take-home pay was declining for many ENAVES workers. Government-set pay scales were not being adhered to in some cases, further reducing workers' income.

Absenteeism was running at 115 workers a day. A problem of some workers stealing materials from the plant had also developed.

*Barricada* interviewed Ruth Herrera, the head administrator at ENAVES, who had been sent in six months earlier by the government to replace a corrupt plant director now in jail for fraud and speculation. A member of the FSLN, Herrera used to be in the CST and had attended school to study administration.

Herrera said she ran into trouble with some of the union leaders when she tried to reorganize the plant, end certain practices of the old director, and establish new relations with the union. Some fought her decision that union meetings should take place after work, for example. Under the old director, 140 hours of work time each month were turned over to union meetings.

In the union itself the political currents represented were the CST; the Nicaraguan Workers Federation (CTN), a right-wing union federation; and three ultraleft sectarian currents — the Federation of Trade Union Unity and Action (CAUS), led by the Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN); the Workers Front (FO), led by the People's Action Movement, Marxist-Leninist (MAP-ML); and supporters of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT). The CAUS had members on the union executive board.

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# USWA tops lead union to major setbacks

BY PAT GROGAN

Steel industry executives are in an "up-beat" mood, according to the business section of the *New York Times*.

Contract bargaining is taking place between the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the major steel companies. For the first time, negotiations are taking place on a company-by-company basis. So far, two of the steel companies — LTV and National — have chalked up big new concessions without a fight.

One of the reasons for the exceptionally good mood of the steel bosses is the subservient stance of the leadership of the Steelworkers union.

On May Day, the international day of working-class solidarity, the USWA officialdom ran a full-page ad in the *Washington Post*. It is a crude piece of anti-Soviet, cold-war style propaganda, suggesting that a "strong" American steel industry is needed to defend the country against an imagined Soviet military threat. It even suggests that maybe what working people really need is the good old days of World War II.

Two weeks later, another full-page ad appeared in the *New York Times*. "It's time to take the gloves off," the ad says. But this is not a call for the union to stand up to the steel companies. The ad proclaims June 21 to be "Save American Industry and Jobs Day." It is signed by the Steelworkers union and five of the six biggest steel companies.

The ad claims the way to "save U.S. jobs and industry" is to attack industry and jobs in other countries. It implores Congress and the federal government to "take the gloves off in dealing with countries" that foster exports of steel and other products into the United States.

Years of such antiforeign propaganda have not prevented the steady loss of jobs, working conditions, and other rights of steelworkers.

Prowar flag-waving and anti-imports demagoguery. That's what the top leadership of the Steelworkers union has to offer instead of squaring off with the steel bosses and leading a fight for the jobs, wages, health, safety, and rights of the workers.

The starting point of the USWA top officials is not the welfare of the members, but meeting the needs of the owners of the steel industry.

This "what's good for the steel bosses is good for the steelworkers" scam has been the official policy of the union for years. It has worked out pretty well for the companies. But steelworkers have been pushed back further and further.

In 1983, the major steel corporations wrung big concessions from the union. Under pressure from the membership, the Basic Steel Industry Conference (BSIC) — which was made up of local union presidents — twice rejected the top leadership's recommendations for concessions. At that time, the BSIC, and not the union members, voted on the contracts.

Finally, when it became clear that the top leadership was determined to help save the steel companies' profits and would not lead a fight, the local presidents accepted the first major national concession contract in the history of the USWA. Wages were immediately cut by \$1.25 an hour, benefits and vacations slashed, work rules junked, and union rights eroded.

Last May, owners of five of the biggest steel companies — Inland Steel, LTV, Bethlehem, U.S. Steel, and Armco — dissolved their collective bargaining committee and said they would negotiate separate contracts with the USWA in 1986. Together with National Steel, these companies make up the Big Six and employ 145,000 steelworkers.

The breakup of industrywide coordinated bargaining tremendously weakens the union. It allows the steel bosses to set one group of union members against others. It aims to blackmail steelworkers and to force them into the framework of negotiating a deal with their "own" company that will give it a competitive edge over other companies.

The USWA officialdom not only accepted the breakup of coordinated bargaining without a fight, it has adopted the negotiating strategy of trying to come up with "packages" that take the particular concession needs of each company into account. The officialdom went so far as to hire a

## STEEL MAYDAY!

May Day means a lot of different things in different places.

In the Soviet Union, where the steel mills are booming, it's a day of celebration and a day to parade military might. May Day might be steel.

MAYDAY is also a distress signal. It means someone or something is in a crisis. A MAYDAY rescues the highest priority for assistance.

The mills and plants that produced the steel for World War II are closed, on the verge of closing, or operating at a fraction of their potential. Now, we're importing large quantities of subsidized steel, much of it from unstable foreign countries.

Steel in America is sending a MAYDAY signal.

Bethlehem, like so many steel towns, is now a distressed community.

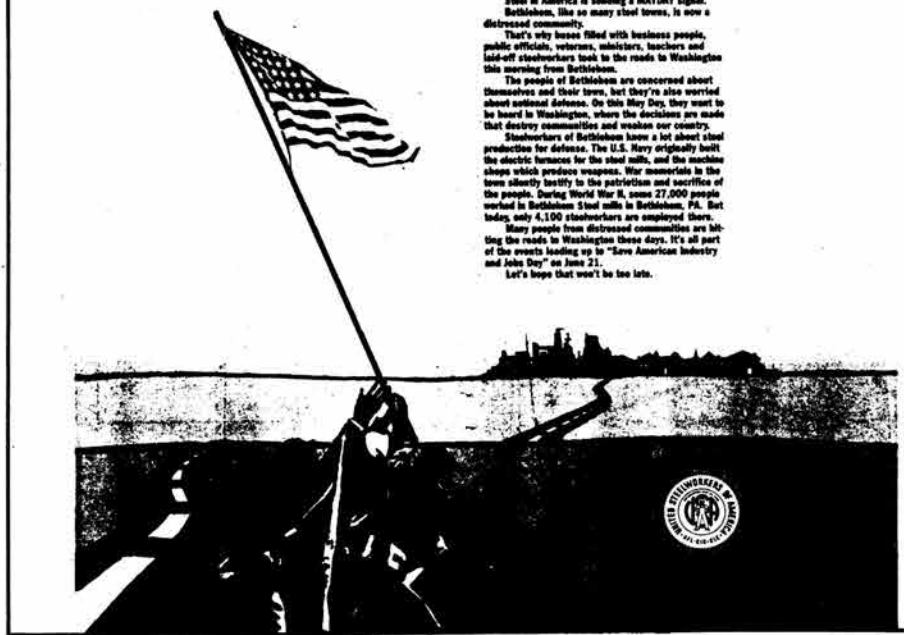
That's why houses filled with business people, public officials, veterans, ministers, teachers and laid-off steelworkers look to the roads in Washington this morning from Bethlehem.

The people of Bethlehem are concerned about themselves and their town, but they're also worried about national defense. On this May Day, they want to be heard in Washington, where the decisions are made that destroy communities and weaken our country.

Steelworkers of Bethlehem know a lot about steel production for defense. The U.S. Navy originally built the electric furnaces for the steel mills, and the machine shops which produce weapons. War materials in the town shortly testify to the patriotism and sacrifice of the people. During World War II, some 27,000 people worked in Bethlehem Steel mills in Bethlehem, PA. But today, only 4,100 steelworkers are employed there.

Many people from distressed communities are hitting the roads in Washington these days. It's all part of the events leading up to "Save American Industry and Jobs Day" on June 21.

Let's hope that won't be too late.



United Steelworkers of America ad appeared in *Washington Post* May 1

Wall Street banking firm, Lazard Freres & Co., to give it "expert" advice on the profit profile of each company in order to determine the concessions each company supposedly needs.

It was in this context that the USWA tops conceded the right of union members to vote on their contracts — a right denied them since 1956. The meeting of the Basic Steel Industry Conference last January agreed that workers at each company could vote on their own contracts.

This is a right the members have long fought for. But the USWA officialdom's purpose was not to increase the power of the membership, but to set them up to take the blame for the concession contracts in the works. They made it clear to the ranks that they would not organize a serious fightback to protect the wages and working conditions of the unions.

Thus it was not surprising that the two takeback agreements reached so far were approved by the union membership.

The 40-month pact reached with LTV Steel in March gave up \$1.14 an hour in wages and more than \$2.00 an hour in benefits. The cost-of-living adjustment — a hard-won gain — was completely eliminated. Most workers lost a week of vacation and 10 paid holidays. Sick and accident benefits were cut, deductibles for major medical coverage were increased, and coverage for vision care was eliminated.

In April a 39-month contract was announced between the USWA and National Steel. It grants a \$1.00-an-hour cut in wages and benefits. And according to the April 10 *Wall Street Journal*, it grants the company "greater flexibility to reform restrictive work rules, combine jobs, and shrink work crew sizes." Over the term of the contract, National Steel expects to

eliminate 27 percent of present jobs.

