

## Hormel strikers call solidarity actions

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Striking Minnesota meatpackers have called a week of protests in Austin June 22 through 28 to support their struggle to win a decent contract from Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

The week of actions, billed as Solidarity City, will include peaceful demonstrations and picket lines at the Hormel plant and building a tent city.

The leaflet for the June actions explains that "from the unemployed workers of the 1930s to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, tent cities have been a symbol of popular protest." The tent city in Austin, it continues, will "protest the treatment of the Hormel strikers and the economic devastation that has hit farmers and workers across the country."

The strikers "are calling upon labor unions, farm groups, civil rights groups, students, and other organizations to mobilize thousands of supporters and bring cars, trucks, buses, and tractors for a week of protest in Solidarity City."

The strikers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, were forced out on strike by Hormel in August 1985. The company demanded that the local sign a contract that would gut the seniority and grievance systems, establish a two-tier wage system, cut health benefits, eliminate maternity benefits, punish injured workers, and contractually limit workers' democratic and political rights.

Since the strike began, the workers have faced attacks by the company, the cops, the National Guard, and, unfortunately, the top officials of their union.

The top union officials' campaign against the strikers escalated May 9 when they voted to put P-9 into trusteeship. Under trusteeship, the local's elected leaders are replaced by an appointed trustee, who takes over all the local's business, including negotiations with the company.

While the trustee has not tried to take over the local's headquarters, the top of-

Continued on Page 4

### HORMEL STRIKERS INVITE YOU TO SOLIDARITY CITY

Come help build our tent city in Austin, Minnesota and join us for a week of peaceful demonstrations and picketing at the Hormel plant

SUNDAY, JUNE 22 THROUGH SATURDAY, JUNE 28



From the unemployed workers of the 1930's to the civil rights movement of the 1960's, tent cities have been a symbol of popular protest through the decades. On June 22, UFCW Local P-9 will establish a tent city in Austin, Minnesota—hometown of Geo. A. Hormel & Co.—to protest the treatment of Hormel strikers and the economic devastation that has hit farmers and workers across the nation.

## South Africa: apartheid's killers attack Black town

BY FRED FELDMAN

A week of brutal attacks by South African government troops, cops, and government-backed vigilantes has destroyed much of the so-called squatter township of Crossroads, killing at least 30 people and leaving some 30,000 people homeless. Crossroads is near Cape Town, South Africa.

"Huge palls of black smoke blotted out the sun over Crossroads last week," reported the May 26 *New York Times*.

"The vigilantes set fire to homes as they went. Shots were fired, witnesses said, and in one incident unidentified gunmen ambushed a minibus, forced it to stop and hacked its five occupants to death."

Police and army units "intervened on some occasions when it seemed the vigilantes were losing," the *Times* reported witnesses as saying. Rev. Sidney Lockett, a minister who visited the area, "told reporters he had spoken to three whites accompanying some vigilantes, and they had identified themselves as police officers."

The *Times* portrayed the battle as a clash between "conservatives" and "radicals" within the township, but its description leaves no doubt that the target of the attack was the great majority of the township's population, who have been living in Crossroads in defiance of the apartheid regime and who have participated in the nationwide anti-apartheid upsurge. "I think the authorities found this as a way of clearing these people out," Lockett said.

"There is no possibility that the people can go back to Crossroads," said Minister for Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis. He said, the *Times* reported, that the destruction "would permit the authorities to proceed with their plans to improve the squatter camp."

The government wants to force much of the Crossroads population into Khayelitsha, one of the townships set up by the regime to house Black workers in the Cape Town region, and to crush the anti-apartheid struggle in Crossroads.

Townships like Crossroads were symbols of the failure of the brutal measures the apartheid regime used to try to reverse the growth of a permanent Black population in the more than 86 percent of South

Continued on Page 5

## Tutu calls for big June 14 turnout

BY RASHAAD ALI

NEW YORK — Backed by more than 100 supporters of the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council, South African anti-apartheid leader Desmond Tutu called on the people of the United States to turn out by the "hundreds of thousands" for the June 14 anti-apartheid march and rally in New York City.

At a press conference that looked more like a rally, held on City Hall steps, Tutu, voicing his support for the demonstration, asked, "Is it a crime to ask to be treated as a human being?"

Tutu explained that "it's virtually impossible to protest peacefully in South Africa." He demanded sanctions against the apartheid regime, saying that "in a situation of exploitation and oppression, there is no neutrality. The U.S. claims abhorrence of apartheid, but when it comes to imposing sanctions, they get cold feet."

Explaining that the policies of the U.S. government in South Africa are "out of step with the people of this country," Tutu urged "people to march on behalf of justice, on behalf of goodness, and on behalf of freedom."

Giving the anti-apartheid fighter one of the coalition's newly printed T-shirts, District 65 United Auto Workers Secretary-treasurer and coalition chair Cleveland Robinson announced that 200 of the shirts had been sent to South Africa for Blacks to wear during their Soweto Day protest.

Many leaders of labor, of the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and of churches and campuses were at the press conference. Politicians and entertainers were also there.

City Councilmember Wendell Foster chaired and introduced David Dinkins, Manhattan Borough president; Andrew Stein, president of the city council; and Little Steven Van Zandt, author of the popular anti-apartheid song, *Sun City*.

Jim Bell, president of the New York City chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, reported that people were coming from Washington, D.C., Detroit, Boston, Connecticut, Atlanta, Philadelphia, New Jersey, and West Virginia.

He also gave a description of what June 14 would look like. The marches will assemble at all sites at 10:00 in the morning. At the United Nations, contingents of

Continued on Page 4

## U.S. State Department expels two Nicaraguan diplomats

BY CINDY JAQUITH

On May 22 the U.S. State Department ordered two Nicaraguan diplomats to leave the United States. This is another move by Washington to isolate Nicaragua politically, increase restrictions on its embassy personnel in the United States, and undermine diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The two expelled diplomats worked at the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington. They are Miriam Hooker, first secretary for press relations, and William Vigil.

The State Department offered no justification for the expulsions, except to say they were in supposed "reciprocity" for actions taken against U.S. officials at the U.S. embassy in Managua.

Nicaragua's Foreign Ministry pointed out that there was nothing "reciprocal" about Washington's move at all. Hooker and Vigil violated no laws or diplomatic conventions while in the United States, nor are they accused of doing so. U.S. officials at the U.S. embassy in Managua, however, have recently been caught in grossly illegal activities. Even then, the Nicaraguan gov-

ernment didn't throw them out of the country.

In March two Nicaraguans functioning as CIA spies were uncovered in Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior (MINT). They admitted that they had carried out their espionage under the direction of U.S. embassy officials Bradley Johnson, Benjamin Wickham, Stephen Murchison, and Bonnie Sue Bennet.

Embassy personnel supplied the spies with hidden camera equipment and thousands of dollars. Their assignment was to gather information on Nicaragua's military plans and on personnel in the MINT State Security division, which is responsible for protecting government leaders from assassination attempts.

While U.S. officials Johnson and Wickham were no longer in Nicaragua, Murchison and Bennet were. The Nicaraguan government protested their activities but did not demand their expulsion.

Asked whether the charges against the U.S. embassy were true, U.S. officials would only tell the *Washington Post* that "as a matter of policy, we do not comment on intelligence matters or alleged intelli-

Continued on Page 4



Militant/Greg Rosenberg  
Desmond Tutu at New York City Hall press conference.



# Workers like 'Militant's' support of union fights

BY TOM LEONARD

NEW YORK — During the past few months, *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, our Spanish-language sister publication, plant-gate sale teams have reported increased interest from workers to the two socialist publications. This

UFCW Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota.

Returning to sell at these plants has demonstrated that a significant layer of workers has begun to see the *Militant* as both an important source of news and a paper that actively supports workers' struggles.

Iowa and Missouri were to members of the UFCW. But they also sold 200 *Militants* at plants organized by other unions such as the United Rubber Workers and the United Auto Workers.

Many of the workers in these unions who bought the *Militant* were supporters of the P-9 strikers. But they were also fighting off attacks on their own wages and working conditions and were anxious to learn more about other workers' struggles.

A brief review of plant-gate sales to UFCW members in different areas of the country showed a consistent pattern of interest in what the *Militant* had to say. Philadelphia sales teams, for example, sold 19 *Militants* on their first visit to a Campbell's soup plant organized by the UFCW and sold an average of 10 more *Militants* per week on subsequent sales.

In an effort to reach out and respond to this heightened interest in the *Militant*, some areas of the country established regional plant-gate sales teams. We recently reported about the 100 miles a Minneapolis-St. Paul team travels to Albert Lea in Minnesota. They have been averaging sales of 10 *Militants* per salesperson and having excellent discussions with UFCW Local P-6 members, which organizes a meatpacking plant there.

We have also had good sales to other union members on strike. For example, more than 100 *Militants* were sold to striking International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) at the General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, during IUE Local 210's recent strike.

There were improved sales at rail yards following the union-busting attack on Boston & Maine workers who are members of the

Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way. In recent weeks, sales teams from Albany in upstate New York have sold more than 30 *Militants* and three subscriptions to rail workers.

During the strike by the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA), flight attendants welcomed *Militant* sales teams on their picket lines. At one sale in New York, picketing flight attendants bought the *Militant* and invited a sales team to sell outside an IFFA union meeting where 30 *Militants* were quickly sold.

The improved plant-gate sales are clearly based on a genuine interest among many union members to more closely follow union struggles and to read about and learn from them. This interest shows no signs of abating and plant-gate sales teams should make every effort to continue the excellent work they are doing.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

has been especially true at plants organized in unions that have members involved in strike actions.

It is most evident at plants organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), and particularly at food and meatpacking plants. Workers in all these plants are facing their own attacks by management and are keenly interested in the strike by

This showed up most graphically in the recently concluded national sales and subscription campaign organized by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. (See story on facing page.)

Part of this national effort included a two-week regional sales team, which had excellent plant-gate sales. Most of the 585 *Militants* they sold at plant gates in

## Blacks, Asians join Chicano fight for L.A. redistricting

BY SYLVIA ZAPATA AND JAN ARAGÓN

LOS ANGELES — More than half the residents of the city of Los Angeles are Black, Latino, or Asian. But only five out of 15 city council seats are held by Blacks, Latinos, or Asians.

The lack of representation is particularly striking in the case of Latinos, who now make up more than one-third of the city's population. Only one Latino, Richard Alatorre, sits on the council. Elected last year, he is only the second Latino to be elected to the council since 1900.

Over the objections of Chicano and other Latino community groups, the city council adopted a redistricting plan in 1982 that established only one district with a Latino majority. Last November, the U.S. Justice Department filed suit, accusing the city of "fracturing" the political influence of Latino voters through a "history of official discrimination."

Since then the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) joined as co-plaintiff in the suit. MALDEF submitted a plan that would create a Latino majority in two additional districts, plus concentrate more Latino voters in several other districts.

The plan is supported by the Mexican American Political Association, the League of United Latin American Citizens, the Chicano Employees' Association, and virtually all supporters of Chicano rights. Seth Galinsky, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors District 3, backs the plan.

But the city council has thus far rejected it.

The NAACP and Chinese-American re-

sidents have joined the lawsuit as co-plaintiffs. NAACP representatives participated in a news conference along with representatives of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the Chinese-American community. They said they would work together to develop a plan that would increase Black, Latino, and Asian representation.

The Los Angeles City Council recently held hearings on redistricting. It asked the Federal District Court to postpone court dates on the lawsuit until the council has further studied the matter.

The city council heard representatives of various Latino and Asian groups, along with Galinsky, speak at the hearings in support of the plan proposed by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Many criticized the council for refusing to hold hearings in predominantly Chicano East Los Angeles.

Attempts are being made to pit Blacks and Latinos against each other over redistricting. Galinsky spoke against this. "A victory for the Latino communities in redistricting would be a victory for Blacks and for all working people," he said. "All of those who are against racist discrimination and for justice should support this basic democratic right of the Latino communities."

"Demonstrations are needed to ensure a victory for the Chicano and other Latino communities," Galinsky added. "Just like in the Philippines, it is working people's power in the streets that can bring real progress."

The problems facing the Latino communities in Los Angeles include overcrowded, inadequate housing, high unemployment, poverty, and police brutality.

Increased representation for Latinos would mean more opportunities to expose, protest, and organize to solve these problems. "For instance," Galinsky said, "there are the struggles of undocumented workers. I am opposed to deportations of workers who come here to escape repression or for economic survival. The city council re-

cently passed a resolution declaring Los Angeles a Sanctuary City, but the council rescinded the resolution under the pressure of a small, vocal right-wing minority. The city council should again declare Los Angeles a sanctuary for Central American refugees fleeing El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala."

## Minnesota socialists nominate candidate for governor

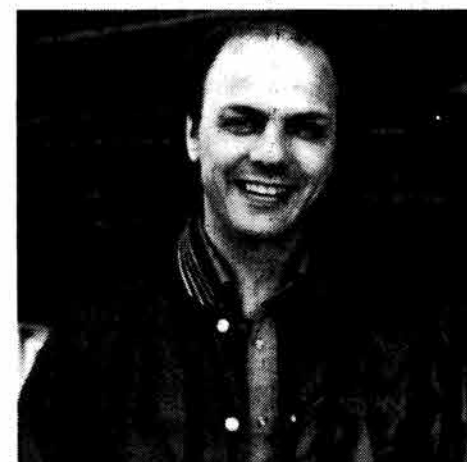
ST. PAUL, Minn. — The 1986 Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign has nominated Tom Jaax to be its candidate for governor of Minnesota in the 1986 election. Jaax, 39, is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 168T and works at Straus Knitting Mills in St. Paul. He has been active in building support for United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. Jaax served as a correspondent in Austin for the socialist newspaper, the *Militant*.

In 1984, Jaax traveled to Nicaragua to pick cotton as part of a volunteer work brigade. He is a native of Mankato, Minnesota.

Earlier this year, the Socialist Workers Campaign had announced the candidacy of Geoff Mirelowitz for governor. Unfortunately, Mirelowitz had to leave Minnesota due to family obligations and had to decline the party's nomination. Mirelowitz has endorsed Jaax's candidacy.

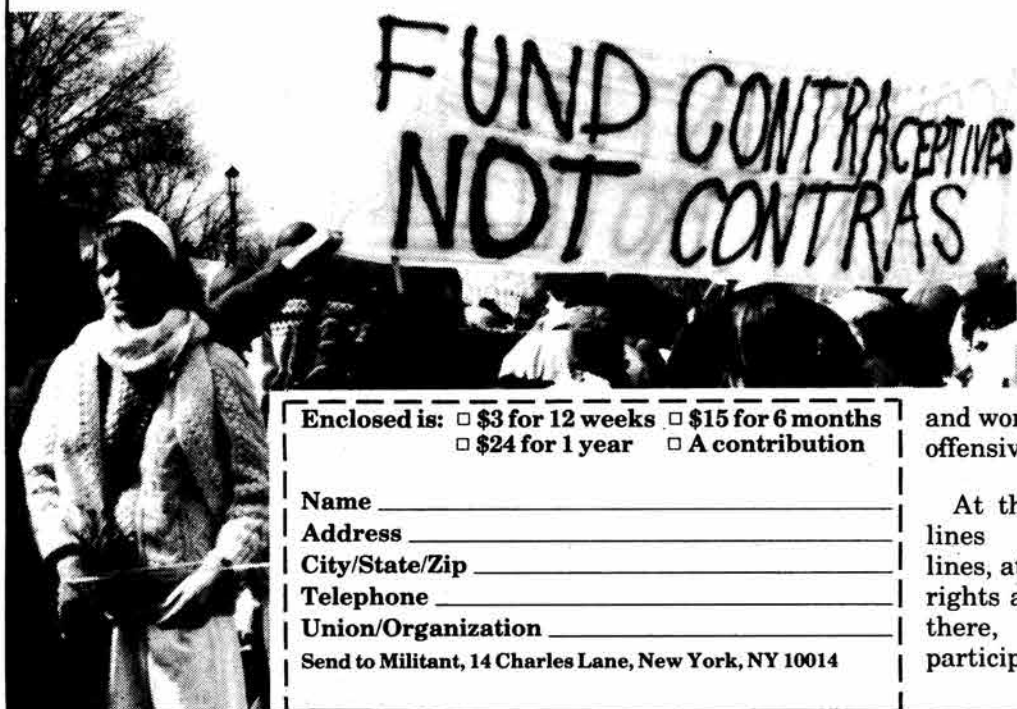
"Our campaign will do all we can to win support for the P-9 strikers," Jaax said. "We will participate in actions against farm

foreclosures and demand adequate prices for farm products. We will continue to oppose the Democrats' and Republicans' bipartisan war against the people of Nicaragua. Our campaign will stand with workers and farmers across the state who struggle for their rights."



Militant  
Tom Jaax, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota.

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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.

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# Sales drive results: a step forward in circulation of socialist press

BY TOM LEONARD

From beginning to end, the 10-week national sales and subscription drive organized by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance demonstrated that there is broad receptivity to the socialist press. This was true among trade unionists, oppressed nationalities, farmers, women, and students.

On the whole the sales drive resulted in some big accomplishments. First of all were the combined sales totals of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. These included 2,145 subscriptions and 41,588 single copies.

Second was the ability of SWP branches and YSA chapters to make big strides in integrating sales with important political work we are involved in. This includes solidarity with the strike of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, antiwar and anti-apartheid actions, support for working farmers, antiracist activity, and building women's rights actions.

In addition, during the second half of the sales drive, we were able to sharply increase sales to radicalizing students on campus.