All this was conceded without a fight, dealing a blow to the morale of steelworkers and placing the union in a weaker position in future bargaining.

Other big steel firms will now push harder for the same or bigger concessions in contracts due to expire July 31.

It is no wonder that under these conditions most steelworkers felt "left out in the cold" with no choice but to accept the takeback contracts.

Denied the power of a united membership facing the steel bosses together, told in no uncertain terms that the union leadership had no heart for a fight, the membership approved the LTV contract by a vote of 13,162 to 8,474. The vote for the National Steel agreement was 3,412 in favor and 2,247 against.

What is notable is the large number of workers who voted against the contract and were willing to face a strike despite the severely weakened position they were put in by the policies of the International officials.

Steelworkers are facing the worst setbacks since the formation of the union in the 1930s. More and more steelworkers realize that a new policy is needed to stand up and fight back.

The fight by the striking meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, against the Hormel Co. points the way forward for the labor movement. The strikers reject the idea that strikes and union solidarity are out of date. They rely on the power of the union membership, not "experts," lawyers, and red tape. They say the job of the union is to fight for working people, not to protect the profits of the company owners.

This is the way forward for steelworkers, too.

## Blacks win boycott in Miss.

BY RASHAAD ALI

A 37-day economic boycott of white-owned stores and places of service by Blacks in Indianola, Mississippi, forced the removal of a white school superintendent April 24. He was replaced by Robert Merritt, the first Black school superintendent in Indianola. The town's school system is 93 percent Black.

The protest began when the school board voted three to two to appoint Willie Grissom as superintendent. Grissom was to take over the school district on July 1. Three of the five board members are white.

Parents and students successfully closed down the school system March 26 with a boycott of classes. The school board officially closed the schools on March 27, one day before Easter break. The school boycott resumed April 9 and by April 15, 87 percent of the students did not report for school. The board officially closed the schools again April 15. They were reopened April 21 only after protest leaders

decided to end the boycott of classes.

The boycott of white-owned businesses forced the white owners to buy out the contract of Grissom for \$90,000. This is equal to two years of his salary. It opened the way for the board to accept Grissom's resignation and approve the appointment of Merritt.

The boycott was reported to have reduced business by as much as 50 percent and to have severely crippled the town's economy. Tommy McWilliams, the attorney for the white-owned businesses who negotiated with Grissom, explained that they wanted the so-called controversy ended.

Whites in Indianola — as in most of Mississippi schools after the historic 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision against separate but "equal" schools — had established a whites-only academy in 1965. This academy did not accept Blacks until 1983, when two students were enrolled.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

## 'PM': Shut down all nukes!

The Chernobyl nuclear accident in the Soviet Union is a serious warning about the dangers of nuclear power. The Soviet press agency Tass reported that the explosion there destroyed part of the containment structure of one of the reactors, and a fire broke out with flames as high as 100 feet. Radiation was discharged into the atmosphere. Tens of thousands of people were evacuated from the surrounding area. At least nine people have died from the accident, and 200 were hospitalized.

In the face of the accident, the governments and news media of the U.S. and western Europe launched a vicious anti-Soviet campaign.

The U.S. government and its allies are trying to deflect attention from their own nuclear power plants.

The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* unravels the propaganda and goes over the history of some of the nuclear accidents in the United States. It points to the dangers of nuclear power and the need to shut down all nuclear plants worldwide.

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



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

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Clip and mail to PM, 408 West St., New York, NY 10014.



# TWA attendant discusses issues in fight

Continued from back page

the back. This may or may not have been "authorized" by the company, but their representatives were doing it. I remember weight checks in the early 1970s. Every flight you had to have a grooming check and be weighed before you went out on every flight. That didn't last too long, but there was a period of 6 months where we went through that. Since then, we have monthly grooming and weight checks. We all agree that grooming and cleanliness are important, especially since we handle food, but not recommendations to wear false eyelashes or how to style our hair!

Up until 1983, women at TWA were not allowed to have children and remain flight attendants. At that time, mothers who had been forced to quit were allowed to come back to work. This wasn't due to the goodness of the company, but through winning a legal battle.

We feel that the feminist movement, victories in the courts, and the Civil Rights Act have all helped us and given us a job we can be proud of.

We are no longer seen as cute, giggling little things. We feel we command respect as professionals on the airplane. We know how to evacuate a plane in 90 seconds. We're not just there to serve coffee, tea, lunch, and dinner. We're on there for safety.

**Q.** What kind of solidarity has IFFA received since you went on strike?

**A.** Our union, which is not affiliated, didn't come into being until the mid-1970s. This strike has been our first major action as part of the union movement, and we are learning a lot.

The union movement has been wonderful to us. They've reached out, they've taught us, they've showed us what to do, and we have a lot of backing. We also have backing from other organizations, like NOW [National Organization for Women]. In Cleveland, we've gotten support from CLUW [Coalition of Labor Union Women], the Cleveland Federation of Labor, locals of the UAW [United Auto Workers] and USWA [United Steelworkers of America], and others.

**Q.** Have IFFA members been following the P-9 strike against Hormel?

**A.** Oh yes, from the very first. As union people we've been interested in it and have boycotted Hormel products. But since our strike started, we've realized on a personal level what these P-9 people are going through. Our members attended the national support rally for P-9 in Austin on April 12, and we support everything they're doing.

**Q.** What are the safety conditions on TWA flights now?

**A.** One of the things that has become apparent to all our members is that we don't feel the confidence in our government that we used to. For example, the FAA [Federal Aviation Administration] is tending to ignore safety violations that TWA is guilty of. We have been keeping track of these violations and reported them to the FAA. One of the biggest violations is that every new hire is supposed to fly their first five hours with an experienced crew. Well, they're not doing this. When the FAA was warned about this, they changed the rule to 2 1/2 hours. They said, "Due to the current situation at TWA, we're going to change this rule." So we knew whose side they were on.

We've talked to our senators, our representatives in Congress, and finally the congressional subcommittee on airline safety. Finally, that subcommittee did investigate these safety violations. They interviewed passengers on flights that had emergency evacuations, where flight attendants did not know how to open doors and did not report to the cockpit that the airplane was full of smoke. Passengers were totally amazed that the flight attendants did not know what to do.

In another case, a passenger in the terminal in Kansas City, after getting off a flight, had some kind of seizure. The new-hire flight attendants all ran past the man! Three IFFA pickets took off their picket signs, ran over, and assisted the passenger until emergency medical teams arrived.

rived.

**Q.** How have other workers at the airport responded to your picket lines?

**A.** At the beginning of our strike, we received a tremendous display of solidarity from the IAM when they honored our picket lines. They were with us for the first few days of the strike, until TWA found a judge in Kansas City who issued an injunction against the IAM's right to honor our picket lines. This forced them back to work. If they could have remained out, this strike would have been settled the first week. So actually part of the union's power was eroded. Ordinarily, you are allowed to go out on a sympathy strike — that's part of your power as union people. But that was taken away from us.

There are smaller acts of solidarity too. Not a day goes by on the picket line that somebody doesn't come by and say, "I know what you're going through, and we're behind you. We're not flying TWA, and we're telling our friends not to fly."

We're all having experiences like this, and that's really great. We never knew that kind of support was out there — this is our first experience. We're now learning what it means to feel this brotherhood-sisterhood of a union.



TWA flight attendant speaking at Hormel strike support rally in New York. Cleveland IFFA member said of Hormel strikers, "We support everything they're doing."

## Nicaragua: garment strike, U.S. war

Continued from Page 9

*Barricada* also interviewed Dámaso Vargas, general secretary of the CST in the Managua region and an FSLN deputy in the National Assembly. Vargas thought the workers who struck "were right about some of their demands even though he recognized that the methods of struggle used were not the correct ones," said *Barricada*.

"The CST accepts its responsibility for not having correctly led the working class at ENAVES," *Barricada* continued, "but the enterprise must improve its communication with the workers, because often procedures were used that did not contribute to strengthening bonds of unity, [Vargas] said."

In an April 22 interview with this reporter, Vargas elaborated on some of the difficult conditions in the plant, as well as errors he thought were made.

### War diverts resources

The enormous resources going to defend the country from the U.S.-backed mercenaries takes its toll at plants like ENAVES, Vargas pointed out.

Built by a U.S. company before the revolution, the plant is very hot and noisy. Many of the women employed there are single mothers who often miss work or come in late because they have no one to leave their children with. The revolution simply does not have the resources to solve these kinds of problems right now, said Vargas.

The plant's best mechanics have been mobilized to go into the army, leaving less skilled workers to repair machinery.

A shortage of trained personnel also affects administration. The new administration team, he said, was "very goodwilled, but quite young and lacking in experience."

This led to poor organization of production on the part of the administration and other errors, he observed, which "were easily manipulated" by the ultraleft and rightist political currents in the union.

Vargas said that under the severe economic limitations imposed by the U.S.-backed war, figuring out how workers can raise and fight for legitimate demands is very "complex." Some of the problems workers justifiably raise have no immediate solutions.

When sharp conflicts erupt, "You don't have to use decrees, but rather persuade the workers that there's an objective situation, [to help] them see clearly which problems can be solved and which cannot," he explained.

According to Vargas, there had been many conflicts at ENAVES in the past. While efforts were being made to solve some of the problems in the plant, the situation worsened when the new administration tried to deal with the problem of stealing. The director decided to have the plant

security guards search workers' bags as they left each day. This heightened tensions between the workers and administration, Vargas said, adding that such a measure should be carried out by a committee of the union.

On April 10, he continued, "three workers were mistreated by the security guards during the search." The CST met with the administration and got agreement that the search policy would be changed.

The next morning, however, the strike began, led by ultraleft and right-wing currents. Up to 100 workers participated at one point, Vargas said, blocking the plant entrance. National leaders of the ultraleft and right-wing groups came down to join the strikers. The majority of ENAVES workers — despite sympathies with some of the strikers' grievances — chose to keep working.

Vargas noted that he and other CST leaders spoke with the strikers, explaining the CST's opposition to the search procedure and encouraging them to end their strike and discuss how to resolve the problems in the plant. The strike leaders rejected this and continued their presence at the gates.

When the Ministry of Labor announced the workers were fired, the ultraleft and right-wing leaders made statements "attacking the government and the firings, saying, 'how can a government of the people, of the workers, be doing this?'" Vargas recalled.

He said that in his view "the situation was lending itself to maneuvers in favor of Reagan's policy of destabilizing the revolution."

The Ministry of Labor called the police on April 12. "They moved people away from the gate in a very good way, without hitting anyone," said Vargas. Their presence, however, "caused some panic of course. Some of the women were pregnant. Some people fainted. We attended to them."

The strikers maintained a picket line two yards away from the gate. And the police did not stop them. But the next day, on Sunday, the police asked the CST leadership to take the workers from the area, which they did.

When the news spread of what had happened to the strikers, Vargas explained, those ENAVES workers who did not walk out felt some solidarity with the workers on strike. Among those fired were women who had been in the plant for 8 to 15 years.

### Effort to rehire workers

The CST argued that the workers should be allowed to return to their jobs, but the Ministry of Labor disagreed. "We have no legal way [to appeal] a violation of the state of emergency," said Vargas. "The legal channels were closed. So we argued politi-

cally with the government, but they said, well, manipulated or not, these workers were destabilizing."

The CST then won agreement that the workers would be given jobs in other factories. The 57 are now all working in several different plants.

Five of the ENAVES strikers are employed at the Cotexma textile plant in nearby Tipitapa.

José Berrios, general secretary at the CST-affiliated union at Cotexma, told this reporter that the union's approach has been to integrate the five workers into production, the union, and the women's and youth committees without prejudice. The view is that these workers are victims of a bad in-plant situation at ENAVES and of ultraleft political currents.

Workers at other factories have also discussed the events at ENAVES. At an April 18 meeting at the IMEP metallurgical factory here, for example, ENAVES was included in a report to the workers from Ramón Quintanilla, a member of the regional FSLN commission on industry.

Quintanilla said that while the war should not be used as an excuse to justify poor administration practices in a factory, the fact remains that the U.S.-sponsored aggression is the main problem facing workers — not their plant directors. The ultralefts don't understand this, he continued, and that's why the ENAVES strike happened.

The Nicaraguan government is not trying to castrate the labor movement, he asserted, but it cannot permit conflicts led by minorities that reduce production and threaten the stability of the revolution.

The April 25 *Barricada* carried an article by the paper's assistant director, Xavier Reyes Alba. He wrote that the problems at ENAVES "should not be considered unique or exceptional." Workers should study the lessons of the strike and apply them to the concrete situation in their own plant.

Reyes listed as the factors bringing about the strike the objective economic problems caused by the war; administrative errors, including the way stealing was dealt with; a union leadership "which considered raising demands the essence of its work" and which had "no contact with the workers"; and the "patent weakness" of the FSLN, CST, and Sandinista Youth in the plant.

Reyes said a series of steps are being taken to resolve the problems at ENAVES.

These include establishing a stronger union representation at all levels of production; a thorough review of pay scales, administration policies, and production plans; clarification from the Ministry of Industry on what kind of financing the plant can expect to receive; and a plan for the workers themselves to take over responsibility for protecting plant property.



# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**Tune in tomorrow** — Rather than create problems in the Philippines, "We would rather die here in poverty." — Shoeless Imelda



Harry Ring

Marcos, between audible sobs.

**It figures** — NBC and ABC seemed chagrined in admitting their exclusive footage of the smoking Chernobyl nuclear plant was a hoax. They claim that when

they bought the film from an Italian agency, they didn't know it was actually a cement factory in Trieste. Or, as W.C. Fields said, "There's no sucker like the one with a little larceny in his heart."

**Go to school, study hard** ... — Among white high school dropouts, 26.2 percent are jobless. For Black high school graduates, it's 26.8 percent.

**And a contemporary price** — The custom tailors at Dunhill's in New York whip up suits with "a contemporary look." From \$1,925.

**Miracle of the marketplace** —

A drug is developed for lowering blood pressure. It works, but had to be shelved because of side effects, including sprouting hair all over the body. A wasted effort? Not in America. It's now available for baldies. Just rub it vigorously into the scalp.

**Nothing's perfect** — We're considering that stuff that will grow hair on a billiard ball, despite minor drawbacks. Like, from the scalp it can penetrate the bloodstream, causing dizziness and fainting. Also, once you start, you're hooked. Stop and your remaining hair falls out. A weekly stash runs about \$25, which, for a habit, isn't too bad.

**The lesser evil?** — Two candi-

dates for justice of the peace in Howard County, Texas, were forced into a runoff when 237 people cast their votes for a contender who had died 30 days before the election.

**A case for UNICEF** — At the end of a hard day promoting world harmony, Herbert Okun, U.S. deputy chief UN delegate, trudges home to a \$10,961-a-month pad. He pays \$300, we foot the balance. Also, there was a \$29,000 tab for sprucing up the place and buying "official" dishware and bedsheets.

**Sweet Jesus** — The Church of God in Christ in Tampa, Florida, has patented C.L. Kennedy All-Natural Premium Ice Cream —

five flavors of "veggie cream." Putting the carrots in, says Rev. C.L. Kennedy, was God's idea.

**A specialized system** — Capitalism may not be capable of building a necessary amount of decent, affordable homes. But it has produced a motorized reclining chair with an added button to inflate the back rest pillow. \$950.

**Oh don't be so fussy** — A Philadelphia judge threw out charges against two ex-members of the state legislature who were entrapped by the FBI. The federal gumshoes extracted testimony by laying fake subpoenas on them, which the judge felt exceeded "the bounds of propriety."

## —CALENDAR—

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Sexual Harassment: What It Is and How to Fight It.** Video showing of "Would You Let Someone Do This to Your Sister." Discussion to follow. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 31, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**No to Nuclear Power. Shut the Nukes Down!** Speaker: Fred Halstead, covered Three Mile Island accident as reporter for *Militant*. Discussion to follow. Translation to Spanish. Sat., June 7, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### Oakland

**May Day in Managua: Report Back from May Day Participants in Nicaragua.** With slideshow presentation. Sat., May 24, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. (near 38th Ave.) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

#### San Francisco

**Campaign Rally and Socialist Educational Conference.**

1. "No Aid to the 'Contras'! A Socialist Campaign Rally." Speakers: Matilde Zimmermann, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California; Greg Jackson, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor. Sat., May 31, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1986 Campaign Committee.

2. "Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women." Speaker: Andrea Morell, SWP National Committee member. Two classes. Sun., June 1, 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. Donation: \$2 for each class. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and SWP.

Rally and classes translated to Spanish. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

### LOUISIANA

#### New Orleans

**Conference on Nicaragua.** Three classes. "From Somoza to the Sandinistas: a History." Speaker: Ron Repps, member of United Teachers of New Orleans. Sat., May 24, noon. "Democratic Rights in Nicaragua." Speaker: Mike Ferry, member Committee Against Military Intervention in Nicaragua and Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., May 24, 2 p.m. "Blacks, Indians, and Women in Nicaragua." Speakers: Mariba Karimoca, professor at Southern University, participated in Third World Brigade in Nicaragua; Irina McAlister, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., May 25, noon.