Sales were slower in the first half of the campaign than they were in the closing weeks. During the first five weeks, for example, single-copy sales averaged 3,800 a week. But in the next five weeks the

weekly average shot up to 4,493. By the final two weeks, there was a full-blown campaign spirit, with nearly all SWP branches and YSA chapters going all-out to push us over the top.

During the 10-week campaign, a very important advance was made in single-copy sales of the Spanish-language socialist publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*. This included sales in some parts of the country where we had previously not been too successful. The 4,856 copies sold were a little under the projected national goal of 5,000, but an impressive 730 more than we were able to sell in last fall's sales campaign.

The 36,732 single-copy sales of the *Militant* were also an increase of 1,429 over our fall effort. Even though we fell a little short of our 45,000 goal, combined single-copy sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were an impressive 2,179 copies higher than our last national sales drive.

The improvement in subscription sales this spring was also impressive. Our national goal was a combined total of 2,000 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions. We went well over the top, with 2,145. Here, too, there was a big gain in *Perspectiva Mundial* sales, with a total of 307 as compared to the projected national goal of 250 subscriptions. This total was also 101 subscriptions higher than the 206



Militant  
Students at anti-apartheid rally, Grinnell College, Iowa. National sales team sold to fighters like these across Midwest.

sold in the fall sales drive.

We also went over the top on *Militant* subscription sales, with 1,838, which was 88 more than the national goal of 1,750. This was also 279 more than the 1,559 *Militant* subscriptions sold last fall.

An important highlight of the campaign was the successful national sales team that visited Iowa and Missouri. The four members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance on this team sold more than 1,000 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials* in two weeks. The bulk of their sales was to trade unionists at plant gates and to students on campuses. They also had smaller but important sales to working farmers.

Their example gave a boost to plant-gate sales, which held up well during the national campaign. In some areas of the country they shot up. This was particularly true at plants organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers.

The successful campus sales by the national team also helped SWP branches and

YSA chapters increase sales to radicalizing students around the country. This helped win new members to the YSA.

The successful sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* had a decided multinational side. Many copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold to workers from Central America and Mexico, while the *Militant* got into the hands of a lot of Haitian and other Caribbean workers.

We also made important advances in sales to women workers and women's rights fighters. This included sales at abortion rights actions, to young women on campuses, and to flight attendants on strike against TWA.

Sales to trade unionists, both single copies and subscriptions, improved, thanks, in part, to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*'s support to striking P-9 meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota.

Some 369 subscriptions were bought by trade union members, including 205 sold by socialists to their coworkers. Heading the list of union subscription sales was the United Food and Commercial Workers, with 62 subscriptions — 49 of them to Local P-9ers. Members of the United Auto Workers bought 63 subscriptions; Machinists, 29; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, 27; and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union members, 26.

An additional 32 subscriptions were sold to women's rights fighters, members of the National Organization for Women. Seven working farmers became new subscribers to the *Militant*.

The 217 subscriptions sold on campuses were particularly important since many were to politically active students and leaders of campus political groups. These included activists from campus anti-apartheid groups, farm support organizations, and Central America solidarity groups.

An important aspect of the 10-week sales campaign is that we sold many *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials* to trade union and student fighters who are active in struggles that socialist workers are supporting and helping to build.

## Nat'l sales team begins Midwest tour

BY DIANA CANTÚ

CLEAR LAKE, Iowa — A team of socialists began a sales tour of the Midwest May 26 with a big day of selling the socialist press and meeting new people involved in a variety of struggles.

Our team is made up of members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. The YSA members include Derek Bracey, a garment worker from St. Louis; Diana Cantú, an activist in the National Organization for Women in San Francisco; and Mike Riley, a student at Boston College. Heading up the team is SWP member Yvonne Hayes from Greensboro, North Carolina.

We will be traveling through Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota to introduce the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* to working people and youths in this area.

During our first two days, we've had a lot of discussions about the responses of working farmers to the crisis they face and the example of the striking Hormel meatpackers of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9.

The team plans to meet with students, working people, farmers, and others active in these and other struggles, including antiwar fighters, unionists, anti-apartheid, and women's rights activists. This will include a visit to the White Earth Indian reservation to meet with Native American activists there.

We expected to find a good response to our socialist publications and ideas, and our first day on the road proved this to be the case. Starting in Northfield, Minnesota, we sold nine *Militants* to workers at the Sheldahl Electronic Manufacturing plant organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Later, at Carleton College, YSA members from our team were interviewed on campus radio station KRLK. At a table outside the student center, students bought 40 copies of the *Militant*, as well as YSA T-shirts, buttons, pamphlets, and books. Four young women asked to join the YSA and said they would like to set up a YSA chapter on campus. Three of them are ac-

tive in the Womyn's Caucus on campus. The fourth, a Puerto Rican woman, liked the YSA's stand in support of independence for Puerto Rico.

All these women and other students we talked to liked the YSA's activist approach to politics. One student explained, "The other groups on campus are all talk."

Many students signed a mailing list for more information about the YSA, and a lot of them thanked us for visiting their campus.

Like other campuses around the country, Carleton has been the site of anti-apartheid and divestment activities. Students set up a shantytown tent-camp city last winter to pressure college trustees into divesting from companies doing business in South Africa. The fight is still going on.

## Working people make fund drive a success

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The \$100,000 Socialist Publication Fund this spring was a big success. Over \$116,000 was raised during the 10-week drive.

The fund helps support the *Militant*; the Spanish-language biweekly, *Perspectiva Mundial*; books and pamphlets of Pathfinder Press; the biweekly news magazine, *Intercontinental Press*; and the Marxist theoretical magazine, *New International*.

Before the drive began March 15, fund director Jerry Freiwirth told the *Militant* that "this fund will be made through small contributions from hundreds of working people." And that's exactly how the fund was successfully completed. Nearly 1,000 people contributed to the fund. Their contributions were generous — averaging more than \$130.

More than 100 of these contributions were in response to direct appeals in the pages of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and in fund letters to subscribers of these publications. These donations, which came to more than \$5,000, were received from all over the country. The fund also received a donation of \$367 from a reader of *Intercontinental Press* in Iceland.

The fund was given an important boost from the support of the Socialist Workers Party. The party had decided to make the fund a central campaign. Branches of the party discussed how to maximize the participation of all its members and supporters, as well as other readers of the socialist publications in their area.

Socialist workers in the industrial unions were the backbone of this effort. Forty-seven socialist workers in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union donated more than \$21,000. A large part of this money was from the lump-sum payments the workers in this union were forced to accept in lieu of a wage increase in the first year of a concession contract. Fifteen socialist oil workers donated their entire lump-sum payment to the fund effort.

Socialist workers in other industrial unions also gave generously to the fund. For example, 23 socialist workers in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which represents some of the lowest-paid workers in this country, donated \$2,000.

The drive proceeded at a relatively even pace and no extraordinary emergency campaign was needed to catch up at the end.

This is a step forward over previous fund drives, particularly the Socialist Publication Fund last fall where a major effort was needed at the end to make the goal on time.

This advance is extremely important since these publications experienced large expenses throughout the drive. Just in the 10 weeks of this drive, the socialist publications sent reporters to Haiti and the Philippines to cover developments in those countries after popular upsurges overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorships.

*Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* reporters were on the scene to cover major developments in the meatpackers' strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, as well as other political struggles around the country. And Pathfinder Press published *Apartheid's Great Land Theft*, a new pamphlet on the struggle by Blacks for land in South Africa.

In ending this successful drive, Freiwirth told the *Militant*, "We would like to thank all of the readers and the supporters of the socialist publications for their generous help. Based on the advances of this drive, we are confident we can continue along the course of maintaining and expanding all the socialist publications."



# Presidential order cripples rail strike

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Hundreds of trade unionists, many of them involved in their own labor battles, closed ranks here May 18 in solidarity with striking Massachusetts and New York railroad workers in struggle against a union-busting drive spearheaded by Guilford Transportation Industries.

The demonstration, called by a coalition of railroad craft unions, came in the wake of a back-to-work order imposed by President Ronald Reagan two days earlier — a 60-day "cooling off" period and the appointment of an "impartial" panel to settle the strike.

White House intervention in the rail strike had initially been sought by Massachusetts Democratic Gov. Michael Dukakis.

The May 18 rally's militant tone and spirited chanting echoed through the streets of downtown Boston. "They say cut back, we say fight back," which has become the defiant slogan of the Guilford strikers, led the march and was picked up by contingents of workers from the bitter Colt strike in Hartford, from members of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants Union battling TWA, from unionized Boston utility workers who hit the bricks here May 15, and from a small group of nurses on strike against Boston's Carney Hospital.

Many workers sported buttons and T-shirts from United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, which is battling the Hormel Co.

The Guilford strikers, who go by the name "greed-busters," were forced to take action when rail baron Timothy Mellon imposed union-busting givebacks on workers on the Boston and Maine railroad.

Mellon, listed by *Fortune* magazine as

one of the 400 wealthiest individuals in the United States and heir to the billion-dollar fortune of the Pittsburgh-based Mellon banking family, has demanded a 20 percent wage cut, a 40 percent slash in crew size, and a doubling of health-care premiums paid by workers.

These contract demands, initially placed before the 123-member Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees union (BMWE) at Maine Central, were rejected. The strike and solidarity picketing spread throughout Guilford's lines, at various times affecting as many as 20,000 Boston rail commuters along with Guilford's freight lines.

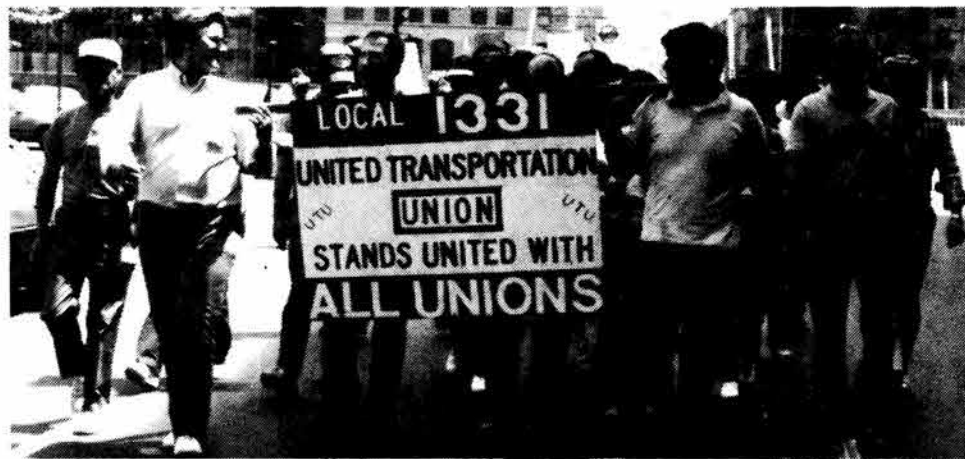
"We just cannot run a railroad with the work rules and all these labor positions" — that is, *jobs* — "that are unnecessary," Guilford Vice-president Colin Pease says.

"Mellon has millions, and he bought this railroad as his toy. He's gambling that he can break the unions and then make a lot of money," says striker Terrence Meehan.

"I have not been paid for seven weeks, and I may lose my job, but I will not give up my dignity," striker Richard Pacheco, a third-generation, 34-year-old rail worker says. "If Mellon can bust one union at the Maine Central, then he will bust the rest of the unions, and other railroads will bust other unions," Pacheco explains.

Railroad workers at the Boston rally expressed some hope that Reagan's back-to-work order — publicly opposed by Guilford management and urged by rail union officials as a way to restart negotiations and get members back to work — might be of aid.

Rail union and AFL-CIO officials expressed confidence in this process in their remarks to the rally.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Contingent at rail strike solidarity rally in Boston

But as strikers sought to begin work again on May 19 and 20, they found they were "rehired" for an instant, then laid off.

Guilford stated it accepted 800 Maine Central workers back, then promptly laid them off.

"They're back, and they're gone," Guilford Vice-president and Mellon mouthpiece Colin Pease stated.

Another 2,500 rail jobs in the Guilford chain, Pease stated, have been "abolished," a decision that shocked returning strikers, some of whom may be rehired as the company reorganizes work schedules and job categories.

The key union in the strike, the BMWE, has filed suit in federal court in Maine against Guilford, protesting its violation of the back-to-work order.

Some 600 scabs hired by Guilford at Maine Central, though, remain in place, a violation, the union says, of the back-to-

work order.

Behind Mellon's ruthless union-busting war on railroad workers lies even more profit if Guilford's "union-free environment" is the setting for expansion into a portion of the Conrail system, which the company is set to buy pending congressional approval this fall.

If okayed, the *Boston Globe* noted, "Mellon will go from owning three small regional railroads to owning one of the largest rail companies in the nation."

By crushing the railroad unions, the *Globe* quoted "analysts" as stating, Mellon could end up "as a railroad baron with a much more agreeable labor structure if the Conrail deal goes through."

On May 23 Federal District Judge Gene Carter ruled against the Railway Labor Executives Association, which had contested the layoffs.

## Socialist candidates file for Ohio ballot

BY JOE CALLAHAN

TOLEDO, Ohio — On April 27 a reception and public meeting featuring Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Ohio, and Kate Button, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, was held at the Toledo Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters.

On May 1 Scherr and Mark Rahn, a Cincinnati machinist and Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor, filed nominating petitions with more than 9,200 signatures with the state Board of Elections in Columbus.

Button, a 26-year-old General Electric worker from Cleveland, denounced the U.S. bombing of Libya and the proposals to step up U.S. military aid to the *contras*, who are attacking Nicaragua.

Button and Scherr, a laid-off Toledo auto worker, pointed to the striking meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, who are fighting against union-busting by the Hormel Co., as an example of how to use union power effectively to resist the bosses' offensive.

Several other speakers expressed support for the socialist candidates. Tom Hsu,

a member of the newly formed Progressive Student Organization at the University of Toledo, said, "In deciding who to support in elections such as these, progressive people are faced with a dilemma. To support the lesser of the evils, who have some chance of winning, or supporting someone who tells the truth."

Feminist Sue Carter said, "As they have for years, the Socialist Workers Party is putting forward candidates who give a voice to those traditionally left out."

Another speaker, who has been active in the struggles of working farmers, described the recent murder of a farmer by a police SWAT team. He said this was an example of real terrorism in the United States.

Mansour Bey, vice-president of the Black Student Union at the University of Toledo, sent a message. He wrote that he was impressed with a quote from a *Toledo Blade* interview with Button in which she said, "I feel that if we convince one person that they should oppose the U.S. attack on Libya, if we convince one person to oppose apartheid in South Africa, then our campaign will be a success."

## Tutu calls for big turnout at N.Y. anti-apartheid rally

Continued from front page

labor, students, international guests, women's rights and peace groups, Asian Americans, Native Americans, church congregations, those from out of town, and others will assemble.

At the Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. State Office Building other contingents will form that will march and meet with the Puerto Rican community contingent. This contingent will assemble in "El Barrio" — the oldest Puerto Rican neighborhood in the city.

The march will end with a rally at the Great Lawn in Central Park at 1:00 p.m. Leaders from the South African anti-apartheid movement and from southern Africa will be speaking.

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

June 14 has been widely endorsed by hundreds of organizations and individuals.

The march and rally were initiated by the New York Anti-Apartheid Coordinating Council — a broad-based union-led coalition of more than 200 organizations.

For more information about the action and T-shirts, leaflets, buttons, and posters 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.

## Help distribute 'Militant' June 14

We are asking readers of the *Militant* to help in the distribution of this paper and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, on June 14 at the New York City anti-apartheid march and rally. If you can help out, please contact the nearest Socialist Workers Party branch or Young Socialist Alliance chapter listed in the directory on page 12.

## Nicaraguan diplomats expelled

Continued from front page  
gence activities."

On May 6 two other U.S. embassy personnel, defense attaché Col. Alden Cunningham and U.S. Army Capt. Barbara Sims, were discovered by the Sandinista army in the town of Siuna in Northern Zelaya province. Since the area is a war zone, visits there by foreign diplomats and all non-Nicaraguans require a special visa. Cunningham and Sims had no visa and no explanation of why they were there without one. They were riding in a car with U.S. diplomatic plates.

Again, the Nicaraguan government did not expel the two from the country, but simply ordered them to leave Siuna.

In a protest note to the U.S. government, the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry explained that since the Siuna area is the scene of sharp fighting between Sandinista troops and mercenaries armed and organized by Washington, the unauthorized presence of the two U.S. military officials could only be viewed as "a clear provocation."

Such provocative criminal actions by the U.S. embassy in Managua are not new. In 1983 Nicaraguan authorities discovered a U.S. embassy plot to assassinate the country's foreign minister, Miguel D'Escoto. The conspiracy was exposed by a woman working at the U.S. embassy who had been assigned to poison D'Escoto. She turned out to be a Sandinista double agent.

Washington's sabotage of diplomatic re-

lations with Nicaragua goes hand in hand with the escalation of the U.S.-backed mercenary war against that country. On May 17 Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge reported that the MINT had recently uncovered a plot to physically attack the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, Harry Bergold. While all the details of the plot were not clear, Borge said, its obvious goal was to provide Washington with a pretext to sever diplomatic relations with Nicaragua in order to intensify aggression against the Sandinista revolution.

In expelling Hooker and Vigil from the United States, Washington is making it more difficult for Nicaragua to pursue normal diplomatic functioning in this country. No doubt U.S. government officials hoped that since the companions of both diplomats are also assigned to the Washington embassy, the expulsion of Hooker and Vigil would force them to leave as well.