3207 Dublin St. Donation requested. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

**The Danger of Nuclear Power.** Speakers: Kip Center, the Sierra Club; Lisa Potash, Socialist Workers Party, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-447. Translation to Spanish. Fri., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 3207 Dublin. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**Threat of Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons: What Are the Solutions?** Speakers: Michael Andregg, coordinator of Ground Zero; Natasha Terlexis, member International Association of Machinists Local 1833 and Young Socialist Alliance; representative from Northern Sun Alliance. Sun., June 1, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minnesota Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### OHIO

#### Toledo

**No Nukes! The Movement Against Nuclear Power.** Speakers: Mike Ferner, Coalition for Safe Energy; Nancy and Al Graumlich, peace activists who were in Kiev during the Chernobyl accident. Sat., May 31, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

**Evolution vs. Creationism: In Defense of Scientific Thinking.** Speaker: Joe Callahan, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 8, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

### TEXAS

#### Dallas

**Nicaragua Today: An Answer to Reagan's Lies.** Speakers: Christine Siarka, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., May 31, 7:30 p.m. 336 W Jefferson. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

#### Houston

**Nicaragua: The Revolution Deepens Despite U.S. Military and Economic Attacks.** Eyewitness report and slideshow. Sat., May 31, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### UTAH

#### Salt Lake City

**South Africa: the Current Stage of Struggle for National Liberation.** Speakers: Pule Libe, Black South African student; representative of Coalition to Stop Apartheid; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Nicaragua: Eyewitness Reports from Two**

**Recent Tours.** Speakers: Janine Thome, participant in Seattle-Managua sister-city tour; Karen Horner, participant in Militant-Perspectiva Mundial Tour. Sat., May 31, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**No U.S. Aid to the 'Contras'!** Regional demonstration. Assemble 1 p.m. Sat., June 7, at Martin Luther King Library, 9th and G sts. NW. March to the White House. Rally 2:30 p.m. Ausp: Washington-area Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua. For more information call (202) 265-3800 or 234-2000.

## School protests score victory

Continued from Page 2

The *Globe* — which once advocated school desegregation, if only meekly — now is the central voice in calling for its "overhaul."

As the major mouthpiece of Boston's ruling rich in a city that is awash with billions of dollars in capital construction, real estate speculation, and efforts to lure tourism, the *Globe* likewise beats the drum for the big lie that there's no money for the schools.

The rich in Boston simply have other priorities than public education.

Wilson has served these priorities in his first year as superintendent by probing ways to make working people pay the cost of this financial "crisis."

He's attacked bilingual education, then drawn back proposals to limit it after protests from Latino educators.

He's maintained an openly hostile, union-busting stance toward school bus drivers, whose multiracial union itself is a product of the desegregation order. Rebuffed by the United Steelworkers—organized bus drivers, his attacks on them are part of a larger probe against the stronger teachers union.

While such probes and blows, including the closings, would fall most heavily on Blacks and Latinos, because Wilson is the system's first Black superintendent, his austerity program has not been received with the kinds of protests that might meet

that of a white administrator.

Until now.

Despite this most recent setback, though, Wilson and his backers in high places have shown no desire to give up.

As well, a ballot initiative will go to Massachusetts' voters this fall. If passed, it would provide public aid for parents sending their children to private schools.

Many opponents of desegregation have sent their children to these private schools. The determination of the city's students — Black, Latino, Asian, and white — to defend education, wage a united fight in the streets and the schools to keep schools open, and to oppose racist divide-and-conquer schemes, however, sets the stage for the next round of struggle.

## Teamsters

Continued from back page

cline." A U.S. Chamber of Commerce spokesman welcomed the government's attack on the Teamsters president, saying, "It gives employers one more weapon with which to fight Teamsters organizing drives."

The government's decision to indict Presser is an escalation of its antilabor offensive. This decision is aimed not only at further weakening the Teamsters, but is also an attempt to discourage and demoralize workers in all unions.

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

**Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and Pathfinder bookstores.**

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**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

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# 'Champion Joe Louis: Black Hero in White America'

**Champion Joe Louis: Black Hero in White America** by Chris Mead. Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y. \$18.95, hardback.

BY BAXTER SMITH

Lynching was big back then. And so was Jim Crow, the Klan, racist indignities, exclusion, abuse, and just about everything else that spelled white America in the eyes of Blacks.

Joe Louis, a Black man who moved from the Detroit slums to international fame, was big too. Especially

## BOOK REVIEW

among Blacks. But also among whites. Those were the years from 1935 to 1947. When Joe Louis Barrow dominated and was champion of the heavyweight boxing division of the world.

*Champion Joe Louis: Black Hero in White America* is a compelling treatment of Louis and his times. It is a rich chapter in social history, and readers can enjoy the book for this reason regardless of their opinion on the sport of prizefighting.

Up until Louis, there had been little Black athletic recognition in this country. In 1908 in Sydney, Australia, Jack Johnson became the first Black to win the heavyweight championship. But Johnson was never the popular hero that Louis became.

The white press attacked and vilified Johnson. He wasn't the shuffling, obsequious person that white attitudes expected.

According to author Chris Mead, "It was Johnson's refusal to obey the conventions of black behavior, to stay in his place as a black man in the segregated United States, that most aroused white hatred." Moreover, in Jim Crow America, Johnson hung out with and married white women.

Mead depicts how Louis had to live down the image of Johnson. Louis's handlers purposely groomed the image of their fighter as one who played by the rules, who was not out to rattle or create ripples.

His handlers had no difficulty. Louis was the shy, polite type. He trained diligently. In the ring he worked tirelessly and methodically.

Possessing awesome punching power, Louis turned back comers of different nationalities and varying talent. Nearly all of his victories were by knockout. He had only

one loss. Louis was also a gentleman. He never glowered or gloated in his wins.

Despite his demeanor, the white press fabricated all sorts of images of Louis — all bad. He was constantly called a jungle man or wild animal.

In the pre- and post-fight newspaper coverage of his 1938 bout with the Nazi hero Max Schmeling, see if you can determine which of the following are U.S. accounts and which are Nazi accounts of Louis's victory.

Louis, one reporter wrote after the fight, "is a jungle man, as completely primitive as any savage, out to destroy the thing he hates."

Another wrote: "There are certain gifts that the Negro race, as a race, and Louis, as an individual, have as a heritage. The ability carefully to work out a methodical plan and adhere to it, is not among them. That's for Schmeling."

Yet another reporter added, "The Detroit Negro's mask-like face showed its hatred only through the eyes that gleamed at the former champion like those of an irate cobra."

None of these reports were from the German press. All appeared in U.S. papers.

When they were not attributing killer characteristics to Louis, the press regularly described him as lazy. They often made up Uncle Remus-type dialect when quoting him. "Sho," one cartoon had him saying, "I pops 'em on de chin and dey drags 'em out by de feet."

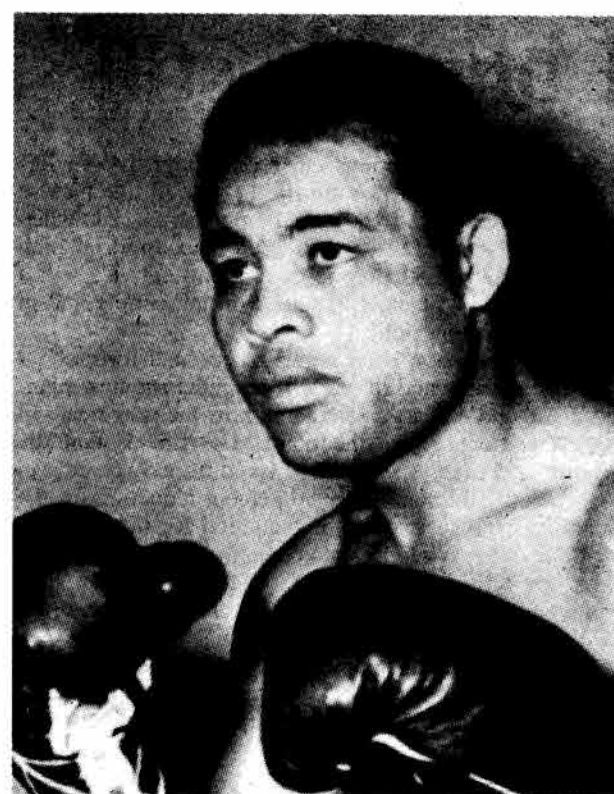
Another cartoon had Louis sleeping in a hammock, with the caption: "Better not have any hammocks near the ring on fight night — or there just won't be any fight."

Although Louis did not set out to be a hero of Black people, he became one nonetheless. His victories over white opponents often set off huge, jubilant street celebrations in urban Black communities.

In 1936, Schmeling had stopped Louis in the 12th round of a nontitle fight. In a 1938 return match, when Louis dropped Schmeling in the first round, all of Harlem, and other Black communities, poured into the streets.

Mead points out that in "the midst of the Great Depression, with no other signs of improvement in race relations, blacks had precious little to celebrate, and Louis assumed a special significance. He became a symbol of success for all blacks, just as his success earned him symbolic status among whites."

In his time Louis was popularized in song and verse. His accomplishments, Mead explains, were saluted by a



Joe Louis

range of Black leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X.

In the Muhammad Ali era of the 1960s, some criticized Louis for not being more outspoken against white injustice. But that is mostly a bum rap. He told one reporter, "Sometimes I wish I had the fire of a Jackie Robinson to speak out and tell the Black man's story." According to Mead, when Louis lost his first fight with Schmeling, a nontitle bout in 1936, "he felt he had let down his family and his race." While in the army, he used his influence to get a better shake for Black GIs. He saluted the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

In 1981, after a long bout with mental illness and after being confined to a wheelchair for four years as the result of a stroke, Joe Louis died penniless. But he had left a mark on America. Though it was some 34 years after his career ended, more than 3,000 people turned out for funeral services to remember him.

## U.S. and Japanese workers need to build solidarity

BY PATTI HIYAMA

While Japanese workers speak a different language, they are not so very different from workers in the United States.

But that isn't what the U.S. employers and media want us to think. They have created a stereotype of Japanese workers as fanatic workaholics, submissive members of a "happy family" headed by their paternalistic bosses, who guarantee them lifetime employment.

The truth is that Japanese bosses are not so benevolent.

## AS I SEE IT

Cheap labor is the way Japanese big business rebounded successfully from defeat and near-destruction in World War II.

One of the major ways the Japanese bosses hold down wages is by making most workers "temporary," while guaranteeing jobs for life to a privileged few. Almost three-quarters work for subcontractors in sweatshops — small factories or family businesses run out of homes. They can be laid off at any time, with few fringe benefits and no retirement pay. Most have no union protection.

The 30 percent lucky enough to work in big modern factories don't have it so good either. Most of them are part-time and contract workers; only a limited layer of workers has guaranteed employment. There is even a category called "permanent temporary" workers who are kept on low pay although they are employed for long periods by one employer.

As *Japan in the Passing Lane* by Satoshi Kamata reveals, most of the Toyota workers are young, unmarried men living in closely guarded company barracks. Turnover is quite high because of poor working conditions. Workers are often forced to work unpaid overtime. Speedup has resulted in fewer workers being responsible for more operations. Quality control circles are organized, where workers have to discuss how to work harder for the company.

Japanese workers are not docile people. Like their counterparts in the United States, they have difficulty fighting back because their unions are weak — much weaker than here. The unions are organized essentially only on a plant level, with loose industry-wide federations.

There is no collective bargaining for even a company, let alone for a whole industry. Unions often include supervisors and managers, which makes it hard to use them as instruments of struggle defending the interests of the workers.

Japanese unions were not always so accommodating to the companies. Right after World War II ended with the defeat of the ruling class and the lifting of the ban on organizing trade unions, there was an explosion both in the number of unions and in overall union membership.

Unions had been suppressed and then finally dissolved by 1939. In spite of this long period of repression, by January 1946, Japanese workers had already organized 1,179 unions; by June 1949, the number had increased to 34,688 unions. Union membership increased from 900,000 in January 1946, to 6,668,000 by June 1948.

The Japanese workers were militant and inventive. They instituted "production control" by the workers in several major industrial enterprises.

But Japanese workers didn't just face their employers; they also faced the U.S. Army, which occupied and ran Japan from 1945 until 1952. The U.S. occupation government stepped in. As part of reorganizing and strengthening Japanese big business, it used an anticommunist campaign to weed out militant workers from industry.

In April 1949, the government ordered all left-wing organizations to register. Both government and private industry used this directive as their excuse to fire large numbers of workers. The next year the left-wing trade union federation, Zenrōren, was forcibly disbanded. The most powerful union, the National Railway Workers' Union, was smashed and 100,000 workers fired.

Between 1949 and 1950 alone, 700,000 workers lost their jobs, the number of unions fell by more than 5,500, and union membership decreased by 880,000. The government purges enabled the anticommunist rightwing to take over the leadership of the unions and to housebreak them for the employers.

A high degree of repression exists in Japanese industry. Factories have a very high number of supervisors. There is constant spying and "family-like" interference by employers in workers' everyday lives. Company-hired goon squads terrorize militants, both on the shop floor and outside the plant.

As a result, Japanese workers work the longest work-week of any of the advanced capitalist countries — 45 hours in a regular week compared to 37.5 in the United States. They are still paid less than U.S. workers.

At the same time, Japanese workers are better off now than they have ever been. Workers have made genuine gains during the capitalist economic expansion in Japan since World War II.

This has made a degree of "labor peace" possible. But the deepening difficulties of world capitalism will make it harder for employers to hold down the combativity of workers.

Japanese bosses are no better than U.S. bosses. Some of them are even the same people. General Motors owns 35 percent of Isuzu Motor Co., while Ford owns 25 percent of Toyo Kogyo, the maker of Mazda.

The employers want us to fear and hate Japanese workers as competitors. They want us to give more concessions so "we" can beat out the Japanese.

But to have a chance of winning, U.S. and Japanese workers need to build solidarity with each other, not be divided by the phony stereotypes our bosses want us to believe.

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## Congress still stroking the rich

With the 1986 elections close by, congressional Republicans and Democrats are trying to look like they're not part of Reagan's sock-it-to-the-poor drive. But when you look at some of the figures in their tax "reform" plan and the 1987 budget they're hammering out, it's still a stacked deck — stacked against working people and in favor of the ruling rich.

Tax experts have been arguing back and forth about who the winners and losers will be under the new plan, but there's no real argument about how the very rich will fare. Two facts make the point. The first is that the maximum tax rate is set to be lowered from 50 percent to 27 percent. And that nearly 50 percent reduction for the wealthy is the second major reduction for them in less than a decade. When Reagan came in, the maximum income tax rate was 70 percent. Take the two slices together, and it's a total savings of 61 percent of income tax paid. Not bad.

To douse some of the public anger about the fact that any number of giant corporations pay zero taxes, the new plan will include a floor so, assertedly, they will all have to pay something.

But — the top corporate tax rate will fall from 40 percent to 36 percent under the House bill and to 33 percent under the Senate committee draft.

Meanwhile, after a series of annual slashes in spending

for social services, members of Congress are priding themselves on the fact that this year, they're mainly just freezing such spending.

With an expanding population and a steady growth in the ranks of the impoverished, allegedly standing still, of course, means cutting back. And, in some cases, the cuts are direct and open.

The House, for example, proposes to cut Medicare spending by \$1.9 billion and the Senate by \$2.5 billion.

The deductible paid for hospital stays by those with Medicare will increase from \$492 to \$540.

For education, employment, and social services, the Senate boasts it's cutting costs by \$3.1 billion less than Reagan asked for, and the House says it is cutting these items by \$3.15 billion less than he wants them to. How much their "smaller" cutbacks actually are, they haven't yet said.

Meanwhile, they insist, they're holding the line on the war budget. Reagan said he wanted \$320 billion, and the Senate says it will give him "only" \$301 billion, while the House is talking about \$286.8 billion, a shade below 1986. But that amount will probably go up in a "compromise" with the Senate.

After a while it's almost brain-numbing — almost \$300 billion in a single year for weapons of death and destruction. That's capitalism for sure.

## New curb on Fourth Amendment

According to the Bill of Rights, it's generally agreed, a cop without a warrant doesn't have the right to hang over the fence to take pictures of what's going on in your backyard.

But, according to the Supreme Court, it's legal for him to fly over and take pictures.

In a May 19 ruling, the court added this new exception to the Fourth Amendment. The amendment is supposed to protect against unreasonable search and seizure.

The decision stemmed from two cases. One involved the Dow Chemical Co. There, pollution probers from the Environmental Protection Agency took aerial photos of a company complex rather than obtaining a search warrant.

In the other case, Santa Clara, California, cops, responding to a marijuana tip, flew over a backyard and photographed it because they couldn't see over the fence.

This is one of several rulings in the past decade re-

stricting Fourth Amendment rights. In 1984, for example, the high court held that cops did not need a warrant to search a privately owned field posted with "no trespassing" signs.

In the current cases, the court divided 5-to-4. Speaking for the minority, Justice Lewis Powell predicted that as new surveillance technology continues to develop, the ruling will mean the "gradual decay" of the Fourth Amendment.

"Aerial surveillance," he said in the marijuana case, "is nearly as intrusive on family privacy as physical trespass."

"It would appear that after today, families can expect to be free of official surveillance only when they retreat behind the walls of their home."

And, if they don't remember to draw the blinds, not even then.

## Rulers debate campus 'problem'

The ruling class is getting worried about the upsurge of protest and political activity on the campuses.

This was reflected in a major speech May 15 by U.S. Education Secretary William Bennett who warned of "the rise of a significant body of opinion on the campus which more or less openly rejects the democratic ethic."

"Instead of promoting tolerance, freedom of inquiry, and the acquisition of knowledge," Bennett said, "campus radicals nowadays tend to see the university as a kind of fortress at war with society, an arsenal whose principal task is to raise revolutionary consciousness, frustrate the government, discredit authority, and promote a radical transformation of society."

Bennett's remarks were directly aimed at curtailing democratic rights on the campuses in the hopes of staving off the deepening of protests against U.S. policy in South Africa, Central America, and against racism, sexism, and attacks against working people at home.