Furthermore, in supposed retaliation for ordering the two U.S. officials to leave Siuna, the State Department is now demanding that Nicaraguan embassy personnel in this country get permission before traveling to San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The Nicaragua Network, a solidarity group in the United States, condemned the expulsions of Hooker and Vigil. The Network asked that letters and telegrams of protest be sent to the U.S. State Department and members of Congress.

## Strikers call solidarity actions

Continued from front page

ficialdom has sent a letter informing the strikers that their names have been placed on Hormel's preferential hiring list. According to Hormel, the scabs brought in under protection of the National Guard in January are permanent employees, and the strikers must sign a list to get rehired when jobs open up.

The top officialdom had ordered the strikers in March to end their strike and sign the preferential hiring list. The strikers voted overwhelmingly to reject the union tops' order and to continue their struggle to win a decent contract. The officialdom is

now trying to use the trusteeship to unilaterally carry out this order.

Meanwhile, the strikers continue their efforts to link up with all people who are fighting back. On May 27, for example, a newly painted mural on the side of the local's headquarters, depicting a woman chopping the head off a serpent, was dedicated to imprisoned South African revolutionary leader Nelson Mandela.

For more information on the June 22 through 28 week of actions contact: Solidarity City, National Hormel Strike Support Committee, P.O. Box 655, Austin, Minn. 55912, (502) 437-4110.



## Shantytown vandalized at U. of Wash.

BY JEFFREY FORD

SEATTLE — A gasoline firebomb, rigged to a battery and alarm clock, was discovered Sunday, May 11, in a shantytown constructed by Students Against Apartheid at the University of Washington.

Philip Goldman, a spokesman for SAA, explained that two members of the student group came by the shanty at 1:30 Sunday morning to check on the condition of the building. Earlier attempts at vandalism and concern for students who regularly sleep in the shanty prompted their action.

It was then that they discovered the shanty walls ripped apart and crosses, symbolizing South African dead, torn out of the ground. The attackers also left behind the bomb set to explode at midnight. Police bomb squad experts explained that the SAA activists could easily have been injured or

killed if they had even touched the bomb's timing device.

While police say they have no leads, SAA members have turned over descriptions of two people they caught vandalizing the shanty late Friday.

Terrorist acts like these are clearly intended to intimidate those fighting apartheid. The effect, however, has been just the opposite. Goldman made it clear that SAA is "not going to be deterred by these kinds of acts. I think we're a lot more determined just to keep doing what we're doing up here."

Volunteers from the Seattle Coalition Against Apartheid and other organizations have donated materials and labor to rebuild the shanty. Enough lumber was collected to enable SAA to expand the shantytown from one building to two.

The shanty was originally built in mid-April to educate students about the appalling living conditions of the victims of apartheid and to protest the university regents' continued refusal to divest the \$4.3 million it holds in com-

panies doing business in South Africa. The regents have stood firm despite a student referendum in which the majority of voters favored disinvestment.

Goldman pointed out that the shanty is a powerful symbol of apartheid that has proven very effective with students. "People were continually coming by to ask questions. It is an excellent tool for educating," he said. SAA plans to maintain the expanded shantytown throughout the summer and until the regents divest.

## Anti-contra aid protest held in Cleveland

BY NICK GRUENBERG

CLEVELAND — Participants in a May 17 march of 150 people from the Federal Building to Public Square chanted "U.S., CIA, out of Nicaragua" and "Embargo South Africa, not Nicaragua!" They were part of the Armed Forces Day antiwar protest here.

Speakers at the rally following

the march included John Burkett of the Ohio Family Farm Movement; Rev. Ed Loring; Bill Bon, president of United Auto Workers Local 122; and Sister Cindy Drennan, who spoke about the recent trial of sanctuary activists in Arizona and the decision of Cleveland's St. Malachi Church to become a sanctuary.

During the rally a continuous stream of protesters placed on a "Wall of Witness" the names of victims of the U.S.-backed war against the people of Central America. The protest against contra aid was sponsored by the Central American Network and the Pledge of Resistance.

## Solidarity rally with South African workers

BY ELLEN BERMAN

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — A May 1 rally of 200 trade unionists and students was held here to express their support and solidarity for Black workers in South Africa.

"We call on Harvard University to honor its approaching 350th Anniversary by divesting its \$8,787,000 investment in Royal Dutch/Shell," stated an informational leaflet that explains why they are protesting at the university. "Shell is the target of a national consumer boycott because of its extensive financial interest in South Africa. By holding Shell stock, Harvard has blood on its hands."

Keynote speaker at the rally was Nomonde Ngubu, founding member of the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa and currently on the staff of the United Mine Workers of America. She brought a message of solidarity to the rally from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

Another featured speaker was Ron Malloy, business agent of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201. He was greeted with chants of "GE divest" by about 50 of the local's members who had traveled from nearby Lynn to the rally on a bus provided by the union.

# Apartheid regime's killers attack Black town

Continued from front page

Africa reserved by law for whites.

Crossroads was set up in 1975. It was inhabited by African workers who were barred from or could not find housing in the overcrowded Black townships. Since the white authorities had declared the Western Cape Province a "Coloured labor preference area" — the Coloureds are a section of the oppressed Black population that is heavily concentrated in the Western Cape — it was even harder for Africans to legally live there than elsewhere in "white" South Africa.

Many of the people who lived in Crossroads were migrant workers who had defied the apartheid laws by bringing their

families with them from the Bantustans, instead of living in the single-sex barracks set up for them by the regime and their employers. Still others were migrant workers who had refused to return to their assigned Bantustan after their contracts ran out, or people who fled the misery and hunger of the nearby Transkei and Ciskei Bantustans. Many others were simply unable to find housing of any kind in the packed Black townships.

Such setting up of unauthorized housing is a crime in apartheid South Africa — the crime of "squatting."

In an article published in the May-June 1979 *Africa Report*, Ernest Harsch — now managing editor of the socialist news magazine *Intercontinental Press* — described Crossroads after a 1979 visit he made to South Africa: "On their own initiative, the residents set up a 30-member elected committee to oversee the affairs of the settlement and iron out any disputes that might arise among the residents. . . . A neighborhood force, called the home guards, patrols the shantytowns to protect residents against crime and to warn them of raids" by government forces.

Harsch continued: "Life is in some respects more bearable to the residents of Crossroads than to inhabitants of the officially sanctioned African townships. It is certainly less alienating. . . . In the camp, they at least have a degree of control over certain aspects of their daily lives. In a society as closely regulated as that in South Africa, that is no small thing."

In 1978 the regime launched a major drive to forcibly remove the Crossroads population. But determined resistance by the "squatters" and worldwide protests forced the government to back off.

Such battles contributed to making the regime's pass and influx-control laws increasingly unenforceable — a fact that President Pieter Botha recognized when he proposed substantially changing these laws, admitting the inevitability of a growing Black population in the urban areas of "white" South Africa.

At the same time, new attacks on Crossroads were signaled by the regime's proposals to step up enforcement of the ban on "squatting" and to restrict legal residence in the Black townships to those Africans living in officially approved dwellings.

The massacre and destruction in Crossroads was also part of the regime's stepped-up use of vigilante terror against the anti-apartheid masses in the townships. The vigilante groups are based in many cases on the local administrations and police forces, which the apartheid regime imposed on the township's population, or on township residents who receive economic favors in exchange for subservience to the regime.

In townships such as Alexandra, near Johannesburg, where the anti-apartheid up-

surge has proven too much for the cops and troops to handle by themselves, such vigilante groups are taking a growing toll as they murder anti-apartheid activists and seek to intimidate the Black population.

Such vigilante groups are also useful to the regime's international propaganda campaign to discredit the anti-apartheid struggle. The capitalist media in other countries often parrots the regime's attempts to pass off clashes between the anti-apartheid masses and the regime's Black cops or vigilantes as examples of "Black on Black violence" rather than as part of the struggle against the apartheid state.

The apartheid regime is also escalating its attack on neighboring African states. On May 22 South African troops struck across the border into southern Angola, killing 53 Angolan troops. The South African aggression was in support of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a terrorist group which operates as part of the South African regime's 11-year war against Angola.

The U.S. government has not criticized this South African attack. Washington is also shipping arms to UNITA terrorists, and CIA Director William Casey visited South Africa in March to coordinate the U.S. arms shipments.

When the apartheid regime launched terror raids against Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana May 19, the Reagan administration limited itself to a verbal denunciation and the expulsion of one South African military attaché from the United States.

The Botha regime in South Africa responded by announcing that it would expel a U.S. military attaché. The government-controlled South African radio said, according to the May 25 *New York Times*, "that the military relationship between the United States and South Africa would not be affected."

On May 23 U.S. and British delegates to the United Nations vetoed a Security Council resolution that condemned the South African attacks on Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana, and that called for economic sanctions against apartheid.

## June 7 antiwar action in D.C.

BY IKE NAHEM

The Washington Area Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua has called an emergency regional antiwar action for June 7 in Washington, D.C. The demonstration will be an important public response to the new round of debate and votes in the House of Representatives for military and logistical aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. The House vote is currently scheduled for the second week of June.

The Washington-based Nicaragua Network is building the protest in the mid-Atlantic region. The Network sent out a mailing urging participation in the action to its affiliates and other antiwar organizations in New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, and Virginia. The Washington Area Coalition and the Nicaragua Network are sponsoring a meeting the evening of the June 7 demonstration for Central America solidarity and other antiwar activists that will discuss better regional coordination of antiwar forces and future actions.

Last April 13, some 1,000 people attended a White House picket and rally called by the coalition. More than 600 picketed the White House on two days' notice on March 16, the night of President Reagan's nationally televised speech plugging hard for contra aid.

The Washington Area Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua was formed in January 1986 to organize public protests and ongoing education against contra aid and U.S. intervention in Central America. The coalition is supported by more than 60 organizations.

Fifty thousand leaflets and hundreds of posters have been printed by the coalition for the June 7 protest. Demonstrators will gather at the Martin Luther King Library, 9th and G St. NW, at 1:00 p.m. and march to the White House for a 2:30 p.m. rally.

## Black unionists back Hormel strikers

The following resolution — "Support for United Food and Commercial Workers Locals P-9 and 431" — was adopted at the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists' national convention held in Atlanta, Georgia, May 23-26.

Whereas there are currently 900 members of UFCW Local P-9 who are still on strike against the George A. Hormel & Co. plant located in Austin, Minnesota; and,

Whereas over 500 other union workers have been fired from their jobs at Hormel plants in Ottumwa, Fremont, and Dallas for honoring Local P-9 picket lines; and

Whereas the company used this as an opportunity to discontinue an entire operation at the Ottumwa plant so there are no jobs for 486 workers who are members of UFCW Local 431 to return to; and

Whereas Hormel has engaged in such onerous practices as hiring scabs and requesting National Guard assistance during the strike; and

Whereas Hormel is requesting a concessionary contract from Local P-9 despite the fact that profits increased 83.6 percent and the chairman received a \$231,000 salary increase.

Therefore be it resolved that the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists go on record condemning the actions of the George A. Hormel & Co.; and

Be it further resolved that the CBTU urge the George A. Hormel & Co. to offer to employees in Austin a contract not less advantageous than the top of the industry contract it negotiated with its eight union plants; and that contributions to Local 431

members be sent to Mr. Louis DeFrieze, president UFCW Local 431, 1401 W. 3rd St., Davenport, Iowa 52802; and

Be it finally resolved that the executive board of the CBTU will obtain a list of P-9 families and their needs and priorities and that such funds as might be raised by the CBTU affiliates for the financial support for the most needy P-9 families be sent to the CBTU Executive Board for distribution thereby.

## CBTU convention

Continued from back page

takes over all the local's business, including negotiations with Hormel.

Prior to the convention, the strike had won support from CBTU chapters and rank-and-file members around the country. Strikers have spoken about their struggle before CBTU chapters in St. Louis, Chicago, Northern California, and other areas.

In passing the resolution, William Lucy, national president of the CBTU, said, "I want it to be clear that the CBTU supports the P-9 strikers."

Roy Madison, one of the striking meatpackers, attended the convention as a guest of the CBTU. He told the *Militant* that "this convention has really shown me that our strike is having a big affect on the entire labor movement. I think it is very important that I will be able to go back and tell my union brothers and sisters about support the P-9 strike is receiving from Black trade unionists around the country."



# Philippines: Aquino moves to split guerrilla forces

BY HARRY RING

During her election campaign for president, Philippines President Corazon Aquino pledged to seek a negotiated settlement with the New People's Army, the country's major guerrilla force. Many Filipinos had hoped with the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship that such a settlement could be reached.

Aquino, however, is now trying to split the guerrilla ranks and achieve the surrender of some, while readying a military drive to crush those liberation forces which refuse to capitulate.

The guerrillas, who number some 16,000, are based primarily among the impoverished peasants and superexploited agricultural workers.

At a May 24 news conference, Aquino outlined her strategy in relation to the guerrillas.

Some, she asserted, are ready to give up in return for a guarantee of no reprisals. Others, she added, would like to swap their arms for an assurance of job training and rehabilitation.

After isolating the "hard core" by wooing those assertedly ready to quit, she declared, "The military will be ready to fight force with force."

At the same time, Aquino showed a stiffened resistance to the popular demand to root out remaining Marcos forces and to prosecute those who committed crimes against the people.

She indicated this by backing away from her repeated preelection resolve to prosecute the members of the military who assassinated her husband, oppositionist Benigno Aquino.

She is, she told reporters May 24, ready to "forgive and forget."

And at a rally the same day she said, "Before, when we were in the opposition, the military was our enemy. But it is different now. They are really trying their best to protect the people. And we need in turn to support the military. We need to forget the past."

Aquino was apparently responding to a banner at the rally that depicted an armed soldier standing over an unarmed victim. The banner declared: "Justice for all martyrs and victims of state terrorism."

A representative of the Task Force Detainees, a major defense organization for victims of repression, observed: "I'm afraid the victims will not forget so easily. Since Mrs. Aquino became president, they have been collecting evidence and looking forward to justice."

Nor is the issue simply one of past

crimes. One very immediate concern is the continued functioning of the Civilian Home Defense Forces (CHDF). An auxiliary to the army, the CHDF has earned widespread fear and hatred as a savage instrument of repression. With many cases of grisly torture and murder documented against them, CHDF units have often been little more than private armies used by landlords to crush protests by agricultural workers and peasants.

Responding to the demands about the CHDF, Aquino ordered Gen. Fidel Ramos, armed forces chief of staff, to submit reasons why it should not be disbanded.

That was on May 23. On May 24 she backed off on disbanding it.

The thrust of Aquino's political orientation was indicated in her selection of a commission to draft a new constitution.

Despite increasing demands that the commission be elected, she insisted on choosing it.

What many wanted, and what the situation demands, is a democratically elected constituent assembly — a broadly representative body of the Filipino people — to draft a constitution. Such an assembly would offer workers' and peasants' organizations an opportunity to present their views on the kind of constitution and government needed by the Filipino people. The assembly could debate out how to deal in a democratic way with such vital issues as land reform and the rights of labor, as well as the big issue of continuing U.S. imperialist domination.

That domination is symbolized by the two huge U.S. military bases in the Philippines. The lease on these bases expires in five years and will be a subject of constitutional debate.

At a May 25 Manila rally, Aquino announced the names of 45 members of a 50-person constitutional commission. The remaining places, she said, would be filled by the "opposition." By opposition, she meant not the Communist Party of the Philippines, which leads the New People's Army, but the remaining Marcos forces.

The Marcos gang apparently chose not to serve. But Blas Ople, minister of labor under Marcos, named himself and four associates. Now presented as a Marcos defector, Ople broke from the dictator after he fled to Hawaii.

At the rally, Aquino also said there would be a place on the commission for Iglesia Ni Kristo, a right-wing Christian sect that militantly supported Marcos.

But this evoked such a strong chorus of



Filipino guerrillas are based primarily among the impoverished peasants and superexploited agricultural workers.

boos and shouts of protest that she quickly retreated, saying, "We will discuss this again."

It had been widely anticipated that Aquino's commission list would include Jose Maria Sison, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and Bernabe Buscayno, original commander of the New People's Army. Both were among political prisoners released after Aquino's victory.

The possibility of their inclusion on the constitution commission drew a sharp response from Washington, which apparently assumes it is entitled to a voice on the composition of a Philippine constitution commission.

Such imperialist arrogance is a by-product of the long years of U.S. plunder of the Philippines.

## Anti-apartheid shanty firebombed

BY DANA BURROUGHS

BALTIMORE — The most serious attack on the anti-apartheid movement in the United States took place May 24, Saturday, at 2:45 a.m. when one of the four shanties erected on Johns Hopkins University campus was firebombed. One of the three students staffing the shanty at the time, Kevin Archer, 28, was treated at Union Memorial Hospital for first- and second-degree burns on his back.

Fortunately, the other two students escaped without injury. "Lucky we were not in our sleeping bags when it happened. Had we been asleep, it's possible we would

have been killed," said Archer.

Patrick Bond, who was inside the shanty, said, "I suddenly saw some liquid splash up against the window and a flash of flames. I jumped out and ran after some of the people I saw running away. When I came back, the shanty was ablaze." One of the assailants, 20-year-old Russell Abrams, was chased down by students occupying another shanty and held until campus and city police arrived. Abrams, an electrical engineering student at Johns Hopkins, was arrested and is being held in Baltimore City Jail on \$50,000 bail. He is being charged with three counts of attempted murder and one count of arson. Police are searching for four other students believed to be involved in the bombing.