Bennett warned that "American values" were in "danger of not being adequately transmitted in the schools" and said this is a problem that "first emerged during the cultural revolution of the 1960s." One of Bennett's aides suggested that the "problem today is perhaps more with those faculty that were students in the late '60s." This was a none too subtle hint that pressure ought to be put on professors to toe the line of the official "American values."

As part of its effort to support the civil rights movement, end the war in Vietnam, and support the fight for women's rights, the student movement that emerged in the 1960s also challenged the repressive, undemocratic set-up on the campuses that dated from the McCarthy witch-hunt of the 1950s.

One of the first battles of the student movement, which became known as the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, was fought to establish the right of students to raise money and distribute literature on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley in support of the Black civil rights movement.

Students fought for and won the right to hear all points of view, and to question and protest official government policy.

University administrators have been steadily at work trying to push back these big gains for democratic rights.

And with renewed political consciousness and protest, they feel a new urgency to do so.

In response to Bennett's speech, other university and government officials are joining the debate on what to do about the "problem" on the campuses. Some cling hopefully to the idea that there is a "new conservative ethos on the campuses," and dismiss the protests. Others try to present the minority of politically active right-wing students as an equal force to the protesters. All agree that something has to be done.

They do have a problem. The protests and the deepening politicization on the campuses are fueled by big political events throughout the world and in this country. And more and more students do support anti-apartheid actions, oppose the U.S. war drive, and support the fight for women's rights and the struggles of working people.

University and government officials will find out it will not be so easy to stem the protests or to restrict the hard-won democratic rights on the campuses.



## Building movement in United States against apartheid

On May 27, 1972, some 25,000 people marched in the first African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D.C.

That action demanded that Washington break all ties with the apartheid regime in South Africa and with Rhodesia, which after winning independence in 1980 be-

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came Zimbabwe. The action also demanded that the U.S. government end its support to the Portuguese war against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

The demonstration opened a new front in the fight against U.S. foreign policy and in defense of the right of the African people to self-determination.

However, 14 years later the U.S. government continues to support the apartheid regime in South Africa in the face of deepening revolution there. And Washington is also aiding the South African-backed counterrevolutionary forces of UNITA in a war against the Angolan people, who like their brothers and sisters in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, won their independence from Portugal in 1974-75.

A new movement is developing here to fight against Washington's support to the apartheid regime and their mercenary war against Angola.

Below are excerpts from "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," a report by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes approved by the party's National Committee in August 1985. The excerpts discuss the potential to build a massive movement against U.S. support to apartheid.

The report is printed in full in the fall 1985 issue of the *New Internationalist*, a journal of Marxist theory and politics. It costs \$5 and can be ordered from *New Internationalist*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

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There are virtually no limits on the breadth and depth of the support in this country for this democratic struggle of the South African people. We must put out of our thinking any idea that there are restrictions on what opponents of apartheid can do.

The doors are wide open in the unions to help organize action against the apartheid regime. Given the current stage of politics in the United States, class-conscious workers cannot open doors on their own in the labor movement. The doors have to be opened by much more powerful forces — such as the impact of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa. But when these doors are opened, class-conscious workers can and must go through them. And once that happens, it gets that much harder for the class-collaborationist misleaders of the labor movement to close the door completely.

Working people in this country, Black and white, see this revolution through the eyes of our own struggles, and correctly so. The South African revolution is a We Shall Overcome revolution. It is a Freedom Now revolution. One with enormous stakes.

The whole movement is taking place under a simple banner: Release Nelson Mandela now! Freedom in South Africa, not slavery! Dismantle apartheid! One person, one vote! Free South Africa! These and variations on them will be the slogans of the movement, and rightly so. It is a political struggle, a struggle for political power.

Within this movement, we must do everything we can to stress the centrality of demands aimed at Washington. This is our obligation to the South African revolution. Above all, anti-apartheid fighters in this country have to keep the pressure on for one goal: a total boycott, a total break with South Africa. For an immediate halt to all economic, diplomatic, cultural, sporting, and military ties of any kind with the apartheid state!

Not only are the South African rulers who put together the apartheid regime having a hard time trying to reform apartheid. The U.S. rulers, the enemy of humanity, are also having a hard time, as they try to disentangle themselves from their South African counterparts.

It will take a gigantic struggle and mobilization in this country to force a break by the U.S. rulers with the apartheid regime. But the tactical divisions are already visible. The deepening of the struggle in South Africa will further widen them, as will the mobilization of those in this country determined to take action against apartheid.

Our goal, as Marx explained to the International Working Men's Association, is to take the moral high ground, to set an example for the entire working class.

This is our revolution. This is the revolution of the working people of South Africa. No other force will lead it, will carry it through in a thoroughgoing and revolutionary way to advance the interests of the toiling majority. This is the revolution that communist workers everywhere should do everything in their power to aid, advance, solidarize with, and learn from.



# Greer on Cuba: 'Nothing prepared me for this'

I recently read an article by the British feminist and author Germaine Greer entitled "Women and Power in Cuba." It is a record of her impressions of Cuba during a trip there last year.

Greer is not a Marxist, and she began her trip to Cuba with apprehension. As she said, "I came to Cuba with my



## WOMEN IN REVOLT

Pat Grogan

heart in my mouth," hoping for the best, but fearing the worst.

And her first impressions were negative. She was put off by the fact that women in Cuba wore makeup and upset by some Cuban men calling out to her at a pavilion.

But after a short time in Cuba, Greer says, "I abandoned my posture of superiority and let myself be impressed." In fact, Greer came away from Cuba deeply inspired, not only by the big gains Cuban women have already made, but with the honesty and commitment with which the Cuban revolution faces up to and tries to grapple with the still-great obstacles to women's equality.

Greer's article is a record of her impressions in Cuba. She is an astute observer and wrote honestly and with insight about what she saw. Here are a few of her observations.

Greer attended the Fourth Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC). The session was conducted by FMC President Vilma Espín, who was recently elected to the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party. Greer writes:

"Alongside of her [Espín] sat Fidel Castro, quietly reading through the report. I expected him to make some formal, rhetorical statement, as befits a totalitarian

figurehead putting in a token appearance. To my surprise, he sat there the whole day long, reading, caressing his beard, thinking, and listening. The next day he was there again. As one of the delegates waxed eloquent on discrimination against women in the workplace, a man's voice interjected, 'That is the heart of the problem, isn't it? Women's access to work!' It was Castro, whom I soon learned to call what every Cuban calls him, Compañero Fidel. He was leaning forward earnestly, intent on participating in the debate, not leading but participating. The women claimed that they were considered more likely to absent themselves from work because of their family responsibilities. Fidel pointed out that men still refuse to shoulder their part of the burden of housekeeping and child-rearing as laid down by the Cuban Family Code. I had been prepared for the chants of Fidel! Fidel! but nothing had prepared me for this.

"All afternoon the debate surged on, with Vilma at the helm. Delegates complained that if the day-care centers closed down for any one of a hundred reasons — lack of water, pollution of the water supply, sickness of staff, deterioration of the building, communicable illness — women were called away from hospitals and factories, schools and voluntary work, to take care of their children."

"Already I could feel something unfamiliar and very special about Cuba. The absence of theatricality that I noticed in Vilma and Fidel was part of a complex of attitudes. People did not sell themselves as they do in consumer society. Life was not a soap opera, but real. There was no competition or character assassination, as people jockeyed for limelight. They spoke not to bamboozle, but to explain. They had not our prurient interest in domestic and sexual affairs. No one was quite sure how many children Fidel might have had, or for that matter, Vilma. Public functionaries were assessed on their performance of their public duties, and did not have to drag their bed partners around with them, miming domestic bliss. Life without gossip magazines and advertising seemed wonderfully uncluttered. There was no equivalent of Princess Diana's latest outfit or Elizabeth Taylor's latest wedding, or the American president's hemorrhoids. All the Cubans

I talked to were more interested in Ethiopia and Guatemala than in Michael Jackson."

[The Cubans'] "morale is towering, even if their energy should occasionally flag, as they negotiate the daily obstacle course which is life in a poor country, cursed by an irreplaceable investment in a single crop — sugar — and strangled by an American blockade.

"It may seem that all this has little to do with women and power in Cuba. In fact, it has everything to do with it. The people meet constant daily frustrations with calm and cooperation because they do not feel that they are the result of corruption, caprice, or incompetence on the part of a separate ruling class, but aspects of problems which afflict a 25-year-old nation with a heritage of ignorance, disease, and poverty."

"The FMC is a high-relief organization, with vociferous representation at all levels of local, provincial, and state administration. Its members, *las federadas*, are known throughout the country, and although their demands may cause consternation, as does their present campaign to allow husbands to be granted leave from work to accompany sick children in hospital, it is understood that they will eventually have to be met. Cuba's commitment to the full social, political, and economic equality of women is a fundamental aspect of Cuban socialism."