The shanties were erected April 10 by the Johns Hopkins Coalition for a Free South Africa to protest the more than \$70 million the university has invested in companies that do business in South Africa. The Coalition demands immediate divestment. Since their erection the shanties have been staffed 24 hours a day by students and other anti-apartheid activists.

Initial response by the university administration to the bombing was one of concern and outrage. However, three hours after the bombing, campus maintenance crews were sent to the site to quickly remove the debris and any sign of the fire. Students present protested this coverup attempt by the university, roped off the area, and demanded that the rubble remain as evidence of the right-wing terrorist bombing. Throughout the weekend students and other activists were mobilized to prevent the university from removing the debris while representatives from the coalition were negotiating with university officials.

The student demands were met, and the three shanties and the charred remains of the fourth will remain up through graduation ceremonies and disassembled by students the following day for the summer.

The coalition plans to erect new shanties in the fall and remain active throughout the summer in events against apartheid.

## Background to Libyan revolution in 'IP'

What kind of country is Libya? Why did the U.S. government launch a massive air strike against its cities and people? Why is Washington trying to bring down the Libyan government?

The coverage of Libya in the U.S. big-business news media answers none of these questions. Instead, it is filled with lies and slanders about Libyan "terrorism."

The upcoming, June 16 *Intercontinental Press* seeks to cut through the lies and present the facts. It features the first article of a three-part series by Ernest Harsch on the background to the Libyan revolution.

Since 1969, when the corrupt U.S.-backed monarchy of King Idris was overthrown in a coup by junior military officers led by Muammar el-Qaddafi, Libya has gone through some major social and economic changes. This has been thanks to the large income from oil exports and policies aimed at using that income to develop the Libyan economy and improve the lives of its

people, who used to be among the poorest in the world.

In carrying out their democratic revolution, the Libyan people have come into direct conflict with imperialism, especially Washington. They have also extended support and solidarity to struggling oppressed peoples around the world.

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

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# Chernobyl spurs opposition to U.S. nukes

BY HARRY RING

Sentiment in favor of shutting down all nuclear plants has doubled in this country since the Chernobyl explosion.

Previously, 14 percent favored shutting down all nuke plants. Now it's 28 percent.

A majority, 52 percent, are against opening any new plants.

And 52 percent think the Chernobyl accident shows the inherent danger of nuclear power in all countries rather than some Soviet weakness.

Those are the findings of a Roper poll conducted for Cable News Network and *U.S. News & World Report*.

And that in the face of a furious propaganda campaign intended to prove the opposite — that a Chernobyl couldn't happen here.

That Washington-led propaganda campaign was marked by lies, misrepresentation, and reckless rumor-mongering. And, at a moment of terrible human tragedy, it was the occasion for an outburst of crude Soviet-bashing. Now, a lot of that is coming home to roost.

On May 22, United Press International officially retracted its April 29 dispatch, which appeared around the world, in which the baseless claim was made that some 2,000 people had died in the accident.

Attributed to a Kiev "source that has never proved to be unreliable," that dispatch asserted that "eighty people died immediately, and some 2,000 people died on the way to hospitals."

The UPI source assertedly added: "The people were not buried in ordinary cemeteries, but in the village of Pirogovichi where radioactive wastes are usually buried."

Now, 23 days later, the wire service said, "It appears UPI was misinformed for reasons we have been unable to determine."

But a Kiev resident who identified herself as the UPI informant in a letter to two Soviet publications said she had spoken of only two deaths, the official toll at the time.

And a small news item May 23 reported that the ABC and NBG networks had decided not to press charges against a Frenchman charged with having sold them a fake film of the disaster. Both networks had featured the footage assertedly showing the burning Chernobyl plant. When it appeared on Italian television, Trieste residents quickly identified it as a cement factory in their area.

Meanwhile, the Federal Department of Energy was offering an example of how safe U.S. nuclear operations are — and how forthcoming the government of the United States is in making known when an accident occurs.

On May 4, an Energy Department spokesman in Washington made a little-publicized disclosure that 24 days previous, April 10, there had been a serious ac-

## 1,000 protest Seabrook nuclear power plant

Responding to the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, more than a thousand protesters marched on the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant May 24.

With participants from New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the demonstration was one of three dozen across the nation, according to Paul Gunter of the Clamshell Alliance, a longtime foe of the Seabrook installation.

Seventy-four demonstrators were arrested in a sit-down at the plant gate but were released the next day.

Now assertedly 98 percent completed, the nuke plant is eight years behind schedule. Over the past decade it has been the focal point of antinuclear protests, with many civil disobedience protesters arrested.

Meanwhile, in Paris on the same day, 5,000 demonstrators, some chanting "No more Chernobyls," marched in protest against France's growing use of nuclear power. Almost 65 percent of the country's electricity is now derived from nuclear plants.

And also on May 24, in West Germany, a reported 13,000 people marched in four cities demanding the shutdown of that country's 20 nuke plants.

cident at the government's Nevada nuclear test site.

An underground weapons test had proven more powerful than anticipated and a combination of heat, radiation, and powerful shock waves from the blast had destroyed a \$20-million portion of the site's test equipment.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, which devoted three inches to the story, it was a "small" nuclear accident.

Ten days later, an AP dispatch of the same size disclosed that the test, code-named Mighty Oak, had left high levels of radiation in the tunnels where the test was conducted.

Energy Department officials said they will not know what went wrong until they can reach the damaged equipment and because of the heavy radiation, that could be months from now.

And, as if to underline the urgency of the need to shut down all nuclear installations, James Asselstine, a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, was reported May 25 as noting the commission's estimate relating to the possibility of a meltdown at a U.S. plant.

The agency calculates, he said, that the probability of a total meltdown in a U.S. reactor in the next 20 years is nearly 50 percent.

A meltdown, in which the nuclear fuel rods become a molten mass, would mean the release of radiation on a greater scale than the Chernobyl disaster.

"As with the Soviet reactors," Asselstine said, "our reactors are not designed to contain large core melt accidents."

## Why Gibson lost Newark mayoral race

BY MELINDA BROWN

NEWARK — City councilman Sharpe James defeated incumbent Kenneth Gibson's bid for a fifth term as mayor of Newark May 13.

James, whose campaign slogan was "Newark needs a Sharpe change," won by a wide margin over Gibson. There were four candidates on the ballot in the race, all of whom are Black.

The Socialist Workers Party candidate, Ruth Nebbia, was undemocratically ruled off the ballot earlier in the race.

Throughout the campaign, Gibson was on the defensive for having presided for 16 years over a city that has lost 50 percent of its manufacturing and retail jobs, that has among the worst schools and services in the country, and in which one-third of its residents live below the poverty line.

Gibson was swept into office in 1970 in the wake of the civil rights battles and ghetto rebellions of the 1960s. In 1967, Newark was the scene of a massive revolt by the Black community, which was put down by the cops and National Guard. Twenty-seven people were killed and 1,100 were injured.

Sharpe James was first elected to the city council in 1970 on Gibson's ticket.

The late 1960s in Newark also saw the rise of Anthony Imperiale, who launched his political career as a racist demagogue. He was elected to the city council and then to the state legislature on the basis of racist appeals against public housing. He organized racist whites into vigilante squads to patrol the predominantly white areas of north Newark.

In this context, Gibson's election was met with elation in the Black community. Hopes were kindled that things would be different with Gibson, the first Black mayor of a northeastern city, at the helm.

Things have changed in one respect. Nobody questions now whether a Black man is "capable" or "qualified" to run a city like Newark. That is taken for granted.

But for residents of Newark, 80 percent of whom are Black or Latino and the overwhelming majority of whom are working-class, little else has changed and many things have gotten worse.

Many of the buildings burned in the 1967 rebellion have not been either removed or restored. They stand as a monument to urban decay.

And the social problems that sparked the 1967 rebellion are, for the most part, unresolved. A Black youth was shot down by



Protest at Seabrook nuclear power plant in New Hampshire. As result of Chernobyl tragedy, more people recognize inherent danger of nuclear power and are demanding that all nuke plants be shut down.

police on the streets of Newark just last month, and 12,000 homeless people were turned away from a church-sponsored shelter in 1985.

An article in the March 5, 1984, issue of *U.S. News & World Report* analyzed Gibson's performance this way:

"He inherited a \$65 million deficit, but since 1978 Newark has had an average budget surplus of \$22 million and has steadily reduced its outstanding debt. To achieve savings, Gibson reduced the city's workforce by 40 percent, mostly through attrition."

In other words, he paid the bills and balanced the budget by cutting services and jobs.

This is more or less what any Democratic or Republican mayor would have done. The fate of a city like Newark is decided by powerful banking and business interests — the capitalist politicians follow their lead.

Gibson himself made this point recently in a discussion with a group of Yale students. "No one fools me with that nonsense that I have power. The power lies with those who control the economic power. I'd trade my job any day to be the president of Prudential." Gibson used such admissions to excuse his refusal to defend the interests of working people.

One measure of how well Gibson has

served the big-business interests in northern New Jersey was the support he received in the 1986 election from Anthony Imperiale.

Imperiale once referred to Martin Luther King as "Martin Luther Coon" and in the early 1970s, busted down the door of Gibson's office in an attempt to intimidate him with his racist goons. Now he praises Gibson as "a good mayor."

Expectations for progress under the James administration are not nearly as high as they were when Gibson was elected. James expressed no major differences with Gibson, concentrating on the need for "new leadership." And after 16 years, most people were ready for a change in the mayor's office.

Ruth Nebbia, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, campaigned actively through the pre-election period, despite being ruled off the ballot. The Socialist Workers Party urged a write-in vote for her.

"The experience with Gibson shows once again that the Democratic and Republican parties and their representatives — Black or white, young or old, male or female — are not going to defend the interests of workers and other oppressed and exploited people. They serve the capitalist rulers."

## Chicago students win free speech fight

Continued from back page

Smeal made the point that she is a Catholic, but said, "I am going to talk about life on this earth."

The crowd gave Smeal a prolonged standing ovation. Most agreed with her views. But others stood in solidarity with her courage in the face of an attempt to violate her right to speak and the right of De Paul students and faculty to hear all points of view.

When Smeal was first invited by a faculty committee, the vice president of Student Affairs, James Doyle, intervened over the heads of the regular committee and canceled her engagement. He said that Smeal's views on abortion "contradict the mission of De Paul."

"This engendered a wave of response by students, faculty, and staff," according to Doug DeMers, a student activist. A demonstration was held at the student center demanding that Smeal be allowed to speak.

A committee was formed called the "She Will Speak Committee." It held a concert to raise funds for expenses for the meeting.

"Students just said, 'She is going to speak.' We wanted to win the right to hold the meeting on campus," said DeMers. On May 13 the students and faculty won a partial victory. The university administration allowed the meeting to go on without using security forces to block it. They refused, however, to allow the Student Life Funds to pay for the meeting, which is the regular procedure.

DeMers explained that the fight around the Smeal meeting is part of a more general process of the growth of student activism on the De Paul campus.

"Things like this just don't happen at De Paul. It's a reflection of what's happening on campus all across the country." DeMers said that following the Smeal meeting and fight to get her on campus, there was interest in forming other activist political organizations at De Paul.



# 3 months since overthrow of Philip

## Aquino gov't torn by conflicting pressures of 'people power' revolu

BY WILL REISSNER

Philippine President Corazon Aquino's cabinet is a strange hybrid. It brings together longtime opponents of the ousted Marcos dictatorship as well as longtime Marcos stalwarts. Former political prisoners sit alongside those who had jailed them.

Three months after the February "people power" revolution that forced Ferdinand Marcos into exile, Marcos' Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, who administered martial law for the ousted dictator, remains the head of the Defense Ministry.

Today, noted *New York Times* reporter Seth Mydans, Enrile actually enjoys "far more power than he had in his final years under Mr. Marcos."

On the other hand, three cabinet members — Local Governments Minister Aquilino Pimentel, Agriculture Minister Ramon Mitra, and Good Government Commission chief Jovito Salonga — were political prisoners under the Marcos regime, with the military as their jailers.

Aquino's cabinet is one in which liberal human-rights lawyers such as Joker Arroyo and Rene Saguisag coexist with Marcos officials such as Jose Fernandez and Bienvenido Tan.

While President Aquino enjoys considerable popularity as a symbol of the end of the Marcos dictatorship, her government is under great and competing political pressures.

The overthrow of Marcos unleashed tremendous expectations among the oppressed layers of Filipino society for an improvement in their living conditions and quality of life. Since then, workers and farmers have begun using the democratic opening to press for further democratic gains and for improvements in their living standards.

At the same time, Washington is pressuring the Aquino government to contain these popular demands and expectations. Supporters of the ousted Marcos dictatorship are likewise resisting any progressive change.

### Divisions in cabinet

These countervailing pressures on the Aquino government are reflected in sharp divisions on many questions within the cabinet itself.

Leading officials have put forward divergent positions on questions such as the future of the huge U.S. military bases in the Philippines and how the country's \$26 billion foreign debt should be handled.

U.S. military bases, the largest such U.S. facilities outside the United States it-

self, cover 250,000 acres of the Philippines' land. The agreement giving Washington use of the bases expires in 1991.

A sizable number of cabinet members, although a minority, are on record calling for the closing of the U.S. bases. Among those favoring an end to the U.S. military presence in the Philippines are Pimentel, Salonga, Presidential Human Rights Committee Chairman Jose Diokno, Labor Minister Augusto Sanchez, and presidential spokesman Rene Saguisag.

Some cabinet members have argued that a new constitution that will replace the Marcos charter should contain an antinuclear clause and a clause eliminating foreign bases.

A majority of the cabinet, however, favors maintaining the U.S. bases past 1991, although with better terms from Washington.

Aquino herself had made statements be-

capitalists," Marcos left the country's workers and peasants in desperate straits.

The operations of "crony capitalism" also alienated large sections of the middle class and "non-crony" capitalists from the regime. Two of Marcos' closest associates, for example, had been awarded monopolies over marketing coconuts and sugar, the country's two leading export crops.

Eduardo Cojuangco (a close relative of Corazon Aquino) was able to amass millions of dollars through his monopoly on the milling and marketing of coconuts, while Roberto Benedicto was given a similar monopoly over sugar sales.

The "cronies" also received special access to bank credit. Loans were handed out to Marcos favorites, in the words of one banker, after "just a phone call from the right government official." So widespread was this practice that the two largest gov-

spread protests prevented the regime from carrying the sentence out.

The murder of Aquino brought large numbers of middle-class people into the streets for the first time, alongside workers and other impoverished layers.

As Corazon Aquino pointedly told a Philippine Military Academy graduation ceremony in March, "this revolution began with a bullet shot by a soldier into the head of my husband."

The murder of Benigno Aquino and the subsequent acquittal of top military officials charged with complicity in his assassination sparked a wave of protests against what was increasingly being described by many demonstrators as the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

Marcos had maintained close ties with Washington since coming to power in 1965, including during the nine years of martial law. U.S. officials saw his rule as a guarantee of the huge U.S. corporate investments in the Philippines as well as the maintenance of the giant U.S. military bases there.

But as opposition to Marcos continued to grow after the Aquino murder, the Reagan administration began pressing Marcos to make some reforms to defuse the rising protests.

### 'Snap election'

In November 1985 Marcos announced that he would hold a "snap" presidential election in early 1986. Marcos counted on a divided opposition and the usual election fraud to win him reelection, which he expected would place his opponents on the defensive.

Marcos' plan, however, went awry. The two main bourgeois opposition forces, grouped around Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel, were able to patch up their differences at the last moment and ran a united ticket against Marcos.

During the election campaign, Aquino, as the widow of the martyred Benigno Aquino, became a symbol of the Filipino people's desire to rid themselves of the corrupt and brutal dictatorship.

Although Marcos enjoyed the huge advantages of control over the state apparatus and media, it became clear that he would lose to Aquino in a fair election. Rather than step down, Marcos resorted to blatant electoral fraud and vote-stealing.

Aquino, however, refused to accept the theft of her election victory. When the Marcos-controlled National Assembly pronounced him the winner on February 15, Aquino vowed to lead a campaign of demonstrations and strikes to protest the fraud. She opened that campaign by addressing a February 16 "People's Victory" rally of up to 1 million people in Manila.

During the election campaign, left-wing groups had been split on what stance to take. Some urged a boycott of the election, arguing that Marcos would not allow himself to be defeated. Others favored a boycott because Aquino would not commit herself to closing U.S. bases and instituting a far-reaching land reform. Still others supported the Aquino campaign.

Regardless of their differing positions during the election campaign itself, the left groups pledged that they would join with Aquino supporters in the campaign of protests against Marcos' theft of the presidency.

Marcos' obvious rigging of the election placed Washington in a difficult position. The elections, which the Reagan administration had hoped would calm the situation, led instead to further unrest.

The Reagan administration's first reaction was to attempt to downplay the significance of the vote fraud. In the face of official U.S. reports that Marcos had engaged in outright vote-stealing, President Reagan told reporters that the fraud "was occurring on both sides."

### Habib mission

But as the protests in the Philippines mounted, the Reagan administration, fearing that the ensuing turmoil could imperil



President Corazon Aquino at military cadet graduation ceremony. Her defense minister is a self-appointed watchdog over other Aquino cabinet members he views as left-wingers. He says, "Military will not just sit on its butt and let the government be subverted."

fore her election indicating opposition to continuation of the U.S. bases. Since taking office, however, she has deliberately downplayed the bases issue.