"There are difficult days ahead for the Cuban woman, but as long as the ideology of the revolution is lively and sincere, ways will be devised to deal with the new stresses. In the meantime, Cuba remains the only country in the world where women may take any job they wish to at the same rate of pay as a man, earn any qualification they are prepared to study for, carry their own weapons in the army and rise to the rank of colonel, dress as they please and accept or refuse men's attentions as they please, terminate or continue a pregnancy as they see fit, knowing that they will have help to carry out whichever course they should decide to follow."

## LETTERS

### Victory for Black farmer

Over 500 people gathered in Cochran, Georgia, to celebrate Black farmer Oscar Lorick's victory over attempts by the Cook Banking Co. to foreclose on his 79-acre farm.

Lorick received national attention last November when an armed protest stopped the cops from carrying out a foreclosure on his land. After the cops failed in the foreclosure, Lorick was given six months to raise the \$83,000 he owed in mortgages and taxes.

The Oscar Lorick Rescue Fund was set up after the November action. Through this fund, 165 churches and Black businesses throughout Georgia raised the full amount. During the celebration, Lorick burned the mortgage on the farm, which has been in his family for 119 years.

Most of the people at the victory rally were Black workers and farmers.

Speakers included Black ministers and business people who donated a brand-new tractor to the Loricks.

The most moving speech was made by Annabell Hill of Waynesboro, Georgia. Her husband Leonard, a white farmer, committed suicide February 4. She explained that her husband shot himself in the head in the hope that his insurance would save the farm. But she said, "It doesn't look like we can save the land. The insurance wasn't enough to cover the debt." She told the crowd that maybe her husband's suicide helped to "rouse this country to the plight of the farmer."

Like other working farmers, Black farmers are being driven off the land as a result of low prices for their products. But Black farmers also face discrimination at the hands of the banks and the government, which is forcing Blacks off the land at a much faster rate than white farmers.

A 1986 report titled "Black Land Loss: The Other Crisis in

Rural America" by the Federation of Southern Cooperatives reveals that "Black farmers are losing land at an astounding rate of 1,000 acres per day. Unless the policies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture are changed there will be no more Black farmers by the year 2,000."

Maceo Dixon  
Atlanta, Georgia

### Lies about nukes

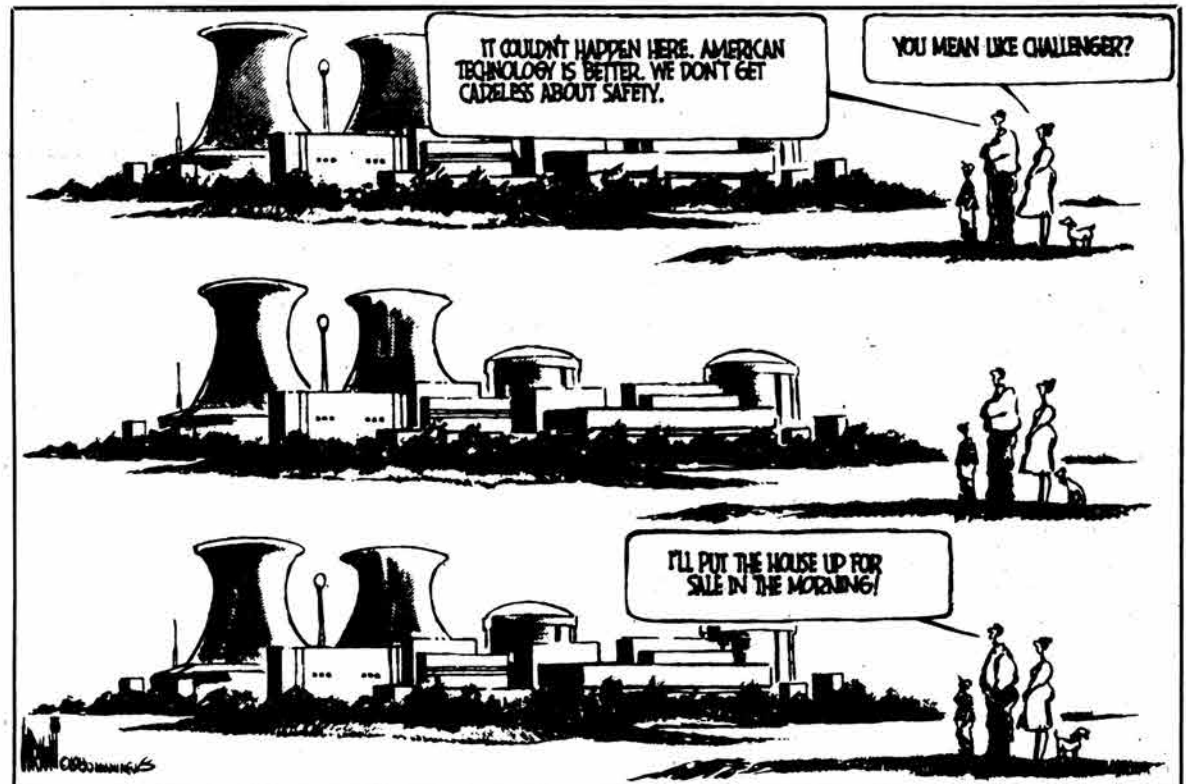
I'd like to add a sixth item to Harry Ring's list in the May 6 issue of the *Militant*, examples of lies perpetuated about U.S. nukes by "certain experts."

Item: "Many key parts of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor were protected by a thick concrete structure similar to one surrounding U.S. nuclear plants," James Asselstine, a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) and a nuclear safety expert, said yesterday. That contradicts arguments by the U.S. nuclear power industry that the Soviet plant was not protected by a concrete shell.

"The actual reactor and pipes were housed in a concrete building designed to withstand an explosion producing 27 pounds of pressure per square inch. Pipe and equipment in another part of the complex was covered by a building able to handle 57 pounds of pressure. Some U.S. reactors, however, can only withstand 20 pounds or less of pressure per square inch...."

"The Soviet accident may demonstrate that concrete containment are not fail-safe," said the commissioner.

Asselstine said, "The NRC told Congress that we could not rule out an accident in this country that would result in billions of dollars of liability claims, and the only way we can get that is with the failure of containment and the release of substantial amounts of radioactivity." (*Boston Globe*, May 8)



It's interesting to note that the Price-Anderson Bill sets a \$635 million ceiling on damages from a nuclear accident. Why are the utilities fighting to maintain this limit if U.S. nuclear reactors are so safe?

Gary Cohen  
Boston, Massachusetts

### In case of nuclear war

The *Washington Post* and National Public Radio May 10 reported on the plans of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) in case of nuclear war. FEMA is in charge not only of "civil defense" planning for Armageddon, but also for such disasters as floods, hurricanes, earthquakes, and planning to "reduce the consequences of major terrorist incidents" as a (Jimmy Carter) presidential order in 1979 declared.

FEMA's new plans call for building 600 "emergency operating centers" (bomb shelters) over the next four years, to be joined eventually by 2,800 more for na-

tional, state, and local capitalist politicians and bureaucrats to hide out in while they manage "post-attack society."

And what about us ordinary citizens? FEMA has a nifty "self-help" program. Basically, they want a return to the 1950s "spirit of volunteerism," when 4 million people signed up as civil defense volunteers. FEMA will also distribute instructional literature to families and churches, as well as 4 million low-cost radiation detectors.

But don't worry about reclaiming your land. FEMA plans for the officials to take deeds and records so those who survive the "self-help" and the attacks can reclaim their property.

J.W.  
Indianapolis, Indiana

### Would like to renew

A month or two ago I wrote in to freeze my subscription to the *Militant* because I was getting transferred to face new charges in another prison, and I didn't want

any issues of the *Militant* to be thrown away by the cops here in San Quentin. I am back now and would like to renew my subscription to the *Militant*.

I am anxious to read the truth about what's been happening in Libya and around the world and learn more about South Africa.

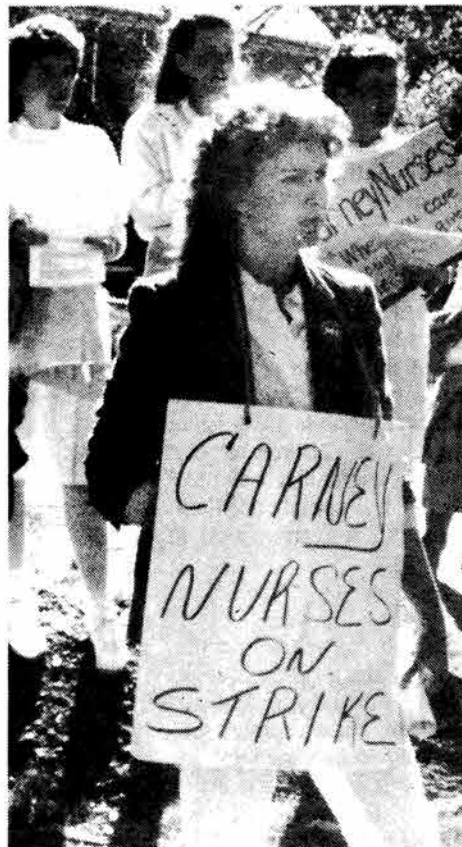
A prisoner  
San Quentin, California

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Labor backs Boston nurses' strike



Militant/Jon Hillson

Striking nurses, fighting for a decent contract from Carney Hospital, were joined at picket line and rally by scores of other unionists May 13.