### Foreign debt

The \$26 billion foreign debt hangs like an albatross around the neck of the people of the Philippines. Some cabinet ministers have raised the prospect of repudiating at least those foreign loans that went straight into the pockets of Marcos and his cronies.

These cabinet officials point to the staggering economic crisis facing the Philippines, in which the average Filipino is 15 percent poorer now than in 1983.

The Philippines devotes 40 percent of its total export earnings just to servicing the debt. That figure could rise to 50 percent unless an agreement is reached with foreign bankers on rescheduling the debt.

But Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin, who headed the powerful Benguet mining company owned by Marcos' brother-in-law, adamantly opposes any debt repudiation.

This position is shared by Corazon Aquino. "We are going to honor those loans," the president stated at a May 13 press conference. "What I am after is ... more liberal terms."

### Enrile as watchdog

In the face of these differences within the Aquino administration, Defense Minister Enrile has set himself up as the watchdog of the cabinet.

As head of the 250,000-strong armed forces, Enrile has warned that the military is closely monitoring the activities of cabinet members he views as dangerous left-wingers.

"The moment they start subverting the goals of the government and undermine the stability of government," Enrile said of his fellow cabinet members, "then I assure you the military will not just sit on its butt and let the government be subverted."

The hybrid character of Aquino's cabinet, in the final analysis, reflects the process that led to the overthrow of Ferdinand Marcos on February 25.

Marcos had ruled over the people of the Philippines for two decades. While enriching himself and his closest supporters, known in the Philippines as "crony

ernment banks are now basically bankrupt, with three-quarters of their loans delinquent.

### Guerrillas

While opposition to Marcos was growing among sections of the capitalists who were not the beneficiaries of Marcos' favors, the regime was also increasingly challenged by a guerrilla insurgency waged by the New People's Army (NPA), which is led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). In 1985 U.S. officials estimated the NPA's armed strength at 16,500 fighters.

The NPA's influence was based in the 65 percent of the population that are peasants, 7 out of 10 of whom have no land of their own. In many parts of the country, tenant farmers pay up to two-thirds of their crop each year to the big landlords as rent.

At the same time, other CPP-led organizations were extending their influence among workers and other urban sectors.

The CPP-led National Democratic Front, a clandestine coalition of trade unions, student groups, and other mass organizations, claimed a membership of 1 million people in its constituent groups.

In 1972 Marcos demagogically announced a land reform to distribute corn and rice lands being farmed by tenants. (The measure did not affect plantations growing sugar or coconuts.) Ten years later, only 1 percent of the peasants had received land through Marcos' agrarian reform.

### Aquino murder

The protests against the Marcos regime spread far beyond the NPA and the urban "cause-oriented organizations" after the murder of Benigno Aquino (Corazon Aquino's husband) when he returned to Manila on Aug. 21, 1983, from exile in the United States.

Benigno Aquino, a member of a prominent ruling-class family, was the central figure in the liberal opposition to Marcos. Jailed in 1972 when Marcos imposed martial law, he remained in prison until 1980, when he was allowed to leave the Philippines for open-heart surgery in the United States.

In 1977 Aquino had been sentenced to death by the dictatorship, although wide-



Recent pro-Marcos demonstration in Manila. At one such rally, Marcos, via telephone hook-up from Hawaii, claimed he was still president.



# ines dictatorship

## tion and supporters of Marcos

U.S. domination over the country, sent special envoy Philip Habib to Manila to press Marcos and Aquino to work out some sort of power-sharing agreement.

Aquino, however, refused to accept any deal with her husband's murderer and was determined to take the presidency she had won.

With an open-ended period of turmoil looming, sectors of the military that had been cultivated by Washington went into action. On February 22 Enrile, Marcos' defense minister, and acting armed forces chief of staff Lt. Gen. Fidel Ramos seized the Defense Ministry in Manila and called on Marcos to resign.

But Enrile and Ramos were unable to win the bulk of Marcos' troops to support their attempted coup. When Marcos sent loyal units to subdue the rebels, tens of thousands of Filipino civilians, mobilized by announcements on the Catholic church's radio station, rushed to the Defense Ministry. There they formed a human buffer that prevented Marcos' forces from assaulting the ministry.

On February 23, the day after the military revolt began, Enrile, now recognizing that he could not pull off a coup by himself, reached an agreement throwing his support to Aquino.

According to Enrile himself, in return for supporting Aquino as president, she agreed that "we would retain the Ministry of National Defense."

Marcos, now under intense pressure from Washington, was forced to yield. On February 25, hours after he had himself sworn in for a new term as president, he fled the presidential palace for exile in Hawaii.

While Marcos was still on the grounds of the U.S. Clark Air Base near Manila, Washington announced it was recognizing a new provisional government headed by Aquino.

The coalition that now exists within the Aquino cabinet, between opponents of Marcos' rule and the highest levels of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, is the product of the uneasy alliance that developed in the "people power" revolution in Manila in the days before Marcos fled.

### Competition in cabinet

In addition to the tensions in the cabinet between the human-rights activists on the one hand and the Marcos loyalists on the other, the government is also wracked by competition between members of Vice-president Salvador Laurel's United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO) and Aquino's Pilipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban).

One Manila journalist described the Aquino cabinet as made up of "people you couldn't invite to a party together."

The cement that holds the disparate elements of the cabinet together is the personal prestige Corazon Aquino enjoys among broad layers of the Philippine population.

But Aquino herself has yet to present or begin implementing a specific program for the post-Marcos Philippines beyond calling for an end to human-rights abuses and corruption and for a cease-fire with the New People's Army guerrillas.

### Amnesty

One of Aquino's first moves, on March 2, was to declare an amnesty and order the release of political prisoners held by the Marcos regime. Although elements in the military objected to the amnesty, by late April some 478 political prisoners were freed. They included former Communist Party of the Philippines leader Jose Maria Sison and New People's Army commander Bernabe Buscayno, both of whom were released on March 5.

But the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines, a Catholic church-backed human-rights organization, reported that as of April 22 there were still 498 people in military or civilian jails for political of-

fenses.

In many cases, local commanders or political figures — whose authority was not affected by the Manila-centered events in February — have simply dragged their feet in releasing the prisoners in their custody.

The great majority of the prisoners still in custody are being held by local authorities on the island of Mindanao and the Visayas Islands, where the authority of the central government in Manila is weak.

A similar process has been seen in the Aquino administration's attempt to replace Marcos supporters among the country's 2,000 provincial governors, mayors, and other local officials.

In many instances, the local officials, backed up by private armies, have refused to vacate their posts.

The process of weeding out Marcos supporters has also drawn fire from members of Laurel's UNIDO coalition. Laurel's forces claim that Local Governments Minister Aquilino Pimentel, himself a leader of the PDP-Laban party, has been placing members of his own group in local positions while freezing out UNIDO supporters in hopes of building a strong machine for future elections.

Similar complaints were heard from some UNIDO members after President Aquino abolished the Marcos-era National Assembly on March 25. As a result of that move, nearly 60 anti-Marcos legislators lost the jobs they had won in the 1984 elections.

When more than 90 pro-Marcos members of the abolished National Assembly met on April 14 in a rump session, which called for massive civil disobedience to "restore constitutionalism and democracy," a number of assembly members from Laurel's party considered attending. Under intense pressure, they backed off at the last minute.

### Marcos offensive

The pro-Marcos forces have, in fact, gone on the offensive in recent weeks. Beginning in mid-April, pro-Marcos demonstrators camped out across the street from the U.S. embassy in Manila, harassing passers-by and calling for Marcos' return. In addition, each Sunday mass rallies of Marcos partisans were held in a Manila park. The largest, on April 20, attracted 30,000 people.

On April 17 Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos both addressed a rally of about 12,000 people by telephone from Hawaii, telling them that Marcos is still the president and urging them to continue resisting the Aquino government.

President Aquino asserts that the demonstrators "are all being paid. I have no doubt whatsoever the orders come directly from Marcos himself." The Manila newspaper *Business Day* reported that a fund of 20 million pesos (\$1 million) had been raised to finance pro-Marcos actions.

On May 1 the Marcos loyalists attacked a May Day demonstration in Manila, which was to be addressed by Aquino. During a 90-minute rock-and-bottle-throwing battle between the workers and the pro-Marcos forces, the police on the scene actively aided the Marcos loyalists.

The police officer in charge, Brig. Gen. Narciso Cabrera, had been prominent in breaking up anti-Marcos demonstrations before the dictator fled.

In this case, according to Guy Sacerdoti reporting in the May 15 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "Cabrera was clearly with the Marcos loyalists, telling them politely not to throw rocks while soldiers under his command used riot shields to help gather stones for the youthful crowd."

The following day Aquino fired Cabrera. But the incident showed the extent to which pro-Marcos forces remain in high positions within the police and military apparatus.

### Pressures on government

The May Day events also indicate the wide range of pressures being exerted on the Aquino government, both from inside



Militant/Russell Johnson

International Women's Day rally in Philippines. Overthrow of dictator Marcos has increased possibilities for oppressed to push claims for better life.

the cabinet and from other sectors of society.

While the pro-Marcos forces were attacking the fringes of the workers' gathering, the pressures on the government were also being reflected on the platform and in the crowd.

For the first time in 21 years, all the trade union federations took part in a single May Day celebration, with the left-wing May First Movement (KMU) strongly represented.

Seated on the speakers' platform alongside Aquino and General Ramos were former political prisoners Jose Maria Sison and Bernabe Buscayno.

Aquino and Ramos had to grit their teeth through a rendition of the *Internationale*, the working-class anthem.

Aquino, who had spoken to a bankers' group the previous day to reiterate her faith in private enterprise, used the occasion of May Day to announce a series of changes in the labor code.

Even before these changes in the labor code, the workers' movement had been forcefully pressing for improvements in wages and working conditions. Since the overthrow of the Marcos regime, the number of strikes has exceeded 1985's record-setting pace.

Under the new code announced by Aquino, a union can now call a strike through the vote of a simple majority of the workers concerned, prior notice to employers is no longer required before striking, employers no longer have the legal right to recruit strike breakers, and the police are not supposed to interfere unless violence breaks out.

### Aquino's decree powers

Under the terms of Presidential Proclamation No. 3, declared by Aquino on March 25 when she dissolved the Marcos-era National Assembly, she has full powers to amend, modify, and revoke all existing laws. She also has sole power over all measures to reorganize the government, including the right to remove all elected or appointed officials.

Under the proclamation, President Aquino will appoint a commission composed of 30 to 50 members to be convened within 60 days to draft a new constitution, which will then be ratified by referendum.

Thus far no members of the constitu-

tional commission have been named, and its character is still unclear. Groups such as the left-wing New Patriotic Alliance (BAYAN) coalition had urged that a representative constitutional convention be established through popular elections.

It remains to be seen whether Aquino will be successful in working out a cease-fire with the New People's Army guerrillas.

The crucial question fueling the rural insurgency is the land-tenure system that oppresses the huge numbers of landless peasants. Without a real agrarian reform, the roots of the class struggle in the countryside will not be addressed. But the Aquino government has thus far not proposed any land reform whatsoever.

In an April 20 speech at the University of the Philippines commencement ceremony, Aquino reiterated her call for a cease-fire with the NPA guerrillas.

"I am offering the insurgents an honorable peace," Aquino stated, "one that will not ignore their just demands, but one also that will not detract in any way from the security of the people, the stability of the government, and the honor of the new armed forces."

Aquino argued that "under the Marcos regime, the balance was in the communists' favor. The people distanced themselves from a government they feared and despised. They gave it neither cooperation in its spurious programs nor intelligence about the movements of the insurgents."

She warned that if negotiations fail to end the fighting, "it will not be the old, dispirited army of Marcos that the insurgents will face."

Some discussions between representatives of the government and the guerrillas have already taken place. Antonio Zumel, a leader of the National Democratic Front, which supports the NPA guerrillas, stated: "We have no reason to think ill of Mrs. Aquino. We are reasonable people. We can discuss this [cease-fire] over coffee if they want. If they are also reasonable, then maybe we can reach some agreement."

Zumel stated, however, that the NPA would continue for the present to conduct tactical offensives against military units that are abusive and against provincial warlords and paramilitary units that have a his-

Continued on Page 13



Militant/Deb Shnookal

Landless peasants. Without agrarian reform, roots of class struggle in countryside will not be addressed. Aquino government has proposed no such reform.



# Protests in Chile defy Pinochet tyranny

BY SELVA NEBBIA

On May 1 Chilean soldiers, their faces painted black, occupied the main street in the capital city of Santiago. The soldiers arrested hundreds of people in a failed attempt to stop a May Day demonstration called by the National Workers Command, the trade union federation opposed to the military dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

Even as the soldiers were occupying the capital, Pinochet was telling a May Day commemoration in San Fernando that his dictatorship "is promoting a system of liberty that favors and recognizes free trade unions."

But while Pinochet was making a show of promoting unions, his police were raiding union headquarters. During a raid on the headquarters of the Trade Union Association of Chilean Teachers, they arrested 70 people and took a mimeograph machine and other material.

The workers' May Day rally in Santiago was part of a recent wave of protests against the dictatorship. In the last months, despite repression that has included house-to-house searches and the detention of thousands of people, more and more Chileans are joining protests to demand an end to the military dictatorship, which has ruled that country for the last 12 years.

The dictatorship came to power in 1973 after a U.S.-backed military coup overthrew the elected government of Salvador Allende. Since the coup, the Chilean people have lived under an almost constant state of emergency in which all political parties are banned. The Pinochet regime has murdered, tortured, disappeared, and banished thousands of people.

The latest wave of protests began in March of this year when hundreds of women demonstrated against the dictatorship. High school and college students also organized demonstrations across the country.

At the end of March and beginning of April, demonstrations were organized in cities around the country to commemorate the assassinations of Santiago Nattino, José Manuel Parada, and Manuel Guerrero. The three men, members of the Chilean teachers' union, as well as the Communist Party, were kidnapped March 28, 1985. Two days later, their beheaded bodies were found.



Chilean cops seize man and child. Thousands have been arrested in effort to suppress growing wave of strikes and other protests against dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

On April 2, in the northern city of Calama, students, women, miners, and others held a protest demanding that the government answer for the triple murder.

That same day, some 12 miles from Calamas, 2,500 miners chanting antigovernment slogans marched to the Chuquicamata mine, the largest strip mine in the world. The miners' march took place despite the fact that this area has one of the largest concentrations of government combat troops.

Chilean students have been particularly combative. The Council of Student Federa-

tions of Chile organized a student strike April 15 and 16. Ninety percent of the students participated in the action, which protested the high cost of tuition and military intervention on the university campuses.

The police, supported by troops armed with automatic weapons, invaded three campuses in Santiago, arresting some 500 students.

"Our campuses, as sanctuaries of learning, are being dismantled by the presence of these generals, who do only one thing — repress students and the university community," said Humberto Buratto, president of the Federation of University Students of Chile.

During a visit to the southern city of Temuco, Pinochet was greeted by thousands of people who booed him, set up barricades, and chanted antigovernment slogans. The crowd stood up to savage repression by a massive police and military force that had practically occupied the city.

There have also been mobilizations of doctors, health-care workers, and people from the poorest neighborhoods, demanding that the regime respond to their health and housing needs.

In the course of the growing popular protests, various coalitions of political forces have developed to fight the dictatorship.

The largest such opposition coalition — the National Civic Assembly — was formed April 26 when 250 organizations representing some three million people met in the broadest meeting to take place in Chile since the 1973 coup.

Among the organizations that make up the National Civic Assembly are the National Workers Command, Trade Union Association of Chilean Teachers, Council of Student Federations of Chile, Federation of College Professionals, Chilean Human Rights Commission, Democratic Workers Federation, Women for Life, National Peasant Commission, seven regional federations of trucking owner-operators, and the Mapuche Indian organization, Ad-Mapu.

The 278 delegates at the National Civic Assembly adopted a document called the Petition of Chile. The document demands that the government end the state of emergency, abolish the secret police, and end military control of the universities. It demands freedom of speech and association, compensation for the victims of human rights violations, and a democratically approved constitution.

The petition also proposes a public works program to solve unemployment, collective bargaining on an industrywide level, and renegotiation of the foreign debt, which exceeds \$20 billion.

The petition was to be given to Pinochet May 1, and the government was given 30 days to respond to the demands. After 30 days, on May 31, the coalition plans to launch a campaign of massive protests, including a possible general strike. Meanwhile, the opposition organizations that support the petition will continue to organize mobilizations and other actions against the dictatorship.

From *Perspectiva Mundial*

## Do you know someone who reads Spanish? 'PM' interviews jailed fighters

"It is very easy to be a fighter for Puerto Rican independence if you have political consciousness, if you love the homeland and peace, and if you want to transform a country that is in crisis into a healthy place for our children and the children of all our beautiful Puerto Ricans.

"I feel strong and determined to continue struggling for our freedom and, most importantly, to achieve the independence of our nation."

These are the words of Ivonne Meléndez Carrión, one of the nine Puerto Rican proindependence fighters who are jailed at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York City.

*Perspectiva Mundial* correspondents Selva Nebbia and Andrea González were able to visit the prison facilities and interview seven of these Puerto Rican fighters.

The interview unravels some of the U.S. government lies about the struggle for sovereignty in Puerto Rico and about the unjust jailing of these fighters. And it gives a glimpse of what's at stake for all working people in the current "anti-terrorist" campaign of Washington.

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## Rally hails 11th anniversary of Vietnamese victory

BY WILL REISSNER

NEW YORK — Opposition to the U.S. aggression in Central America was a prominent part of a celebration here of the 11th anniversary of the 1975 liberation of South Vietnam.

Speakers at a May 18 rally of nearly 200 people urged that lessons of the struggle against U.S. intervention in Vietnam be used to fight U.S. war moves against Nicaragua.

Digna Sanchez of the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party reminded the audience that proindependence forces in Puerto Rico were inspired by the Vietnamese resistance to U.S. occupation.

Sanchez recalled that struggles in 1970 and 1971 forced the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) off Puerto Rican college campuses and that it is still absent today.

Thousands of U.S. citizens have traveled to Central America and brought back the truth about U.S. aggression there, Sanchez stated.

Bui Xuan Nhat, Vietnam's representative to the United Nations, told the rally that "the victory of the Vietnamese revolution has contributed to a new upsurge of people's struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America."

Highlighting the solidarity of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea in the fight against French colonialism and U.S. imperialism, Nhat noted the gains registered in Kampuchea's fight against rightist guerrillas operating out of Thailand.

Nhat recalled that as Kampuchea's strength has grown, Vietnam has carried

out annual withdrawals of troops from that country since 1982. All Vietnamese troops will leave Kampuchea by 1990, he said.

While Vietnam seeks early normalization of relations with the United States, Nhat said, the U.S. administration is not interested at this time.

Even without normal relations with Washington, he said, Vietnam "has taken the initiative" to solve within two years the question of U.S. soldiers missing in action.

But Vietnam suspended talks with Washington on the MIA issue, he said, due to the U.S. bombing of Libya.

Clarence Fitch from Vietnam Veterans Against the War took part in a veterans' delegation to Nicaragua last month.

Pointing to the similarities between the struggles in Nicaragua and Vietnam, Fitch stressed the need to prevent "another Vietnam war" in Central America.

"I don't think I'd like to hump those hills in Nicaragua, and that's what I tell kids I speak to," Fitch stated.

Laos' chargé d'affaires to the United Nations, Done Somvorachit, blasted the recent "anti-Libya, anti-Soviet, Tokyo summit," which he said was aimed at coordinating the "imperialist fight against national liberation struggles."

"Everywhere in the world it is the same struggle against the same enemy — imperialism," Somvorachit noted.

The rally was sponsored by the Vietnam Anniversary Committee, a coalition of several dozen groups. Proceeds of the collection went to the Tu Du Obstetrics and Gynecological Hospital in Ho Chi Minh City.



# Women volunteers to be accepted in Nicaragua draft

"Notes from Nicaragua" is a column prepared by Cindy Jaquith, Harvey McArthur, and Ruth Nebbia of the *Militant's* bureau in Managua.

On May 3 the Sandinista army announced that it will recruit a contingent of 300 women volunteers for service in the army's draft — known here as the Patriotic

## NOTES FROM NICARAGUA

Military Service (SMP). This is a break with the past practice of excluding women from the SMP.

The Association of Nicaraguan Women, the Sandinista Youth, and the Federation of Secondary Students have begun to organize meetings to sign up volunteers. At the one such meeting reported in the press so far, 500 students at the Maestro Gabriel High School in Managua attended a May 15 assembly where 20 young women volunteered.

Thousands of women took up arms to help overthrow the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in 1979, and thousands have been organized since in the reserves or the popular militias. Some have also served in the army, including as high-ranking officers. However, when Nicaragua established its two-year draft in 1983, the SMP was for men only. The women's association argued that women should also be included — at least as volunteers as they had been previously. The army said that this was not practical in the SMP.

Sofia Montenegro, a writer for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) daily paper *Barricada*, wrote on May 6 that this "denied women an immense, two-year opportunity of acquiring military training and political, ideological, and leadership development."

The 300 new women recruits will be trained as commanders of radio communication posts. This specialized training is a sign of the degree of confidence and responsibility that the army is, finally, recog-

nizing in women," Montenegro wrote.

Nearly 300 people, mostly students and academics, attended a May 16 meeting at Managua's Central American University to launch a new book titled: *The Challenge of the Indigenous Peoples of Nicaragua: The Case of the Miskitos*. This detailed study was written by anthropologist Jorge Jenkins, a longtime FSLN member and currently Nicaragua's ambassador to Brazil.

"This should be the 'in' thing to read in Nicaragua this year," Sandinista leader Omar Cabezas told the meeting. The Miskitos and other indigenous peoples of Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast have been isolated from the rest of the country for centuries. They speak their own languages and have social customs and organizations very different from those on the Pacific Coast.

When the Somoza dictatorship was overthrown in 1979, the FSLN reflected a general ignorance of the Atlantic Coast that was prevalent in Nicaraguan society, said Cabezas. Thus, members committed many errors on the Coast during the early years of the revolution. This deepened the Miskitos' mistrust of any Managua-based government and provided fertile ground for CIA-backed counterrevolutionary organizing. In 1984 the FSLN-led government acknowledged these problems and began the process of establishing regional autonomy governments for the Coast peoples.

If the FSLN had had the information presented in Jenkins' book, they would have worked out a better political approach to the indigenous peoples from the beginning, said Cabezas.

Villa Venezuela is a working-class neighborhood of 30,000 in eastern Managua. On April 20 the residents of Sector 1 of Villa Venezuela elected a new coordinator of their local Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS). Similar elections have been held in neighborhoods throughout Nicaragua all year in a campaign to strengthen the CDS committees and broaden the participation of neighborhood residents in their activities.

The 10 candidates included an electrical



Thousands of Nicaraguan women have joined popular militias since dictatorship was overthrown in 1979.

worker, a self-employed carpenter, an accountant, a health technician, a student, a union leader from a steel fabrication plant, an airline worker, a textile worker, a self-employed seamstress, and a worker from the Ministry of the Interior. Two were women.

The evening of April 17, about 50 people from one of the three sub-groups in Sector 1 attended an outdoor pre-election meeting to meet the candidates.

Lucía Vayacilla, the outgoing coordinator, reported on the CDS' recent vaccination campaign, its census of consumers, and efforts to improve consumer supplies in neighborhood stores.

Ten of the 13 blocks in the zone had CDS committees, she reported. They had just held local bonfire rallies to protest the U.S. bombing of Libya and Washington's financing of the *contras*. They planned to resume civil defense training and nightly patrols against sabotage or attacks.

The CDS election, by secret ballot, was held all day Sunday in a local school. Holanda Paniaga, the seamstress, was elected.

Minister of Foreign Trade Alejandro Martínez Cuenca reported May 7 that the

U.S. trade embargo has cost Nicaragua \$93 million since it began in May 1985. This is a huge sum for this country of 3 million people, whose 1986 exports are estimated at only \$260 or \$270 million.

Nicaragua had to pay millions of dollars in extra shipping costs when exports that used to go to the United States had to be sold in Europe. Some products also had to be sold for much lower prices than the U.S. contracts called for. Lower sugar prices alone cost Nicaragua \$14 million.

The heavy expenses incurred in finding new buyers and suppliers and higher charges for credit cost \$33 million, Cuenca reported.

Nicaragua lost \$34 million in industrial and agricultural production due to lower output when U.S.-made machinery broke down and spare parts were not available and to higher costs when such parts had to be purchased indirectly from other countries.

Transportation, telecommunications, construction, and health services had to pay \$25 million extra in increased costs for parts and raw materials.

While medicine is not officially included in the embargo, Washington has denied Nicaragua credits needed to purchase medical supplies, including protein pills used in child nutrition programs.

## 'This is important step forward in women's movement'

The following article is reprinted from the May 6 issue of *Barricada*, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua.

On Sept. 13, 1983, the law of the Patriotic Military Service (SMP) was passed by the Council of State, Nicaragua's legislative body at that time. It made two years of military service mandatory for all men between the ages of 18 and 40. During the discussion of the law in the Council of State, the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) argued that women should have the right to be in the SMP. The leadership of the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) objected to this, and up until May 3 of this year, women's participation was limited to the militias and reserves.

This article by Sofia Montenegro hails the decision of the EPS to incorporate 300 women, for the first time, into the SMP to work in the area of communications. The translation is by the *Militant*.

The incorporation, next May 29, of the first contingent of 300 women volunteers in the Patriotic Military Service marks an important landmark — although in some ways one of form — in the involvement of Nicaraguan women in all aspects of the revolution. It is a step forward in the development of their national movement.

A dispute was unleashed a few years ago when the Patriotic Military Service was established. It was sparked by the EPS' resistance to actively incorporating women into the national defense or even incorporating them at all. This left a bad taste among the more advanced sectors of women and within AMNLAE itself, which was clearly evident in the arguments, pro and con, occurring at that time in the Council of State, especially between women in the Council of State and the army high command.

The concession — which is what we have to call it — that women wrested from the EPS was to leave open voluntary incorporation. The final compromise formulation was that this would be mainly in the reserves because actively incorporating women in the war fronts at that time raised understandably acute organizational, logistical, and other problems for the EPS.

The compromise was accepted, although many women, especially young women, were disappointed. The ranks of the movement perceived this as somewhat of a retreat on the part of the leadership of AMNLAE and in the political advance of the revolution because the pre-revolutionary struggle and the guerrilla war had taught everyone that revolutionary cadre come forward and develop in the heat of combat.

Narrowing the opportunity to participate in active defense in the national and anti-imperialist war denied women an immense, two-year opportunity to acquire military training and political, ideological, and leadership development as professional cadre with equal capabilities and experience to guarantee the maintenance of a female vanguard in all fronts of the struggle. Women are much more aware of the need for this opportunity because the nature of their centuries-old oppression means they must overcome their own hesitations as well as those of others.

That is to say, it is an important experience for breaking down their own shyness and forging the self-awareness that is absolutely necessary to develop the role in society that truly belongs to them. Because of this, obtaining military experience, winning and maintaining a role in national defense is a *sine qua non* for advancing "strategic parity" between men and women; it is essential for generating new values and transmitting them to the sons at the same time as it opens a broader road and future

for the daughters, an infinitely broader future than the traditional barriers confronting previous generations of women allowed.

Nicaraguan women are exceedingly proud to have women brigade generals (commanders and guerrilla commanders), as well as intermediate cadre such as captains and lieutenants, and their numbers are substantial. However, they number less among the troops, particularly when compared to the number of men who are soldiers.

Because of circumstances facing the country, women have turned out more massively to become soldiers of production on the economic battlefield. The results of this national effort — the same for both sexes — are satisfactory, although most of the time they pass unnoticed, even by women themselves. The organization of women workers in the factories, as well as their role in the unions, has increased substantially. The first congress of women agricultural workers took place this weekend, reviewing work rules, productivity, and production quotas.

The latest women's meeting sponsored by AMNLAE, which was very productive, also passed almost unnoticed. Sometimes it's like an underground struggle, latent and intense, which advances, though at times you don't see it or realize it.

The press that covers these activities does so almost always with an antagonistic attitude or hoping for something picturesque because "surely the women will come up with another of their outlandish ideas." This is due to a sort of unspoken attitude that matters that affect women are "secondary" and therefore treated with a sort of condescension.

That is why we didn't want to let the incorporation of 300 pioneer women in the SMP pass without comment. Because it was a point at which we had been stalled in some way.

This act is significant because it reveals the degree of organization that has been achieved by our armed forces, on one hand. On the other hand, it indicates the degree of confidence and responsibility that the army is, finally, recognizing in women by deciding to give them command posts in communications, a very sensitive area in guaranteeing the strategic defense of Managua. This is no longer in the face of a possible battle with some *contras*, who are now on the road to defeat, but of a direct North American attack.

This position and confidence are by no means a gift. Women have won this through hard work and struggle. AMNLAE, as a good devil's advocate, has patiently and persistently argued for this position before the military authorities in the name of the already long tradition of struggle and the rights won by women in combat against the Somoza dictatorship.

The best argument has been the thousands and thousands of women who voluntarily signed up during the first call for the SMP. The quota agreed to by the EPS fell short of this number, but we assume that this is due to factors of experience, logistics, and training.

However that may be, the 300 voluntary "spartans" — as well as we who watch them step forward — must be aware that they have in their hands the opportunity to open up avenues to the future along which the rest of us, our male companions and our children, must pass in order to finish breaking with the old fashioned ethics and values of the society we inherited, with the straight jacket of a false femininity we were forced into. Thus we shall continue to carry out the struggle for equality, not only on an economic, but also on an ideological and social plane, that we began building with the triumph of the revolution — a future society free of masters and slaves. And, of course, free of foreign conquerors!



## 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.

### 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.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**No to Nuclear Power: Soviet Accident Spurs Call to Shut Down U.S. Nukes.** Speakers: Ralph Goldberg, attorney for five Georgia Power Company workers who blew the whistle on safety hazards at Plant Vogtle; spokesperson

for Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 31, 7 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## 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.

## MISSOURI

### Kansas City

**Will South Korea Be the Next Philippines?** Speakers: Masamoto Moriyama, Asian Freedom Association, former member of Young Korean Association, an antigovernment student organization in Korea; Roger Bland, Young Socialist Alliance and member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 393T. Sun., June 11, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**With Babies and Banners.** Video on 1937 auto workers' sit-down strike at General Motors in Flint, Michigan, and role of women's emergency brigade. Sun., June 1, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Toledo

**No Nukes! The Movement Against Nuclear**

**Power.** Speakers: Mike Ferner, Coalition for Safe Energy; Nancy and Al Graulich, 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.

## OREGON

### Portland

**After Chernobyl: a Discussion on Nuclear Power.** Speakers: representative of Coalition for Safe Power; Bryan Johns, Oregon Council on American-Soviet Friendship; Joan Patrick, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 31, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## 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.

**Socialist Educational Conference.**

"Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women." Two classes by Margaret Jayko, managing editor of the *Militant*. Sat., June 7, 3 p.m. Embassy Room; Sun., June 8, 1 p.m. Atlantic Room at University of Houston, University Center, 4800 Calhoun, Entrance 1.

Forum: "U.S. and World Politics Today." Speaker to be announced. Sat., June 7, 7:30 p.m. Atlantic Room at University of Houston. Donation: \$2 per session or \$5 for conference. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## 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.

**From Hiroshima to Chernobyl: a Panel Discussion on Nuclear Power and Nuclear Weapons.** Speakers: Gene Carroll, national organization director and labor liaison for Nation Nuclear Weapons Campaign; Mark Robinowitz, assistant director, Health and Energy Institute; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sun., June 15, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

## WISCONSIN

### Milwaukee

**The Dangers of Nuclear Power: What the Soviet Accident Shows.** Speakers: Bob Litzau, Mobilization for Survival; Bill Scheer, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 64 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 6, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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The first volume of the series, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International; Documents 1907-1916*, is also available, for \$12.95.

## Puerto Rican patriots speak out

Continued from back page

"But," Ojeda Ríos said, "if I have to defend myself in a federal court, then I would prefer that it be in Puerto Rico. I would have my community. I would have my people. I would have popular support. . . ."

Luz Berrios Berrios added that she believed that "the people of Puerto Rico would be more just. I don't have the same impression of the people here, mainly because of the antiterrorist campaign the media is subjecting them to. I don't think they have a complete picture of what is happening."

In the course of our discussion, the activists explained that their arrest and the attack on the Puerto Rican independence movement was tied to the U.S.-backed war against Nicaragua.

"The U.S. government," Camacho Negron explained, "uses Puerto Rico as a base of attack." He pointed to the 1983 invasion of Grenada as one example. "And they want to use it against Nicaragua."

He pointed out that right now the U.S. government is organizing the military maneuvers, called Ocean Venture '86, from the island. "These maneuvers," Camacho Negron said, "are practice for the aggres-

sion to be carried out against the peoples of the world.

"The truth is," he continued, "we are inside the monster, and we are an obstacle to the imperialists' continuing their aggression in the region."

Turning to the U.S. government's so-called antiterrorist campaign, Ojeda Ríos explained that "it is the means of defense for a system that is in full decline. The imperialists have only had defeats. Under the guise of antiterrorism," he continued, "the U.S. is trying to defend its oppression of the people of the world."

Summing up, Meléndez Carrión said that the U.S. government "fits the definition of terrorism perfectly. The examples include Puerto Rico, Libya, South Africa, Grenada, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and more."

In launching this attack on these activists and on the independence movement, the U.S. rulers had hoped to intimidate them. They did not succeed.

Expressing the views of all the activists, Meléndez Carrión explained, "I feel strong and firm in my commitment to continue fighting for our freedom, and, most importantly, to continue fighting to win the independence of our homeland."

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

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# Millions of people suffer from illiteracy in U.S.

**Illiterate America** by Jonathan Kozol. Anchor Press/Doubleday. Garden City, New York, 1985. \$15.95. Cloth. 270 pages.

BY MICHAEL PENNOCK

"I stood at the bottom of the ramp. My car had broke down. . . . There was a phone. I asked for the police. . . . They said to tell them where I was. I looked up at the

## BOOK REVIEW

signs. There was one that I seen before. I read it to them: ONE WAY STREET. They thought it was a joke. I told them I couldn't read. . . . He told me, 'Try once more.' He knew I felt trapped. 'I can't send out a car for you if you can't tell me where you are.' I felt afraid. I nearly cried. I'm 48 years old. I only said: 'I'm on a one-way street.'"

This man's misery is described by Jonathan Kozol in *Illiterate America*. The book is full of accounts of how not being able to read, or being a poor reader, stunts all areas of human growth.

Obviously it makes it much harder to find and keep work. "Today, even if you're a janitor, there's still reading and writing. They leave a note saying, 'Go to room so-and-so.' You can't read it."