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Hundreds of striking nurses at Carney Hospital were joined May 13 by scores of trade unionists and labor officials in picketing and a mass rally. They demanded a decent contract for the members of the Massachusetts Nurses Association (MNA), which represents the strikers.

The hospital, maintained by the Boston Catholic church archdiocese, prepared for the strike by reducing the number of patients in the hospital and using supervisory personnel as scabs when the nurses hit the streets May 5.

This is the first strike in the hospital's 123-year history, and as Carney MNA bargaining unit representative June Connelly told the crowd at the May 13 rally, "This is a new experience for us."

But, she said to cheers, "we are in this whatever it takes to win a decent contract," and the key to victory, she explained, "is solidarity."

The nurses at Carney are underpaid in comparison with wages at area hospitals. Their salary demand, which would bring the nurses close to current area levels in two years, was rejected by the hospital. Carney also maintains nurses must carry out nonnursing duties, which is, in effect, a form of job-combination and speed-up.

The nurses, who marched, picketed, and rallied in their hospital whites, were joined

by a broad array of local union officials, who pledged their support to the strikers.

Included were top representatives from the Boston Building Trades, the Hotel Workers, Firefighters, Service Employees, Boston Teachers, Bricklayers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Letter Carriers, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Massachusetts Teachers Federation, Massachusetts Education Association, Teamsters, Transit Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Elevator Constructors, United Food and Commercial Workers Union, International Longshoremen's Association, Brotherhood of Railroad and Airline Clerks, and the state and Boston AFL-CIO.

Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate Jon Hillson and SWP candidate for governor, Ellen Berman, and their supporters marched and picketed as well.

"It doesn't matter if the union-buster is Reagan with PATCO or the church with Carney," International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers leader Jack Taylor told the crowd. "It's still union-busting."

(PATCO, the union that represented air traffic controllers, was busted by the Reagan administration in 1981.)

The loudest cheers of the day went to strikers involved in bitter labor battles, representatives of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 from the Hormel strike and of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants from the TWA strike.

TWA flight attendant June Taylor urged the nurses "to take the solidarity you've been offered here, to make it real because they [hospital administrators] are out to bust your union. Today, they [employers] are trying to bust all of our unions, and we've got to stick together and tell them we won't stand for it. We have to stay fighting, stay together, and we can win."

As Terry Arens, a P-9 striker on tour in Boston, was introduced, a long, loud cheer went up from the nurses, many of whom had heard something of the Hormel strike.

But as Arens explained the issues in the 10-month war P-9 has been fighting — the givebacks, the fight for health and safety, the scabberding by the National Guard and cops — there were audible gasps from the crowd.

"Hormel is trying to take away our rights, our seniority, and our dignity," Arens said, as heads nodded. "But we aren't going to let them," he continued, to applause. "We are going to keep fighting, and we are going to support everybody else's struggle because that's the meaning of solidarity, and without solidarity nobody can win."

From the rally, the nurses returned to the hospital, picketing again as cars and trucks honked their approval.

Many nurses' cars, parked nearby, sported new bumper stickers from the MNA: "You can't scare me, I'm sticking with the union."

## TWA attendant discusses issues in fight

The following interview is with Marcia Halverson, a striking flight attendant who lives in the Cleveland area.

The interview was held before Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) leaders announced on May 19 that striking flight attendants would return to work whatever the outcome of a membership vote on new TWA proposals.

More than 4,000 members voted on May 21, a record turnout for IFFA. This was 80 percent of the union membership eligible to vote. They rejected the contract by 97 percent — 3,997 against the new proposals and only 95 for.

Prior to the voting, Vicki Frankovich, IFFA president, said the offer to return to work "does not in any way change the fact that a contract dispute still exists." She added that "informational picketing and lawful economic action other than withholding of services will continue until we have a contract."

The interview with Halverson was conducted by Kate Button, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio.

**Question.** As background, can you explain the issues involved in the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants' (IFFA) strike against TWA?

**Answer:** Our contract expired in mid-1984. Negotiations for a new contract were going on at the time. We didn't expect any major problems with the negotiations until this corporate raider, Carl Icahn, began making overtures to take over the company. When he did indeed buy 52 percent of the stock of TWA in mid-1985, all the contract proposals that had been worked on for almost a year were wiped out completely. The company presented us with a new list of demands, which were incredible.

They had already made agreements with the Air Line Pilots Association and the IAM [International Association of Machinists]. (I don't really like to compare the pilots' pay cuts to ours because their salaries are so much higher. We like to compare ourselves with more comparably paid work groups in the company, like the

IAM members.)

The IAM members took a 15 percent pay cut and agreed to some work rule changes, with a snapback after three years. This meant they would go back to what they had been making before the cuts. We offered to take the same cuts, and the company said "no." When asked why he wanted more from IFFA members, Carl Icahn said, "You stewardesses and girls aren't breadwinners."

This is totally against Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, but that's what happened. He then demanded a total of 44 percent cuts in pay, work rules, and benefits, with no snapback.

Of course, not only was everyone in shock at the amount demanded, but everyone was furious about being called "girls," not breadwinners, and only "second incomes." A very high proportion of us are the sole supporters of our families, and 15 percent of our members are men and definitely not "girls." (We heard that Icahn said to our male members that they should

get a "real job.")

IFFA tried different approaches with him. We said maybe we could give up more in the benefit area. But basically, they really want to cut a lot of our work rules, even more than our pay. The actual pay cut demanded is 22 percent. The other 22 percent of the cuts is work rules.

The work rules he wants to impose and actually has imposed on anyone who is now working — scabs or new hires — are amazing. Now you can come home from an eight-day trip and have one day off and go out again. This may include an eight-hour time zone change and jet lag. This man has no idea what our work is like!

Negotiations proceeded, and every time the company said, "This is the offer — take it or leave it." Finally, they came down to a 17 percent wage cut, but they stuck with every work rule change. They knew we would not accept these changes. They really wanted us to go on strike. IFFA made several other offers, but they stuck to their

demands. So we went on strike on March 6.

**Q:** Can you tell us about the history of the flight attendants and some of the special problems on the job you've faced as women?

**A:** I'll start with some of the facts about TWA. The first class of flight attendants went through training in 1935. We all know that the whole atmosphere was different then, but here's what one instructor told the flight attendants' class then: "Well, if you don't find a man to keep you by the time you're 28, TWA won't want you either."

Up until the mid-60s, you had to quit at 35, with no retirement.

We used to have to undergo "girdle checks!" Management would actually check to make sure you were wearing girdles! That was before I started, but I do remember "bra checks." I do remember male supervisors giving them by flipping you in

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## Gov't attack on Teamsters benefits bosses

BY TOM LEONARD

On May 16 a Cleveland grand jury indicted International Brotherhood of Teamsters President Jackie Presser on two charges — embezzlement of union funds and racketeering. The indictments were handed out on the eve of the Teamsters' International convention, which began May 19.

The indictment of Presser on criminal charges is a transparent cover-up for a serious political attack on the Teamsters and other unions by U.S. government agencies. It follows nearly five years of secret investigations of the union by the U.S. Labor Department, the Justice Department, and the FBI. Also involved in the attack was a presidential crime commission appointed by President Ronald Reagan.

An ominous feature of the long investigations was the use of secret police and informers to divide and intimidate Teamsters union members.

The Justice Department has also accused Presser of being an FBI informer against

other Teamsters members, which Presser has denied. An FBI agent, Robert Friedrich, was indicted by a grand jury in Washington, D.C., for allegedly using Presser as an informer inside the union.

The well-staged indictments were preceded by months of escalating attacks in the big-business-controlled news media about alleged Teamsters union crime connections. These included a widely publicized report to the White House by President Reagan's crime commission last March. The commission charged the Teamsters union with being under criminal influence since the 1950s. It also listed three AFL-CIO International unions with alleged criminal connections: the International Longshoremen's Association, with 200,000 members; Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, 400,000 members; and the Laborers' International Union, with 625,000 members.

The International presidents of the three unions are also members of the AFL-CIO

35-member national executive council. They are Thomas Gleason of the longshoremen's union, Edward Hanley of the hotel employees', and Angelo Fosco of the laborers'.

One sinister aspect of the Reagan commissions' report was a recommendation for possible direct government control of the union movement. "The systematic use of trusteeships by the courts," it said, "may be necessary to prevent organized crime from continuing to do business as usual."

But it is not alleged crime in the unions that the government is after. What the investigations were pressing for is more government intervention in the unions on the side of supporting corporate attacks on wages and working conditions. That is why the Presser indictments were greeted with great enthusiasm by the big-business press and corporate spokesmen.

The *Wall Street Journal*, for example, hopefully reported, "Charges against Presser are likely to accelerate big union's de-

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