Kozol points to things I never would have thought of. At restaurants, you order the same old hamburger, fries, and a Coke because every place has it. You can't read the menu. To order something different would open you up to ridicule if they didn't have it. You miss the occasional good show on TV because you can't read the listings.

The problem made front pages across the country last month. That's because the U.S. government finally admitted the numbers involved are much greater than it had previously said.

In 1979 the Census Bureau reported an illiteracy rate of only one half of one percent. That was the number of people who hadn't finished the fifth grade. It was also a joke.

"13% of U.S. Adults Are Illiterate In English, a Federal Study Finds" was a *New York Times* headline last month.

But it's much worse.

The same *Times* story told of a 1975 study that showed "almost 20 percent of American adults were unable to perform everyday adult tasks. Another 34 percent could perform the tasks, but not proficiently." The tasks included "the ability to read a help-wanted ad in a newspaper, or write a grocery list."

In terms of literacy, these people are either "functionally incompetent" or "just get by." They number 84 million.

The numbers are staggering, but the efforts to remedy the situation are pitiful. The U.S. government, Kozol points out, reaches between two and three million people in Adult Basic Education classes and U.S. armed forces classes.

Two private nationwide programs reach about 70,000 people. And remember, we're talking about 84 million poor readers or nonreaders.

Kozol charges that government inaction is not the result of simple indifference. He cites a report by the Heritage Foundation (Ronald Reagan's favorite think tank): "Spending on education should be reduced."

Workers should not be educated "beyond what the system is likely to require."

"Overeducation" might lead to "greater discontentment and lower productivity."

So what in the world should we do?

Kozol says there are only two possible approaches. One is a national campaign sponsored by a dynamic government and involving mass participation. As examples he points to successful campaigns in Cuba in 1960 and Nicaragua in 1980.

The other approach he discusses is building on the grass-roots programs across the country that are teaching people to read today. Crank up the programs, give students credit for teaching, mobilize the retirees. But it will be a prelude; reaching no more than 10 million of the 84-million target group at the very best, Kozol estimates.

That's Kozol's first phase. It is, at best, limited. But

his proposed second phase is — in terms of the capitalist government it is directed to — simply wishful thinking. He proposes a "multi-billion-dollar national imperative that places universal literacy on just exactly the same level as nutrition, health care, unemployment compensation, and defense."

He implores this from a government that told school children ketchup was a vegetable. A government that, in its *contra* war against Nicaragua, makes a priority of killing doctors and burning clinics. A government that provides unemployment compensation to only 38 percent of more than eight million unemployed.

That's the trouble: literacy is getting "just exactly the same level" of attention as every other social need.

Pointing to the success of the Cuban literacy drive, Kozol says, "The lesson offered to us by the Cuban struggle is a lesson not of how to do it but of the fact that something of this magnitude can actually be done."

No.

The lesson of Cuba is the lesson of how to do it.

How did Cuba combat illiteracy so effectively? Why is Nicaragua taking the same path? Why is there widespread illiteracy in the United States?

Governments that represent the interests of working people, like those in Nicaragua and Cuba, have a tremendous incentive to eliminate illiteracy. They need educated workers and farmers to participate in the reorganization of society, to be able to manage and run society — to be able to govern.

But in a capitalist society, as in this country, working people are seen simply as the source of profit-making. Their education is relevant only to the degree that it is needed to promote profits.

That's why the rich, powerful U.S. capitalist system has so many people who can't read.

Kozol visited Cuba in 1976 and 1977 to find out about the literacy campaign and to see what the current education system is like. The findings are reported in his inspiring book *Children of the Revolution*.

To discover the depths of the problem of illiteracy, read *Illiterate America*. To discover how to triumph over this curse and catch a glimpse of the future, read *Children of the Revolution*.

# Malcolm X's revolutionary outlook needed today

Thousands turned out in Harlem and Brooklyn, New York, to honor assassinated Black leader Malcolm X on the 61st anniversary of his birth May 19. He was one of the greatest revolutionary fighters in the history of the United States. His speeches are widely read by working



**BY ANY MEANS  
NECESSARY**  
Rashaad Ali

people all over the world.

The U.S. rulers — who had a hand in Malcolm's assassination — had another view of the working class leader. He was seen as a political threat.

Why?

Because Malcolm X told the truth about the capitalist system. He presented to Blacks in particular a revolutionary perspective that shows the road forward to liberation.

This revolutionary outlook was reflected in his internationalist outlook and his unbending opposition to both imperialist parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

Malcolm opposed the U.S. government's war in Vietnam and hailed the advances of the Vietnamese revolution against imperialist domination.

In his speech "The Prospects for Freedom in 1965," Malcolm said, "In 1964 the oppressed people of South Vietnam, and in that entire Southeast Asia area, were

successful in fighting off the agents of imperialism. . . . Little rice farmers, peasants, with a rifle — up against all the highly mechanized weapons of warfare . . . and they [the imperialists] can't put those rice farmers back where they want them. Somebody's waking up."

He was a staunch defender of the Cuban revolution. He saw it as part of a world revolution that he supported; the same revolution that the struggle of Blacks in the United States is a part of.

In his "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm said, "The Black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban revolution — that's a revolution. They overturned the system."

Malcolm X invited Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution, to speak alongside him at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem in November 1964. Guevara, who could not attend the meeting, sent a message of support, which Malcolm read. It was warmly received.

Malcolm commented, "I'm happy to hear your warm round of applause in return, because it lets the man know that he's not in a position today to tell us who we should applaud for and shouldn't applaud for." He then warned right-wing Cuban counterrevolutionaries, "Don't come up to Harlem and tell us who we should applaud for and shouldn't applaud for or there will be some ex-anti-Castro Cubans."

It was this internationalism that led Malcolm to place the struggle of Black liberation in an international context. Speaking at Columbia University just before his assassination, Malcolm said, "The American Negro is part

of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era. . . . It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

It was this world view that led Malcolm to reject the twin parties of capital — the Democrats and Republicans, with their electoral shell game — and adopt a revolutionary stance on how Black liberation will be won.

The "Democratic Party is responsible for racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican Party," Malcolm said. He rejected the idea pushed by many liberals that one person could change the situation for Blacks in the United States. "It isn't a president who can help or hurt; it is the system," he said, "And this system is not only ruling us in America. It is ruling the world."

Malcolm explained his attitude toward allies, saying, "We will work with anyone, with any group, no matter what their color is, as long as they are genuinely interested in taking the types of steps necessary to bring an end to the injustices that Black people in this country are afflicted by. . . . As long as their aims and objectives are in the direction of destroying the vulturous system that has been sucking the blood of Black people in this country, they're all right with us."

The revolutionary ideas and perspective that were presented by Malcolm X are what's needed today to advance our fight for full equality and against all forms of racial oppression.

# Philippines gov't torn by conflicting pressures

Continued from Page 9

tory of human rights violations.

An article in the March 1986 English-language edition of *Ang Bayan*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of the Philippines, stated:

"The question of a cease-fire is of immediate concern. While there is no sufficient basis at present for us to actually enter into an agreement for a cease-fire, we are not foreclosing the idea of entering into talks provided the necessary political conditions exist. Any initiatives by the Aquino administration in this regard should be handled with extreme care and with tact."

"While not closing the avenues to such an initiative, we underscore the need for significant political and economic changes.

We have always stood for peace, but it must be principled peace. We must underscore the need for the armed struggle if only to defend and expand gains achieved in the antifascist struggle."

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.

Trade unions have taken advantage of the situation to step up their organizing attempts in rural as well as urban areas.

Human-rights activists are demanding that all political prisoners be released.

Campaigns are being organized to recover all the wealth stolen by Marcos' cronies, inside the Philippines as well as abroad.

Muslim organizations on the island of Mindanao, the site of a long guerrilla struggle by the Moro National Liberation Front, are again pressing for regional autonomy. Mindanao is a predominantly Muslim region that has long suffered oppression from the country's predominantly Catholic rulers.

## New left-wing party formed

In addition, left-wing activists have taken advantage of the political opening to form a new organization, the New Democratic Party. Jose Maria Sison, the founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines, who was jailed for more than eight years under the Marcos dictatorship and released under the Aquino amnesty, is playing a leading role in the new organization.

The April 21 *Philippine News and Features* reported that Sison indicated that the new party will rely on workers, students, farmers, professionals, and progressive individuals. According to Sison, it will also seek to form alliances with businessmen and moderate political groups, and even with the traditional political parties.

The NDP, Sison reportedly stated, will use elections and mass actions to press for the removal of the U.S. military bases and implementation of a genuine land reform.

The report added that "the conditions for such a movement have never been better, says Sison, considering that Aquino rose to power with mass politics, and that there is wider democratic space for militant and popular movements under the liberal government." **From Intercontinental Press**



## Lessons of TWA strike battle

The defeat of the 10-week Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA) strike against TWA is a blow to all working people and to airline workers in particular.

The flight attendants were forced to strike or accept without a fight humiliating cutbacks demanded by TWA. This included disproportionately higher concessions in wages and benefits and safety on the job than those agreed to by TWA machinists and pilots.

These discriminatory cuts were backed by a sexist company attack that denigrated the labor of flight attendants, who in their overwhelming majority are women. TWA president Carl Icahn, for example, told the women workers they weren't "breadwinners" and should therefore work for lower wages — plus longer hours — than male airline workers. He backed up this attack by telling male flight attendants to go out and get a "real" job.

Rather than accept TWA's outrageous demands, the flight attendants' union, formed in the mid-1970s, chose to fight back even though they had no previous strike combat experience. But after years of attacks on airline workers they correctly understood the serious nature of the fight they were undertaking and the kind of union power it would take to win. They understood that TWA's gutting of safety on the job was a key issue in their strike and for all workers under attack.

They were not in a battle for themselves but for the entire labor movement. They understood that they represented all of labor, which has suffered many setbacks and defeats over the last decade.

That's why even though they understood from the beginning the strike had little chance of winning without active solidarity from other airline unions, they determinedly fought on.

The kind of union power IFFA needed to win was briefly demonstrated by airline machinists who honored flight attendant picket lines in the first days of the strike. But top officials of the International Association of Machinists used the pretext of a court order against the IAM to tell rank-and-file machinists they had to cross IFFA picket lines. IAM President William Winpisinger in fact told flight attendants that since IFFA had earlier refused to merge with the IAM, they would get no help from IAM's top officialdom.

The Air Line Pilots Association also stabbed the flight attendants' strike in the back by continuing to fly TWA planes during the strike. Some ALPA members even stooped to the level of helping shorthanded scab flight attendant crews serve food to passengers during the strike.

They did get a few words of support but no solidarity action from top officials of the AFL-CIO. The do-nothing stance of these officials was basically the same as

during the PATCO strike in 1981 when they stood aside as members of the air traffic controllers' union suffered a crushing defeat.

These crippling blows to trade union solidarity undercut the flight attendants' chances to win their strike. But they never gave up trying to win. This included seeking support from other working people. From the beginning of their struggle, for example, they were inspired by and supported the strike of meatpackers in United Food and Commercial Workers union Local P-9 in that union's 10-month-long strike against the Hormel Company in Austin, Minnesota.

They also demonstrated with working farmers fighting against farm foreclosures and used every opportunity to support other unions who were fighting back against the combined government and corporate attacks on labor.

They showed the fighting capacity of women workers to join and help lead the fightback in defense of earlier union gains and other rights won by women workers after years of struggle. This won them important solidarity from women's rights organizations such as the National Organization for Women.

Their inspiring struggle won them important financial support from many local unions, including the Transport Workers Union, Communications Workers of America, United Auto Workers, and Teamsters, who saw the flight attendants fighting in their interests as well.

Especially inspiring to the flight attendants was the support from rank-and-file workers from different unions around the country who joined them on picket lines. This included members of the IAM who supported the flight attendants and were opposed to the IAM officialdom's refusal to help the strike.

All these acts of solidarity were important and helped sustain the strike. But they were not enough to substitute for the raw union power of the type shown by TWA machinists who joined their picket lines early in the strike and brought TWA's operations to a standstill. The strike was basically lost when this solidarity in action was withdrawn and not extended to other airline unions. It made it that much easier for the owners of TWA to hire enough scabs to resume operations.

In giving up their strike May 19 the flight attendants lost an important battle, but they have vowed to continue the war against TWA until they win a decent contract. This includes plans to continue informational picketing and other actions against the company until a new contract is negotiated.

By choosing to remain in the growing war against the bosses' attacks, IFFA deserves the continuing support of all working people and their allies.

## Millions in U.S. go hungry

"I don't believe that there is anyone going hungry in America simply by reason of denial or lack of ability to feed them; it is by people not knowing where or how to get this help," claimed Ronald Reagan May 21. He was defending the U.S. government's budget priorities, which call for cuts in social services and stepped-up military spending to block the threat of what Reagan called "world revolution."

In claiming that hunger in the United States is caused only by ignorance of how to get help, Reagan did not mention that administration cuts in the food stamp system eliminated a program to inform people about how to qualify for food stamp benefits.

Reagan's crass comments followed the release in April of a report by the Harvard University-based Physicians Task Force on Hunger in America. The report called hunger in this country a "national health epidemic" and said it was "more widespread and serious than at any time in the last 10 to 15 years."

The study said that at least 20 million people in the United States go hungry at least two days a month.

According to the report, 46 percent of the families interviewed for the study were forced to beg for food at some time. "Food emergencies" — defined as periods of time in which there is no food supply — averaged 28 days in 1985, compared with 22 days in 1984. Many families reported they had to use some of the pittance allotted for food to cover rent because inflation had eroded the real value of their monthly grants.

And in rural areas — where people below the poverty line are often excluded from the meager benefits that are available because they have some assets, such as land or

farm equipment, an estimated 13.5 million people have inadequate diets.

In a supplementary report, the Harvard physicians said that cutbacks in the food stamp program were a prime cause of widening hunger.

The study accused the administration of using federal regulations to "build barriers to knock people off the rolls" of food stamp programs. The group said that 15 million people who need food stamps are prevented from obtaining them by government red tape and regulations.

Reagan may turn a blind eye to the reality of growing hunger in the richest country on earth, but it is getting harder to hide.

On May 25, many thousands of people participated in the "Hands Across America" project to raise funds to help the hungry and homeless. To improve his public image on these issues, Reagan announced on May 23 that he would participate in "Hands Across America." Such efforts, which show the desire of growing numbers of people to do something about the suffering being imposed on a growing number of working people, can't scratch the surface of the problem.

Assuring every person enough to eat, a roof over his or her head, medical care, and other basic survival needs is the minimum responsibility of a government that claims to represent all the people.

Not one cent should be spent for the *contra* war against Nicaragua, for acts of war against Libya, or for Washington's nuclear arms buildup. Washington's massive arms budget should be used instead to meet the human needs of working people.

## Lenin on 1916 Easter uprising in Ireland

On April 24, 1916, thousands of Irish workers and others revolted against British rule in what became known as the Easter Rising. They were crushed by British troops, and 14 leaders were executed.

In the midst of World War I, the rising was an early sign of the worldwide wave of revolutionary struggles that began with the 1917 Russian revolution.

The Irish rising became an issue in a debate among revolutionary socialists who opposed the imperialist war over how to advance the working-class struggle for power. Karl Radek (who later became a leading figure in the Bolshevik Party and Communist International) dismissed the Easter rising as "petty-bourgeois" and a "putsch" (a word signifying an attempt by a small group

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

to seize power without mass support). Radek argued that nationalist upheavals were no longer on the agenda.

Lenin, the central political leader of the Russian Bolshevik Party, the party that later led the Russian revolution, answered him in the article excerpted below. It appears on pages 176-179 of *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International, 1907-1916*, the first volume of *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. A second edition of this volume has been recently issued. It is available for \$12.95 from Pathfinder Press (410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, add \$.75 for postage and handling) or from the Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

The war proved to be an epoch of crisis for the West European nations, and for imperialism as a whole. Every crisis discards the conventionalities, tears away the outer wrappings, sweeps away the obsolete and reveals the underlying springs and forces. What has it revealed from the standpoint of the movement of oppressed nations? In the colonies there have been a number of attempts at rebellion.

[This] proves that, owing to the crisis of imperialism, the flames of national revolt have flared up both in the colonies and in Europe, and that national sympathies and antipathies have manifested themselves in spite of the Draconian threats and measures of repression. All this before the crisis of imperialism hit its peak.

The term "putsch", in its scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses. The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself, in particular, in a mass Irish National Congress in America (*Vorwärts*, March 20, 1916) which called for Irish independence; it also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc.

To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc. — to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution. So one army lines up in one place and says, "We are for socialism", and another, somewhere else and says, "We are for imperialism", and that will be a social revolution!

The socialist revolution in Europe cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it — without such participation, mass struggle is impossible, without it no revolution is possible. . . . But objectively they will attack capital, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

It is the misfortune of the Irish that they rose prematurely, before the European revolt of the proletariat had had time to mature. Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. . . . But it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful, revolutionary movements that the masses gain experiences, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught.



# What Cuba really sponsors is Puerto Rican freedom

"Puerto Rico's struggle with Cuban-supported terrorism" was the title of an article in the May 9 *Wall Street Journal*. It was written by Diego Abich, a Washington-based Latin American specialist and consultant.

The article, as the title implies, charges that the revolutionary government of Cuba sponsors "terrorism" in Puerto Rico.

It's an old charge. Since the Cuban people overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator Batista in 1959, this charge has



## ¡BASTA YA!

Andrea González

been raised against the Cuban government and the Puerto Rican independence movement scores of times. And in all these years, no proof has been offered to substantiate it.

Abich does no better than his predecessors. In 175 lines, Abich offers the following evidence:

Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, one of the 13 Puerto Ricans arrested by the FBI on Aug. 30, 1985, lived in Cuba for several years. This is significant for Abich because Ojeda Ríos and the 12 other Puerto Ricans arrested are accused of being members of the Macheteros (literally, machete wielders), a proindependence organization, and are charged with the 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo armored truck in Hartford, Connecticut.

Abich reports that Ojeda went to the University of Havana. Apparently to make it more significant, Abich states that Ojeda studied political science there. Unfortunately, for Abich at least, Ojeda Ríos studied music in Cuba.

To strengthen his case, Abich reports that while Ojeda Ríos was living in Cuba, he attended, as a representative of the Caribbean, an international anti-imperialist conference held in Havana in 1966. A fact that Ojeda Ríos will proudly tell you himself.

As additional proof of "Cuban-supported terrorism," Abich reports that the First World Solidarity Conference for the Independence of Puerto Rico was held in Havana in 1975.

What would Abich make of the fact that Ojeda Ríos lived in New York for many years and went to school in New York City?

Or what would Abich make of the fact that the Second World Solidarity Conference for the Independence of Puerto Rico was held in Mexico in 1979?

What would Abich make of the United Nations' official position that Puerto Rico is kept illegally as a colony of the United States and should be freed?

Abich can offer no proof of "Cuban-supported terrorism" because it simply does not exist.

What *can* be proven, however, is Cuba's unflinching support for Puerto Rican independence. The revolutionary government of Cuba has used every international forum to raise the U.S. colonial subjugation of Puerto Rico and demand Puerto Rico's right to self-determination.

The real purpose of the Abich article, however, was not to prove "Cuban-supported terrorism," but to use the

charge to try to drive a wedge between the Puerto Rican people and these patriots who are fighting to free our homeland.

Abich is outraged by the support the Puerto Rican people have given Filiberto Ojeda Ríos and the other activists arrested August 30. "The U.S.," he cries, "was largely portrayed as the villain and those arrested as the innocent victims of civil-rights violations."

He is outraged that most Puerto Rican people and many people in the United States condemned the August 30 FBI attack. He belittles defenders of civil liberties — from the Puerto Rican Committee of Intellectuals to the U.S. chapter of PEN (an international literary association) as "self-styled human rights advocates."

Abich can't understand that a majority of Puerto Rican people, whether they support the current colonial status, independence, or even statehood, consider an invasion by more than 200 armed FBI agents on their island to be a violation of their rights as a people.

Abich can't understand that most people of Puerto Rico consider the brutal pre-dawn raids of more than 30 homes, the arrests of 11 people (two were arrested outside the island), and the removal of the activists from the island by military aircraft an act of terrorism.

Abich can't understand that most people in Puerto Rico and the United States consider the FBI's taking manuscripts for a novel and closing down a magazine a violation of democratic rights.

Most of all, Abich, an apologist for U.S. imperialism, can't understand that the majority of people in Puerto Rico see these fighters for independence as what they are — patriots — to be defended against the U.S. government's prosecution.

## Losses Nat'l Steel workers suffer in new contract

The *Militant* received the following article from one of our readers, who has worked at National Steel's Great Lakes plant in Detroit for eight years.

The recent ratification of a new 39-month contract between the National Steel Corp. and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) includes wage concessions and

### UNION TALK

job combinations and eliminations and provides for the establishment of labor-management cooperation teams. The pact was ratified by a vote of 3,412 to 2,247 by workers at National Steel's Great Lakes, Granite City, and Midwest plants.

National Steel, which claimed losses of \$88 million in 1985, demanded concessions from its workers despite the profitability of its parent companies, National Intergrupp and Nippon Kokan of Japan. In 1985 Nippon Kokan earned nearly \$7 billion in profits while National Intergrupp was referred to by the *Wall Street Journal* as a "cash rich company." The wage and benefits concessions total 99 cents an hour. The elimination of the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) means an additional estimated loss of \$1.12 an hour over the course of the contract.

The new agreement allows for the loss of jobs through attrition and job combinations. Prior to negotiations, National Steel said they wanted to reduce the workforce by 20 to 30 percent over the next five years. This would mean a loss of at least 1,500 jobs.

Currently there are 7,200 union workers employed by National Steel. At the Great Lakes Steel Plant in Detroit, "craft unifications" — combining maintenance and millwright jobs — will result in the loss of 500 jobs.

The new labor agreement also calls for the establish-

ment of joint labor-management cooperation teams in every department in the mill. Participation will be mandatory for all union members. This new committee is in addition to already existing voluntary committees and programs including quality circles, participative management, attrition committees, and joint problem-solving committees.

The Attrition Committee was set up in August 1985 to plan the elimination of jobs at Great Lakes Steel. The company recruited union members, who continue to serve on this committee in a full-time capacity instead of working at their regular jobs. The stated objective of this committee is to "seek out areas ready for reorganization, job combination, and job elimination in order to obtain short-term attrition results."

The establishment of mandatory committees in each department is an attempt to include every single union worker in the task of job elimination. The new committees will discuss productivity, attrition, job elimination and combination, overtime, and departmental problems. The company is attempting to convince the workers that the interests of the company and the workers are one. It wants to convince the workers that their problems can be resolved by dealing directly with the company. The long-range goal is the elimination of the union.

The union leadership presented the contract to the membership as a "trailblazer" that guarantees the jobs of all for the length of the contract. There is also a profit-sharing plan that guarantees the workers a year-end bonus even if the company is not profitable. But both of these "guaranteed" plans include clauses that will allow the company an out in case of severe economic difficulties.

The Employment Security Plan and the Profit-sharing Plan, along with warnings against rejection of the contract from the leadership of the United Steelworkers union, enabled passage of the contract despite considerable opposition from the membership. A financial report

prepared by the research department of the USWA in February and sent to all National Steelworkers warned that "while National is not in as bad a condition as many of its competitors, it does have significant financial problems."

"Without internal cash generation through sustained profits and access to outside funds," the report continued, "the viability of National and all of its active and retired employees will be in real jeopardy."

In a mailing to the membership just prior to the voting, and after two informational meetings where the majority spoke against the contract, USWA District 29 Director Harry Lester said that this contract was the best that could be negotiated and that if not ratified, the layoff of more than 250 workers would be assured with the planned closing of #5 Coke Battery. These warnings were very effective because Great Lakes Steel workers are well acquainted with layoffs. Over the last five years more than 4,000 jobs have been lost permanently and many workers have just returned to work after layoffs of up to almost five years.

The "guarantee" of a job was welcomed by many and convinced some who were opposed to the contract to vote for it. High-seniority workers were led to believe that the contract would provide better pensions, so many of them voted it up.

But thousands of workers voted against the contract, and an organized grouping of oppositionists at Great Lakes distributed a leaflet urging a no vote, explaining that concessions will not save jobs and that there should be no cooperation between management and labor in cutting jobs and wages.

The national contract does not tell the whole story. Local issues being hotly debated like craft unification, replacement of foremen with crew chiefs who are union members, and how the labor pool will be run are as yet unresolved, and, unfortunately, the ranks will have no chance to discuss or vote on any of these local issues.

## LETTERS

### Hormel strike

The fight that we as Local P-9 are waging against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, has a close relationship to the song by John Cougar Mellencamp, "Small Town": "Well, I was born in a small town, and I live in a small town. Prob'ly die in a small town, oh, those small communities. All my friends are so small town, my parents live in that same small town. My job is so small town, provides little opportunity." These words pretty much sum up why we are fighting as hard as we are.

Hormel is the only big business in Austin. We have a lot of history in Austin. A lot of our fathers and forefathers worked in that plant. They worked hard and achieved a lot of goals over the years. We're not about to surrender everything so that the most profitable meat-packing company in the world can pull the roots of history out from

underneath us. We have nowhere else to go except to leave our small town.

The corporate people who are trying to cram concessions down our throat don't have any feelings. Their fathers and forefathers didn't help build the community. A lot of blood, sweat, and pride went into the plant in Austin, Minnesota, and we're not about to throw it all away to corporate greed.

I can also relate our struggle to Bruce Springsteen's song "No Retreat, No Surrender." P-9 made a promise to the rest of the Hormel chain that no one would go back to work until everyone went back. We're going to stand by that promise. We also adopted the motto "No retreat, no surrender" for our P-9 jackets because we're not going to retreat, and we refuse to surrender. These words make us feel proud.

These artists have given us the strength and the confidence to carry on.

From the songs, people have gotten a better understanding of solidarity and pride.

The artwork of award-winning cartoonists Gary Huck and Mike Konopacki has been able to give working people a different view of reality than the one we get everyday from the corporate owners and the media.

Pamela Yates and Lee Ballinger have played a big role in our battle against concessions. The video *We're Not Gonna Take It* has certainly served its purpose. It has been very instrumental in our struggle. I personally feel that it has made people stand up and take a second look at what is really happening. Its strength lies in the powerful way it presents the expression of feeling from the workers ourselves. As a striking meat-

packer from Austin, Minnesota, I am proud to be part of that film. The facts are there. And I feel the way they are presented adds a different dimension to labor.

Despite the continuing betrayal by our so-called International leadership, we will continue to fight on, not only for ourselves, but for all of labor. We believe in what we are doing because we know it is the right thing to do. What the International union has done by putting our local into receivership not only hurts Local P-9, but will hurt every rank-and-file member in every local union across this country. We have no alternative but to fight on and to fight on together as brothers and sisters across the United States.

Dale Francis  
Member Local P-9

### Real kinship

This paper has opened up chan-

nels in my mind I never knew were there. I deeply appreciate the *Militant* and feel a very real kinship to the brothers and sisters responsible for its direct circulation.

A prisoner  
Lucasville, Ohio

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.



## Interview with Puerto Rican fighters

### Jailed patriots say 'We will continue fight for independence'

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

"Because of my identification with the independence struggle, I have been classified by the imperialist government as a terrorist. But it is enough to compare my life to that definition to see that it's really the FBI that fits that definition perfectly," Ivonne Meléndez Carrión, one of the Puerto Rican activists jailed in New York City, told the *Militant*.

Meléndez Carrión, along with 12 other activists, was arrested Aug. 30, 1985, in a massive FBI attack on the Puerto Rican independence movement.

During the attack, more than 200 armed FBI agents from the United States entered Puerto Rico. They raided more than 30 homes, closed down a proindependence magazine, and arrested 11 people. After their arrest, the activists were taken from the island in a military aircraft to prisons in the United States. That same day, FBI agents arrested two other activists — in Dallas, Texas, and in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

All 13 activists are charged with the 1983 robbery of a Wells Fargo armored truck in Hartford, Connecticut. The FBI charges they are members of the proindependence organization *Macheteros*, which Washington claims is a terrorist organization.

Charging that they are "dangerous," the U.S. government has denied bail to all but four of the activists. Meléndez Carrión and eight others have been held in U.S. prisons for 10 months.

But as Meléndez Carrión told this reporter and *Perspectiva Mundial* staff writer Selva Nebbia in a May 7 interview at the Metropolitan Correctional Center, they are being victimized by the U.S. government because of their support for Puerto Rican independence.

As Meléndez Carrión explained, her life exposes the U.S. frame-up. "I have participated in activities about things I considered just," she said in describing her political activity. These included mobilizations against the Puerto Rican government's forced and violent dismantling in 1981 of a squatters' village of some 300 families known as Villa Sin Miedo (village without fear). She also participated in the movement in Puerto Rico to bring to justice the cops who murdered two young indepen-



From left to right: Isaac Camacho Negrón, Juan Enrique Segarra Palmer, Luz María Berríos Berríos, Luis Alfredo Colón Osorio, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, Orlando González Claudio. At right, Ivonne Meléndez Carrión.



Militant photos by Selva Nebbia

dence fighters in 1978 at Cerro Maravilla. And she supported protests by Puerto Rican working people for jobs and higher wages.

As the mother of four children, Meléndez Carrión explained that she has been active in their school. "I have been president of the PTA at my children's school and have done volunteer work in education.

"My life," she continued, "has been dedicated to these types of social struggles."

The other activists' lives are similar. They are mechanics, nurses, carpenters and owners of small stores. They are supporters of Puerto Rican independence and participants in the fight against the U.S.-backed war in Central America and for social justice on the island.

In discussing how they came to support Puerto Rican independence, the experiences many of the activists had with racist oppression was a recurring theme. Luis Alfredo Colón explained that he joined the U.S. Army at 17 because he "wanted to be the all-American hero." In the army, however, he "learned about the racism that exists in that country [the United States] and the colonial status of Puerto Rico."

Filiberto Ojeda Ríos explained that he had lived in the United States as a child. "I confronted," he said, "for the first time, the racism and discrimination practiced against Puerto Ricans and other minorities in New

York City..."

This early experience, combined with the brutal repression of the independence movement in the 1950s, influenced Ojeda Ríos to join the struggle for independence.

Only a few days before the interview, a federal court judge ruled unconstitutional the 1984 Bail Reform Act. The law denies bail to anyone the government claims is "dangerous." It has been used to jail these activists for 10 months. The ruling was the result of a motion brought by their attorneys. The judge, however, refused to release the activists on bail pending an appeal by the federal government of the May 2 ruling.

The activists viewed this decision as a blow to the federal government's ongoing attacks on democratic rights. "Personally," Juan Enrique Segarra Palmer said, "I feel very satisfied that our case has helped expose and in this way deal a blow to a law as fascist and totalitarian as this one."

The activists themselves, Orlando González Claudio explained, may not necessarily benefit from this decision. The U.S. rulers, he warned, "would violate their own laws to keep us locked up."

Expanding on this point, Isaac Camacho Negrón said that U.S. laws benefit the rulers. "These are the same laws that guarantee the U.S. oppression of Puerto Rico. I am happy," he added, "to help expose the contradictions in these laws. I believe it's necessary to fight them."

While the federal government is appealing the court ruling on the 1984 Bail Reform Act, the defense attorneys are trying to have the trial moved from the United States to Puerto Rico.

Segarra Palmer explained that this motion "is fundamental to the most basic human rights. We are exiled," he said, "without having been tried and without having been convicted."

Being tried in the United States, he continued, "violates the right to be judged by a jury of your peers."

"The only evidence the government allegedly has against us is some tape recordings [of telephone conversations]. Well," he continued, "all those tapes are in Spanish. We in Puerto Rico speak Spanish."

"How," he asked, "is a U.S. jury that does not speak Spanish going to be able to decide what is being said on the tapes, or what is not being said, or what interpretation to give to what is said?"

"The only reason to have the trial here," he concluded, "is so the U.S. government can assure our conviction."

Ojeda Ríos pointed out that a "federal court in the United States is a federal court in Puerto Rico." Since Puerto Rico is a U.S. colony, the U.S. court system functions directly on the island. "We consider it illegal," he continued, "a violation of the rights of the Puerto Rican people, and we firmly denounce it."

Continued on Page 12

## Hormel strikers win backing of Black unionists' convention

BY KEN COLLINS

ATLANTA, Ga. — The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) voted to support the Minnesota meatpackers on strike to win a decent contract from the Geo. A. Hormel & Co.

The decision to support this struggle was made by the delegates here during the coalition's 15th annual convention, May 24-26. The CBTU is a national organization of Black union officials and rank-and-file members who belong to some of the largest unions in the country.

The resolution condemned Hormel's union-busting against striking United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9. It pledged the CBTU to raise money for the strikers' families. (The entire resolution is reprinted on page 5.)

Support for Local P-9's strike provoked a lively discussion and even debate during informal meetings at the convention. Officials of the UFCW international union at the convention opposed any support to the strike. The top officials of that union have attacked the striking local during its 10-month struggle with Hormel. The attacks escalated May 9 when the UFCW Interna-

tional Executive Committee voted to place the local into trusteeship. Under trusteeship, the local's elected leaders are replaced by an appointed trustee. The trustee

Continued on Page 5



Militant/Robert Kopeck  
CBTU president, William Lucy

## Chicago students win right to hear leader of fight for abortion rights

BY STEVE BLOODSWORTH AND VERA WIGGLESWORTH

CHICAGO — Student activists at Chicago's De Paul University won a significant victory for free speech, the right to choose abortion, and women's liberation. Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), addressed a gathering of about 400 on May 13. Even holding the meeting took a fight by students and faculty there.

The first date set for Smeal's appearance on campus was canceled by the university administration under pressure of the Catholic church hierarchy. When Smeal did speak, right-wing, antichoice hooligans tried to disrupt the gathering by screaming and shouting during her talk.

Nevertheless, Smeal was able to make a strong presentation linking women's rights, civil rights, and the peace movement. She began her speech by congratulating the students for their successful stand. She said, "They say students today don't care. But I say students are as active

as they've ever been."

Smeal went on to say that she began her activism at Duke University in the civil rights movement. She learned from experience that "only through struggle can human rights prevail." She said that the women's rights movement was a direct outgrowth of the civil rights movement of Blacks.

"Those who say that abortion rights are satanic are the same people who said that the subjugation of Blacks was God's will," she retorted in response to orchestrated hecklers trying to disrupt the talk.

To the taunts of hecklers who shouted that "abortion is murder," she responded that legalized abortion saves women's lives. Smeal defended such issues as the Equal Rights Amendment and pay equity for women workers. She said, "In the United States today, we are going backward in the fight for women's rights, civil rights, peace, and the quality of life." She asserted, "I will not be a second-class citizen in my country, in my church, or in my

Continued on Page 7